GUIDE TO THE EE1 BULGARIA FILE

[This file is concerned with the people and culture of modern Bulgaria. Bulgaria is located on the Balkan peninsula with Rumania on the north, the Black Sea on the east, Turkey and Greece on the south, and Yugoslavia on the west. Northern tribes conquered the Slavonic people of Moesia in 679 A.D. From 1396 to 1878 Bulgaria was a Turkish province. In 1908 independence was attained. Bulgaria was allied with Germany in both World Wars and in 1947 adopted a constitution of a soviet people's republic type. The Bulgarian people are basically Slavic with some admixture of Turkish. The 1974 population estimate was 8,660,000. About 84% of the population belongs to the Greek Orthodox church. The capital is Sofia. The economy is predominantly agricultural. Industries are of minor importance. The major crops are wheat, corn, barley, oats and rye. The vast majority of the population is peasant with the settlement pattern being that of the agricultural village.

There are seven sources in the file, all of them in English, and numbered 1-4, 8-9, and 11. In addition, a section of 1: Niederle of the E16 Slavic Peoples file is included in category 101. It describes the physical anthropology of the Bulgar Slavs. 2: Sanders is an ethnographic report of life in the peasant village of Dragalevsty before and after World War II. It includes a section on the effect of Communism on the peasants. History, economics, and politics are discussed in sources 1, 3, 8, and 11. 4: Antonoff discusses the history of the functional role and political status of churches and religion from 865 to 1951. 9: Shishmanov is a study of the development of modern Bulgarian literature and its relationship to the development of nationalism. The file was processed in 1954-55.]

000 hurry or else it was an expression frequently used to rationalize their casual manner. I never saw a peasant with a watch.

101 These quiet people of Dragalevtsy, whose way of life is not very different from that of peasants throughout the Balkans, are more than just Bulgarian peasants who arose in the seventh century from a dash of Tartar added to a predominantly Slavic mixture. They are a special breed of Bulgarians called *Shopi,* a term originally meaning boorish. That is, a *Shop* was a bumpkin. Some authorities say that this term was derived from *sop,* the long staff which the men of this area carried. Since those living in the *Shopsko* area, or the immediate vicinity of Sofia and Mount Vitosha, are in general more conservative than villagers elsewhere in Bulgaria, the word *Shopi* also carried the idea [144] of backwardness and mental simplicity. Among the many attempts to explain the special physical characteristics of these people, the most plausible theory is that of descent from the Pechenegi, or Mongolian tribesmen who infiltrated into that section of Bulgaria and nearby eastern Serbia in the eleventh century. Historians deal none too kindly with these Pechenegi; nor do the *Shopi* receive many compliments in contemporary accounts. Even their physical appearance is considered unattractive by many other Bulgarians.

142 From faces naturally swarthy, further darkened and weather-beaten by sun, rain, and biting winds, the small round eyes of Asia stare through one without giving an inkling of the impression registered. In the thin-lipped mouths of the young the teeth are gleaming white; beneath the drooping mustaches of middle-aged men teeth show yellowish in a rare childlike smile; and toothless gums accompany the gray stubbly beards of the old. Straight, prominent noses lend [302] ruggedness rather than beauty; the customary clipping of the scraggly black hair of the men reveals wrinkled, leathery necks; the hair of the women is worn in braids down the back, and hangs from beneath a kerchief that covers the top of the head. Here, too, age is clearly marked. The glossy, thick braids of the girls all too soon become, with advancing years, dull and thin and are often pieced out with other, brighter hair. The men are of medium height. Because their shoulders are so broad and their chests so powerful, their short, sturdy legs seem out of proportion. The women, slightly shorter, walk erect

S: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

114 this information about the Bulgarians: „...The Western Bulgarians are divided in generic groups of Shopi, Rouptsi, Marvatsi, Barzatsi, Miatsi, Ketskari, Ouloufi, Poulivakovtsi and Kekovtsi... They live in mud huts in one or two storeyed houses made of mud, and in villages. They are mostly farmers and bee-masters..." These are 6 lines out of a total of 24 lines of information given in the Lexicon.

So many authors would see a fly and miss an elephant. They would see roses in the field of hardships, and would tell the world of non-existing Rouptsi, Ketskari, Kekovtsi and other tribes, but would overlook the present development of new Bulgaria and as to the old one, they would hardly betray an inkling of understanding. This negligent attitude towards the human element is the differential of a nefarious policy which has caused the world frightful misfortunes.

On the other hand, we have before us an American text book[1]), „Our World To-day", which in 2200 words gives a true and adequate picture of our small country. It is written with a sympathetic understanding which any interested reader would like to find in a short treatise on other countries, great or small. We are told of roses and of attar of roses in this book, but these features of the picture are retouched with grace and refinement. The practical understanding of a superior race emphasizes rather the features of gardening, tobacco planting, sugar-beet cultivation, grapes, the wheat fields of Danube Bulgaria etc. It tells no fairy tales of gold, silver, petrol and sugar cane in Bulgaria. These distant authors seem to know that such miracles do not occur in our country and that the country is not only „the land of Roses". They mark with simple words our cultural progress, our budding and, in some respects, advanced industry, our sugar factories and good roads, water power, village and national life, our Danube River navigation etc.

I. A Glance in the past

101 131 **5. Geographic Features.** Bulgaria occupies a central position in the Balkan Peninsula (Fig. 1). The location of her capital is particularly characteristic. Bulgaria is a

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[1]) Stull and Hatch, Our World To-day, a text book in the New Geography; New York, Allyn and Bacon, 1939.

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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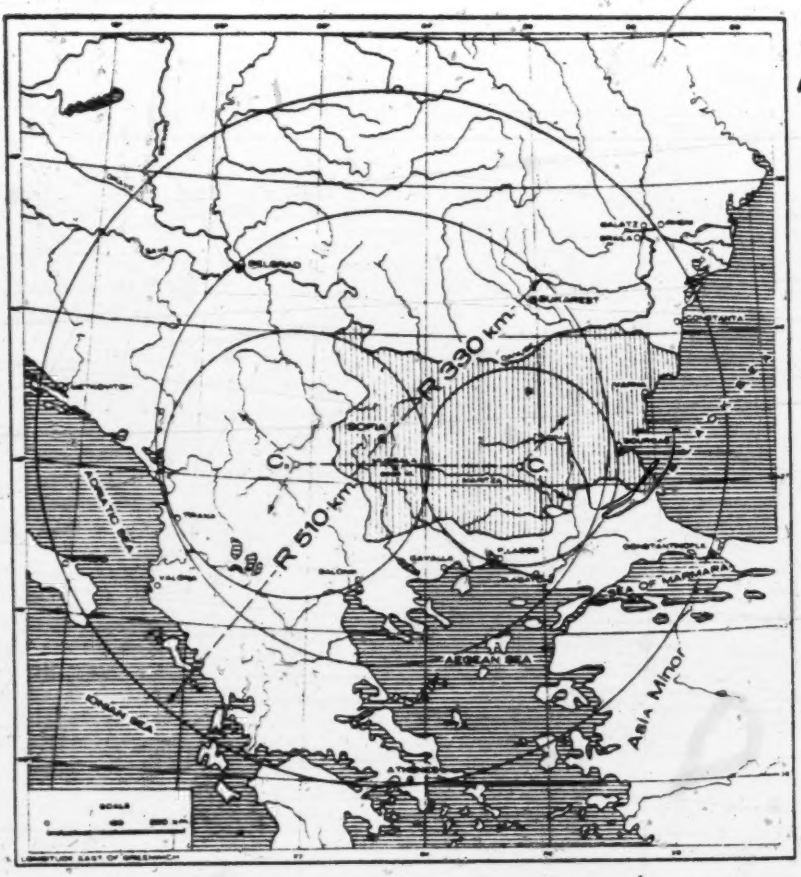

Fig. I. The Central Situation of Sofia, the Capital of Bu'garia, in the Balkan Reninsula. The point C_1 is at equal distance from the Danube, the B'ack sea and the Aegean sea; $C C_2$ is the equidistant line between the Danube and the Aegean sea.

bridgeland between Europe and Asia, the Danube and the Aegean Sea, the Black Sea and the Adriatic Sea. This singular position of Bulgaria has determined her part in history and has shaped the character of her alert and sturdy people who have lived under constant threat of foreign attack. What races have failed to pass their armies through this land and how fateful for all Europe have been the battles waged in it! The living space of a nation is the main factor which characterizes its past and determines its future. Where do we have a better evidence of this, than in the present state of the Balkans?

11: Lozio S-4 (no date) 1996 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

THE FIRST BULGARIAN EMPIRE

101 The name Bulgarian originally designated some of the Turki tribes which were component parts of the Hunnish Empire, and which were also occasionally known as Kutrigurs and Utrigurs. The terminal of these two appelations has a close similarity with the term „Ugri", from which the Hungarians derive their name. The latter too formed part of the same Hunnish Empire and lived in close contact with the Bulgarians, who seem to have been at a much higher state of development since it was from them that the Hungarians, according to Prof. Geza Feher mainly derived their culture. Etymologists differ as to the interpretation of the term Bulgar. Some explain it as being derived from the name of the river Volga, and the word ur (är) signifying man, hense man of the Volga; others trace it to the syllable „bulg", the radical of the Turki verb „bulgamuk" meaning to mix, to trouble. This survives in the modern Turkish verb „bulamak" which has the same meaning. Both the Hungarian Orientalist Vambery, and the Rumanian Prof. Pârvan, interpret the word Bulgar as being an adjective in the Turki dialect and meaning mixed up, troubling, disturbing, an interpretation which will undoubtedly delight Bulgaria's neighbours since it offers a justification of their unneighbourly attitude towards her. The Czech historian W. Tomaschek holds that the word Bulgar means mixed, since the Bulgarians are a residuum of various Turki tribes which invaded Europe at different times. At any rate there is little doubt that Bulgar was a comprehensive term which covered both the Kutrigurs and Utrigurs, under which names the Bulgarians first appear in the records of Byzantine chroniclers. The Bulgarians lived originally in the southern part of the Russian province of Perm. By the 5th century they had moved towards the Northern Caucasus, settling between the rivers Volga and Don.

THE FIRST BULGARIAN EMPIRE

Procopius (Caesariensis Opera Omnia, ed J. Hanry 1905 p. 501/3) as cited by Zlatarski, refers to Hunnish people east of the river Don and of the Caspian, and to a ruler among them who had two sons Utrigur and Kutrigur, between whom the kingdom was subsequentily divided. These names came subsequently to designate these peoples. Prof. Zlatarski opines that this division which occurred about 438 caused the momentary suspension in the use of the name Bulgar by some of the Byzantine chroniclers, as the term was a generic one and applied to both branches of the same people. The Kutrigurs crossed the Don and moved west to the river Dnieper where they were in close touch with the remains of Attila's Huns after the latter's death in 452 and which thay incorporated. This would explain why the names of Huns and Bulgars were so often mixed up during the 6th century, as well as the increased activity of the latter and their spread both to the Balkans and Pannonia.

It was during the reign of the Emperor Zeno (474—491) that the Kutrigur branch of the Bulgarians made its first appearance in Moesia, where they were invited by the Byzantines as allies against the Ostrogoths. In this capacity they repeatedly crossed the Danube and having learnt the way continued to come even uninvited, their incursions extending as far south as the Thermopylae in 517. It was mainly in order to protect the suburbs of Constantinople from these foraging expeditions of the Kutrigurs, that the Emperor Anastasius (491—518) built the Long Walls forty miles to the west of the city, accross a territory 54 miles broad from the Black Sea to the Marmara. Outside this Long Wall the country seems to have passed mainly into the possession of the Kutrigurs early in the 6th century. Theophanes, Bonnae p. 338/9 relates that in 531 there were two Bulgarian kings in Scythia and Moesia, that the Romans besieged and killed

/88/ The Bulgarians

000 1. Hair dress of young women, with tresses decorated with silver. 2. and 3. Decorative pendants. 4. Head ornament of the brides, made of flowers and silver coins. 5. Woman wearing an embroidered blouse and a woven carpet apron. 6. Drawing well. 7. Neck ornament. 8. Hand mill for salt. 9. Threshing sled. 10. Cave dwelling on the Lon. 11. Fire saw. 12. Village street. 13. Shelter of the field herders. 14. Household altar. 15. Rattle board of wood, from a monastery. 16. Signalling horn of a country mailman. 17. Sawing frame.[1]

175 At the time of the Romans present-day Bulgaria was called
101 Moesia in its northern (Danube) region, Thracia in its southern section,
144 and it was inhabited by an Indo-European people of North European extraction, at the time when old Greek, and later Roman and Byzantine, immigrants moved there and intermingled with it. From the sixth century on, the Slavic wave moved closer, and from the seventh century onwards Finnish Turko-Tataric migrant herders and horse breeders repeatedly found their way into this country from the middle Volga.
463 From these the Bulgarians adopted and kept the herding system, by the side of which the Thracian and Slavic agriculture was maintained. The Ottoman Turks coming from the southeast provided the country
181 with its class of craftsmen and tradesmen. This mosaic of races and peoples developed a particularly powerful and healthy stock of people whose high life expectancy is well known, as well as a temperate,
531 industrious, and sober character. It mirrors a corresponding multiplicity
177 of cultures; thus we have in art types that range from the Scythian style and its predilection for phantastic animal forms to the Byzantine and ancient Oriental motifs; from the cellular stone inlays of the period of the Teutonic migrations (belt clasps) to the Tatar decorative pendants (Figures 2, 3, and 7),[1] and from the Slavic joy in ornamentation and
592 colors to the Turkish, recent Near Eastern household industries. The Slavic household community, which takes up every new generation into the fabric of the family, has as its consequence the form of settlement
342 by individual and separate farmsteads. Aside from occasional underground dwelling pits in the loess, of which only the pointed roof of rushes rises above the ground, there are one-story high, rectangular panel-work houses covered with loam, placed either on a level with the soil, or else on top of a wooden substructure for the working sheds.

1 [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, El Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a -- Analyst]
2 [See 1: Karutz, El Europe, cat. 116, p. 57a -- Analyst]

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I established the fact that a Russian geographer, Mr. Zarianko, had arrived at a total of 101,724,000 for the year 1891, while the statistics set forth by Mr. Schrader in his Atlas gave only 97 million.

In 1905 Mr. Niederle resumed the inquiry for an article intended for the Czech Encyclopedia and arrived at a total of 138,500,000 persons.

About the same time a Russian scholar, a distinguished student of the Slavs, professor in the University of Kiyev, Mr. Florinskii, studied for his part, the statistics of the Slavic peoples and made public /vii/ the results of his research in a volume published at Kiyev in 1907 under the title The Slavic Race. Here are his figures:

Great Russians	65,000,000
Ukrainians	31,000,000
Belorussians	7,000,000
Bulgars	5,400,000
Serbo-Croats	9,000,000
Czechs	6,641,000
Slovaks	2,600,000
Poles	20,000,000
Kashubs	355,000
Sorbs of Lusatia	150,000

on a round total figure of 148 million.

Mr. Florinskii estimates that, the annual excess of births over deaths being 1.7%, the race increases each year by 2,500,000 individuals. With this coefficient the increase should then present a grand total of 186 million for the year 1915, and of 200 million for the year 1920.

B. S. S.P. 101

Among the problems which Mr. Florinskii had to solve, one of the most delicate was that of Macedonian ethnography. The struggle, of which Macedonia has been the scene for more than a quarter of a century, between the Serbs and the Bulgars, has greatly embarrassed certain Russian publicists desirous of alienating neither of these contending parties.

In a map published in 1889, the Russian geographer Mr. Zarianko, in accordance with all the precedents, assigned Macedonia to the /vii/ Bulgars. Appalled by the protests of the Serbs, who were seeking in Macedonia compensation for the loss of Bosnia and Hercegovina, Mr. Zarianko in a later edition had the idea of giving to Macedonia a special coloring, meaning by that, as he said, a country whose nationality had not yet been studied. Since then the ethnographers have had the

B. S. S.P. 101 time to determine the facts and here are the terms in which Mr. Florinskii worded his decision in 1908:

B. S. S.P. 197 101 "It seems to me," he said,[1] "that there is no valid reason at all for making the Macedonians a special ethnographic group. The principal criterion is deciding upon the division of this group between the Bulgarian and Serbian nationalities is established by the linguistic data. According to these, insofar as they are known at present--it has been determined that the majority of the Macedonian dialects have the fundamental characteristics of the Bulgarian language. It is only in northern Macedonia, in the districts of Skoplje, Tetovo, and Kratovo that the peculiarities of the Serbian language appear clearly in the Slavic idioms, through they are with certain peculiarities of the Balkan tongue."

Mr. Florinskii concludes by awarding the north /ix/ of Macedonia to the Serbs, and the remainder to the Bulgars.

000 "I do not know," I wrote in 1908, in connection with the publication of Mr. Florinskii's book (1), "if this judgment of Solomon

1. In l'Energie francaise, issue of 29 February.

will satisfy the two parties. In any case one may be certain that the Greeks will make fierce outcry. Be that as it may, I cannot urge the Serbs and the Bulgars too strongly to find a definitive modus vivendi. The Slavs could not possibly make too many concessions in order to unite themselves against the eternal enemies of their race: the Germans, the Magyars, the Greeks, the Turks."

In those matters which relate to the Slavs of Macedonia, Mr. Niederle has arrived at almost the same conclusions as Mr. Florinskii; but he has supported them by other arguments.

III.

S.P. 114 In writing the article "Slavs" for the Czech Encyclopedia, Mr. Niederle found it necessary to study certain problems of demography and anthropology. At that precise moment the Academy of Sciences of Saint Petersburg proposed the publication of an Encyclopedia of Slavic Philology under the direction of Mr. V. Jagić (1), the eminent /x/

1. See my article about Monsieur Jagic in the Journal des Savants, (Year 1908).

professor at the University of Vienna. Probably at the instigation of this distinguished scholar, they requested Mr. Niederle to write for this collection a volume upon the Slavic race. This volume written

[1] [Mr. Florinskii, Professor in the University of Kiyev, 1908--August]

S.P. 575 Cr. Sb. 186 (for example Dubrovnik (Ragusa), and especially in Bosnia. This province is truly an apple of discord between these two national groups. Here the Austrian government is attempting to do things somewhat by chance without having a clearly defined idea regarding nationality.

000 What will come of this? What will happen to the country after the annexation? What will be the new relations between Croats and Serbs? We cannot yet tell today.

From the viewpoint of science and of the Slav idea, one should at least proceed with honesty and not shut one's eyes to the true facts. At the outset it would be necessary to determine through an accurate census the relative situation of the Serbs and the Croats and to treat with justice all of the national and political groups. Furthermore, it will no longer be necessary to invent a third Croato-Serbian nation, the Bosnian (1) nation, as was conceived of by the Kallay government a few years ago. Moreover, this innovation was in no wise successful. Since 1907, the official designation "Bosnian" has been replaced by the correct designation "Serbo-Croat."

1. Certainly, the concept of a Bosnian nation existed before. One may read in the twelfth century chronicle of Kinnamos: "Bosthna...ethos idia para taute zon," (Bosnia...is a nation living by itself), and one often finds that the Bosnians are considered to be a nation. But this designation, which was based upon political considerations, is no longer justified.

VIII
THE BULGARS

S.P. B. 201 § 33. ~~Historical~~ Introduction. ---The last Slav people produced by the differentiation of the South-Slav group, is the Bulgars.

Almost all of them live on the Balkan peninsula.

S.P. S. 201 174 Like the other South-Slavs they had their cradle much farther north, somewhere, near the Carpathians, in the vicinity of the Russians. Between the third and the fifth century, they abandoned the Carpathians, began to push through the Thracian and Scytho-Sarmatian tribes, towards the lower Danube, and in the sixth century reached the Balkans. At this time the Slavic tribes of the Peninsula did not have a common ethnic name. They were called Slavs like their neighbors the Serbs

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and the Slovenes and they did not form a united group. Still in the seventh and eighth centuries we find in the eastern part of the Balkan peninsula an entire series of tribes very slightly united to each other, the Sieveriens and seven anonymous tribes in the north of the present Bulgaria, the Rumeliot Slavs, then the Druguvicnes, /183/ the Smoliani, the Strumenci, the Rynchini*, the Sagudati*, the Berziti in Macedonia. It is evidently to these latter that the Slavs who pushed into Greece and into the Archipelago are related from the linguistic viewpoint, the Velegezites, the Vajuniti, the Milingi, and the Iezerci. Towards this period a union began to develop, but under foreign pressure. In 679 under the leadership of Asparukh a certain number of Bulgars from the Volga--of Turkish origin--crossed the Danube and penetrated into the Dobrudja as far as Varna; they subjugated the neighboring Slavic tribes, unified them, and little by little unified all of the Slavs of the center of the Peninsula.

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On the other hand, the Bulgars of the Volga, who were relatively few in number, became themselves assimilated very quickly with the Slav element and merged with it. (1)

1. Zanetov and Skorpil thought that they found the remains of these ancient Bulgars among the Gagauz (see further on) and among the Turks of Deliorman between Silistra, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), Varna and Rushchouk, whom their Bulgar neighbors called Gadjaly. Mochkov came out against their hypotheses.

Their name alone, which was given to the new state and to its people, recalls the memory of this element of foreign race. Besides the Bulgars have basically always been Slavs, even though they have not hesitated to assimilate foreign elements. Among these elements, along with the Turkish Bulgars, one must cite the remains of the ancient Thracians, the Germans, /185/ especially the Goths, Turks, and Avars, to whom were added later on other Asiatic elements; the Poles, the Cumaeans, the Oguzes, gypsies, and finally the Osmanli Turks.

S.P. B. 175

The Bulgarian Empire, beginning with the reign of Simeon (893-927) acquired a considerable area; it grew by means of the constant warfare with Byzantines on the one hand and with the Serbs, on the other. The Slavs who belonged to its most remote frontiers at

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In this region, before the arrival of the Turks, there were settled a large number of Pecheneg, Uzi, and Cumaeans (whose descendants are today called Gagauz) and later on the Tatars.

It seems that the earliest Turkish colonization took place in the region of Deliorman towards the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries and later on at Tuzluk and at Gerilovo. The Ragusan Pavle Gjordjic, who traveled in these areas, reported a numerous Turkish population at Gerilovo*, at Deliorman, and in the Dobrudja. These areas were not completely assimilated by the Turks until the seventeenth century, and in the case of Gerilovo*, not until the eighteenth century. But many Turkish villages still retain their Slavic names.

All this Turkish colonization in the northeast of Bulgaria evidently had as an object the securing of passageways of the Balkans, especially after the defeats suffered in the war against King Wladyslaw of Poland in 1443.

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Of the original Slav population there remain only a few rare traces near Provadiya, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), and Razgrad. Also in the sixteenth century a great number of Turks, Yurvks*, and Koniars* came from Asia to settle in certain parts of Thrace and of Macedonia.

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The old Slavic Bulgars, after the arrival of the Turks, naturally withdrew into the mountainous regions. In the sixteenth century their boundary was formed by the towns of Devna*, Monastir (now Bitolj), Krivnia*, Ravna*, Nenovo*, /188/ Nevcha*, Kaludjerica, Divdiedovc*, Novo Selo, or, in other words, the line from Varna (now Stalin) to Shumla (now Kolarovgrad). But towards the south the Slav element soon began again to take over and regain the terrian. The Osmanlis perished little by little in the perpetual wars and were not replaced by new colonists. On the other hand, new Bulgars arrived from the northern areas (Lovech, Nikopol), a scene of constant troubles and danger.

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It was on the banks of the Danube that the principal wars were fought and the Slavs moved away from there in all directions. Upon this emigration movement which is a very old one, we have no documentation until after the seventeenth century. Thus we know that in the course of the year 1741 Bulgar colonies went to settle in the Banat of Temesvar where their descendants are still established at Vinga, and Benesov*. From 1752 to 1754 a great number of Bulgars

*[i.e. in northeast Bulgaria--Analyst]

S.P. B. 167 previous Bulgar population did not date back further than one hundred and twenty years.

To the west of the Iantra* there are very few old villages and many new ones founded by the immigrants who have come from the areas of Lovech and of Sevlievo. These new populations were distinguished from the old ones by traditions, costume, and especially by dialect. On the other hand, there were many new immigrants to the south of the Balkans in the areas of Burgas, Aitos, and Yambol.

COO Therefore, the Bulgar country has been the theater of perpetual movements, and definitive order will not be reestablished there until the Macedonian question has been finally resolved. However, the solution of the Macedonian problem is constantly delayed by the neighboring powers.

S.P. B 101 S 34. Territory Occupied by the Bulgars. ---It is bounded on the north by the Danube, from Cherna Voda to Vidin and then by a line which runs from Vidin through Tsar-Petrovo, Boinitsa and Shchichintsi to the Serbian frontier. From this line at Vidin there runs off a narrow section which goes up as far as Novo Selo on the Danube. The western boundary follows the Timok which serves as the political frontier between Serbia and Bulgaria. But the philologists are not in agreement upon the characteristics of the intermediate dialect of the area of Pirot-Vranje. Belic assigns it to Serbian, Tsonev to Bulgarian and considers only as intermediate the dialect of the Morava and the Resava. As we have already explained, in the basin of the Timok, in the area of Pirot, Nish, Vranje and Prizren a dialect intermediate between Serbian and Bulgarian is spoken. But, leaving aside the dialectic shadings which are of no importance from the viewpoint of nationality, and bearing in mind the other factors which determine national consciousness, it cannot be said that the boundary of the Bulgar national group follows the Timok and runs up towards Nich and Vranje, as Tsonev would have it, but that it starts from Veliki Izvor on the Timok, that it follows the ridge of the Stara Planina (Mountains), otherwise known as the political frontier, as far as Mount Kom; then it passes between Pirot and Caribrod (now Dimitrovgrad), crosses the Ruia Planina (Mountains), passes near Vlasina and reaches the upper Morava at Vranje. Then it follows the road from Nich to Skoplje, runs around that city and runs across the eastern spurs of Mount Chardagh towards the Debar (Alb., Dibra).

1: Niederle--119 E-5 1911 E/C Slavic Peoples E/C
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Along this very little-known line, the territory of the Bulgars and of their neighbors the Serbs is penetrated in a south-westerly direction by an Albanian wedge. From Vranje to Kumanovo, /192/ from Skoplje to Tetovo there are to be found a great number of Slav villages more or less Albanianized. It is difficult in these regions to draw a very clear boundary.

Towards the Debar (Alb., Dibra) the Bulgar frontier turns towards the south and follows the left bank of the Black Drin in the direction of Lake Ochrida, which it partially circles, then follows the Devol River, Lake Malik, reaches the city of Koritsa and finally that of Kostur (now Kastoria). The outskirts of Kostur are still Bulgarian as far as Krupishte* on the Aliakmon River (Mac., Bistritsa). Here the boundary turns toward the northeast, towards Lake Osyrovon (now Vegoritis), then it runs to Voden (now Edhessa) towards the lower course of the Aliakmon and reaches the Gulf of Salonika, which it follows to that city.

The outskirts of Salonika are Slav. Beyond that city the boundary runs across the plain of Lankadas toward the Chalcidice, goes through Visoka, Zarovo, Sukho, Njegovan as far as the confluence of the Struma and Lake Takhin* and towards Seres (now Serrai) where it encounters Greek, Turk, and Bulgar populations. From Serrai, according to Tsanov[1] the boundary follows a broken line, poorly known as to its details, which crosses through Turkish Rumelia, reaches Dimotika (now Didymoteikhon) of the lower Maritsa, then through [illegible] Babaeski, Corlu, and Kataldja*, it runs as far as the [illegible] Constantinople.

The western[1] boundary of the Bulgar national group is formed by the shore of the Black Sea as far as the Danube.

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But the boundary drawn by Tsonev does not outline /193/ a compact population but only the extreme limit of Bulgar groups in the Balkan peninsula. Already the most southern sections of the districts of Philippopolis and Stara Zagora are more sparsely peopled by Bulgars. I cannot speak, for want of exact information, of the ethnographic conditions in Turkish Rumelia. On the other hand, we know that the regions located between the Iantra and the sea are more sparsely populated with Bulgars.

Thirty years ago this region was populated by a majority of

[1] [SIC - Analyst]

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Mohammedans. A few districts were even purely Turkish, notably that of Khaskovo, near Silistra which contains only 6% Bulgars, that of Omortag (formerly Osman Pazar) (12.5%), that of Bazaurt (14%), that of Kemanlar (now Isperikh) (19%), that of Shumla (now Kolarovgrad) (24.3%). The Bulgars were the most numerous in the districts of Kesarevo (59%) and of Ruse (59%). In these regions they had a majority only in the towns. According to Sarafov, there were 482,000 Bulgars in this region in 1881. In 1888 there were more than 443,000 of them. In 1900 there were 417,694 Turks, 9,824 Gagauz and 18,079 Tatars in the districts of Ruse, Varna, Shumla, and Trnovo.

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According to Iurkevich the number of Turks in all of Bulgaria has diminished since 1888 by 12.5%. Thus the situation has noticeably improved in favor of the Bulgars.

/194/ According to the census of 1900 the following is the situation relative to the Turks and the Bulgars:

District of Ruse: 153,730 Turks (without the Gagauz and the Tatars) and 175,216 Bulgars.
District of Pleven: 12,261 Turks and 270,010 Bulgars.
District of Trnovo: 25,180 Turks and 366,687 Bulgars.
District of Vidin: 4,444 Turks and 142,975 Bulgars.
District of Shumla: 130,975 Turks and 108,579 Bulgars.
District of Varna: 107,839 Turks and 131,325 Bulgars (making a total of 433,779 Turks and 1,194,943 Bulgars).

The districts which present the most compact masses of Turks are those of Balchik, Varna, Bobrich (now Tolbukhin), Kurtbunar, and Provadiya in the districts of Varna, those of Eski Dzhumaya (now Targovishte), Osman Pazar (now Omortag), Popovo, Preslav, and Shumla in the district of Shumla; Elena, Svichtov, and Sevlievo in the district of Trnovo; Biela, Razgrad, Ruse, Silistra, and Tutrakan in the district of Ruse. The district of Burgas contained in 1900, 37,041 Turks, 39,652 Greeks and 218,189 Bulgars; that of Starazagora, 31,279 Turks along with 350,380 Bulgars. That of Plovdiv (or Philippopoli 24,886 Turks against 313,847 Bulgars (without the Pomaks) (1). In

1. On the Pomaks, see the following section.

/195/ for the table on this page see the next manuscript page.

this region /196/ the Turks live especially in the arrondissements of Karlovo, Peshtera, Plovdiv (Philippopolis), Stanimaka (now Asenovgrad),

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The Principal National Groups In Bulgaria In 1900

Districts	Bulgars	Pomaks	Serbs	Turks	Gagauz	Tatars	Greeks	Gypsies	Rumanians
I Burgas. . . .	218,189	3	26	37,041	28	132	39,152	10,985	29
II Varna. . . .	131,325	37	43	107,839	9,809	11,329	7,720	9,000	752
III Vidin. . . .	142,975	24	398	4,444	2	20	163	5,686	39,977
IV Vratsa. . . .	230,536	631	145	2,039	--	109	45	9,081	12,225
V Kustendil. .	191,477	--	8	599	--	--	82	1,605	141
VI Plovidiv. . . (Philippopolis)	313,847	17,055	57	24,886	1	31	14,880	11,146	115
VII Pleven. . . .	270,010	[illegible],837	133	12,261	2	510	46	7,277	9,752
VIII Ruse.	175,216	10	62	153,730	6	3,919	697	8,403	5,697
IX Sofia.	365,364	30	545	874	--	1	845	5,838	286
X St. Zagora. .	350,380	2	12	31,379	5	2	2,720	7,823	12
XI Trnovo. . . .	366,837	13	67	25,180	3	173	122	5,206	1,841
XII Shumen. . . .	108,579	2	20	130,945	6	2,658	230	7,513	196
Total	2,368,735	20,644	1,516	531,217	9,862	18,884	66,702	89,563	71,023

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Kazanluk, Kharmanli, Khaskovo, Aytos, Pomorie, Karnobat, and Sliven. Detailed figures will be found in the table above.

Along with the Turks the Tatars are likewise diminishing, except in the region of Varna where they are increasing. After them come the Gagauz, Christian descendants of the ancient Turko-Tatar invaders.

The Greeks, as is to be expected, are particularly settled on the shore of the Black Sea, notably in the region of Burgas, and in the interior areas around Ploviv (Philoppopolis), especially in the sector of Stanimaka (Asenougrad)--this town is today Greek--to the west of Kyzyl Agach, at Kavakla and in its neighborhood. Along the coast, the most northern Greek colony is Novo Selo near Varna; among the Greek towns we should also mention Mesembria (now Nesebur), Pomorie, Sozopol, and partly Burgas.

The Jews and the Armenians nowhere form compact groups. The gypsies are numerous, but they are scattered throughout the Kingdom.

In the mountainous regions they sometimes form the majority of the population, for example in the outskirts of Elena and of Plovdiv (Philoppopolis). There are very few Serbs according to the latest information (in all 1,516). This is the result of the intensive /197/ development of the Bulgars and also of the conflicts of the past thirty years. On the contrary, the Rumanians are grouped in compact masses along the Danube, especially between the confluence of the Timok and Vidin, and between the confluence of the Dolni (Cibur) and Svishtov. A majority of Rumanians are also to be found at Tutrakan, and in the interior of the country at Serbenica (now Sofronievo) near Byala Slatina and at Debovo near Nikopol. The Tsintsar (1) are to be found in the outskirts of Sofia and of Plovdiv (Philoppopolis). We have spoken above of the Russian and Czech colonies of Voivodova*, Gorna*, Metropolis* and Breslianitsi*.

1. Name given to the Rumanians in the peninsula.

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Outside of the region which we have just studied, we still meet groups of Bulgars beyond the Danube. These are the colonies which came in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The

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previous colonies have been absorbed by the Magyar and Rumanian elements. They date from the thirteenth century; they were the Bulgars of Brasso (Brasov now Stalin), of Nagy and of Kis Csegerd* (near Blasendorf), of Baumgart (Bongard) and of Reussdorfchen (Roszczur) in the outskirts of Sibin. They are today completely Rumanianized. In former times they were sometimes considered as being Serbs, sometimes as Slovenes. Their Bulgar nationality was demonstrated by Professor Miletic. They were Catholics. There still are in southern Hungary--/198/--in the Banat--the colonies of Vinga, between Avad and Temesvar (now Timisoara), Brestie near Vrsac and Stary Beshenov near Szegedin. These colonies date from 1747; they are also Catholic. There are also a great number of Bulgar colonies in southern Walachia. Weigand estimates the number at fifty, with a population of fifty thousand persons. They are established around Dolz (12 hamlets), Olenitsa (2), Teleorman (now Rosiorii-de-Vede) (5), Vlaska* (7), Ialomica* (3), Ilfov* (22). The largest are those of Afumatz* and of Kisele Sirbi*. There are in addition many Bulgars in the cities of Galati, Braila, Bucharest, Buzan, Olenitsa, Giurgiu (Bulg., Giurgevo), Craiova and Ploesti, who are estimated to number from five to seven thousand.

In Russia, the Bulgars settled towards the middle of the eighth century. They are mentioned from this period as at Chesma, on the river Visa* and Schinusha*. It was after the year 1769 that the principal immigration took place. Bulgar colonies established themselves alongside Serb colonies on the upper reaches of the Ingul and the Ingulka (1). They have disappeared by this time. On the contrary

1. Tributaries of the Bug and of the Dnepr.

compact groups have remained in Bessarabia; they have been strongly mixed with Turkish elements. They are to be found especially in the districts of Akkerman (now Belgorod-Dnestrovski), Izmail, and Bendery. They are to be found also in the guberniya of Kherson, near Odessa and Nikolayev and in the guberniya /199/ of Tavrida (districts of Berdyansk--(now Osipenko)--and of Feodosiya). The statistics for the year 1897 still counted 172,659 Bulgars: for Bessarabia 103,225, for the guberniya of Kherson 25,685, for the Tavrida 41,260. In this guberniya they are being rapidly assimilated. According to Moshkov, the official statistics also included among the Bulgars the Gagauz, whose number is estimated to be 70,000, grouped around Komrat, in the district of Bendery.

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In Asia Minor, the Bulgar colonies are found principally in the outskirts of Bruss (now Bursa), a portion in a whole group of communes about the little city of Mikhailich (now Karacabey), another portion, around Kodjebunar*, Suiout*, Kobash, Toibelen*, Novo Selo*, Mandra*, Khaladjebair*, and Kilik*. There are also a few communes, occupied especially by shepherds, on the seashore and about Kyzdervent*, not far from Scutari (Skadar). Kantchov* counts here about twenty Bulgarian communes.

In recent times American statistics also attest to the presence of Bulgar immigrants; but they are mixed with the Serbs in such a way that it is difficult to arrive at correct totals. There should be about 50,000. Valjavec estimates them at 4,000, but this total is obviously too low.

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S 37. Statistics.--In view of the fact that the exact number /200/ of Slavs in Turkey proper is not known, it is very difficult to give absolutely exact statistics for the Bulgars. One can only make guesses and, for the balance, refer to the official statistics of the realm which unfortunately are very brief.

At the end of the year 1900 the total strength of the Bulgars should be broken up as follows:

Bulgaria proper (according to the census of 31 December 1900)	2,885,379
Turkish Rumelia, Albania, Constantinople, Asia Minor	600,000
Macedonia (according to Kanchov)	1,200,000
Rumania with the Dobrudja	180,000
Other countries	50,000
Total	4,915,379

In Bulgaria there were, according to the latest statistics, 2,684,735 Bulgars and 20,664 Pomaks; let us not forget that the Bulgarian statistics combine mother tongue and national group. In Rumania, the official statistics do not recognize the native Bulgars; they consider them to be Rumanians and list separately only 7,810 Bulgars as foreign subjects. As we have mentioned above, Weigand estimates the natives at 50,000; Kanchov figures the number of Bulgars in the Dobrudja at 40,000, Ishirkov at 30,000. In Hungary there were

work of Vrbanic, who goes back to the census of 1888.

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He[1] presents the following results:

Among the Bulgars the number of men is 1,000 for every 965 women; the males show an excess of births of 54.2%; the ratio between single persons to married persons is for men, 53%; for women 41.9% (4.4% widowers). The birth rate is 36.36 per 1,000; it is below that of the Serbs; on the contrary, the death rate is less than among these, only 18. (compare the figures given above in Section 31). In Bulgaria very few infants die during the first year. They have the lowest infant mortality of any among the South-Slavs /203/ (8.3% only, against 15.4% in Dalmatia, 16.3% in Serbia, 21.2% in Croatia). As a result of this peculiarity, the coefficient of the excess of births over deaths is, if Jirecek is to be believed, as favorable as in Serbia, it represents 1.83. For the years 1881-1887, Sarafov found an increase of 1.85 (during this period there were born 100 boys for 89.7 girls); for the period 1890-1900, the coefficient was, it seems, slightly less. More recently, Iurkevich suggested the figure of 1.5 for the north of Bulgaria and of 1.2 for the south.

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According to Popov, the population density is 38.8 inhabitants per square kilometer.

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From the religious viewpoint the Bulgars belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church. They have a church of their own whose head, called The Exarch, lives at Orta-koi (now Ivailovgrad) near Constantinople. Along with the Orthodox majority, one finds two dissident groups. The first of these is the Catholic Bulgars, or Paulitians (Pavlikiani). They speak the eastern dialect and live in the districts of Nikopol, of Svishtov, in seven villages in the outskirts of Plovdiv (Philippopolis). There is also a Catholic community at Berdavski Geran, near Byala Slatina, and another, that of Gostilia, near Oryakhovo (district of Vratsa). All of them originated in the region of Plovdiv or Philippopolis, which was formerly their center. They formerly composed a whole series of communities between Plovdiv and /204/ Nikopol. It is from these that there came the colonies of Bulgars who settled in Hungary (Vinga, Besenov), and who are Catholics.

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Another rather sizeable section is composed of the Bulgars who, under Turkish domination, embraced Islam. They are called Pomaks.

[1] [See Vrbanic [illegible] p. 125 -- Analyst]

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They have settled by preference in the Rhodope (Grk., Rodope), where they constitute a rather large group between Plovdiv and Salonica. They are met with here and there to the north of the Balkans in the region of Lovech, Pleven (Plevna), especially between the Vid and Panega Rivers, to the south of Pleven. In the Kingdom of Bulgaria their number has greatly diminished; for, as a result of their Turkish sympathies, they have since 1878 been in perpetual conflict with the other Bulgars. The latest statistics numbered 20,644 of them in Bulgaria, of whom 17,055 were in the district of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) and 2,837 in that of Pleven.

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From the viewpoint of education, the Bulgars are not very much advanced, which is explained by the difficult conditions in which they have lived, deprived of all the advantages of civilization. They are now making an effort to make up for lost time. According to the latest statistics the number of literate persons in the principality was an average of 28.4%. The districts may be placed in the following order:

Rusc 38.5%; Shumla 35.9%; Varna 34%; Trnovo /205/ 34%; Plovdiv (Philippopolis) 29.6%; Burgas 29.4%; Sofia 28.8%; Stara Zagora 28.3%; Pleven 23.1%; Kustendil 20.1%; Vidin 19.8%; Vratsa 19%. The highest degree of education is found naturally in the regions of the great cities: 60% at Sofia, Ruse, and Varna; 49% at Plovdiv; 47% at Kotel and at Shumla; 37% at Kazanluk. The least literate areas are those of Radomir (20%), Tsaribrod (now Dimitrovgrad) (19%), Kyzilagatch (19%), Berkovitsa (16%), Kula (14%), Belogradchik (13%), Ferdinandovo (13%).

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S 38. Internal Differentation.--The Bulgars are divided into three groups from the point of view of language.

1). That of the western dialect: it is bounded on the east by a line which starts from the confluence of the Vid and the Danube and runs towards Salonica across the regions of Nikopol, Pleven, Lovech, Teteven, Pirdop, Novo Selo, Panagyurishte, Ikhtiman, Chepino, Rezlog, Nevrokop, Melnik, Petrich, Demir Hissar (now Siderokastron), Seres, and Salonica.

2). The eastern group is divided into two branches:

A. That of the northeast where the people bear the general name of Zagortsi (Mountaineers), or Khertsoi*, or Poliantsi*.

B. That of the southeast, or branch of the Rhodope, whose

S.P. B. 197 101

representatives are called the Ruptsi, the Rupalani; their nucleus is located between Stanimaka /206/ and the sources of the Arda in the area called Rupchos. The boundary between these two eastern groups is given as the chain of the Balkans and of the Sredna Gora (central chain). But this boundary is crossed alternately by the two dialects. The other limits thought up by the philologists are not in very close agreement with each other and it is impossible to decide which is the most accurate. Tsonev draws a line from Burgas through Yambol and Stara Zagora to Pazardzhik; Miletic, from Adrianople to Plovdiv along the Maritsa (with spear-heads towards Chirpin and Kotel).

To the west the dialect of the Rupci goes as far as Chepino. Evidently, before the invasion they reached as far as the Balkans and to the Sredna Gora and constituted the most powerful southern tribe. There is no agreement either regarding the boundaries of the western dialect. According to Miletic it runs as far as Pazardzhik (in the region of Schopi*).

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Among the Bulgars of the three groups, there exist many secondary groups provided with special names and distinguished by customs, traditions, local names or dialects. Thus the inhabitants of the mountainous regions of the Balkans are generally called Balkantsi, those of the Rhodope Mountains (in Bulgarian Rodopska Planina) Planintsi (1), those of the valleys of Sofia, of Kustendil, of Kratovo, Poliantsi, Poltsi, and Polchene. (2)

1. Planina means "mountain" in Bulgarian. Translator.

2. Pole means "field". Translator.

/207/ The Bulgars of the south call the Bulgars of the north the Zagortsi (the people across the mountains), and the Bulgars of the north call them the Otvedentsi (the separated ones). But we find Zagortsi from the north in the neighborhood of Aitos and of Burgas. Miletic notes from the east to the west the following designations borrowed from the names of localities: Erkechani (Erkech) (now Kozichino), Golichani (Golica), Chengentsi (Chenge), Richani (Rich), Kotlentsi (Kotel), Tichani (Titsa), Bebrovtsi, Bebroveni (Bebrovo), etc. The people from Rumelia receive surnames borrowed from their place of origin: Odrintsi (from Odrin or Adrianople), Yamboltsi (from Yambol), Starozagortsi (from Stara Zagora), etc.

In Bulgarian Macedonia one encounters an infinite number of

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local designations. The peoples are called Mervatsi who are settled between the Struma and the Rhodope Mountains in the area of Serrai, Demir Hissar (now Siderokastron), Melnik, Drama, Nevrokop (now Delchev) and Bratsigovo. In western Macedonia there is a region called Mala Reka, "The Little River," whose inhabitants have received the name of Miak*. They call the inhabitants of Kichevo, Bitolia, Prilep and Tito Veles the Brsiak: (compare the Greek Bersetai). Among the other Macedonian names, Kanchov mentions the Esti on the right bank of the Black Drin, the Kekovtsi in the region of Popolie, the Pulivakovtsi in the western part of the plain of Salonica, the Ketskari, the Uliufs. Let us also mention /208/ the Touriaki and the Torlaki whose name is also applied by the inhabitants of Sofia to the inhabitants of the regions of Pirot and of Tsaribrod, the Tokuntsi, the Niniovtsi, the Marachi between the Osem and the Isker (now Sibir), etc.

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The Mohammedan Bulgars who live near the sources of the Arda are called Ashrians; this name comes from the ancient form Agariane, the children of Agar (1); between the Dospat and the Mesta

1. On this name see the index of my Chronicle supposedly by Nestor. Translator.

are found the Tseshtentsi and, below the Chardagh, the Torbechi.

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We have spoken above (Section 33)[1] of the names of the old Bulgars. An enigmatic appellation is also given them. They are called the Khrisoi, and this word generally means an uncouth man, a rustic. They are spread out between the Black Sea and the Isker (now Sibir) and also in the region of Vidin and to the south as far as the Starndja Planina (Mountains). They speak the dialect of the northeast and may be distinguished by their special costume. Likewise, the costume of the women is distinguished by the somber color of the woolen gown called sukman.

The immigrants from the Balkans who come into the regions of Shumen, or Razgrad, and of Ruse are called by the natives "The Blacks," because of the color of their breeches. In western Bulgaria "the wearers of white" and "the wearers of black" are distinguished. Other sobriquets are due to the cut of the breeches.

We owe special mention to the Schopi. They inhabit especially the mountainous region of Kustendil, Kratovo, Radomir, Breznik and

1 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 113-118 -- Analyst]

S.P.
B Sofia. According to Broch they start directly on the Serbian frontier,
101 at Kriva Feia, to the east of Varna, and are distinguished from the other Bulgars by their costume (white breeches) and their physignomy. Some observers see in them an ancient Slavified Thracian tribe, the Sapaioi. Thus some people have found in the name of the Ruptsi the former Greek name of Merope, which has lost its first unaccented syllable.

Moreover, the Bulgars of the east call even the inhabitants of Vratsa and of Trun, by the name of Schopi even though they themselves do not use the name. If one were to believe Miletic, it is in the village of Mechka, on the road from Nikopol to Pleven, that the Khrtsoi stop and the Schopi begin. Formerly the Schopi did not cross Isker (now Sibir).

B 563 101 Let us again mention that in the various sections of Bulgaria here exist communes which are called Arnaut, or in other words Albanian (Arnaoutlar), for example in the districts of Varna, Provadia, Razgrad, and Kermen. The inhabitants of these villages are partly of an origin neither Slavo-Albanian nor Greek. They are called the Arnaut because they came from Macedonia, notably from the regions of Kostur and of Voden. Such are the pretended Arnaut of Silistria, /210/ Razgrad, and Bratsigovo. On the contrary, the often repeated thesis which attributes a Slavic origin to the Tsakoniens and to the Mainotes of southern Greece must be considered to be without foundation.

[B 795] In the northeastern section of Bulgaria live the Gagauz. They are Christians who speak Turkish. A certain number of Gagauz speak Bulgarian and declare that they are Bulgars. Some persons consider them to be the descendants of Turkized Bulgars.

The Gagauz of the coast are settled at Varna and in some communes at Kestrich, Kara-Hussein, Djevizliji, Djaperliji, Ala Klise, Giaur Suiutchuk, Eni Kioi, Kavarna, and Biela. The Bulgarian Gagauz are settled in several communes in the outskirts of Varna and of Provadia and especially in the village of Beidaut in the Dobrudja. There is no agreement as to the origin of the Gagauz. Jirecek considers them as the descendants of the Cumaeans, Mochov as the Karakalpak of the Russian chroniclers, Zanetov as the ancient Bulgars of the Volga.

B 101 Many Bulgarian Gagauz to be found also in Bessarabia, in the

B-101 Many Bulgarian Gagauz are to be found also in Bessarabia, in the district of Benderj, where they are concentrated in the outskirts of Komrat. Mochov estimates their number at 70,000; but in the official statistics they are considered to be Bulgars. According to Zanetov the Bulgarian Slavs of Bessarabia should be called Tukani.

S.P. B. 141 [197] /211/ From an anthropological viewpoint, the best documented specialist, Mr. Vatev distinguishes a certain number of groups in the Bulgar nation. But up to the present these groups have not coincided with the linguistic groups. What is certain is that the east differs from the west, noticeably from the region of Sofia and of Macedonia, and that the south offers characteristic traits.

Basing himself upon the measurements of 320,000 school children 36,000 soldiers and 1,330 skulls, he arrived at the following conclusions regarding the Bulgarian type:

This type is of medium height: 1.665 millimeters for the men, 1,567 millimeters for the women; dark complexion predominates (50 % against 5% light blond; the remainder mixed). But it must be noted that the dark complexion predominates in the east, while in the west and in Macedonia, which formerly was the center of the Balkan Slavs, the dark type is still rare. The Bulgars have a regular nose, high eye sockets, and an erect head. As to the shape, there are 77% mesocephalics (index 75-80). The average index among the soldiers is 79.65 (in Macedonia 79.45) and among the skulls 77.97.

The dolichocephalic types are found especially in the south, the brachycephalic in the west; in the south of Macedonia the average index exceeds 85.

S.P. C.M. 101 648 S 39. The Slavs of Macedonia.---As we have already mentioned, the Slavs of Macedonia and of Old Serbia are claimed /212/ by both the Serbs and the Bulgars.

Let us note at the outset that it is not well known where Macedon and Old Serbia begin and end. Thus, the Bulgars attach to Macedonia the regions of Skoplje, Tetovo, and Koumanovo; on the other hand, the Serbs attach Skoplje and Tetovo to Old Serbia; some of them lay claim even to Prilep, Bitolia, Ochrida, and Veles; all of these claims, of course, have a political objective.

Macedonia and Old Serbia represent the country bounded, roughly

000 **28. Western Thrace.** Western Thrace is an Aegean Sea province surrounded on both sides by the lower courses of the rivers Maritza and Mesta and on the north by the watershed between the river Arda and the Aegean Sea (Fig. 5). This inclosure slopes towards the said sea and has a sea coast line of about 85 miles or 135 kilometers. Its surface is about half the size of Albania and the USA state of Connecticut is 1,33 times larger than it.

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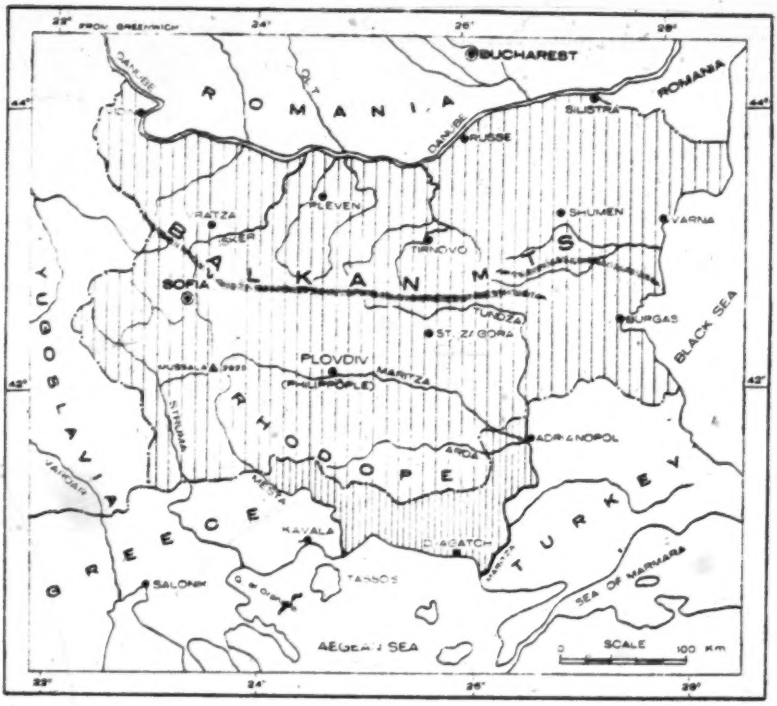

Fig. 5. Bulgaria and Western Thrace.

000 Travellers, who studied the ethnographic limits of the Bulgarian people during the 18th and 19th century speak of the Bulgarian character of Western Thrace.

728 The border between Bulgaria and Western Thrace, or the territorial outlet of Bulgaria to the Aegean Sea, has a history of its own. The San Stefano Treaty gave an Aegean Sea outlet to Bulgaria on the gulf of Salonica, by the estuary of the Vardar River, and also from the gulf of Or-

17: Thurnher E-4 (no date) 1956 EF6 Serbs EF6
Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

TYPES DES VILLAGES

Échelle de 1:6 000 000

Villages à maisons disséminées
Type de Stavroulaki
Type de Transylvanie
Type de Moldavie
Type d'Ibar
Type [illegible]

Villages à maisons concentrées
Type de l'Omak
Type des villages kyklos
Type grèco-méditerranéen
Type terre oriental
Type [illegible]

SYARB
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361
341

[P 86-R]

197 century. As a consequence the Rumanian language was slavicised to the extent of 2/5, while the Latin element was reduced to the proportion of only 1/5 of the total. (Cihac, „Dictionnaire d'étymologie Daco-Romane". Francfort S. M. 1879. Cf. its preface).

197 103 The irruption and settlement of the Petsenegs and Kumans as was to be expected, left numerous traces in the topography of the country both to the north and south of the Danube. Such names as Petsenoge, Petsenevtse, Petseniaga, Petseneshka, Koman, Kumanitsa, Kymanovtsi, Comanca, Comani, Comanitsa, Comanesti, Comanca, Kumanovo and Gumendja abound and clearly indicate their origin. The Kuman tongue was akin to Turkish, and there is a written M. S. in it in Venice, the study of which would reveal that many words used in the Bulgarian and Rumanian languages and supposed to have been adopted from Turkish, were more probably borrowed direct from the Kuman tongue. This would be more evident in Rumanian where there was no direct contact between Rumanians and Turks, but where on the contrary Wallachs and Kumans lived side by side for centuries

162 According to the census of 1926 the ethnic minorities in Bulgaria were classified as follows according to race, language, and faith. At the time the total population was 5,478,741, including 4 3,011 foreigners, (mainly White Russians, 19,000).

Turks:	577,552	Turkish-Speaking:	588,105	Orthodox:	4,568,773
Gipsies:	134,844	Gipsy „	134,844	Moslems:	789,296
Rumanians:	69,080	Rumanian „	70,631	Jews:	46,431
Jews:	46,558	Judeo-Spanish „	46,322	Armeno-	
Armenians:	27,322	Armenian „	27,322	Gregorians	25,402
Greeks:	10,564	Greek „	10,564	Protestants	6,735
Tartars:	6,191			Various	1757
Gagauses:	4,362				
Kutso-Vlachs:	1,551				
Total	878,024				

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl 279

GLOSSARY OF BULGARIAN WORDS USED MOST FREQUENTLY

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agronom—agricultural extension worker
baba—grandmother; old woman; midwife
Bai—prefix of respect
banitsa—native pie, usually pumpkin or white cheese
Chitalishte—a cultural organization with a reading room
decare—unit of land; approximately one-fourth acre
dedo—grandfather
den—day
domakin—master of the house; *domakinya*—mistress of the house
haidutsi—guerrillas; bandits
horo—Bulgarian national folk dance (plural, *hora*)
icon—picture of saint or Virgin Mary
iconostas—household shrine
intelligentsia—educated class; "white collar" people
kaval—native shepherd flute
Koleda—Christmas
kozuh—fleece-lined sheepskin coat
krchma—tavern
leva—Bulgarian monetary unit
mahala—neighborhood, quarter of the village
maistor—master craftsman
Obshtina—small political unit (commune); municipal building
pazar—market
rakiya—plum brandy
rodstvo—blood relationship
sedenka—recreational working-bee (plural, *sedenki*)
Sekretar-Birnik—chief clerk and tax collector of the *Obshtina*
Shopi—those dwelling in the region around Sofia; *Shopski*—the adjective describing the region
smes—wheat and rye mixture
sofra—low, round dining table
stopanin—same as *domakin*
subor—village reunion, "at home"

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

104 *sukman*—woman's black jumper dress

surni—boiled cabbage or grape leaves filled with meat or rice

susedstvo—small neighborhood (one's immediate neighbors)

svatovstvo—in-law relationship

trudova—compulsory labor for the state; *trudovak*—one doing such labor

Tsar—King; *Tsaritsa*—Queen

tsarvuli—pigskin sandals worn by the villagers

vecherinka—public evening entertainment

vodosvet—ceremony at which holy water is sprinkled

zadruga—old joint-family; modern association of farmers

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APPENDIX VIII

BULGARIANS AND SOUTHERN RURAL WHITES IN CONTRAST*

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The Bulgaria of which I speak is three-fourths rural, definitely peasant. The group of Southern whites to which I limit myself in this analogy is made up of the small farmer, whether he be owner, tenant, sharecropper, hillbilly, or cracker.[1] My discussion, centering as it does upon what the political columnists so fondly and not inaccurately term the "little people" of each region, therefore excludes the comparatively well-to-do urban industrial and professional groups of both Bulgaria and the South. In comparing rural Bulgaria and the rural South I was reminded of a question which has been often raised recently: Are we to have an American peasant class?[2] While I cannot answer this question to my own satisfaction I recognize its implications. If we are to have a peasant class there is much we can learn from the agricultural sections of Europe where a stable, organized life has gone on for hundreds of years through the intensive use of all available natural resources in the midst of turbulent political changes, plagues, and famines.

Just as visitors in writing of the South misuse the word "poor white"[3] so we in considering the European scene often misuse the word "peasant," giving it a connotation of reproach as though a peasant were a serf.[4] The

* Read before the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Knoxville, Tennessee, April 5, 1940. Appeared as an article in *Social Forces*, XIX, No. 1, October, 1940. Reprinted by permission.

[1] "The South today, especially the Southeast, is essentially a land of hillbillies and other ruralites, whose chief contact with the commerce and culture of the world is through hick towns (p. 8).

"The South is a land of farms and farmers." . . . To appraise the South is to appraise farmers, whether for the art of living or for the lack of a living" (pp. 10-11). H. C. Nixon, *Forty Acres and Steel Mules* (Chapel Hill, 1938).

[2] " . . . Such are the beginnings of peasantry in the New World—The Collapse of the Black Belt plantation system is a preface to American peasantry." A. F. Raper, *Preface to Peasantry: A Tale of Two Black Belt Counties* (Chapel Hill, 1936), p. 4.

[3] W. T. Couch, Editor, *Culture in the South* (Chapel Hill, 1934). See chapt. 20, The Tradition of "Poor Whites," by A. N. J. Den Hollander. M. R. Mell, "Poor Whites of the South," *Social Forces*, December, 1938, pp. 153-167.

[4] " . . . With this transformation (that is, the peasant becoming an entrepreneur) have come changes in the connotation of the word 'peasant.' He is no longer a rustic of inferior status too ignorant and dull to take advantage of commercial opportunities;

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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Bulgarian peasants whom I knew intimately for six years are independent farmers who dwell in their own homes, subsist on their own land[5] and form a folk, in the anthropological sense.

Bulgaria, a Balkan country the size of Ohio with a population of six million, was for five hundred years under Turkish rule, becoming independent in 1878 as a result of a Russo-Turkish War. Bulgaria's reconstruction period therefore covers approximately the same time as ours.[6] The few large landowners in Bulgaria fled to Turkey after the Liberation. This means that the Bulgarian farmers own their land; tenancy is very uncommon; the employment of farm laborers even less common.[7] As the farm population has increased, the already small holdings have had to be further divided, until now the average farm totals 15 acres scattered in 17 strips around the picturesque villages in which the people live.[8] The heart of Bulgarian peasant economy is the agricultural village[9]; the heart of life in the village is the home and the family system. Each farm of 17 acres must support, in addition to all dependents, four or five adults of working age. The fact that women and children

it is increasingly recognized that the really important characteristics peculiar to the peasant are his sentiments and attitudes, the intense attachment to his native soil and family tradition, which, even in the economic sphere, take precedence over the desire for individual advancement and gain. This peasant ethos is common throughout continental Europe." *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* Article on Peasantry by C. von Dietze.

[5] Peasantry, of course, is not synonymous with farm ownership everywhere in Europe, but the governments there (notably in Ireland and Denmark) recognize the importance of a landed peasantry as shown by recent attempts to lessen tenancy. See *Farm Tenancy, Report of President's Committee,* 1937, Section III, Some Tenure Programs of other Nations.

[6] The crises through which Bulgaria has passed have much in common with those of the South as listed in H. W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill, 1936), pp. 13-14. Nikola Stanev, *Istoria Na Nova Bulgaria, 1878-1928* (History of the New Bulgaria), Sofia, 1929.

[7] Ian C. Mollov and T. E. Bakurdjiev, *Organizatsionnata Struktura Na Zemedelskoto Stopansivo Vv Sofiiska Okolia* (The Organizational Structure of the Farms in the County of Sofia), Sofia, 1931, pp. 6-7. (95.3 per cent of farmers work their own land, 4.7 per cent rent their land; only 3.2 per cent employ hired labor.)

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 5. For the country as a whole see the *Statesman's Year Book, 1939:* "According to the census of 1934, eighty per cent of the active population were engaged in agriculture, most of them being small proprietors holding from *one to six acres.*" This is understood more clearly when it is remembered that only thirty-nine per cent of the total area is arable and that this is divided into 750,613 farms. (*The New International Yearbook, 1938,* article on Bulgaria.)

[9] H. C. Nixon, *op. cit.* "Farm ownership or a sounder lease policy is not enough to enable Southern hillbillies to live in decency. It is essential to provide by public effort for social and economic co-operation among small farmers, to make possible a better system of farm villages" p. 61.

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work outdoors with the men means an abundant labor supply but also requires close co-operation, planning, and division of labor.[10]

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Peasant economy is based on a self-subsistence principle in which a satisfactory balance between plant and animal life is maintained.[11] Since cash income is low the plane of living is low.[12] That is, the peasant cannot buy from the outside world much in the way of clothing, machinery, conveniences, or recreation. On the other hand, he does eat well according to his own standards. Furthermore, he maintains his self-respect. There is security in land which nothing else affords unless it be a family large enough to work the land one owns. No matter how much one discounts that sort of economy, history has shown it to be the most enduring man has yet devised.

The picture is different in the South.[13] Although our farms average 71 acres they are operated by tenants in 54 per cent of the cases,[14] usually on a cash crop basis.[15] Only in the Appalachian-Ozark area, which by the way is most like the Bulgarian, do we find subsistence-farming as the prevailing principle.[16] There, however, it is blighted by isolation and lacks the co-operative features found in most agricultural villages: a swineherd caring during the day for all pigs in the village, communal pastures, or neighborhood cornhoeing groups. To be sure, there is mutual aid and co-operation in the highlands but these tend to be confined to periods of crisis rather than to the performance of ordinary daily tasks.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 14: "In fact, excessive ruralism has caused an unusual amount of labor to fall to the lot of women in this region of chivalry [the South]."

[11] Oxen, water-buffalo and horses, in the order of importance, are the work animals in Bulgaria. The government is trying to persuade peasants to replace oxen with dual-purpose cows as an economy move.

[12] Ian C. Mollov and H. K. Kondov, *Dohodnostuta Na 57 Zemedelski Stopanstva Vv Bulgaria* (1932-33). (The Incomes of 57 Bulgarian Farms for 1932-33.) This study gives some indication of the level of living possible.

[13] Standards of living are low in the South. See C. C. Taylor, H. W. Wheeler, E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture*, Washington, 1938. Good bibliographies on pp. 8 and 9; description of the Old South, pp. 115-119.

[14] *Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, 1937*, p. 35. Figures cited here are for sixteen South Atlantic and South Central States and the District of Columbia. The percentage would be even higher for Southeastern States alone.

[15] Odum, *op. cit.*, p. 391. On pages 489-491 Odum quotes Rupert B. Vance: "Until recently in this country no critical theory of tenancy has been developed which takes into consideration the fact that while the United States is drifting into tenancy, certain European countries with semi-feudal backgrounds, notably Denmark, Ireland, and France, have made the transitions to peasant proprietorship."

[16] Couch, *op. cit.*, p. 25. "This section [Appalachian-Ozark] is responsible for the fact that the South has a larger number of practically self-sufficing farms than any other important section in the United States." C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson, *Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties*, Washington, 1938.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

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The failure of the Southern whites to co-operate for economic ends is tragic. A Southern adaptation of co-operative patterns found successful elsewhere, if generally accepted, would afford a fuller, richer existence for the thousands of families which go their individual, poverty-stricken ways in the mistaken belief that co-operation is incompatible with independence. European peasants are renowned for their independence as well as for their co-operation.[17]

The Southern population is mobile, one out of every three Southern tenant families moving yearly.[18] The Bulgarian population is permanent, as shown in the study I made of the farmers of one Bulgarian village where 91.4 per cent of the male family heads and 96.3 per cent of their fathers had been born in the same village.[19] We would expect this contrast because of the differences in the economic system.

But there is an interesting similarity between Bulgarians and the Southeast in those population characteristics which are dependent upon biological factors. The Southeast is often called the "nursery of the Nation" with a natural increase of 9.5 (birth rate 21.7, death rate 12.2),[20] whereas Bulgaria is one of the leaders of Europe in this respect with a natural increase of 10.5 (birth rate 23.9, death rate 13.4).[21]

Homogeneity is characteristic of Bulgarian people as it is of the Southern white, not only in respect to similarity of racial strain but in respect to religion as well. Most Bulgarians are adherents of the Eastern Orthodox Church; most Southern whites are Protestants.[22]

The Southern whites share the region with a numerous minority; Bulgaria has no significant minority problem, for the Turks who comprised 11 per cent

[17] This co-operation can be expressed on an informal basis as well as through a formal organization. Carl C. Taylor, Head of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, in addressing the American Association of School Administrators in February, 1940, said: "Self-help is no new doctrine in rural areas, and the best approach to the improvement of rural life on all fronts is to utilize the capacities for self-sufficiency and to expand self-help from an individual to a community and co-operative basis. To do otherwise is so completely to urbanize farming and farm life as to lose nationally the unique contributions which country life always has made and always should make to our civilization."

[18] *Report on Economic Conditions of the South,* National Emergency Council, 1938, p. 47.

[19] The Sociology of a Bulgarian Shopski Village, doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1938.

[20] Odum, *op. cit.,* p. 492 (evidently includes both Negro and white rates).

[21] *The New International Yearbook, 1938, article on Bulgaria.* Note the decline since 1926 when the natural increase was 20.1 (birth rate 37, death rate 17) D. Kostov, *Geografia Na Bulgaria i Susednite i Durzhavi* (Geography of Bulgaria and Neighboring States), Plovdiv, 1928.

[22] Odum, *op. cit.,* p. 15.

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of the population in 1926 have been returning to Turkey at a greatly accelerated pace.

There are striking anthropological contrasts between the Bulgarian peasant and the Southern white. The most marked of these is the peasant's close identification with a folk culture which is characterized by a consciousness of kind, established patterns of habit and thought, artifacts identified with that culture alone, and a strong exercise of social control. There is also uniformity of dress, agricultural method, and social values.

Among the Southern whites the Appalachian-Ozark area alone possesses the characteristics of a folk, for its people are closely knit together, have mountain handicrafts of which they are proud,[23] and, although differing in economic status, tend to conform to cultural patterns handed from the past. On the contrary, the tenant farmer may have his share of superstitions, folk remedies, and traditional attitudes, but he lacks "consciousness of kind" which would identify him with a folk culture.[24]

The four social institutions which I wish to mention briefly but which I shall not compare in detail are the family, education, religion, and government.[25]

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The Bulgarian family is patriarchal, children are valued as economic assets; there is a strong kinship feeling even unto the third and fourth generation. Marriage is still an arrangement between two families under the sole control of the church. Family disorganization in the form of desertion or divorce is practically unknown; illegitimacy rare.

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There is compulsory education to the fourteenth year in Bulgaria. However, the law is seldom invoked because the parents have recognized the economic value of education. That is why Bulgaria is the most literate country in the Balkans, a testimony to the high value the peasants place upon education and the rigid social control at work in the compact villages. If some

[23] W. T. Couch, *op. cit.*, chapter 15—The Handicrafts by Allen H. Eaten; chapter 19—Appalachian America by J. Worley Hatcher; chapter 26—Folk and Folklore by B. A. Botkin.

[24] The folk culture is quite different from a regional or Southern culture such as Odum describes at length in his Chapter IX in *Southern Regions* on Institutions and Folkways. The Bulgarian peasant is primarily identified with the village culture and secondarily with newer national culture in process of development. The Southern white is identified with a regional culture but not with a folk culture.

[25] Because of space limitations I omitted a section dealing with Psychological Comparisons. This would have compared the race prejudice and regional "inferiority complex" of the Southerner with the nationalism and sensitiveness to criticism of the Bulgarian. Bulgaria, defeated in the World War, has its Lost Cause as does the South. Bulgarians, like Southerners, have gained the reputation for conservatism and hospitality. On the other hand, industry is more a Bulgarian than a Southern trait.

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poorer peasant wanted to keep his children home from school he would have to face the withering scorn of his neighbors. I cannot help contrasting this situation with that found in the South where truancy is a major educational problem arising from the mobility of the population, the distance between home and school, and the low place afforded education in the scale of social values. 871 105

Most young Bulgarian men after their eighteenth year are called upon to serve their country as *trudovatsi* (members of the Labor Corps) or as soldiers. The time they spend in the barracks not only widens their social contacts and broadens their outlook but also educates them in the formal sense to the extent that they take advantage of courses offered. In America the Civilians' Conservation Corps is roughly analogous, differing in that it is on a voluntary basis, pays the youth for work done, and is restricted to those young men from families of a low economic level.

The Bulgarian peasant has a dualistic view of the universe. First, there are the forces of good which must be propitiated. The priest is God's intermediary and can intervene with him in the event of a drought, serious illness in the family, or sterility in the wife. The priest christens the baby and sanctifies the marriage tie. In the event of death he performs the liturgy to insure the soul's passage into a heaven thought of in very realistic but not enthusiastic terms. 771 105

There are also the forces of evil whom it pays well to placate. A few old women in every village are the "priestesses of superstition" whose incantations work wonders and drive off the Evil Eye. Peasants do not discuss this white magic when the priest is around, so complete is the dichotomy between the Good and the Bad. Religion as represented by the church consists of form and ceremony rather than a challenge to daily living. Furthermore, the Bulgarian peasant derives little emotional release from an "other worldly" rapture indulged in on Sundays. He is too secure, too stolid, too practical for that. On the contrary, the insecurity of the Southern white is attested to by the increasing numbers adhering to the excitable Pentecostal type of religious expression.[24]

We hear much in the South today about suffrage reforms, abolition of the poll tax, government paternalism, and the failure of democratic processes. Since the same problems are being faced in Bulgaria a comparison may prove helpful.

Fifty years ago the villages were governed by elders, the influential heads of the larger families. After Bulgaria's Liberation from Turkey in 1878 the 622 105

[24] John B. Holt, Religious Secession and Class in the Southeast. A paper read before the Section on Sociology of Religion, annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, 1939.

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right to vote was gradually extended to the village men before these men had had the advantages of an adequate school system. They like ignorant people the world around were more influenced by personalities than by principles, thus becoming an easy prey to politicians who played upon their emotions, catered to their prejudices, and took advantage of their credulity. But vote they must or be fined approximately five dollars for staying away from the polls.

With an electorate so inexperienced in the democratic tradition, great confusion arose. For instance, there were sixteen political parties in a nation of six million, making it impossible for any party to get a clear majority. The only way government could go on was by a bloc composed of several parties, but even this was inefficient. Therefore in 1934 Bulgaria had a New Deal, a *coup d' etat* headed by some military men who initiated numerous agrarian reforms. No longer did the peasants vote and thereby control government policies; instead they were told what to do. Gradually those who had engineered this *coup d' etat* were displaced from power by the King, a dictatorship was averted, and two years ago[27] a semblance of democracy was again restored when the vote was given back to peasant men and mothers. Instead of allowing party affiliations the government organized the electorate on the basis of occupation, following the corporation system in Italy where parliamentary members represent an economic rather than a geographical constituency.

Watching the failure of democracy in Bulgaria has made me gravely concerned about the future of democracy in the South. I am strongly in favor of giving our disenfranchised groups the right to vote, but so many advocates of suffrage reform seem to forget the necessity of training these groups in the meaning and proper use of the ballot. Democracy is not a quantitative process which is better guaranteed by increasing the number of voters; it is a qualitative process which requires increasing understanding of the obligations of citizenship as well as extension of the franchise. Ignorant voters pave the way for demagoguery[28]; demagoguery creates a situation ripe for the dictator; dictatorships doom democracies.

Since 1934 the Bulgarian political philosophers have been floundering between democratic and dictatorial procedures but the peasant has been handed over to a new type of paternalism which has its analogy in the South. The central government in Sofia is represented in the village by a professional man, usually a lawyer, as mayor. This mayor acts as local justice of the peace; he takes advantage of every public occasion to tell the peasants in a fatherly way what they ought to do and think about matters of national importance.

[27] Parliamentary elections were held on the four Sundays of March, 1938 (*The New International Year-Book, 1938, Bulgaria*).

[28] A. F. Raper, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-169.

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The mayor has some influence with the Debt Commissions coming from government banks to relieve the debt burdens of the farmers, he distributes whatever relief is available for needy families, and he has a prominent part in the administration of the school, public health, and village improvements. Because of this he is gradually displacing the priest as the most important personality in the village. In other words, the paternalism of the church is now being supplanted by that of the state. 622 105

We find a similar situation in the South where white farmers are beginning to depend less upon landlords, banks, and advancing merchants, and more upon the grants from governmental units, whether in the form of relief or credit facilities. Plantation or small-town paternalism is yielding to governmental paternalism.

The Bulgarian peasant is not a joiner. He does not use the organizational approach in attacking a problem but prefers to work through informal groups. There are two chief reasons why he avoids membership in the numerous formal groups seeking the villagers' support: first, he is penurious and will pay no membership fee unless he sees some prospect of personal advantage; secondly, he does not understand the purpose or program of the organizations, since most of them originate in the cities and are promoted by the *intelligentsia*. There are no church organizations claiming his support as in the case in most Southern neighborhoods. Living in a village as he does the peasant can visit with friends and neighbors without the necessity of having an organization to provide a rallying place. 575 181

The Southern white thinks vertically; the Bulgarian peasant horizontally —a difference in mental pattern which accounts for the difference in social process.

By "thinking vertically" I mean that traditionally the Southern white is dominated by the attraction of the American ladder of opportunity, although for him it has often proved mythical.[20] That is, success in life is determined by the extent to which one approximates the plane of living enjoyed by those of a higher economic level. Climbing means competition rather than co-operation.[21] Frustration seems to be displacing the traditional, optimistic view among many of the Southern whites. They look up the ladder, but say, "What's the use of starting the climb!" As individuals they are pitted against forces over which they have no control.[21]

[20] H. C. Nixon, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Shows the traditional nature of this mind-set in speaking of the Old South: "Nonslaveowners expected to become small slaveowners, and small slaveowners expected to become large ones." The mythical aspect is shown nowadays by the phrase "once a sharecropper, always a sharecropper."

[21] Odum, *op. cit.*, pp. 585-586, emphasizes the need for county and/or community co-operation.

[21] Perhaps Populism in the late 19th century came as near creating a consciousness of kind among the rural whites as anything else has ever done.

●105 The Bulgarian case seems particularly apropos for such a study. Unlike Czarist Russia or the countries of Asia, pre-Communist Bulgaria had developed a relatively free and advanced society. Within the framework of a most liberal and democratic constitution, of a social structure without any noticeable class differences and of a predominantly agricultural economy based on independent small landholdings, Bulgaria had produced a social legislation among the most progressive of our time. Native intelligentsia and labor alike represented only about 20 per cent of the population and were nothing more than recent offspring of the nation's backbone—the peasantry—so that no logical conflict of interests had a chance to develop in Bulgaria. Labor, in particular, had attained, as early as the twenties, the status of free labor with all necessary requisites, such as freedom of professional organization, free collective bargaining and impartial settlement of labor disputes, the right to strike, freedom of choosing and changing job, and a firm legal protection, including social security. In fact, by 1924, Bulgaria had incorporated into her domestic legislation all recommendations of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations.[3]

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668 In such a harmonious environment, Communism could not and did not have any chance of success. Still, Communist attempts to artificially create a "social problem" and exploit it for their own purposes go way back to the turn of the century, when, in 1903, a small group of Lenin's followers split from the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party and formed a radical-revolutionary nucleus, known later

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[3] For detailed background information and source material, see author's study *Trade Unions and Labor Legislation in Bulgaria (1878-1953)* (New York: Mid-European Studies Center, 1953).

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EE1 Bulgaria
Yugoslavia

1: Lee, Dwight E. Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. In Leonid I. Strakhovsky, ed. A Handbook of Slavic Studies, pp. 604-627. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1949.

Yale: Bi3b.949-

[This is a comparative study of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia during the years 1918-1947. Internal political conditions and international relations following World War I, and preceeding and succeeding World War II are treated separately for both countries. Changes in regimes, political movements, and international power politics are traced historically in some detail.--Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Angelica Baumann

Evaluation: Historian-5
Processed in 1954

111 EE1 Bulgaria

2: Sanders, Irwin T. Balkan Village. Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1949.

Pp. xiv, 291; 8 appendices; glossary; index

Yale: Bx48j. A2. 949s

[Balkan Village is an interesting and comprehensive account of life as it is lived in Dragalevsty. The peasant mind is interpreted, his standard of living is explored, his habits and customs are described. The three concluding chapters are devoted to the changes brought by Communism to this small village. Valuable specific information concerning material mentioned more generally throughout the book is provided in eight appendices. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Cory Berman

Evaluation: Sociologist-5
Processed in 1955

111 EE1 Bulgaria

3: Dellin, L. A. D. Labor Law and Relations in Communist Bulgaria. Labor Law Journal, Vol. V, pp. 609-616. Chicago: Commerce Clearing House, Inc., 1954.

Yale: Law Library C 721 (unbound)

[This article succinctly treats labor relations and legislation in Communist Bulgaria, with references to and documentation from the Constitution, the Code of Labor and the Statute of the Trade Unions. Mobilization of labor, wages and hours, collective bargaining and trade union activities are covered in some detail. Analogies to Soviet labor relations are drawn. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Angelica Baumann

Evaluation: Social Scientist-4
Processed in 1955

4: Antonoff, Nicolas. Bulgaria - Churches and Religion. New York: Free Europe Press, 1951.

Pp. 53; 2 appendices [A1-A12] [B1-B16]

HRAF Copy.

[This study presents the history of churches and religious belief in Bulgaria from 865 to 1950. The author discusses the functions and organization of churches, their relation with the state, particularly the post-World War II legal and judicial status of religious communities and the clergy. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Dragan Zivanovic

Evaluation: Social Scientist-4
Processed in 1955

111 EE1 Bulgaria

8: Bojkoff, Liuben. Bulgaria Is Not The Land of Roses Only. Sofia: Chr. G. Danoff, Ltd., 1946.

Pp. 101; 2 appendices, 29 figures.

Yale: Bx48.1m

/This is a highly nationalistic treatment of the growth of Bulgaria. The author traces its development from historical times through the present. Modern improvements in communication, industry, and education are discussed. There are several informative charts illustrating the distribution of population and agricultural production. The appendices contain an extensive graphic outline of the history of Bulgaria, and a chart of Bulgarian railways. --Analyst/

Field date: none
Analyst: June Orloff

Evaluation: Geographer-4, 5
Processed in 1955

9: Shishmanov, Dimitri. A Survey of Bulgarian Literature. Williamsport: The Bayard Press, 1932.

Pp. 40

Yale: Hsc21.Sh6

[This work, originally delivered as a lecture at Columbia University, traces the development of modern Bulgarian literature. It is the author's thesis that the growth and refinement of literature directly contributed to an upsurge in Bulgarian nationalism. This article discusses the most influential schools of writers in Bulgaria; the style which characterized each literary movement; the biographies and philosophies of the outstanding authors. The motivation of the majority of modern Bulgarian writers is, Mr. Shishmanov feels, the pursuit of a political and social reality that can serve as a working basis for their aesthetic ideals. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: June Orloff

Evaluation: Folklorist-4
Processed in 1955

11: Logio, George Clenton. Bulgaria: Past & Present. Manchester: Sherratt & Hughes, 1936.

Pp. viii, 480. 23 plates, 2 maps, index.

Yale: Bx48 8h.

[This source is concerned with the history, economics and political events in Bulgaria from early pre-slavic times up to 1935. The author, former Secretary of the British Board of Trade Mission to Bulgaria (1919), has drawn on both personal observations and to a greater extent on published materials for the data presented in this book. The data on political events and trends in Bulgaria since its independence from Turkish rule to 1935 are particularly rich and informative. However, the author's interpretations of political events must be treated with caution. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Eugene Lerner

Evaluation: Social Scientist - 4
Processed in 1955

1: Lee H-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
Yugoslavia EF1
p. 604

XXVII

BULGARIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

DWIGHT E. LEE

Introduction

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BULGARIA and Yugoslavia emerged from the war of 1914-1918 in contrasting positions—the one a defeated power and the other a victor. This situation, a repetition of that following the Second Balkan War only six years before, helped to perpetuate a feeling of rivalry and bitterness toward each other. Both nations, however, faced serious political and economic problems at home which were far from satisfactorily settled when the war of 1939-1945 caught them up again and threw them once more on opposite sides of the struggle.

Bulgaria[1]

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The military collapse of Bulgaria in September, 1918, was followed shortly afterward on October 4 by the abdication of Tsar Ferdinand and the succession of Boris III. Although the pro-German premier, Radoslavov, had resigned some months before, his successors who signed the armistice were unable to stem the current of discontent and disillusionment caused by wartime suffering and the prospect of a severe peace. Accordingly, in the elections of August, 1919, the leftist Agrarian party won a significant victory under the leadership of Alexander Stambolisky who had gone to jail for three years because of his opposition to entry into the war and, upon his release in 1918, had sought to set up a republic. Of peasant stock, he was the embodiment of the hopes for a new era held by the Bulgarian farmers who constituted nearly 80 per cent of the population. After

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[1] The best studies on contemporary Bulgaria are the following: A. Bulatsel, *Ocherki sotsialno-politicheskoi zhizni Bolgarii* (Moscow, 1925); K. Dimitriev, *Bolgariya* (Moscow, 1941); A. Girginov, *Ot voĭnata kŭm mir* (Sofia, 1937); T. Girginov, *Istoricheski razvoĭ na savremenna Bŭlgariya* (2 v.; Sofia, 1934-1935); N. Iliev, *Boris III, tsar na Bŭlgaritĕ* (Sofia, 1936); A. P. Malinov, *Stranichki ot nashata nova politicheska istoriya* (Sofia, 1938); N. D. Petkov, *Aleksandŭr Stambolĭĭski. Lichnost i idei* (Sofia, 1930); N. Stanev, *Istoriya na nova Bŭlgariya, 1878-1928* (Sofia, 1929); K. Todorov, *Politička istorija savremene Bugarske* (Belgrad, 1938). Sources in Slavic languages have been supplied by Professor C. E. Black of Princeton University.

1: Lee H-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
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side of the East-West division that seems to have split Europe and the world. Y-B 648

With respect to boundary settlements, Yugoslavia failed to get Trieste and an additional slice of Carinthia, although she won most of the Istrian Peninsula and much of Venezia Giulia which she had demanded. At the same time Bulgaria retained the part of southern Dobruja awarded her in 1941, but failed to get an outlet to the sea through "Aegean Macedonia" as she desired. Although both governments, along with Albania's, were guilty of permitting, if not fostering, attacks upon Greece by armed bands in support of Greek Communists and refused to coöperate fully with the United Nations investigating committee, it is not yet clear whether they hoped to wrest part of Macedonia from Greece by force or looked forward to a secession by a Communist group which would join the Yugoslav federation. 728 [721]

It is certain, however, that Bulgaria's relations with Yugoslavia were conducted in the spirit of the declaration of January 10, 1945 in favor of "the closest possible collaboration with the peoples of the new Yugoslavia." Tito more than once reciprocated this sentiment, raising the conjecture that perhaps the federal structure of Yugoslavia might be extended to embrace Bulgaria. Until August, 1947, however, collaboration took the form of an agreement, completed on August 2, upon a mutual assistance pact and full cultural and economic coöperation, described in the announcement as virtually wiping out the frontier between them. At the same time Yugoslavia made a series of agreements with Albania that integrated its economy closely with Yugoslavia's. Thus the century-old dream of Balkan Slavic leaders came close to realization by means of the binding force of Communism. In this and in many other respects Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are experiencing a revolution still at full tide. What the ultimate ebb and flow may bring still remains obscured by the uncertainties and imponderables not only within their boundaries, but perhaps even more by those in the world around them. 648

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* The author wishes to acknowledge the valuable assistance of Miss Ruth Savord, Librarian of the Council on Foreign Relations, in compiling this bibliography.

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APPENDIX IV

NEIGHBORHOODS AND NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS IN A BULGARIAN VILLAGE*

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During my first three years in Bulgaria, 1929-1932, I became generally acquainted with its rural life. When I returned to Bulgaria in 1934 for another three-year period I chose for special study one village, Dragalevtsy by name, whose 1,669 inhabitants live in houses clustered near the foot of Mount Vitosha four miles from the outskirts of Sofia. I visited the village on frequent occasions and lived there for weeks at a time. Although my investigations led me to consider many things such as the basic institutions, the formal and informal groupings, customs and folklore, along with the operation of the social processes, social control, and social change, one of the most difficult of the social phenomena for me, an outsider, to understand was the *mahala,* or neighborhood.

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THE MAHALA. Dragalevtsy, like the majority of European agricultural villages, is a compact settlement of farmers whose land lies around the village in strips, numbering approximately 16 per Dragalevtsy farmer. The village is at least four centuries old and has grown but slowly during that time. Until three or four generations ago all life was organized around the patriarchal *zadruga,*[1] or joint-family. The members of such a family owned everything in common and worked in harmony under the administrator or *domakin,* the acknowledged head of the *zadruga.* Although their dwellings were crude and overcrowded each *zadruga* needed a large plot of land around the houses for the flocks of sheep and other animals kept at home during the winter months. With the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkey in 1878 forces were let loose which hastened the break-up of the joint-family system.[2] Brothers moved away from the paternal home into dwellings of their own, these usually being

[113]

* This article appeared in *Social Forces,* XVII, No. 4, May, 1939. Reprinted by permission.

[1] Ivan Evstatiev Geshov, *Zadrugite Vv Zapadna Bulgaria,* Per. Spisanie, God. V. Kn. xix i xx, str. 426, Stredets, 1886.

St. L. Kostov and E. Peteva, *Selski Bit i Izkustvo Vv Sofiisko,* Sofia, 1935, str. 58.

[2] Some of the factors contributing to this break-up: (a) individualization following Bulgaria's liberation in 1878 and the spread of popular education; (b) fashion of small, individual families in the West; (c) disagreement between the wives of brothers living together under the same roof; (d) unwillingness of men working outside the *zadruga,* either as laborers or professional men, to hand over their whole earnings to the common treasury; (e) woman's newly-acquired right of inheritance.

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128 4. ORGANIZATION AND SYNTHESIS OF DATA: Before starting the study I had already delimited the field and had made a tentative outline for each proposed chapter. This was possible because of a previous three-year acquaintance with Bulgarian villages. The original plan was altered to the extent of including an additional chapter, combining others and some shifting of material. The study of the data collected led to definite conclusions in connection with every chapter, although no attempt was made to generalize regarding Bulgarian villages as a whole from the study of a single unit.

* *

114 The above statement about methodology was written ten years ago and is the basis upon which the research techniques used in this study must be evaluated. Within the past ten years a number of significant refinements in social research have been developed, but these did not appear in time to be applied to the Dragalevtsy study, which was one of the very few comprehensive sociological studies of village life under way in the 1930's. World War II postponed the publication arrangements already agreed upon, but in doing so gave an opportunity for the concluding chapters on social change. The information for these chapters was collected from numerous interviews in Dragalevtsy and in Sofia during November and December, 1945, a period which I spent in Bulgaria in connection with my official duties as Agricultural Attache, with headquarters at the American Embassy, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

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113 Since most of the publications used in the preparation of this book were in Bulgarian and are also relatively inaccessible to the American reader, no bibliography is included here. Anyone wishing to read more widely on Bulgaria or the Balkans in general is referred to the excellent bibliographies prepared by the Library of Congress in Washington. See especially THE BALKANS: Part I. General and Part III. Bulgaria, both sections published in 1943.

105 The Bulgarian case seems particularly apropos for such a study. Unlike Czarist Russia or the countries of Asia, pre-Communist Bulgaria had developed a relatively free and advanced society. Within the framework of a most liberal and democratic constitution, of a social structure without any noticeable class differences and of a predominantly agricultural economy based on independent small landholdings, Bulgaria had produced a social legislation among the [162] most progressive of our time. Native intelligentsia and labor alike represented only about 20 per cent of the population and were nothing more than recent offspring of the nation's backbone—the peasantry—so that no logical conflict of interests had a chance 466 to develop in Bulgaria. Labor, in particular, 461 had attained, as early as the twenties, the status of free labor with all necessary requisites, such as freedom of professional organization, free collective bargaining and impartial settlement of labor disputes, the right to strike, freedom of choosing and changing job, and a firm legal protection, including social security. In fact, by 1924, Bulgaria had incorporated into her domestic legislation all recommendations of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations.[4]

668 In such a harmonious environment, Communism could not and did not have any chance of success. Still, Communist attempts to artificially create a "social problem" and exploit it for their own purposes go way back to the turn of the century, when, in 1903, a small group of Lenin's followers split from the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party and formed a radical-revolutionary nucleus, known later

● 113 [4] For detailed background information and source material, see author's study *Trade Unions and Labor Legislation in Bulgaria (1878-1953)* (New York: Mid-European Studies Center, 1953).

000 were formerly often taken from ancient coins. Under the cover of--
771 Eastern, Greek Orthodox--Christianity many remnants were preserved
769 of old conceptions of unmediated spirits, of the belief in elemental beings in nature (forest fairies, water spirits--coins are still thrown into the fountains in order to propitiate them, and so forth), and of spiritual forces that are everywhere effective and which are put in the service of magical ends. For example, children are touched with the rein of a horse if they have been frightened or become sick by another horse. The processions with the little rain men designed to banish the drought occur in Bulgaria just as much as they do in Rumania (see the Plate, Rumania); the rubbing of wood to produce fire in case of illnesses and epidemics occurs just as it does in Serbia (see the Plate, Serbia): a piece of linden wood is nailed to a tree stump and is rubbed together with another piece of wood in a sawing fashion (Figure 11). In Figure 14 the two worlds of the old emanatory belief, which hangs up plaited wheat ears, and of the Christian faith touch
769 upon each other. In the monastery of Trojan a kind of skull cult was maintained: On holidays the women search out their old relatives and friends among the skulls of the deceased monks, which have been supplied with an inscription of their name and a sign of the cross. The women then stick burning candles on the skulls and pray and meditate before them.

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/89: Illustrations./

/90/ The Dalmatian South Slavs

I.

000 1. Log cabin. 2. Conical hut 3. Hora dance. 4. Large

[See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a -- Analyst]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

II. THE HOUSE OF THE SLAV PEOPLES OF THE BALKANS

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There have been many studies about the shapes of the popular houses of the Bulgars, Serbs and Albaniers, but no comparative survey has been as yet carried out, to determine their relation to the Greek house.

Jovan Cvijic' in «La Péninsule Balcanique», Paris, 1918 p. 244 has tried to discern the various housing types in the Balcans and to determine their expansion. Among those he includes Greco-mediterranean house type, «probably originating from the old Byzantine houses, which can be found in all the Koutsovlach villages, even in the ones of continental climate, and which also prevail in the Slav populations of Mijaci and Mavrovci, at the centre of the peninsula». In his couclusions he is followed by Otto Maull (1).

Franz Oelman (2), however, questions the correctness of Cvijic's conclusions on the grounds that the latter «relies on purely external characteristics, having no value for the comprehension of the historical evolution of the house». A detailed survey is needed of course which should be based, as it was said at the beginning, on rich comparative material, connected with to the details of the plan and the methods of construction, so that we may arrive to concrete and correct conclusions(3),

B
[113]

Such material, as regards the Bulgarian house, is given by the book of Teodor Zlatev, Architect - Engineer, Bălgarskata Kăsta v svoja arhitektonicen i kulturnoistoriceski rasvoj. I: Selska Kâsta Sofia 1930 (pp. VIII+178 figg 153). (The Bulgarian House in its architectural and historical development. I: The Rural House).

B
[342]

Zlatev, in his study of the rural Bulgarian house from an architectural and historical point of view, relates it directly to the houses of the Slavs, who were established in lower Moessia from the 6th cent. A. D, among the romanised or hellenized Thracians, and indirectly to the

1) Griech. Mittelmeergebiet, Breslau, 1922, pp. 62 and foll.
2) Haus und Hof im Altertum, 1927, 1 p. 19.
3) L. Schultze Jena, Makedonien, Jena 1927 p. 89.

Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For additional bibliography, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs, category 116, pp. 88-92./

● 113
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Yugoslavia EF1
Slovenes EF7
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1 ●

/For general information on sleeping quarters in the house, see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

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Slovenes EF7
Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For the use of special terms associated with the parts of a dwelling or of a non-residential structure, see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

113	Yugoslavia EF1
231	Albania EG1
233	Rumania ED1
235	Bulgaria EE1
	Slovenes EF7

/For information on the types of shelter provided for domesticated animals (including cattle), see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

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Slovenes EF7
Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For additional miscellaneous bits of information on the use of brick, stone, tiles and masonry in building construction, see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

113, 665 Bulgaria EE1

[For a discussion of the new statute of the Communist Party of Bulgaria modeled on the statute of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of October 1952 and compared with the party statutes in the other states of the eastern bloc, see E1 Europe, 10: Mehnert, category 116, pp. 1-10]

[For a reprint of the preamble to the statute, see pp. 11-12]

113, 668, 648 Bulgaria EE1

[For a discussion of Bulgarian political activities in Macedonia in 1911, and Serb-Bulgar relations concerning the Macedonian question, see E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, category 116, pp. 131-134]

113, 439, 648 Bulgaria EE1

[For a discussion of the nature, scope and probable future trends (up to 1970) of Soviet economic relations with the East European satellites since World War II, and the degree of inter-satellite economic integration, see 60: Bergson, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, pp. 321-355]

113, 423, 474 Bulgaria EE1

[For information pertaining to cooperative farms and collectivization, see 5: Free Europe Committee, El Europe, category 116, pp. 61, 64-65, 67--Analyst.]

113, 648, 167 Bulgaria EE1

[For a brief statement of the status and territorial organization of the Bulgarian minority in the Soviet Ukraine and its relationship with the Communist Party of Bulgaria prior to the establishment of the Bulgarian People's Republic, see 21: Kolarz, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, p. 147.]

113, 323, 462, 415, 354, 789 Bulgaria EE1

[For information pertaining to the production of pottery, ceramic utensils, earth ovens, by women in Bulgaria, and associated magical beliefs, see 3: Filipovic, E13 Balkan Peoples, category 116.]

Bulgaria	EE1
Yugoslavia	EF1
Albania	EG1

113, 342

/For each end plate illustrating house plans in source 9:Megas, the author lists his sources of information in an appendix. See 9:Megas, EH1 Greece, category 116, pp. 120-134./

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

APPENDIX IV

NEIGHBORHOODS AND NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS IN A BULGARIAN VILLAGE*

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During my first three years in Bulgaria, 1929-1932, I became generally acquainted with its rural life. When I returned to Bulgaria in 1934 for another three-year period I chose for special study one village, Dragalevtsy by name, whose 1,669 inhabitants live in houses clustered near the foot of Mount Vitosha four miles from the outskirts of Sofia. I visited the village on frequent occasions and lived there for weeks at a time. Although my investigations led me to consider many things such as the basic institutions, the formal and informal groupings, customs and folklore, along with the operation of the social processes, social control, and social change, one of the most difficult of the social phenomena for me, an outsider, to understand was the *mahala*, or neighborhood.

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THE MAHALA. Dragalevtsy, like the majority of European agricultural villages, is a compact settlement of farmers whose land lies around the village in strips, numbering approximately 16 per Dragalevtsy farmer. The village is at least four centuries old and has grown but slowly during that time. Until three or four generations ago all life was organized around the patriarchal *zadruga*,[1] or joint-family. The members of such a family owned everything in common and worked in harmony under the administrator or *domakin*, the acknowledged head of the *zadruga*. Although their dwellings were crude and overcrowded each *zadruga* needed a large plot of land around the houses for the flocks of sheep and other animals kept at home during the winter months. With the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkey in 1878 forces were let loose which hastened the break-up of the joint-family system.[2] Brothers moved away from the paternal home into dwellings of their own, these usually being

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[1] Ivan Evstatiev Geshov, *Zadrugite Vv Zapadna Bulgaria*, Per. Spisanie, God. V. Kn. xix i xx, str. 426, Stredets, 1886.

St. L. Kostov and E. Peteva, *Selski Bit i Izkustvo Vv Sofiisko*, Sofia, 1935, str. 58.

[2] Some of the factors contributing to this break-up: (a) individualization following Bulgaria's liberation in 1878 and the spread of popular education; (b) fashion of small, individual families in the West; (c) disagreement between the wives of brothers living together under the same roof; (d) unwillingness of men working outside the *zadruga*, either as laborers or professional men, to hand over their whole earnings to the common treasury; (e) woman's newly-acquired right of inheritance.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

128 4. Organization and Synthesis of Data: Before starting the study I had already delimited the field and had made a tentative outline for each proposed chapter. This was possible because of a previous three-year acquaintance with Bulgarian villages. The original plan was altered to the extent of including an additional chapter, combining others and some shifting of material. The study of the data collected led to definite conclusions in connection with every chapter, although no attempt was made to generalize regarding Bulgarian villages as a whole from the study of a single unit.

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114 The above statement about methodology was written ten years ago and is the basis upon which the research techniques used in this study must be evaluated. Within the past ten years a number of significant refinements in social research have been developed, but these did not appear in time to be applied to the Dragalevtsy study, which was one of the very few comprehensive sociological studies of village life under way in the 1930's. World War II postponed the publication arrangements already agreed upon, but in doing so gave an opportunity for the concluding chapters on social change. The information for these chapters was collected from numerous interviews in Dragalevtsy and in Sofia during November and December, 1945, a period which I spent in Bulgaria in connection with my official duties as Agricultural Attache, with headquarters at the American Embassy, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

113 Since most of the publications used in the preparation of this book were in Bulgarian and are also relatively inaccessible to the American reader, no bibliography is included here. Anyone wishing to read more widely on Bulgaria or the Balkans in general is referred to the excellent bibliographies prepared by the Library of Congress in Washington. See especially THE BALKANS: Part I. General and Part III. Bulgaria, both sections published in 1943.

3: Dellin S-4 (no date) 1954 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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A former foreign correspondent from Bulgaria, the author is an associate of the Mid-European Studies Center in New York. Last year he participated, on behalf of the International League for the Rights of Man, in the preparation and presentation of the material on forced labor in Eastern Europe before the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour. He is the author of a study entitled *Trade Unions and Labor Legislation in Bulgaria (1878-1953)*.

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8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

appreciating the spirit of their history and without getting down to the meaning of Bulgaria's geographical and political situation. There is a need of deeper comprehension of the present day problems of the nations. Casual evaluations in common phrases like „the Roses of Bulgaria," „the Serenades of Italy or „the Bullfights of Spain" should give room to a more solid and comprehensive acquaintance with the actual value attributed to nations.

4. Bulgaria should be Discovered again for the World. It may seem strange, but we feel that Bulgaria should be discovered again for Europe. A German professor wrote a book[1]) in 1942, which was widely spread in Bulgaria and in which we read the following statement about our country: „In the North the soil is poor, but south of the Balkan range are grown rice, cotton, sugar cane, tobacco and many roses for the production and distribution of attar of roses; coal, gold, salt, petrol, silver, iron are found in sufficient quantities for exploitation, but not one of them has been consistently made use of..." The granary of Bulgaria, our Danube plane, with its fields of wheat, corn, barley, oats, rape seed, sugar beets, vineyards etc., this, mind you, is the poor soil of Bulgaria! Gold, petrol, silver in sufficient quantities for exploitation, this certainly must be a rich country! And, above all, many roses and quantities of attar of roses! About the history of the Bulgarian nation this author says the following: „The country south of Rumania beyond the Danube is inhabited by Bulgarians, originally a Turkish people, who came to those lands around the year 680 and spread and mixed with the Slavic settlers there. In 900 they became a great power in the whole Balkan Peninsula... in 1000 they were defeated by the Byzantine emperors. They obtained their liberty in 1200 and in 1400 fell under Turkish dominion which weighed heavily on them for a long time. Their national consciouseness reappeared as late as the 19th century, when they were already divided as Bulgarians and Turks and were able to regain with Russian help their national independence in 1878...".

The well-known four volume Lexicon of Brockhaus gives

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[1]) Prof. Otto Geissler, Die Länder und Völker der Erde, ein historisch-geographischer Abriss; Leipzig, 1942.

S: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

114 this information about the Bulgarians: „... The Western Bulgarians are divided in generic groups of Shopi, Rouptsi, Marvatsi, Barzatsi, Miatsi, Ketskari, Ouloufi, Poulivakovtsi and Kekovtsi... They live in mud huts in one or two storeyed houses made of mud, and in villages. They are mostly farmers and bee-masters..." These are 6 lines out of a total of 24 lines of information given in the Lexicon.

So many authors would see a fly and miss an elephant. They would see roses in the field of hardships, and would tell the world of non-existing Rouptsi, Ketskari, Kekovtsi and other tribes, but would overlook the present development of new Bulgaria and as to the old one, they would hardly betray an inkling of understanding. This negligent attitude towards the human element is the differential of a nefarious policy which has caused the world frightful misfortunes.

On the other hand, we have before us an American text book[1]), „Our World To-day", which in 2200 words gives a true and adequate picture of our small country. It is written with a sympathetic understanding which any interested reader would like to find in a short treatise on other countries, great or small. We are told of roses and of attar of roses in this book, but these features of the picture are retouched with grace and refinement. The practical understanding of a superior race emphasizes rather the features of gardening, tobacco planting, sugar-beet cultivation, grapes, the wheat fields of Danube Bulgaria etc. It tells no fairy tales of gold, silver, petrol and sugar cane in Bulgaria. These distant authors seem to know that such miracles do not occur in our country and that the country is not only „the land of Roses". They mark with simple words our cultural progress, our budding and, in some respects, advanced industry, our sugar factories and good roads, water power, village and national life, our Danube River navigation etc.

I. A Glance in the past

101 131 **5. Geographic Features.** Bulgaria occupies a central position in the Balkan Peninsula (Fig. 1). The location of her capital is particularly characteristic. Bulgaria is a

[1]) Stull and Hatch, Our World To-day, a text book in the New Geography; New York, Allyn and Bacon, 1939.

1: Lee H-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
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XXVII

BULGARIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

DWIGHT E. LEE

Introduction

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BULGARIA and Yugoslavia emerged from the war of 1914-1918 in contrasting positions—the one a defeated power and the other a victor. This situation, a repetition of that following the Second Balkan War only six years before, helped to perpetuate a feeling of rivalry and bitterness toward each other. Both nations, however, faced serious political and economic problems at home which were far from satisfactorily settled when the war of 1939-1945 caught them up again and threw them once more on opposite sides of the struggle.

Bulgaria[1]

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The military collapse of Bulgaria in September, 1918, was followed shortly afterward on October 4 by the abdication of Tsar Ferdinand and the succession of Boris III. Although the pro-German premier, Radoslavov, had resigned some months before, his successors who signed the armistice were unable to stem the current of discontent and disillusionment caused by wartime suffering and the prospect of a severe peace. Accordingly, in the elections of August, 1919, the leftist Agrarian party won a significant victory under the leadership of Alexander Stambolisky who had gone to jail for three years because of his opposition to entry into the war and, upon his release in 1918, had sought to set up a republic. Of peasant stock, he was the embodiment of the hopes for a new era held by the Bulgarian farmers who constituted nearly 80 per cent of the population. After

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[1] The best studies on contemporary Bulgaria are the following: A. Bulatsel, *Ocherki sotsialno-politicheskoĭ zhizni Bolgarii* (Moscow, 1925); K. Dimitriev, *Bolgariya* (Moscow, [illegible]-41); A. Girginov, *Ot voĭnata kŭm mir* (Sofia, 1937); T. Girginov, *Istoricheski razvoĭ na savremenna Bŭlgariya* (2 v.; Sofia, 1934-1935); N. Iliev, *Boris III, tsar na Bŭlgaritĕ* (Sofia, [illegible]-36); A. P. Malinov, *Stranichki ot nashata nova politicheska istoriya* (Sofia, 1938); N. D. [illegible]kov, *Aleksandŭr Stambolĭĭski. Lichnost i idei* (Sofia, 1930); N. Stanev, *Istoriya na nova Bŭlgariya, 1878-1928* (Sofia, 1929); K. Todorov, *Politička istorija savremene Bugarske* (Belgrad, 1938). Sources in Slavic languages have been supplied by Professor C. E. Black of Princeton University.

1: Lee H-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
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becoming premier in October, 1919, Stambolisky's first task was that of signing the peace terms drawn up by the victorious Allies.

The Treaty of Neuilly, November 27, 1919, reduced Bulgaria to a smaller area than it had held before the First Balkan War of 1912 and imposed new burdens. Bulgaria lost the Aegean coast (Western Thrace) to Greece, southern Dobruja to Romania, and strips of land on the west to Yugoslavia. The army was limited to a total of 20,000. Reparations amounting to $450,000,000 were to be paid in thirty-seven years, beginning in 1921. The existence of Bulgarian minorities in all the neighboring states furnished a basis for revisionism which steadily grew, particularly after the rise of fascism throughout Europe in the thirties.[2] The provision for an exchange of populations with Greece greatly heightened the volume of refugees who streamed into Bulgaria, adding to the political ferment and economic burdens of the country. In these and other ways, the settlement exacerbated conditions under which radicalism throve.

Stambolisky won a commanding position in the parliamentary elections of March, 1920, and proceeded to ride roughshod over both the middle class and conservative parties on the right and the Communists on the left. He instituted a number of reforms, including a land law designed to break up the crown lands and larger estates, the imposition of a heavy income tax, and the establishment of a compulsory labor service which in the first four years of operation secured the equivalent of five million wage days of work for the Ministries of Public Works and Railways. In foreign policy he sought to fulfill the treaties and to effect a reconciliation with Yugoslavia among whose Communist and Agrarian parties his concepts of Slavic federation found support. His dictatorial methods, however, won him enemies on all sides, not least among them being the Macedonians who opposed his policy of rapprochement with Yugoslavia. In June, 1923, he was overthrown by a *coup d'état* organized by a group of intellectuals, led by Professor Tsankov, and the League of Army Reserve Officers, among whom Colonels Velchev and Georgiev were leaders. A few days later Stambolisky was assassinated.

Following the Stambolisky regime, the Tsankov government (1923-26) represented a swing to the right. "Communist" insurrections and violence were suppressed with great severity. The increased activity of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) caused difficulties at home and abroad, although after the assassination of its leader Alexandrov (1924) it was split into two factions under Protoguerov and Mihailov who became bitter rivals. A threat of war with Greece arose, but was averted by the action of the League of Nations. A more conciliatory government

[2] See G. P. Genov, *Bulgaria and the Treaty of Neuilly* (Sofia, 1935).

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642 under Liapchev (1926-31) sought to reduce party strife and international
668 friction. It secured a loan from the League of Nations to help in the settlement of refugees, but seemed powerless to prevent raids upon neighboring states by the IMRO which, after the assassination of Protoguerov in 1928, was dominated by Mihailov who openly defied the Sofia government and virtually reigned supreme in some frontier districts. The elections of June, 1931 brought a shift again to the left. The cabinets of Alexander Malinov and his successor, Nikola Mushanov, both of whom were Democrats representing middle class and intellectual groups, were supported by the Agrarians. This coalition found itself threatened by the rise of the Communist party which nearly captured a majority in the Sofia municipal elections of September, 1932. In the communal elections of November, however, the Agrarians and Democrats won a victory which emboldened them in an attempt to suppress both the Communists and the Macedonians in the following year.

643 Meanwhile Tsar Boris III, had steadily gained in authority and influ-
669 ence. The rapprochement with Italy signalized by the marriage of Boris to the daughter of King Victor Emmanuel III in 1930, and the part played
642 by the Tsar in steps taken toward reconciliation with Yugoslavia and Romania (1933-34) helped to bring him to the fore. Then a series of domestic events enabled the Tsar to make himself a virtual dictator. Colonel Velchev, secretary of the Military League founded in 1930, and Kimon Georgiev, prominent in *Zveno* which was a fascistic civilian organization working for reform and a "strong" government, again helped to stage a *coup d'état,* May, 1934, ousting the Democratic-Agrarian Coalition and making Georgiev premier of a dictatorial government with Velchev as his principal adviser. Parliament was dismissed and political parties dissolved by decree. Vigorous action was taken against IMRO, forcing Mihailov to flee. Most of the promises of the new government, however, and especially the solution of the financial crisis, remained unfulfilled. Velchev's known hostility toward Boris III and his alleged republicanism alienated older army circles which helped to supplant Georgiev by General Zlatev who had the backing of the Tsar. Continued financial mismanagement and a reaction within the army itself to its political activities paved the way for a return to civilian government and the dissolution of the Military League after several of its members, including Velchev, had been convicted of conspiracy. This left Boris III master of the situation, although he proclaimed his intention of restoring constitutional rule.

646 Since the anomolous political situation within the country brought an
666 inevitable reaction against the regime, elections for a new *sobranie* were

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eventually held in March, 1938, under a changed electoral law which permitted married women to vote but forbade candidates to run as members of the old political parties. In May, 1938, the *sobranie* met for the first time since 1935, but found itself reduced to the position of a consulting body. 646 666

The political crises of the period after 1933 were but outward expressions of the serious economic condition in which Bulgaria, along with all other predominantly agrarian countries of eastern Europe, had found itself as a result of the world-wide economic depression. At the same time both Italy and Germany sought to bring Bulgaria into their political and economic orbits. Bulgaria for several years seemed to waver between them and their rivals in power politics. Although its refusal to join the Balkan Entente, because of its revisionist territorial claims, seemed to align Bulgaria with Italy, a tense situation was avoided by the signature of a Pact of Friendship with Yugoslavia on January 24, 1937. In 1938 when the east European atmosphere had become clouded because of Germany's annexation of Austria and the developing Munich crisis, Bulgaria gained recognition of the right to rearm by means of an agreement in July with Greece who acted on behalf of the Balkan Entente. This was followed by an Anglo-French loan amounting to ten million dollars to assist in Bulgarian rearmament, although Germany had already supplied much material toward this end. Nevertheless, Germany had two advantages over its rivals. One was its freedom to encourage Bulgarian revisionist ambitions which, after the Bulgar-Yugoslav pact, tended to create greatest tension with Romania over the Dobruja. The other was the powerful economic tie developed between the two countries by means of trade agreements. After Austria and part of Czechoslovakia had been incorporated in the Nazi Reich in 1939 about 52 per cent of Bulgaria's exports went to Germany and about 63 per cent of its imports came from there. 648 [439]

It is doubtful, however, if the developing ties with Germany influenced the feelings of the Bulgarian people. Tsar Boris and his governments, even though they sanctioned agreements by which the political police cooperated with the Gestapo in pursuing "Communists," sought to keep down native fascism. There was, moreover, very little antisemitism in Bulgaria. The political opposition composed of the former Agrarian, Liberal, Radical, Socialist, and Democratic party elements, was by its nature antagonistic to Nazism. And, finally, the people had always retained a deepseated feeling of sympathy and respect for Russia against whom the Nazis were ostensibly aligned. Indeed, right down to 1941 there was much ground for believing that Bulgaria might well maintain neutrality in the second World War. 648 186 665

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Yugoslavia[3]

728 648 The new Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, proclaimed at the beginning of December, 1918, was preoccupied for nearly two years with the problems of the peace settlement. Sitting at the Peace Conference of Paris as one of the victors, the Pašić government won strategically valuable strips of territory from Bulgaria; Croatia, the Bačka, part of the Baranya, and part of the Banat, which was divided along ethnic lines with Romania, from Hungary; Bosnia-Herzegovina, most of Dalmatia and Carinthia, and a part of Styria from Austria; but it was ultimately defeated in its total claims to Austrian lands. By a plebiscite, October, 1920, the district of Klagenfurt on the Drava River which was alleged to be Slovenian voted to remain with Austria. Far more serious, however, was the failure to obtain Slovenian districts on the west where Yugoslav claims ran counter to Italian aspirations.

The center of the controversy with Italy was the Istrian Peninsula and Fiume where the agrarian Slavs were intermingled with the urban Italians. Italy which had been promised Istria and much of the Dalmatian coast, though not Fiume, by the secret treaty of London in 1915, sought at the Peace Conference to make good its claims. Since these ran counter to the Wilsonian principles, an effort was made to draw the future Italo-Yugoslav frontier to accord as nearly as possible with ethnic boundaries. Although the Istrian peninsula and Slovene-populated regions north of it were eventually yielded to Italy, Wilson stood firm against the Italian acquisition of Fiume which was the only good outlet to the sea for the Yugoslavs. The Fiume question was finally left to Italy and Yugoslavia to settle between themselves after compromise proposals had been rejected by one or the other and Italian hotheads under D'Annunzio had complicated matters by seizing the city in September, 1919. The Treaty of Rapallo (November, 1920) made Fiume a free city and gave Zara and a number of Dalmatian islands to Italy. But Mussolini's government upset this arrangement and by a treaty of January 27, 1924, acquired Fiume while leaving Porto Barros, separated from the city by a small river, to Yugo-

113 [3] The best treatment of Yugoslavia can be found in: V. Čorović, *Istorija Jugoslavije* (Belgrad, 1933); M. Ivšić, *Seljačka politika* (Zagreb, 1938); Dj. Jelenić, *Nova Srbije i Jugoslavija* (Belgrad, 1923); A. Jovanović, ed., *Spomenica dvadesetpetgodišnjica oslobodjenja Južne Srbije, 1912-1937* (Skoplje, 1937); L. Marković, *Jugoslovenska država i Hrvacko pitanje (1914-1929)* (Belgrad, 1935); P. Pekić, *Propast Austro-Ugarske monarhije i postanak nasljednih država* (Subotica, 1937); *Putevi sporazuma Srba i Hrvata* (Belgrad, 1939); I. Šarinić, *Ideologija Hrvatskog Seljačkog Pokreta* (Zagreb, 1935); F. Šišić, ed., *Dokumenti o postanku kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, 1914-1919* (Zagreb, 1920); B. M. Stepanović, *Nacionalni testament Kralja Aleksandra I.* (Belgrad, 1936); P. Vujević, *Kraljevina Jugoslavija. Geografski i etnografski pregled* (Belgrad, 1930).

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slavia. This controversy and the Fascist treatment of the several thousand Slovenes within Italy laid the foundations for deepseated ill-feeling between the two neighbors, giving rise to the bad relations between them in succeeding years and the quarrel over boundaries which was revived at the end of the second World War. 728 648

Meanwhile the government had called elections for a constituent assembly late in November, 1920. As a result of the balloting no party had a majority, but the federalist Croats, under the leadership of Radić, refused to take their seats and thus left the field to Pašić and the centralist parties. The constitution which was finally adopted on Vidovdan (June 28), 1921, set up a unitary form of government centered in Belgrad. Although it provided for a national parliament, the *skupština*, and for elected local officials, it erased historic frontiers and provincial parliaments and provided for an administration to be strictly controlled from the capital. To the Croats and many Slovenes this looked like a Serbian expansion rather than a genuine partnership of all the Slavic groups and, unfortunately, the attitude of Serb politicians seemed to bear out that conclusion. Thus, at the beginning of the newly-created state, the quarrel of centralists and federalists arose; it remained at the heart of the Yugoslav political crises which followed each other in quick succession. 665 642

In August, 1921, upon the death of King Peter, his son who had long acted as Regent succeeded him as Alexander I. Viewed with almost equal hatred and admiration by opposing factions in Yugoslavia, he was undoubtedly chiefly interested in the unification of the kingdom and the creation of a strong state that could withstand the contrary pulls of great-power interests.[4] Until January, 1929, he ruled within the constitution. Pašić, the veteran Serbian statesman, had dominated the political scene until his death in December, 1926. Radić, after upsetting the government by bringing his followers into parliament in 1924, and being imprisoned when he refused to accept proposed compromises, had finally accepted the constitution in 1925 and entered the cabinet only to withdraw less than a year later. Nevertheless, for about two years the *skupština* had embraced representation of all parts of the kingdom even though there had seemed to be no progress toward political stability or genuine unity. 643 642

Hope of achieving either of these ends by democratic political means

[4] For adverse views of King Alexander and his dictatorship, see Louis Adamic, *My Native Land* (New York, 1943), pp. 338 ff.; and Svetozar Privićević, *La Dictature du roi Alexandre* (Paris, 1933). For favorable interpretations, see under Yugoslavia in the bibliography appended to this chapter the writings of Hamilton Fish Armstrong, especially his "After the Assassination of King Alexander," *Foreign Affairs*, XIII (January, 1935), 204-225; also Voucadine Miletić, *Le Mouvement des idées constitutionnelles en Yougoslavie* (Paris, 1934). 113

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643 seemed to be cut off when a Montenegrin deputy shot Radić and other
642 Croat deputies during a heated debate in June, 1928. Upon the death of Radić in August, King Alexander sought to effect an agreement with the new leader of the Croat Peasant Party, Dr. Vladko Maček. The king soon became convinced, however, that Maček's minimum demands concerning the federalization of the state would ultimately disrupt it and reduce it to impotence among the powers. He accordingly took the drastic step on January 6, 1929, of abolishing the constitution and setting up a dictatorship with General Zhivković, a nonpolitical army man and friend of long standing, as premier.

642 Among the changes effected within the next few years were the abolition
656 of all political parties, the division of the country into nine *banovinas* along
182 geographical and economic lines rather than historical ones, the changing of the name of the kingdom from that of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes to Yugoslavia, and the promulgation of a new constitution which was offered as proof of the end of dictatorship. Nevertheless, censorship and police control, which of necessity accompanied the efforts to suppress opposition, not only prevented the development of healthy politics, but also created a stubborn opposition among Serbs as well as Croats and Slovenes. After 1931, moreover, the falling off of trade and the slump in industry, which was largely under foreign control, added to the discontent with the regime. This ferment weakened the means of resistance to Fascist and Nazi pressures, both political and economic, which were first applied in the mid-thirties.

648 King Alexander and his successive governments were far more success-
643 ful in foreign policy than in domestic. From the beginning, Yugoslavia naturally found a common interest with the other succession states in preventing a return of the Habsburgs to power and in opposing Hungarian revisionism. Treaties of alliance with Czechoslovakia (1920) and Romania (1921) made Yugoslavia a member of the Little Entente until it fell apart in 1938. Despite a pact of friendship signed with Italy at Nettuno in 1925, the Fiume quarrel and Mussolini's attempts to expand his influence in Danubia and the Balkans by the development of cordial relations with Albania, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria helped to give Yugoslavia a pro-French orientation which found expression in a treaty of friendship, November 11, 1927. Relations with Bulgaria were troubled so long as the Macedonian agitation remained unchecked, but a rapprochement was begun during the later years of King Alexander's reign. With Greece, the failure for many years to arrange satisfactorily the promised free port facilities for Yugoslavia at Salonika prevented close collaboration, but the settlement of

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this difficulty together with the conclusion of a treaty of friendship, March, 1929, brought an era of cordial relations with this neighbor. After the annual Balkan conferences of 1930-1933 had prepared the way, Yugoslavia joined with Greece, Turkey, and Romania to form the Balkan Entente in February, 1934. 648 643

At the same time King Alexander renewed his ties with France and participated in Barthou's initial preparation of plans for a Mediterranean "Locarno" designed to align Italy with France, Great Britain, and Russia against Nazi Germany. These plans, involving an agreement between Yugoslavia and Italy, were cut short by the murder of both Alexander and Barthou at Marseilles, October 9, 1934, by conspirators representing the Macedonians and, principally, the *Ustaša,* a Croat terrorist organization led by Ante Pavelić and fostered by Italy and Hungary. Thus Alexander's domestic foes worked with his enemies abroad to bring about his downfall. Despite the wave of sympathy and remorse which swept over Yugoslavia, it was clear that King Alexander and his dictatorial governments had neither unified the country nor laid solid foundations for a democratic political development. Moreover, though King Alexander had resisted the encroachments of Fascist Italy into Balkan politics, he had done little to stem the tide of the Third Reich's economic advance.

King Alexander was succeeded by his young son, Peter II, for whom a regency was set up including Prince Paul, a cousin, as the principal figure. Prince Paul began well. The threat of war with Hungary where the *Ustaša* had maintained its principal terrorist training center was averted through the mediation of the League of Nations. At home, after Prince Paul had clashed with Serbian chauvinists in the cabinet, a new government was set up under Yevtić who at first gave promise of healing the breach with the Croats. Several non-Serbs were included in the cabinet. Maček, who had been imprisoned after his public denunciation of Alexander's regime and his demand at Zagreb in November, 1932, for the establishment of a federal state, was pardoned. Free elections were promised, and political activity was permitted to revive among opposition parties. Nevertheless in the elections held in May, 1935, the government exerted the usual pressure to insure a favorable outcome and in other ways failed to fulfill expectations. Following a renewed boycott of parliament by the Croats in June, Yevtić was dropped and the formation of a new government was entrusted to Milan Stoyadinović. 643 642 665

For more than three years Stoyadinović pursued a tortuous policy both at home and abroad. Beginning with promises to liquidate the dictatorial regime and with relaxation of repressive measures, he sought by forming 642 656 665

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642 the "Radical Union" of Serbian Radicals, Slovene Clericals, and Bosnian
656 Moslems to build up a following that would assure support of the govern-
665 ment and the perpetuation of the unitary state. His aims and methods were a blow not only to the federalists but also to liberals who rallied around Maček to form the Agrarian-Democratic party from democratic and agrarian elements among the Serbs and Slovenes as well as the Croats.
648 Stoyadinović's foreign policy also fed the fires of opposition. During his regime Germany took advantage of Yugoslavia's slump in trade caused by participation in the boycott of Italy to conclude favorable trade agreements. In January, 1937, Stoyadinović concluded a treaty of Friendship and Perpetual Peace with Bulgaria and in March of the same year a pact of Nonaggression and Arbitration with Italy. This second move, which he justified as a sincere effort to maintain peace, alarmed Yugoslavia's allies in both the Little and the Balkan Ententes and found little favor among the opposition at home because it inevitably linked the country more closely with the Rome-Berlin Axis that had been nonexistent when King Alexander had considered a rapprochement with Italy three years before. A concordat with the Vatican, July, 1937, designed to win support among the Roman Catholic Croats, did little more than to stir up the anger of the Orthodox Church and had to be abandoned. Throughout 1938 the politi-
642 cal pot boiled at home while the Axis triumphed abroad. In the December
665 elections Stoyadinović was able only with difficulty to secure a majority for his party, while in Croatia the depth of antagonism to his regime was revealed by an overwhelming vote for Maček's Agrarians. In the face of this situation, Stoyadinović resigned in February, 1939.

Although the cabinet of Dragoša Cvetković embraced the same coalition as that of Stoyadinović, it nevertheless sought to solve the Croat problem and to reëstablish a more democratic regime. In August, just on the eve of the outbreak of war between Germany and Poland, an agreement known as the *Sporazum* was reached with Maček. This provided for Croatian autonomy in all matters except foreign affairs, foreign trade, defense, public security, and communications. At the same time the cabinet was reorganized to include Maček, as a vice premier, along with other Croat Agrarians. This was, however, but the first step in the creation of a truly democratic and federal state, and little more was accomplished during the following months. Furthermore, the manner of the special agreement with the Croats angered Serbian and Slovenian liberals and federalists, while the ever closer bonds between the government and the Axis continued to alienate all patriots of every political opinion. In this way the country was far from united when the war came.

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The War of 1939-1945

Jockeying for Position

When the European war broke out in September, 1939, the conditions in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were not dissimilar. In each country a semi-dictatorial government, primarily responsible to the monarch, ruled with the assent of a subservient parliament. The predominantly agrarian masses were discontented with both political and economic conditions but were inarticulate and ineffectively organized. While all former political parties had been officially dissolved, their members continued to carry on a half-concealed activity beneath the eyes of the censor and the political police. The economy of each country was tied, in the main, to Germany's; although in Bulgaria, Great Britain and France made a pretense at counteracting German influences, they had apparently abandoned Yugoslavia to the Axis. In foreign relations both governments officially pursued a policy of neutrality, while their ministers and rulers made open or surreptitious visits to Hitler or his henchmen. German "tourists" ceaselessly worked in each country for the benefit of the German Reich.

Beneath the surface, however, there were forces which caused Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to take different courses when the crucial test came. In Yugoslavia resistance to collaboration with the Axis sprang up the minute the government capitulated. In Bulgaria, on the other hand, the government was able to swing the country into the Axis camp and keep it there until the triumph of the United Nations and particularly Russia made it clear that the Axis was losing the war.

As late as February, 1940, the Bulgarian government[5] assured the members of the Balkan Entente that it would not press its revisionist claims while the war lasted. With the dismemberment of Romania, however, in the summer of 1940, Bulgaria considered itself absolved of this pledge and in September obtained Southern Dobruja, thus regaining the boundary of 1912. Although Romania and Hungary were persuaded in November to adhere to the Tripartite Pact of Germany, Italy, and Japan, and despite the fact that over 80 per cent of Bulgaria's trade was now being carried on with Germany, the tsar and his government refused to join the Axis. Russia, whose agreement with the Reich in August, 1939, had undoubtedly helped to confuse the Bulgarian people, may have had something to do

[5] In well-managed elections, January, 1940, the government obtained a *sobranje* composed of 140 supporters and 20 opponents of whom 9 were Communists. A new government, organized on February 16, was headed by Bogdan Filov who remained premier until he entered the Regency Council in September, 1943.

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with the refusal, for the Soviet plainly indicated its disapproval of a Bulgarian alliance with Germany. In January and February, 1941, however, German pressure upon Bulgaria was greatly increased as the Nazi regime prepared for the conquest of Greece, with whom Italy had been at war since the previous October. The United States and Great Britain sought to warn Bulgaria against repeating the mistake of the first World War, while the opposition within the country likewise voiced its disapproval of a pro-German policy. But German "tourists" and German propaganda gradually won the upper hand, until finally, on March 1, Premier Filov signed the Axis pact at Vienna. He had undoubtedly been offered the fulfillment of Bulgarian revisionist claims against Yugoslavia and Greece. German troops immediately poured into the country from across the Danube and German economic experts, who had already gained experience while turning Romania into a "purely primary producer," began to prepare Bulgaria for its role as a "first-class exporting country."[6]

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The adherence of Bulgaria to the Axis meant that Yugoslavia was all but surrounded by German satellites, for only on the south, where the Greeks were more than holding their own, was there a gap in the Axis system. Obviously Germany's plans for a quick conquest of Greece in preparation for an attack upon Soviet Russia required the coöperation of the Yugoslavs. Accordingly the familiar pressures were now exerted upon the Belgrad government. Although Yugoslavia's economy was not quite as dependent as Bulgaria's on the Reich, the country was in a more vulnerable geographical position. Moreover, the dissident nationalities offered a fine opportunity for Nazi propaganda, while Prince Paul and other men of the government and of leading business circles had established close con-
[625] tacts with the Fascist and Nazi regimes. If wartime revelations are to be trusted, it would appear, for example, that beginning in 1937 Yugoslav political police entered into a working agreement with the Gestapo to help
648 eliminate political undesirables. It is not surprising, therefore, that Premier Cvetković and Foreign Minister Činčar-Marković were persuaded to sign
669 the Tripartite Pact at Vienna on March 25, 1941, and at the same time agreed, apparently, to permit the passage of German troops to Greece. But here the parallel with Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria ends, for the Yugoslav people made such a prompt and unmistakable protest against

[6] For convenient summaries of events and of Bulgarian and German aims, see "The German Threat to Bulgaria," *Bulletin of International News*, XVIII (February 22, 1941), 191-197; "German New Order Reappears," *ibid.*, XVIII (November 29, 1941), 1912-14; and "Bulgaria and the War," *ibid.*, XX (November 13 and 27, 1943), 989-94 and 1031-39.

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the action of the government that a coalition of opposition forces under the nominal leadership of General Simović was able within two days to oust both the cabinet and the regency by a bloodless *coup d'état*. [669] 648

While the country seethed with exultant excitement, the new government realized how hopeless a stand against the German army would be, and accordingly sought to pursue a policy of appeasement short of actual collaboration. But Berlin cut short such plans and opened a blitz attack by an aerial bombardment of Belgrad on Easter Sunday, April 6. Days of confusion and anxiety followed in which the *Wehrmacht* rapidly overran the country, splitting up and surrounding the partially mobilized and ill-supplied Yugoslav army. Bulgaria joined in the invasion by striking into the long-coveted region of Macedonia. Young King Peter II and his principal ministers fled the country, eventually to find refuge in London. In approximately eleven days Germany and her allies had conquered Yugoslavia. They failed, however, to reckon with the spirit of resistance which was still being nurtured in the mountains and which was ultimately to defeat them. 721

Immediately after the invasion the Axis began to divide the country in order the better to insure control of its political and economic life. Germany annexed northern Slovenia and occupied the Banat; Hungary regained Bačka, Baranya, and small districts on the Mur River; Bulgaria acquired most of Macedonia where the notorious IMRO leader, Mihailov, was reported to be in charge of the occupation; Italy took part of Slovenia which became the Province of Lubliana, most of the Dalmatian coast, and some districts in Macedonia on behalf of puppet Albania. Italy also assumed the position of protector over puppet governments in the "Kingdom of Croatia" and the resurrected Kingdom of Montenegro. These last two creations illustrated the policy of "divide and rule" pursued by both Germany and Italy. By playing upon latent hatreds, particularly of the Croats and Serbs, and even fomenting attacks upon one another, they not only exterminated many potential enemies but also retarded the development of a strong and united resistance movement. Germany, for example, as early as April 15, 1941, had recognized the independence of Croatia under the puppet government of the notorious Ante Pavelić. A month later the Kingdom of Croatia was proclaimed with the Duke of Aosta, a cousin of Victor Emmanuel III, as king. During the following months stories of Croat atrocities committed against the Serbs and of Serb reprisals embittered both peoples. The same technique was used with respect to the organized resistance of General Mihailović, an army officer who remained inside the country and harassed the Axis forces, and later Tito (Josip Broz), the left-wing Partisan commander who finally emerged as the 727 648 642 727 668

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642 dominant leader of a revolutionary movement. In the rump of Yugoslavia
727 that was left intact, a puppet government under General Nedić was set up at Belgrad in defiance of King Peter's government-in-exile.

668 Since 1941, the story of Yugoslavia has been that of slow resurrection
725 from the bomb craters to which the Axis had consigned it and of the establishment of a revolutionary regime. At first the outside world heard only of the resistance of General Mihailović who was made a minister of war in the government-in-exile though contact with him was maintained only through British liaison officers sent to help him. By the end of 1942 news began to appear of the Partisans who attracted a wide following but were inspired by Communist leadership and were encouraged and supported by Soviet Russia. Many joined the "Army of Liberation" led by Tito not only because it carried on active guerrilla warfare when Mihailović followed more cautious tactics, but also, and above all, because its slogan was a revolutionary one: "Death to Fascism—Liberty to the People." A civil war, paralleling the fight against the Axis, soon emerged, and all efforts to stop it were unavailing. Outside Yugoslavia the Partisans soon gained the upper hand in an astute propaganda campaign that magnified their deeds and glorified their aims while the activities of Mihailovich were belittled or omitted from mention, even though he continued until the defeat of the Germans to maintain a considerable force and to give material assistance
648 to the Allies, particularly to airmen shot down in his territory. The ultimate victory of the Partisans in the civil war was foreshadowed, however, when at Teheran in the military declaration of December 1, 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill agreed with Stalin that "the Partisans should be supported by supplies and equipment to the greatest possible extent, and also by Commando operations." Their victory both against the Germans and the Chetniks was assured when the course of the war brought Soviet Russia's troops into Yugoslavia in the autumn of 1944. Mihailović paid for his failure, and that of the more conservative political forces which he represented, with his life on July 17, 1946, after being convicted of treason by a Belgrad People's Court of the new regime.[7]

642 Meanwhile the Partisans had set up a provisional government which
727 drew its authority from an "Anti-Fascist Council for National Liberation

113 [7] The available literature on the war period and the Yugoslav resistance movements is highly controversial in character. For pro-Partisan writings, see, under Yugoslavia in the bibliography for this chapter, Adamic, Stoyan Pribichevich, United Committee of South-Slavic Americans, and *Yugoslavia;* on Mihailović see the articles by F. A. Voigt listed in the bibliography, and the very fully documented and impressive defense by David Martin, *Ally Betrayed: The Uncensored Story of Tito and Mihailovich* (New York, 1946). Winifred N. Hadsel, "The Struggle for Yugoslavia," *Foreign Policy Reports,* XIX (March 1, 1944), 314-327, is the most objective brief treatment.

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of Yugoslavia" (AVNOJ), established at Jayce, November, 1943. Following the Teheran decision, pressure was put upon King Peter in London to make an agreement with Tito. This was accomplished in the summer of 1944 by Ivan Subašić who had been appointed premier of the government-in-exile for that purpose. As the Germans were gradually cleared out of the country after the surrender of Italy and Bulgaria, the further step of setting up a provisional government on Yugoslav soil was taken in March, 1945, when a new regency council was appointed, Tito was made premier, and Subašić became foreign minister. Though the story of the next few months was to be scarcely less exciting than that of the war period, it belongs to the era of peacemaking and reconstruction where it will be discussed.

Bulgaria

Even though Bulgaria shared in the early triumphs of the Axis, occupying Thrace as well as most of Macedonia, its position was little better than Yugoslavia's. The Bulgarian government had to adopt a policy of severe repression, especially after 1941, in order to keep in line the mass of the population whose traditional sympathies for Russia and the United States were aroused after their entry into the war against Germany. Moreover, the Third Reich made ever increasing demands upon the country as the initial Nazi victories were turned into defeat in both Russia and the Mediterranean. Reports from Bulgaria of insurrections, sabotage, student demonstrations, Communist terrorism, and disaffected public servants including army officers were common throughout 1942 and 1943. The Nazis found it necessary not only to direct all police work but also to interfere frequently in the administration of important government departments until the German Minister, Beckerle, became virtually a *Gauleiter* in a hostile land. Apparently Boris III and his governments did their best to resist the most distasteful demands, and it may well be that the tsar met his death in August, 1943, because of his refusal to yield to Hitler's requests. Some indication of the temper of the people may be gleaned from the fact that Premier Filov arranged a pro-German Council of Regency for young Tsar Simeon II without taking the risk of seeking authorization from a specially elected *sobranje* as required by the constitution.[8]

By late spring, 1944, reports began to appear concerning "Partisan" activity in Bulgaria and the formation of a "Fatherland Front" composed of

[8] Very little reliable information concerning Bulgaria since 1941 has been published. For the handiest summaries of news reports, see the references cited in footnote 6 above and also the *Bulletin of International News*, XXI XXII (1944-45). Foreign newspaper correspondents were admitted to bulgaria only in the middle of 1945.

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Communists, Agrarians, Democrats, and republicans. In the summer the Soviet Union, against whom Bulgaria had not declared war, began to press for the ousting of the Germans and a reversal of the policy pursued since 1941. On September 2, a new Bulgarian government, headed by a former secretary of Stambolisky, Konstantin Muraviev, and including former Premier Mušanov, announced the full restoration of democratic freedom and rights, a return to neutrality, and the nullification of the Tripartite Pact. It also dispatched representatives to Cairo to negotiate an armistice with Great Britain and the United States and, on September 8, declared war on Germany. In the meantime, however, Russia, not fully satisfied with the course being pursued, declared war on Bulgaria on September 5. This confusing situation was clarified four days later when Muraviev was succeeded by a new government which had the full support of the "Fatherland Front." It was led by Kimon Georgiev, who was alleged to have experienced a change of heart since his participation in the *coup d'état* of 1934, and included his former colleague, Colonel Velchev.

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Before the end of September Russian military forces had moved into the country and were rapidly turning the Bulgarian army, now placed under the command of a Russian General, Tolbukhin, against the fleeing Germans. By the formal armistice terms, signed in Moscow on October 28, 1944, Bulgaria promised to withdraw from all territories occupied in Greece and Yugoslavia, to restore all properties of the United Nations and make reparation for damages, to rid Bulgaria of all pro-Axis organizations, to coöperate in the arrest and trial of war criminals, and to accept an Allied Control Commission which would regulate and supervise the execution of the armistice. Since Russia held a dominant position in the Commission and since Bulgaria was prepared to follow Communist leadership, her lot as an ex-Axis satellite differed little from that of Yugoslavia.

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Reconstruction and Peacemaking

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Reconstruction in both Yugoslavia and Bulgaria took the form of a revolution led by Communists and was patterned after the policies and practices of the Soviet Union.

The National Front in Yugoslavia

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The Tito government, established in Yugoslavia in 1945, promised that it would "comply with the fundamental and general principles of constitutional government" and that it intended to found a democratic, federative state. This was to consist of Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia. Provisional governments were formed in each of these units in April and May, 1945. While Tito's ter-

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while Tito's Territorial claims against Italy were bringing about his first conflicts with the Western powers, his policy at home began to open rifts within AVNOJ and to widen the gaps between his regime and those who had opposed him from the beginning. In August King Peter accused him of setting up a dictatorship and at the same time disowned the regents agreed upon earlier in the year. In September and October leaders of non-Communist parties who had collaborated with Tito during the war began to leave the National Front and Subašić, who had been put under house arrest in September, resigned from the government in October. Nevertheless, plans for the election of a constituent assembly were pressed forward and the elections were held in November under conditions which the opposition charged were grossly unfair. After the announcement that the National Front had won the elections by 90.4 per cent of the votes cast, the newly elected assembly, composed mainly of Communists with a scattering representation from other parties among its 489 members, abolished the monarchy and proclaimed the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia on November 29, 1945. A few days later the Assembly set up a Presidium as the supreme executive of the new republic and elected Ivan Ribar chairman.

Although the United States and Great Britain questioned whether or not the guarantees of personal freedom, freedom from fear, liberty of conscience, freedom of speech, liberty of the press, and freedom of assembly—all of which were contained in the Tito-Subašić agreement and approved by the three great powers at Yalta in February—had been effectively implemented, they recognized the new regime on December 22, 1945.

In the following eighteen months Tito's government established a new constitution which was modeled very closely upon that of a republic in the Soviet Union. The six federal units were retained and in addition the Voivodina (Baranya-Bačka-Banat) was made an autonomous province and the Kosovo-Metohiya district an autonomous territory. A vigorous campaign continued against "war criminals," while some former prominent political leaders, such as Maček and Gavrilović fled into exile. Much attention, however, was devoted to problems of reconstruction and on April 25, 1947 the assembly unanimously approved a five-year plan involving the expenditure of $5,500,000,000 in order to achieve both contentment at home and freedom from dependence upon capitalist countries abroad.[9] In re-

[9] For critical treatments of the elections, the constitution, and the federal set-up, see "Political parties of Yugoslavia," *Free Europe*, XIII (Oct., 1946), 320-24; Alex N. Dragnich, "Yugoslavia's new constitution," *Current History*, X (May, 1946), 420-23; and Dinko Tomašić, "Nationality Problems and Partisan Yugoslavia," *J. Central European Affairs*, VI (July, 1946), 111-25. A more recent and sympathetic comment is that of A. J. P. Taylor, "Impressions of Yugoslavia," *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, May 22, 1947, 13.

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fusing to attend the conference called at Paris to consider the Marshall Plan for European reconstruction, Yugoslavia manifested her determination to stand by Soviet Russia economically as well as politically.

The Fatherland Front in Bulgaria

In attempting to fulfill the terms of the armistice and to prepare for parliamentary elections, the Georgiev government in Bulgaria, like that of Tito in Yugoslavia, was accused of pursuing totalitarian tactics. The United States and Great Britain entered protests against the conduct of the elections of November, 1945, in which 88 per cent of the vote was reported to be in favor of the Fatherland Front. The effort of the two powers to bring about the admission to the government of two representatives of "other democratic groups" proved unavailing, despite the agreement of Soviet Russia to the proposal at the Moscow Conference in December. The National Assembly which chose Vassil Kolarov, a Communist, to be its president, arranged for a plebiscite, September 9, 1946, on the form of government. When the results went overwhelmingly in favor of a republic, the Assembly on September 15, declared Bulgaria to be a People's Republic. Elections in October, following the drafting of a constitution, returned an Assembly less predominantly Communist than Yugoslavia's, though whether this outcome was designed or came about because of a failure to crush the opposition effectively is not clear. The Fatherland Front majority of 366 deputies was made up of 279 Communists (Workers' Party), sixty-nine dissident Agrarians, nine *Zveno* members, eight dissident Social Democrats, and one Radical; while the opposition of 99 was composed of ninety Agrarians under the leadership of Petkov, and nine Social Democrats led by Lelchev.[10] In November Georgiev resigned as premier and was succeeded by Georgi Dimitrov, an eminent Communist who had been made famous by the Reichstag Fire Trial in 1934 and had been living in Russia until the end of the war. Like Yugoslavia, Bulgaria had entered upon the path of a Soviet-orientated state.

Peacemaking and Foreign Relations

Beginning with the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco in 1945, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, whenever represented or discussed at international conferences, have been led or supported by Soviet Russia. Thus they are both aligned with the "Eastern"

[10] For a brief description of the elections and the policies of the Dimitrov regime by a sympathetic observer, see Commander Edgar P. Young, "'People's Republic Bulgaria'," *Contemporary Review*, CLXXI (March, 1947), 162-66.

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side of the East-West division that seems to have split Europe and the world.

With respect to boundary settlements, Yugoslavia failed to get Trieste and an additional slice of Carinthia, although she won most of the Istrian Peninsula and much of Venezia Giulia which she had demanded. At the same time Bulgaria retained the part of southern Dobruja awarded her in 1941, but failed to get an outlet to the sea through "Aegean Macedonia" as she desired. Although both governments, along with Albania's, were guilty of permitting, if not fostering, attacks upon Greece by armed bands in support of Greek Communists and refused to coöperate fully with the United Nations investigating committee, it is not yet clear whether they hoped to wrest part of Macedonia from Greece by force or looked forward to a secession by a Communist group which would join the Yugoslav federation.

It is certain, however, that Bulgaria's relations with Yugoslavia were conducted in the spirit of the declaration of January 10, 1945 in favor of "the closest possible collaboration with the peoples of the new Yugoslavia." Tito more than once reciprocated this sentiment, raising the conjecture that perhaps the federal structure of Yugoslavia might be extended to embrace Bulgaria. Until August, 1947, however, collaboration took the form of an agreement, completed on August 2, upon a mutual assistance pact and full cultural and economic coöperation, described in the announcement as virtually wiping out the frontier between them. At the same time Yugoslavia made a series of agreements with Albania that integrated its economy closely with Yugoslavia's. Thus the century-old dream of Balkan Slavic leaders came close to realization by means of the binding force of Communism. In this and in many other respects Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are experiencing a revolution still at full tide. What the ultimate ebb and flow may bring still remains obscured by the uncertainties and imponderables not only within their boundaries, but perhaps even more by those in the world around them.

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* The author wishes to acknowledge the valuable assistance of Miss Ruth Savord, Librarian of the Council on Foreign Relations, in compiling this bibliography.

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[For historical data during the years 1918 to 1947, see category 116, entire article (pp. 604-621)].

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BALKAN VILLAGE

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by

IRWIN T. SANDERS

With Original Photographs by the Author

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Rila Monastery, sacred to Bulgarians for six centuries

[- Frontispiece -]

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FOREWORD

THE EUROPE of headlines and newsreels and newscasts is a Europe we Americans know all too well. It is the Europe of swiftly maneuvering armies, umbrellas of planes, and scorched earth. Its air is filled with noisy propaganda, whispered intrigue, and the cries of starving children. This was the Europe of tottering dictators and victims restive for the day of liberation.

There is another Europe whose foundations are laid far in the past of people working a well-loved land, of peaceful rivers carrying barges laden with fruit and grain, of families of storks returning from Egypt, as they have for a thousand years, to nest in the same protected spots. This is the Europe I have known and loved as I saw it from a tranquil village clinging to a Bulgarian mountainside, in the shadow of a twelfth century monastery.

No one village can typify a whole region, yet the faithful account of the everyday life of this Balkan village through the 1930's does reveal something deeper than the picturesque or the spectacular. It reveals the timbers out of which generations of rural Europeans have constructed their lives. And it reveals further the stability, the weakness and strength of a rural community where change comes not so much through violence as through the slow, inevitable processes of time. The prewar Europe of Baba Dragana's children, living out their patiently laborious days in the rhythm the seasons set for them, was to me the Europe that seemed permanent.

Yet in the Balkans today an irresistible force is meeting an immovable object—and both are being changed by the impact. Communism, with its dynamic drive for power, its sense of mission, and impatience for reform, is charging against the Balkan peasant mass, a mass which heretofore has preferred tradition to science and familiar ways of the past to what we moderns choose to call efficient living.

Dragalevtsy, the village described herein, brings this struggle into focus. It reveals the nature of that Balkan peasant mass wherever it

[Text begins on p. vii]

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is based on private ownership of home and fields; the travail of this village since the war reveals something of the kinds of forces now at work.

My sympathies go not to the extremists of either side—not to the revolutionaries of the moment nor to the devotees of the past—but rather to the millions of men and women and even little children who are caught, trapped, wedged in by the impact; people whose one desire is the opportunity to earn their daily bread, the chance to laugh and love and to close their eyes at night without dreading the thought of waking on the morrow.

IRWIN T. SANDERS
December, 1948

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

THIS BOOK has really been in process since 1929, the date of my first contact with the Bulgarian peasant and his interesting manner of life. Since that time many people have helped me gain the background out of which this book has grown. The people of Dragalevtsy themselves deserve a special tribute for their patience and co-operation; some of the government officials in Sofia provided basic statistical data; while my colleagues at the American College of Sofia aided me greatly in understanding the rural folk of Bulgaria. Dr. Floyd H. Black, President of the College, did much to facilitate my research and trips of investigation, and Dr. Heinrich Schneider, now of Cornell University, aided me in a search for German source materials. The late Professor Dwight Sanderson, of Cornell University, guided me through much of my research, even to the point of visiting me in Bulgaria. Dr. C. E. Black of Princeton University, Professor C. Arnold Anderson of the University of Kentucky, Mr. Clayton E. Whipple of the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Washington, and Dr. William Kling of the United States State Department have made many valuable suggestions. But I am more deeply indebted to my wife than to anyone else, especially for her constant interest in this task and her competent help.

The editors of the *Journal of Applied Anthropology, Rural Sociology, Sociometry,* and *Social Forces* have kindly permitted me to reprint material originally appearing in their publications.

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XV

BALKAN VILLAGE

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CHAPTER 1

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR VILLAGE

000 WINTER had begun. The first snow of the year had fallen. It covered the muddy streets of the village, softening the nakedness of the fruit trees which stood lonely in the bare yards. The wind from Mount Vitosha came whistling down the empty lanes, sending both man and beast to seek protection and warmth. The animals huddled in their thatched folds and shelters; the women and children crowded on the little stools near the fireplace at home. The fall sowing of wheat was in. The fields, wind-swept and snow-laden, were deserted, seemingly forgotten by the men and women who had spent so much time with them during the past months.

512 231 One ordinary day followed another. Every morning the water buffalo had to be groomed until they shone; the oxen had to be cleaned after the night in the dirty stall; these, as well as the sheep, had to be fed. Usually the animals received their meager rations before ten [291] o'clock. Shortly thereafter the men, wearing their dirty-gray sheepskin coats, their brimless lambskin hats, and their pigskin sandals, congregated at the taverns to relieve the monotony of their daily routine. At noon they plodded home to a lunch of beans, looked after the cattle once more, and gave commands to their womenfolk. The rest of the day was spent at the taverns in drinking and talking, interspersed with long, easy silences. After the evening meal, the cattle were fed again. Then the men dropped off to sleep along with the rest of the household.

181 829 The winds and enforced idleness of winter were not alone responsible for the apparent sluggishness on every hand. Slow motion was characteristic of Dragalevtsy life in general, but especially of the bodily movements of the people. *Ima vreme* (there's ~~plenty~~ of time) was either a practical philosophical tenet which explained their lack of hurry or else it was an expression frequently used to rationalize their casual manner. I never saw a peasant with a watch.

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000 hurry or else it was an expression frequently used to rationalize their casual manner. I never saw a peasant with a watch.

101 These quiet people of Dragalevtsy, whose way of life is not very different from that of peasants throughout the Balkans, are more than just Bulgarian peasants who arose in the seventh century from a dash of Tartar added to a predominantly Slavic mixture. They are a special breed of Bulgarians called *Shopi,* a term originally meaning boorish. That is, a *Shop* was a bumpkin. Some authorities say that this term was derived from *sop,* the long staff which the men of this area carried. Since those living in the *Shopsko* area, or the immediate vicinity of Sofia and Mount Vitosha, are in general more conservative than villagers elsewhere in Bulgaria, the word *Shopi* also carried the idea [144] of backwardness and mental simplicity. Among the many attempts to explain the special physical characteristics of these people, the most plausible theory is that of descent from the Pechenegi, or Mongolian tribesmen who infiltrated into that section of Bulgaria and nearby eastern Serbia in the eleventh century. Historians deal none too kindly with these Pechenegi; nor do the *Shopi* receive many compliments in contemporary accounts. Even their physical appearance is considered unattractive by many other Bulgarians.

142 From faces naturally swarthy, further darkened and weather-beaten by sun, rain, and biting winds, the small round eyes of Asia stare through one without giving an inkling of the impression registered. In the thin-lipped mouths of the young the teeth are gleaming white; beneath the drooping mustaches of middle-aged men teeth show yellowish in a rare childlike smile; and toothless gums accompany the gray stubbly beards of the old. Straight, prominent noses lend [302] ruggedness rather than beauty; the customary clipping of the scraggly black hair of the men reveals wrinkled, leathery necks; the hair of the women is worn in braids down the back, and hangs from beneath a kerchief that covers the top of the head. Here, too, age is clearly marked. The glossy, thick braids of the girls all too soon become, with advancing years, dull and thin and are often pieced out with other, brighter hair. The men are of medium height. Because their shoulders are so broad and their chests so powerful, their short, sturdy legs seem out of proportion. The women, slightly shorter, walk erect

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unless stooped by age. Hands seldom gloved in winter are rough 142
and dirty and calloused. I often thought that one of the strangest things about death was the way it quieted the hands of these simple folk, who, although reserved in demeanor, constantly gestured when they spoke.

I grew accustomed to the mannerisms of the people as well as 527
to the flavor of village life by slow degrees. At first I was attracted 535
most by the gala occasions, or the spectacular. There was the annual Christmas *horo* (folk dance) which provided the first break in the monotony of winter. On a comfortably mild Christmas Day old women and little children, the first to arrive in the main village square, sat in twos and threes waiting for the dancing to begin. Girls in their [301]
Sunday best, with necklaces of gold coins flashing in the sunlight, passed through the square and sang as they walked. They were bareheaded, [292]
since they could not yet wear the married women's head kerchief. As they drew closer, the blotches of rouge, the tremendous earrings, belts laden with clinking silver pieces, and heavy bracelets showed that the girls considered this no ordinary holiday. They formed a line, side by side, and began the dance after persuading the gypsy musicians to strike up a tune; one by one the boys who had come out of the taverns joined the moving line: one step to the right, one step to the left, then three steps to the right, kicking high as they stepped. As the dancing progressed, many married women participated, while the married men looked on with condescending interest. The little children, dressed like miniature adults, gathered on the fringes of the crowd to imitate the dancers. Gossiping groups formed, buzzed, and then dissolved to form anew.

A commotion arose in the center of the square as two young men fought over the cane which was carried by the leader of the *horo*. The leader was supposed to pay the musicians for the dances he led, in exchange for which he could direct the dancers in a serpentine movement, always in step with the music, so that they wound in and out with a "crack-the-whip" at every major bend of the line. To the peasant, the boisterous physical activity gives an exhilaration little else can induce. In fact, some of the "young blades" at this *horo* were so carried away with animal spirits that they performed six or seven steps

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"Their round completed . . . the milkmen began . . . to retrace the long uphill journey from the city's outskirts to the village." *See page 5.*

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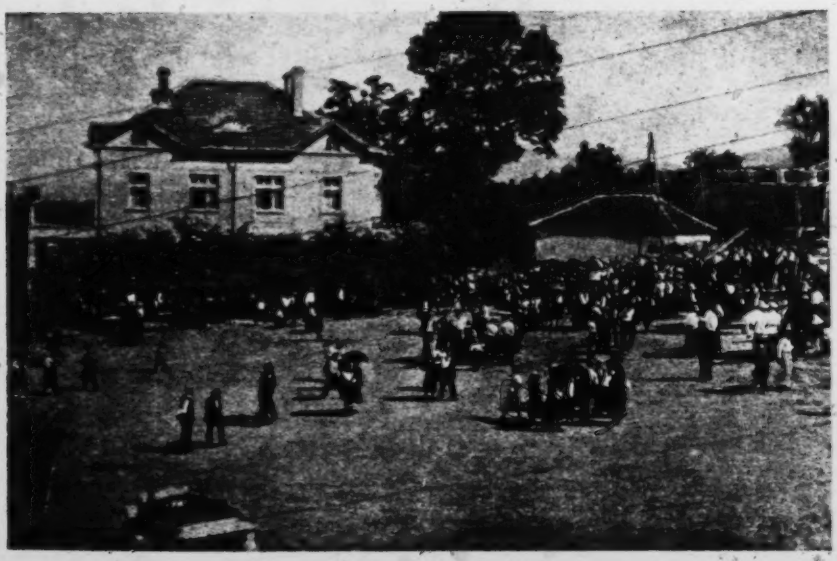

". . . in front of Bai Penko's tavern on the northern side of Renaissance Square." *See page 8.*

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535 to the prescribed two or three, tiring themselves out to the plaudits of
527 those close by.

To the old-timers, however, the modern version of the traditional dance was a sad commentary on the state of things. They thought the young people too soft. After I had been watching the *horo* for some time an old man hobbled up to me. I had seen him shaking his head and muttering to himself, so I asked him, "What do you think of it, *dedo?*" He grunted, "It's all right for the young people to have a little fun, but they aren't as strong as I used to be when I was young. I used to hoe corn, harvest wheat, and come back to dance all evening. The young people can't do that now. And I wasn't as healthy as my father used to be."

535 The village registrar, Bai Angel, told me why there had been a declining interest in the *hora,* especially those which used to occur around the neighborhood fountains. About seven o'clock the people used to go to the pasture to get their animals. If the animals were slow in coming, then the people danced the *horo* there in the fields. When the animals had been taken home, and after the girls had finished up their housework, they went with jugs to one of the three fountains in the village and there danced again until eleven o'clock. In 1924 more fountains were installed in the village, thus tending to break up the larger groups which gathered around the three original fountains. The girls preferred to carry water from the fountains nearest their homes, and no longer attended the evening *horo.*

517 Tavern life was another, less colorful way of passing the bleak
521 winter days. In the four ill-ventilated *kruchmi* the men gathered to
275 discuss the harvest and to argue over the news read aloud from yester-
203 day's newspaper. Some man sought his godfather, or the godfather of a recently christened son or daughter, and invited him to have a drink of *rakiya* (plum brandy) or wine. Sometimes men who had completed a business deal drank to clinch it. Men who had been in the army together told the same tall tales of adventure over and over again, re-creating those experiences which lifted them for a while out of their limited village environment. There were seldom any fights, because the frequenters put an end to disagreements before they got

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"The priest could look past the modern school building . . . to the church just beyond." Sofia is in the background. *See page 8.*

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"Yurdan, the leading tailor . . . and his wife Zdravka were a unique couple." *See page 14.*

[Facing p. 5].

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out of hand. The fact that not all patrons of the tavern drank liquor was shown by the comment of one of the villagers: 517 521

"I come to the tavern chiefly for the newspaper. I have a strong will, drink little, and know when to stop. The young men when starting the temperance association asked me to be president but I couldn't give up coming here for the newspaper. The small coffee house across the square has only room enough for five or six people and there's no point in going there. Many blame me for going to the tavern, but they have no interest in finding out what is going on in the world." 275 203

One advantage of visiting the tavern included the announcements that the town crier always made there as well as out in the square.

The tavern keepers, however, had no illusions about their standing in the public estimation. All of them were of the same peasant stock as their patrons, but had sold some of their land in order to set themselves up in business. 554 463

"If the people of the village took a vote, the majority would favor shutting up all the taverns. The people don't like us," was the tart comment of one tavern keeper. This dislike sprang from the indebtedness of so many people to the tavern keepers, as well as from the strong feeling many have toward the social consequences of excessive alcoholism.

There were, however, a number of men who had to miss the morning session at the Dragalevtsy *kruchmi*. They were the milkmen. Each morning while it was still dark eight tiny donkeys left their yards, pattered down the slope just outside the village, and followed the straight gravel road five miles to Sofia. They were accompanied by their prodding masters who kept an eye on the two or three large cans of milk which had been strapped onto the wooden saddles. These donkeys long ago learned to swallow any pride they might have had, for each morning, with monotonous regularity, they were overtaken by the high two-wheeled horse-drawn milk carts used by the remaining thirty Dragalevtsy milkmen. Once in Sofia, the majority of the milkmen covered their routes, knocking at the doors of the regular customers and waiting patiently for a container into which to pour a quart or so of milk from the large cans. The round completed, most of the milkmen began at once to retrace the long uphill journey from the city's outskirts to the village. 463 [231]

000 of the milkmen began at once to retrace the long uphill journey from the city's outskirts to the village.

576 Sometimes I overtook these men outside the village and fell in with them.[1] *"Dobra stiga"* ("Well-reached"), I said; and they answered, *"Dal ti bog dobro"* ("God has given you good"). The [822] amenities observed, I then asked about other matters. "How far is it from Sofia to your village?" Always the answer came in terms of "walking hours" and never in kilometers, the accepted measure of distance in Bulgaria. When we would encounter those going in the opposite direction we stopped our conversation long enough to say, *"Dobra sreshta"* ("Well-met"). When I chanced to inquire about the size of Dragalevtsy, the usual answer was, "About three [161] hundred houses." If I wanted to know how many inhabitants this would mean, I multiplied the figure by five, the size of the average household. (The difference between this crude estimate of fifteen hundred and the 1934 census figures of 1,669 persons meant little to the peasant.)

000 No, Dragalevtsy was in no sense of the word a large village, as Sofia savants used to point out to me when they asked where I saw material enough there for a book. Theirs was the loss. An old village with more than sixteen hundred people teems with life. The stuff of which its days are made is rich and lasting; the intricate crisscross of vigorous personalities and deep-rooted folkways proved a never-ending drama for which nature usually provided a superb setting.

788 181 The meadows were lush from the spring rains, some of the fruit trees were in bloom, numberless tiny silver streams spread a glittering net down the side of Vitosha, and a veil of green leaves lay over all the red roofs of the village. Against such a background, a group of peasants made ready for their pilgrimage to Rila Monastery. Such an occasion was as truly an outpouring of joy as was the departure of the Canterbury pilgrims in Chaucer's day. The clanging of the church bell summoned the friends and relatives of the departing pilgrims to the incense-filled church. Inside, before the iconostas, dark and gilt, the priest read a prayer and led the little flock of people to the edge of the village, to the beginning of the outside world, where the

[1] [i.e: milkman delivering their milk to Sofia--Analyst]

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travelers, dressed in their brightest, newest garments, were speeded on their way. The friends and relatives loaded them with money and presents of clothing, food, and wool, which the pilgrims were to donate to the great and holy monastery. The whole ceremony of leave-taking was made a part of the bright landscape by the flowers everywhere—on the dress of the pilgrims, fastened to the gifts, and carried in huge bunches. Upon their return a few days later the dusty pilgrims were met at the outskirts of the village and escorted home through the blue twilight by those eager to hear of every adventure during the days and nights in the great mountains, whose jagged walls have protected Rila Monastery for hundreds of years. 788 181

Formal piety, as shown in pilgrimages, was only one of the major characteristics which these Bulgarian villagers possessed. The Dragalevtsy people, especially the men, were predominantly literate. Bulgaria, despite what seems a forbidding Cyrillic alphabet, has the highest rate of literacy of all Balkan countries, a fact which can be attributed to the tendency to regard education as a panacea for individual and social ills. While only 44 per cent of the women over fifteen years of age could read and write, 92 per cent of the men were literate. Of course, I often came upon groups of peasants crowded around a friend slowly spelling out a newspaper article aloud, but these little clusters of attentive listeners originated because of the scarcity of newspaper subscribers, not necessarily because of illiteracy. 212

The Dragalevtsy people were also law-abiding. During the first three years I knew the village, and informants said that the record went much farther back than that, no Dragalevtsy peasant had been taken to Sofia for imprisonment. There was no local jail, nor any need for one. This was not a sign of the inefficiency of local police, but rather an indication of the peaceable and honest traits of the people. 181 697

In many other characteristics the villagers shared what have come to be known as the universal "rural virtues," for theirs was an agrarian way of life. More than three-fourths of the family heads were peasant proprietors. In addition to these, there were two other occupational groups: the intellectuals and the artisans. Despite their small number, the intelligentsia, as they were called by the peasants, were the most influential group in the community. Whenever the [181] 463 565 524 361 517

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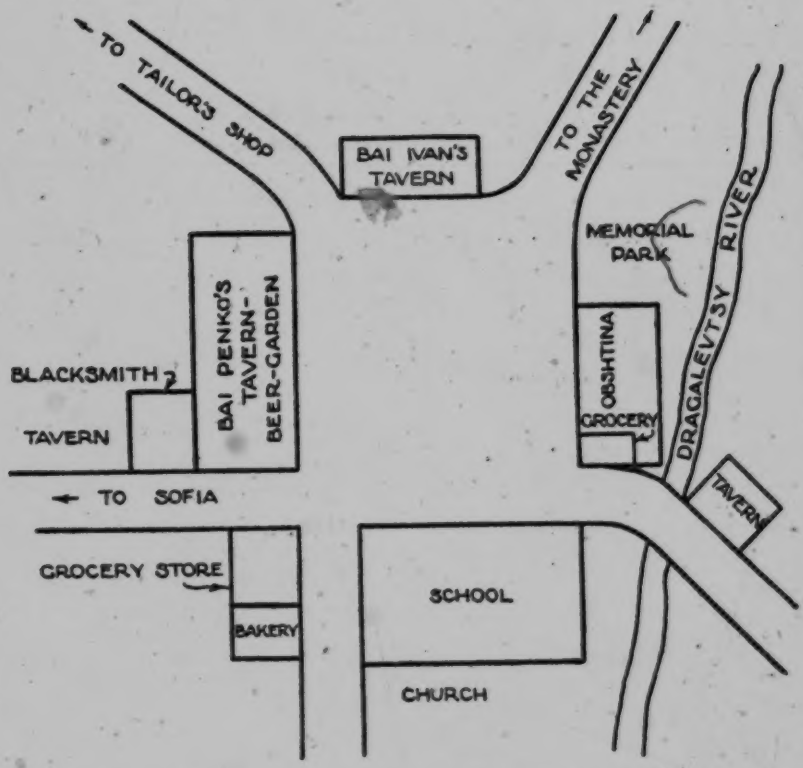

Renaissance Square, the focal point of Dragalevtsy's communal life

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weather was agreeable I was sure to find several of them playing cards in front of Bai Penko's tavern on the northern side of Renaissance Square, where the winter *horo* was held. Even though they sat engrossed in their game, they could still keep an eye on what was happening in the village, since this square was the focal point of community life. The mayor, for instance, could watch the Obshtina, or municipal building, across the square, as well as all traffic that entered this rocky plot of ground on its way to the city of Sofia below or to the monastery higher up Mount Vitosha. The priest could look past the modern school building, flanking the western side of the square, to the church just beyond. The village doctor's husband was near in

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case his wife needed him, although he invariably grumbled in his native Russian upon being called away from the game. A fourth hand during the summer was a reserve army officer whose intense love for German efficiency and ideology and whose contempt for the "ignorant, unreliable peasant" became bywords in the community. Peasants sitting on the porch of Bai Ivan's tavern on the eastern side of the square could observe with seeming indifference the intelligentsia at play, distracted though they were at times by the fervent temperance lectures delivered by the tavern keeper's daughter-in-law whenever she placed a glass of *rakiya* in front of a customer.

These intelligentsia proved to be interesting people. The mayor had a good education, completed by the study of law in Russia. His father had been a priest in Boyana, a village just four miles to the west, so the mayor, himself a *Shop,* knew the workings of the peasant mind. When he was sent to the village as mayor back in 1934, after the *coup d'état* of that year abolished all elections and deprived many local officials of their jobs, he issued a flowery proclamation which contained such thoughts as these:

> Therefore, as I take up my duties, desiring greatly to use the small abilities that I possess for the economic and cultural uplift of the villages included in the commune entrusted to my care, I wish to express my good feelings of loyalty and friendliness and attachment to the population and to certify that I am ready to work for the uplift of our commune and to be the loyal conveyor of its economic and cultural interests and needs.
>
> Imbued with the idea that we are all members of the same family, sons of mother Bulgaria, let us forget the recent past of shameful partisan struggles and begin to live as genuine brothers—Bulgarians filled with mutual love, patience, harmony, respect, and good will.
>
> Let us do our duty to these beautifully situated villages, perched on the slope of Mount Vitosha, and make them attractive gardens, with culture, and places of merriment and songs. . . .

The people soon learned that the mayor when excited talked so rapidly that he failed to enunciate clearly, and they always enjoyed mimicking this mannerism. They did not particularly resent his management of their affairs, despite the fact that he had been sent by the central government which gave local communes no choice in

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622 159 the matter. The mayor was happily married to an attractive wife, who dressed *po modata* (in the latest fashion) and kept her children so neat and proper that they contrasted vividly with the peasant urchins who ran up and down the unpaved streets.

625 159 622 The mayor was charged with maintaining law and order with the help of the *strazhar* (police officer), the field policeman, and the forest policeman. The second wandered from field to field to see that cattle did not stray unattended onto strips where there were growing crops; the forest policeman prevented the purloining of wood from the forest lands used by Dragalevtsy people. The mayor also acted as local justice of the peace, and was ex officio member of the school board, health board, and any other village organization he considered worthy of serious attention.

793 622 But the mayor, although he enjoyed the spotlight, had to share it with the village priest. For five centuries, while the Bulgarians were subject to the Turks, the priest was often the only person in a village with any formal education. He not only interpreted the laws of God, but the laws of man as well. The Bulgarian monks and priests helped keep the feeling of Bulgarian nationality alive during those dark days, and thereby eventually aided in the achievement of national independence in 1878 at the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish [554] War. Since traditions die slowly in a Bulgarian village, the position of the priest is still very high, although few people attend religious services and fewer people observe the rather rigid fasts of the Eastern Orthodox Church. However, the priest is an essential officiant at christenings, weddings, and funerals. Without him the peasants have no way of meeting life's major crises.

159 793 581 Father Sava was the *sveshtennik* or priest in Dragalevtsy. He wore with dignity his long black gown and high brimless hat, his uncut red hair in a knot at the back of his head, and a long auburn beard. I never failed to marvel at his wide range of interests. One day we would poke around his beehives; the next day he would show me his favorite photographs and competently discuss the relative merits of American and German cameras. But it was after I learned of the man's romance that I began to see him in a clearer light. The young lady whom he wanted to marry was the daughter of a priest

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who flatly decreed that his daughter could marry no one but a priest. 159
(Not only are priests well provided for financially, but they can marry 79
only once. This means that they supposedly take exceptionally good 581
care of their mates.) Sava had already completed the commercial gymnasium, had studied for two years in a school for leaders of co-operatives, and planned to attend the university. In order to comply with the demands of his sweetheart's father, however, he interrupted his educational plans long enough to prepare himself for the ecclesiastical examinations, which he passed with credit. He was then assigned to the Dragalevtsy parish. Meanwhile he had married the young lady of his choice. Soon thereafter he obtained leave of absence from his church responsibility in order to complete his work in Finance at the Svoboden (Private) University in Sofia. He was highly respected by the people whom he shepherded and was vitally interested in their welfare.

There were often two or three kibitzers while the intelligentsia 557
played cards. These were lesser officials interested in advancement, or well-to-do peasants who wanted to hobnob with the controlling group. None of these hangers-on had been westernized to the point [291]
of wearing a tie, and some of them still wore the heelless, pointed pigskin sandals.

Oddly enough for a Bulgarian village, the veterinarian and 759
physician were both women, who constantly found the patriarchal 562
traditions stumbling blocks to the winning of village support. The medical doctor was a Russian who had spent part of her childhood in San Francisco, but returned to the University of Petrograd for her medical training. After the Revolution she left Russia with her family.

The only other "educated" people in the village were the 875
teachers, eight in number, selected for their posts by outside school authorities rather than by the villagers themselves. Four of the eight had been born outside the pre-Hitler boundaries of Bulgaria, in territories which irredentist Bulgarians sought to recover permanently. Maria, for example, was from Dobruja, which was then a part of Rumania; Anna and Georgi were born in parts of Macedonia which

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"But the mayor, although he enjoyed the spotlight, had to share it with the village priest." *See page 10.*

[Facing p. 12]

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875 were turned over to Greece and Yugoslavia, respectively, after the first World War; while Dimiter was from the section of Thrace which Bulgaria was forced to surrender. Since the teachers had such backgrounds it was no wonder that adorning one of the classrooms was a sign, "NEMA MIR DOKATO NEUILLY" or "There will be no peace as long as the Treaty of Neuilly is in force."

The director of the school was a vigorous woman with splendid preparation for her task. She told me on several occasions how disappointed she was that her teachers took so little interest in helping the peasants improve their way of life. They were supposed to spend Sunday afternoons visiting the homes of their pupils in an effort to advise parents in matters of child care and standards of hygiene. Actually, the teachers, being all too human, preferred to spend the week end in Sofia rather than reform the unenthusiastic adults.

[565] 527 659 The intelligentsia were usually seen in their glory at some great occasion such as the celebration of an important holiday. The event which caused most excitement during my six years of residence in Bulgaria was the birth of Prince Simeon, heir apparent to the throne of his father, King Boris. The exercises which were held in Dragalevtsy four days after the royal birth in 1937 showed how the intellectuals worked hand in hand, since the school, the church, and the state were so closely allied.

[796] The crowd had to wait at least forty-five minutes for the priests from the monastery who were to help Father Sava with the liturgy of the *vodosvet,* or consecration of the holy water, whose sprinkling gave official religious recognition to the closing of the school year. Then the mayor began to speak the high-sounding phrases which the villagers loved to hear. He told them how significant for Bulgaria was the birth of Prince Simeon.

> June Sixteenth [he said] will be written in golden letters in the history of Bulgaria. June Sixteenth marks the day when an heir was born to the throne of Bulgaria. Our school house has no name, so I recommend that we petition for the right to call our school "Prince Simeon II." The first Simeon who reigned a thousand years ago was called Simeon the Great. I feel sure that Simeon the Second will likewise go down in history as Simeon the Great.
>
> [871] In honor of this great occasion, the Government has decreed that the marks of every student will be raised, so that no one will fail in any subject. [Hurrah!

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"Most of the houses in Dragalevtsy were one-storied." *See page 22.*

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"The hearth or stove was the focal point of the barely furnished living room." *See page 23.*

[facing p. 13]

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Hurrah!] That's right; nobody will fail. No pupil will repeat the class next year! [Hurrah! Hurrah!] All deportment marks likewise will be raised and anyone who has been expelled from school will be accepted back on probation. The government is cancelling over a billion leva in unpaid taxes and is freeing thousands of prisoners . . . . [871]

Before he finished he led the children, and such adults as would join, in further cheers for Prince Simeon, for King Boris, and for Queen Iovanna. After the school choir had sung the national anthem and the "Hymn to the King," all filed inside for the official graduation exercises. There were more patriotic songs and at least twenty declamations with such titles as "Three Days at the Battle of Shipka," "To our Teachers," "A Prayer to God," "I Like the Priest," "I am a Temperance Girl," and "Nature." Displays of the children's handwork, as well as these recitations, brought some recognition to the teachers who had worked behind the scenes. 527 659 871

The director in her remarks thanked the mayor and the priest profusely and the parents casually for the help they had rendered during the past year. When she was about to present the diplomas, such bedlam broke loose that few could hear the compliments she paid the brightest pupils, who had received as special awards from the mayor books on war and religion. The exercises concluded with the presentation of a large bouquet from the pupils to the school director, who politely accepted the flowers on behalf of all the teachers.

The intelligentsia just described had more importance than their village duties seemed to indicate. They were the channels through which the national state, the national church, and the national school system expressed themselves. No member of this select group was Dragalevtsy-born. Their high status rested not only upon the influence they wielded as representatives of powerful institutions, but also upon the fact that they were educated. Education, along with the patient accumulation of land and money, was one sound way of raising one's social position, and those who had persevered in its pursuit received due honor. As one father said to his son upon sending him to school: "If you don't study you will plow, sow, and work in the fields, and where will you get then?" 565 554 [555]

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The artisans, though few in number, comprised a third occupational group. Just because their knowledge and special skill raised them above the ordinary peasant, these artisans in no sense of the word walked in the rarified atmosphere of the intelligentsia. In 1937 the people of Dragalevtsy supported one blacksmith, one full-time and two part-time tailors, a cobbler, and a barber. Of course, the six or seven Dragalevtsy men who went to Sofia every day to ply a skilled trade were enumerated in the census but had little connection with the economy of the village. The few tradesmen were identified more with the agricultural group than with the artisans.

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One of the most picturesque characters in the village was Iliya, the smith. Dark-complexioned, sturdy of frame, with his stolid face weighed down by enormous mustaches, he was far too forbidding in countenance to attract the village children to his small establishment behind Bai Penko's tavern. In fact, customers often had to look for him in the tavern, where he consumed record-breaking quantities of liquor. In his sober moods he and his two apprentices occasionally worked fourteen hours at a stretch to finish up some much-needed job. The three of them combined wagon-repairing with blacksmithing, working at the lathe almost as frequently as at the anvil. However, frequent preoccupation with hinges, wagon bolts, horseshoes, plowshares, and wheel rims gave Iliya a fair claim to being a *kovach,* or smith. So did his master smith's certificate hanging on the wall.

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Yurdan, the leading tailor, was another artisan. He and his wife Zdravka were a unique couple in that they were the only Dragalevtsy people to become involved in divorce proceedings within recent years. To be sure, Zdravka withdrew her petition for divorce soon after it reached the high church court, which, rather than civil bodies, then decided upon all matters pertaining to marriage. Yurdan had a small but well equipped workroom attached to his trim little house. Although Dragalevtsy-born, he worked for twelve years in Sofia as an apprentice and *maistor,* later becoming the first tailor to set up business in Dragalevtsy.

I often went to converse with Yurdan and Zdravka, for I found them both loquacious and inclined to be objective in their views of village life. I questioned them in particular about the peasant costumes, which always seemed picturesque to me, a foreigner. It was Zdravka who told me how the women made their garments.

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which always seemed picturesque to me, a foreigner. It was Zdravka 000
who told me how the women made their garments.

"Women's clothing is made chiefly by hand and of homemade 294
cloth. In the homes we have very few sewing machines, which only the young girls know how to run. Most of the outer garments for men are made by the village tailor. All of us can do the traditional [531]
embroidery patterns which make our dresses so pretty, but we do not have as much embroidery now as formerly; the old women cannot see to do it and the young people want modern things."

Then Yurdan told what clothing the peasants bought:

"The women buy *zabradki* [pieces of cloth for the head]; every 291
once in a while they also buy some flannel or silken goods, and shoes. The old women wear *kozhusi* [sheepskin coats], for which they provide the hides or buy them ready-made. Men also have to buy these *kozhusi* in addition to headwear called *kalpatsi* [pointed brimless caps], or cheap cloth caps. Many men buy ready-made suits, especially if they are unmarried, for use on holidays. Even they, when working in the fields, go back to the more durable homemade garments which do not tear so easily. They also buy some shirts and sweaters, or *shubi* [short overcoats with fur inside], and shoes. In general the tendency of the younger people is toward city dress."

I asked them why everybody dressed so much alike. Both of 626
them chuckled and told me about the time the daughter-in-law from 291
the wealthiest peasant household, who had spent some time in Sofia, 178
tried to appear in a distinctive style at a Sunday promenade, only to find that the next Sunday many other girls were wearing the same innovation. Zdravka concluded from this incident:

"No, there is not much individuality in dress, for whenever someone gets something new the others copy it. Especially the young unmarried girls try to buy or to make something new so as to attract attention. But all the rest, as soon as they see it, won't take time to eat until they have made the same thing so that the one possessing it will not feel that she is in a higher position than others. It is this which makes the richer girls most angry."

This led to a discussion of how changes of style had come to the village. This is what Yurdan said:

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291 "Since the World War there has been much change. Men stopped
626 wearing their narrow white trousers which belted below the hips be-
178 cause they saw during the war that pants that belted above the hips were better. The women changed to lighter clothes because a woman from Vladaya [another village] came with others to visit here, married a Dragalevtsy man, and settled here. Other women saw that the clothes she wore were more convenient and began to adopt the new style."

The tailor's customers brought their own cloth. Five or six of the more fashion-minded young women brought dresses from other villages to be copied. A girl before marriage accumulated about twenty black *sukmani* (jumper dresses), all of the same pattern. She wore out about three of these a year. The men had one black and one rough everyday suit.

Much of the cloth was dyed at home by the peasants with the use of commercial dyes. Black was the universal color for men except in the case of the old style white trousers. If any man deviated from this fashion, people said mockingly, "You are a gypsy," thereby reminding him that he had better act like other people or run the risk of additional social disapproval.

291 Shoes in Bulgaria were definitely a sign of social rank. *Tsarvulin*
565 or "sandal-wearer," once a common term for farmer or peasant, has been somewhat displaced by *selenin* or "villager." As a matter of fact, most men in Dragalevtsy continued to wear the pigskin sandals, whereas all self-respecting village women possessed a pair of cheap western shoes. Comically enough, they frequently walked barefoot
463 and carried these uncomfortable badges of status. Just the same, these shoes periodically needed the services of a cobbler, who in Dragalevtsy happened to be the youngest married son of Bai Milush, a highly respected peasant proprietor. Three sons, their wives and progeny comprised part of the twenty people living in Bai Milush's patriarchal dwelling. As the land which will someday be divided up among the sons was limited, each son agreed to specialize along some particular line: the oldest was the dairyman, the middle son was the crop expert, and the youngest married son (and, incidentally, the most delicate in health) was a cobbler, whom the family agreed to send to a trade school in Sofia. Because he drove in his wooden pegs with the best of them, he was building up a profitable business in the village.

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a trade school in Sofia. Because he drove in his wooden pegs with the best of them, he was building up a profitable business in the village. 000

Barbers stayed only a short while in Dragalevtsy. One from Sofia opened up a shop on the main square with high hopes, but his white coat and swanky airs attracted only a few intelligentsia and summer residents, and practically none of the peasants. The barber that seemed to enjoy the most popularity during his erratic visits to the village frequented the taverns. When his services were in demand, he pulled the victim's chair to a corner where he set to work in view of the general public. His mellow tenor voice, none the worse for his imbibing, brought him more trade than his ability as a barber. 305

Other artisans were even more itinerant than the barbers. The *maistori* (contractors, master builders) came to the village whenever a building was to be put up. One day in the fall of 1934, upon arriving in Renaissance Square I was amazed to see a shirt and a flag flying atop the highest beam of the then unfinished Obshtina, or municipal building. I heard a powerful voice calling out: 331

"Half a gallon of wine from Ivan Stoynov! May there be as many blessings in his house as there are ants in the field; may his joys be as numerous as the leaves on the trees."

The voice paused for a minute or two, perhaps for the owner to sample the wine, but soon rang out again substituting "two pairs of stockings" for the "half a gallon of wine" in the chant about the ants in the field and the leaves on the trees. I soon learned that the villagers had chosen this day to carry out the traditional practice of bringing presents to the master builder for distribution to his workmen, who were dutifully acknowledging the gifts in the accepted manner.

The tinsmiths usually were gypsies who spent a few days each year in Dragalevtsy. In spite of their low social position they performed a useful task in keeping the pots and kettles serviceable year in and year out. 326

My growing acquaintance with the people and the work they did helped me to sense the atmosphere of Dragalevtsy life. But I soon began to feel, with the peasants, the dominance of the great mountain 133

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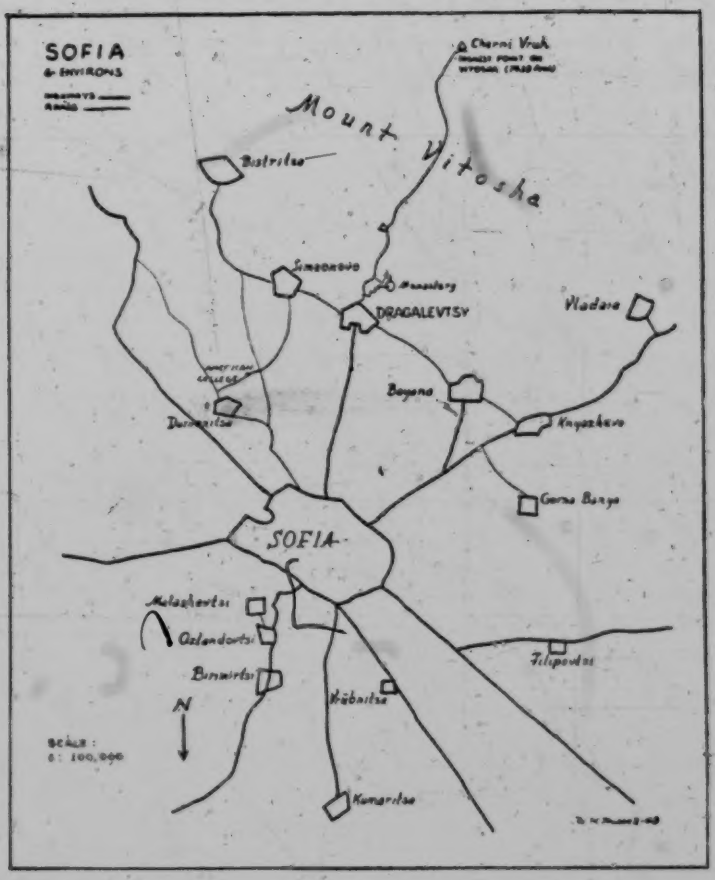

133 on whose side the village lies. That huge, partly naked mass of diorite which is Mount Vitosha rises majestically with barely perceptible foothills out of the broad Sofia plain to a height of seven thousand feet. The side of the mountain toward Sofia is twelve miles long, and is brightened in spots by the brilliant patches of the red-tiled houses of the principal villages. Farthest to the west, nearest to Sofia, is Boyana, where many of the peasants have sold their farms to real estate agents, and thus have earned the contempt of their landed Dragalevtsy neighbors two miles to the east. Dragalevtsy, partly up the slope, lies between the fields which fan out below and the scrubby

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trees above, pitiful reminders of a once-proud forest. A hurried 133
mountain stream called Dragalevtsy River passes through the village and, in doing so, turns the grist mills and assists with the washing of clothes.

A mile to the east of Dragalevtsy is Simeonovo, a settlement de- 186
cidedly run-down at the heel. It was here that I spent a busy morning trying to explain to two villagers that the earth was really global rather than flat. Farther on around the shoulder of the mountain is Bistritsa, where the people are said to sing as they dance the *horo:*

> "There is no city more populous than Sofia,
> There is no river more majestic than the Iskar,
> There is no mountain more lofty than Vitosha."

This is an accurate illustration of ethnocentrism, or the belief prevalent among most people that they, and they alone, are the center of the universe and God's chosen children.

My usual approach to the village was across the unfenced fields 631
and up the mountainside. Sometimes I came along the dull road from Sofia. By either way, the great mountain, changing color from hour to hour, was a rest to the eyes. The way across the fields led one gently into the village through patches of vegetable gardens and clumps of overhanging fruit trees. Upon entering the village from the direction of Sofia I passed the cemetery and then was closed in between whitewashed walls which lined the curving streets. Animals [231]
also felt much at home in these streets. Just before sunset the village goatherd headed the two hundred animals in his care toward the settlement. Into Renaissance Square they trotted, a capering mass of gray, black, and white. At each street several goats detached themselves from the rest to run unguided into their respective dwellings. The same scene occurred when the pigs came squealing home. At other times of day peasant girls passed by carrying washing to be pounded on rocks and dipped into the icy water of Dragalevtsy River. Hikers, many of them, lounged around Bai Penko's, or tramped through the streets obviously amused at the manners of the peasants.

Few things were as dependent upon the weather as the state of 132
the village streets: muddy beyond description in the autumn and spring,

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732 dusty in the summer, icy or slushy in the winter. The refuse from most of the houses flowed through little trenches into the ditches along the streets, thence to be carried, if enough water could be diverted from Dragalevtsy River, to some place below. Fortunately, blasts of fresh, pure air rolled down from the mountain most of the time.

354 While all of the mountain villages had the same kind of streets as Dragalevtsy, it alone had electricity. These other villages disappeared from the sight of men as soon as shadows stole up the mountainside, but Dragalevtsy burst into view at dusk as electric lights from street and dwelling shone against the dark background of Vitosha, vividly revealing the location and size of the village. (Electric lights were first used there in 1928.) The lights of the village used to go out one by one as bedtime approached, and at ten o'clock even the street lights were off, leading one to the conclusion that the street lights were as much for adornment as for public safety.

000 Frequently I had to leave the village alone after dark to return to the American College, where I taught and lived during most of the year. Invariably the peasants, still under the sway of a custom wise enough in Turkish times, argued that sensible people never left the village late at night.

"But what is there to be afraid of?" I asked.

"Oh, but one never can tell."

"Are there bandits around?"

"Thank God, no."

"Will I run into wolves?"

"No, not at this time of year. But there are sheep dogs."

"If sheep dogs are all I have to worry about, I guess I had better be starting," I told them.

They would then reply:

"*Gospodine* [Mister], you are a brave man," but I could tell from the way they shook their heads when they spoke that they considered me more foolhardy than brave.

Once away from the village I turned to look at the irregular string of beads of light that was Dragalevtsy and thought of the people with whom I had talked during the day and of their homes, around which centered their simple hopes and unpretentious dreams.

CHAPTER II

THE HOUSE BECOMES A HOME

ALTHOUGH I had been studying Bulgarian peasant life for three years before concentrating upon Dragalevtsy, I never ceased to marvel at the home life of these people. Their quiet, satisfied way of taking their marriage partners for granted, the manner in which they treated their children, and the brief courting days of the young invariably fascinated me. Therefore, I started at the beginning to learn. 000

"How do you build a house?" I asked, eager to check my observations with their frequently droll explanations of why they did as they did. 342

The seriousness with which the peasants replied showed that building a house, although it cost only five or six hundred dollars, was a tremendously important undertaking to the Dragalevtsy family. The "new house" was discussed for a year or two in advance by the members, who also consulted kinsmen and neighbors before eventually deciding as to the type of dwelling desired. Before they could begin [656] any construction the villagers had to get a permit from the Department of Engineering in Sofia, which sent out an engineer to "draw up the line" and to offer the choice of two or three plans. The government in requiring this permission sought to do away with the long, unhygienic, old-style type of home which the peasant would traditionally build. The fee for the services of the engineer was about a dollar and a half.

The family members next began to gather the materials. They piled up wagonloads of stone, and purchased sand, lumber, brick, and tiles before they called in the master builder *(maistor)* from outside to tell him what kind of house they wanted and to agree verbally about details. If all the materials had been gathered ahead of time, 342

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342 the house went up quickly, perhaps within three weeks. The skilled labor was furnished by workers brought into the village by the *maistor*.

A brief ceremony accompanied the completion of the simple stone foundation. The priest sprinkled holy water on the new construction, and the chief guests signed their names on a parchment which was then placed in a bottle filled with olive oil and wine and thrown into a deep hole later to be filled in as part of the foundation. Food and drink were served to the guests.

Most of the houses in Dragalevtsy were one-storied, though the slope of the land often made possible a room just below the first floor. The inner wall, made of crude mud brick, was covered inside and outside by mud plaster, which was whitewashed when dry. As soon as the roof beams were in place, before the colorful red tiles were added, a cross was tied aloft to stand guard, as it were, until the house was completed. The houses, on the whole, impressed me as being small and low, so low in fact that repeated bumps finally taught me to keep my head down upon entering a room. Only one-third of the homes had as many as three rooms. Almost half of the homes had wooden floors; the rest were of clay, packed to the hardness of concrete by the tread of bare and sandaled feet.

Soon after occupying the house and scrubbing it very clean, the family fasted one week in order to insure success and good health. The following Sunday, after the morning church service, two priests, the neighbors, relatives, and specially invited friends arrived to dedicate the home. For an added fee the priests substituted the more efficacious oil for the ordinary holy water; they read passages from the Gospels; swung their smoking censers; and displayed the other sacred objects called for by the ritual. A festive meal followed. The family was now at home.

These various ceremonies, perfunctory though they sometimes were, heightened the significance of the home and showed the close alliance between the formalized religion and family life. In other words, moving to a new home was a major undertaking which occurred not more than once or twice in a lifetime. Such an event called for solemnity and the benediction of the priest.

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The hearth or stove was the focal point of the barely furnished living room. When winter came the small fires burned steadily, but slowly as though undernourished. For fuel, people in Dragalevtsy used small branches brought from the village forest up on the mountainside, though a few bought coal from the mine at Pernik. No longer did they burn cow dung. Older people of the family felt that fire was sacred because it could bring on great disasters; therefore, it should not be treated lightly. The aged would never think of spitting in the fire, and gravely deplored this disrespect of the young. This attitude is perhaps an ancient survival of the days when the Bulgarians were sunworshipers. 354 372

The walls of the homes were pierced by comparatively few windows, which were small and were kept tightly shut during the winter to keep out the "dangerous" night air. The rest of the wall space was brightened somewhat by gaudy calendars decidedly patriotic in theme. The iron bedsteads or the heavy wooden beds which lined the walls contrasted strikingly with some homemade cradle or trundle bed reserved for the succession of young. A kneading trough stood near the door, usually covered to serve as a table. The only other table was a low circular *sofra* around which people ate seated on three-legged stools. I once asked a peasant: 342 [353] 352 811

"Why do all of your little stools have three legs instead of four?"

"Far back in the past people used such stools and so we use them also. And I guess they are easier to be made and also are cheaper; furthermore, some people think that they keep a better balance since on a three-legged stool there is one less leg to wear down and become uneven than would be the case with a four-legged stool."

I have not been able to discover any flaw in this example of peasant logic. The same woman once explained to me why the people use the *sofra*, which is two feet high:

"This height was chosen through the ages because if it were lower, people would have to sit on the dirty floor. If it were the height of a regular table such as people have in the taverns, the three-legged stools would be too short. Therefore, the height of our table and the height of our stools are intimately connected."

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353 No home was really furnished until it had a small wooden
777 iconostas which contained an icon, a picture of the Virgin or a saint. The iconostas was usually placed in the east or southeast corner of the room. In case some disaster befell the family, they found out to which saint the unlucky day belonged, and got a picture of him for their iconostas. Thereafter, on his name day they did no work and used holy water in the house. In the *kandilo,* the small lamp before the icon, they burned olive oil during church time and on the eve of holidays. In case the family had used holy water at home in the hope of curing some sick person, the flowers with which the water had been sprinkled were placed on the household shrine.

352 Usually there were a number of small implements or articles
285 scattered about the room. A two-edged axe might be leaning against the door frame, and old clothes or bed clothes hanging from a long thick pole in a corner. I often saw in common use small baskets obtained from the gypsies. For pay, the gypsies asked the purchaser to fill the basket with beans or wheat, which they retained. The peasants themselves, especially the shepherds and goatherds with much leisure on their hands, made the very large baskets or hampers used for carrying hay or straw. These baskets stood in the entryway or hung under the eaves.

312 Only a few of the Dragalevtsy homes had a washstand, but even for these the water had to be carried from the nearest fountain. Over and over again the peasant women would say:

"We would like to have running water in our houses because it would help us a lot and make our life a little easier. But we don't have the money, and all this needs much money for installing a water system in the house, and also we would have to pay quite a high tax to the Obshtina. Anyway, the fountains in the village are sufficient and it doesn't take us much time to go and get water."

415 The water was carried from the fountains either in clay vessels
312 called *stomni* or in the more modern large copper vessels called *mentsi.* The long sticks on the ends of which the water vessels were suspended were called *kobilitsi.* The water from the fountains was used only for preparing food and drinking, and the water for the animals came from the little brooks in the street. Maintaining personal cleanliness was

Maintaining personal cleanliness was
very difficult indeed. Not only did the villagers have to contend with 515
the problem of carrying water but also with the lack of privacy in their crowded dwellings. One peasant said:

"We have no public bathhouse in our village, so only the wealthier people can take baths, because they are able to go to the nearby villages two or three times during the summer and make use of the mineral baths. In general, we do not bathe in fall, winter, or spring. If we bathe in the summer at home, we use a wooden tub and warm water. Sometimes when the weather is warm, men and women [of course, separately] bathe in the river. When the women are bathing there must be someone to guard against their being seen by others. Regularly at least once a week we wash our heads with soap and hot water, and also wash our faces and hands in the morning, but not necessarily with soap. No, we do not wash our hands before every meal, nor do we ever wash our teeth."

Throughout Bulgaria it was a common courtesy to say to a friend who had just emerged from a bath, *"Chestito banya"* or "Congratulations on your bath." However, if one dreamed of bathing, the villager [787]
would tell him that some trouble, perhaps death, was imminent.

I was surprised to find that some of the poorest homes had elec- 373
tricity. The occupants explained:

"Oh, we find electricity cheaper than petroleum lamps provided we use small electric bulbs. Those who do not have electricity in their homes know of this advantage but have never saved up enough money to put in the wires."

And there they sat on a winter's night: the older women doing 512
fine, closely stitched embroidery, the girls knitting, and the man per- 373
haps reading a newspaper. The only illumination in the whole room, except for the flicker of the fire in the sheet metal stove, was a fly-specked twenty-watt bulb swinging from the ceiling.

The two or three large kettles hanging over or resting on the 415
floor beside the stove, the knife and fork rack on the wall, and the 262
few pottery dishes stacked on the kneading trough called my attention to the peasant's food habits. This was the way the people described their diet:

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262 "The villagers generally feed themselves well. Of course, it depends upon how rich the family is. But usually we Dragalevtsy people do not think much about the money we give for food and drink. We are not stingy. The people here eat beans, potatoes, rice, cheese, milk, and meat. We do not use tea as food, for it is only water and does not satisfy us."

Here is what another informant added:

"Indeed there is variety in the diet throughout the year. During the summer months we use mainly vegetables produced at home or bought from the market. In the winter we eat potatoes, beans, and conserved foods [chiefly pickles]. Meat, milk, and rice are eaten throughout the whole year. We eat few eggs because we sell most of our eggs in Sofia. Since so many of us keep cows we naturally have begun to give our children milk to drink. We all are very fond of *kiselo mleko* [Bulgarian "sour milk"], which we eat with a spoon during the winter. In the summer it is thinned with water and mixed with garlic, walnuts, and chopped cucumber and is the dish [called *tarator*] that we most prefer on a hot day in the field. Since most of our dishes are stews we use a great deal of bread, which is baked by the women once a week in the ovens standing in the yards just for that purpose."

I had seen a number of large vegetarian restaurants in the city, but the peasants dismissed this Tolstoyan influence in a sentence:

"The people of Dragalevtsy are not so foolish as to eat no meat, for how can man be strong and able to work if he does not eat meat?"

In spite of this point of view the fact remains that the diet is largely vegetarian except for the traditional pig at Christmas, a lamb on Saint George's Day (May 6), milk, and cheese.

264 Food is served either on a *trapeza* (a piece of cloth on the floor) or on the *sofra,* the low table previously described. It was a rare experience to have one's first meal with a peasant family. To begin with, there were no individual plates or dishes; instead, one satisfied his hunger from the nearest dish from which three or four others might be eating. If a chicken had been boiled, the spoons struggled for favorite pieces of fowl; if there was chicken broth, even of a particularly delicious flavor, vinegar was added in quantity to make it

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palatable to peasant taste. If the bread supply gave out at the table, the diners sat calmly without eating until the new loaf was brought in, for it was almost impossible for them to eat unless holding a piece of bread in the left hand. Dunking was the approved method of disposing of the juice of a stew. When eating, one was apt to get a greasy coating on the lip; the accepted technique was to scrape this off with a piece of bread already on its way into the mouth. Forks and small spoons were used only when there were guests. But why should table manners not be simple and direct?

"Knives for everybody are not used. There is one knife at the table, but people use their hands, for we peasants say, 'For what did God give the fingers to man if he does not use them to feed himself?' "

As for the preparation of the food:

"Usually it is the duty of the oldest woman in the family to prepare the food, because she knows the best how to cook and she can cook most deliciously of all. In case she is sick, then her daughter-in-law or her daughter cooks. If there are not such, then the man cooks." Here my informant sniffed and added scornfully, "Of course, in such a case dry food is eaten chiefly, but even the men can cook at least some of the dishes."

I asked another woman who really "knew her place," as a Dragalevtsy man would say, whether men could cook:

"Of course, men can do everything woman does, but woman cannot do everything men do. Who cooks for those men that are shepherds or work in the forests but they themselves? Men do not need women half as much as women need men. Yet we all recognize that cooking is for the women, not for the men."

No matter what time of day I entered a village home the *domakinya* (housewife) with unfailing and genuine hospitality offered me food or drink. I began to wonder when the people had their regular meals and found that some homes had no regular mealtimes; instead, people got up and took a piece of bread or anything else available whenever they were hungry. In most families, however, about nine o'clock in the morning a meal called *ruchok* was served to all; at about two, dinner was served, and two hours after sunset the people gathered for supper. One villager put it this way:

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264 "When we work in the fields we eat five times daily: as soon as we reach the place we have a light lunch *(zakuska)*, at nine we have the *ruchok*, at one dinner, at five another *zakuska*, and in the evening after finishing work we have supper. We older people don't eat between meals but let the children do so if they are hungry."

262 252 From time to time during my stay in the village I tried to teach the tavern cook some simple and uncomplicated western dish to vary the biting peasant food. She tried faithfully but unsuccessfully to comply. After one such hopeless but courteous attempt she read me a little lesson in village menus:

"We Dragalevtsy people are pretty conservative in everything and have added no new dishes to our menu. The western combinations which people eat in Sofia are tasteless and slimy. If one doesn't use lots of salt, hot pepper, and vinegar, then the food has no taste at all."

273 Beverages other than milk and wine made little appeal. Wine was much in evidence on holidays or when there were guests. An average village home would use from 250 to 300 quarts of wine a year. Most of the *rakiya* was drunk either at the taverns or on festive occasions. In commenting on the liquor consumption of the village one man said:

"We are not such fools as not to drink wine, for the wine is transformed into blood and gives strength to man."

000 Someone has said that a house does not become a home until it knows a birth, a wedding, and a death. In other words, it is more than plaster walls, crude furniture, and steaming food. It is even more an association of memories deeply rooted in family crises.

844 [591] A frequently recurring crisis in Dragalevtsy was childbirth, which always took place in a home, never in a hospital. Usually it was the home in which the couple lived, for only rarely did the wife return to her paternal home for the event. When a woman learned that she was pregnant, she told the fact only to her own mother and to her husband, embarrassment preventing further disclosure. The mother-in-law learned about it a month later, for in the words of one of the older village men:

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843 [606]

"She always looks at the undershirts of the daughter-in-law that are to be washed, and so draws the conclusion that leads her to ask the younger woman in the conventional phrase, 'Something's going to happen, isn't it?' The daughter-in-law becomes very embarrassed and does not say anything until the older woman assures her that it is something perfectly natural and something which she herself has experienced. Then the daughter-in-law will answer, 'Well, I don't know. Maybe there is such a thing as you suggest.' So pregnancy," concluded this informant, "is considered rather immoral and women are embarrassed to tell the others about it."

Because of the shyness and innate modesty of the Dragalevtsy matron, remarkable traits in view of the crowded living conditions, I found it helpful to supplement and check the information given by men in this connection. Miss Petrana Peneva, of the American College, rendered invaluable aid in interviewing the women.

No special prenatal care was given to the mother in spite of the efforts on the part of the doctor to get such women to come for advice. The villagers know that the mother-to-be must not bend much nor lift heavy things. They also told her not to jump over a dog, "because the child would then have a hoarse voice or no voice at all." Generally she was given whatever she asked for on the grounds that "if she is not satisfied, there is danger that the baby in her will die." One day I attended a carding *sedenka,* which was a gathering of about twenty women in one of the homes to help the hostess card her wool. I noticed that one woman, obviously pregnant, tasted the stew being prepared for dinner in the entryway each time she passed it. I was given two reasons for this: "She better than anyone else present could judge the correctness of the seasoning" and "If she did not taste of the food each time she passed, she would have a miscarriage." Yet custom did not allow the expectant mother to eat fresh fish because "the nose of the baby will be closed [adenoids]"; nor could she drink from a pail of water for fear that the baby if a boy would be born with swollen sex organs. But, other than these practices and prohibitions, little fuss was made over the expectant mother. No special prayers were said for her nor were any special services held. "The woman is born

The woman is born

562 to be a mother. She knows it and, as her duty, should not expect anything from the others."

843 Before the birth of the child, swaddling clothes were prepared, and a cradle and wooden tub were bought. The mother herself was not supposed to sew because it was believed that this would make the baby dumb. In fact, nobody went to any trouble at all to provide an elaborate layette, for that would really seem to the peasants like tempting fate. One of the men asked me, "Who can tell whether it will be a boy or a girl, and most important, who has unnecessary money to throw away in vain, for the baby may die?"

844 At the delivery of the baby, all the young people were sent away, and only the old people and the midwife remained with the mother. "The business of the relatives is to give courage to the mother, and in case the delivery of the child is painful, the midwife massages and carefully pulls the baby out."

The peasants much preferred the midwife or *baba,* to whose old-fashioned ways they were accustomed. To be sure, they called in the village doctor if the case seemed very complicated or if the woman fainted in labor. Dr. Chirkova has encountered many interesting superstitions and folkways in her village experience; these she included in her annual reports to the District Health Office. For instance, since the baby is supposed to be born on straw, in conformity with the birth of Christ, some deliveries occurred in mangers where the doctor was quite apt to find the baby blue with cold. There were instances of women who kept the pains secret from everyone, especially the husband, for they did not "want to add to his troubles." Some of these women even went so far as to remain alone during the childbirth, cutting the cord with a sickle and tying it with their own hair. Such instances, however, were exceptional.

Many deliveries were made with the woman standing, but when labor seemed to be difficult those in attendance put a rope beneath her breasts, tied it to the ceiling, and swung her "in order that the baby [776] might be born more easily." To lessen the ordeal still more, the *baba* moistened the lips of the woman with an herb called "The Hands of the Holy Virgin," which had been put into a bowl of water. It is assumed that the Virgin will render direct aid.

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Should the baby appear to be in the wrong position for delivery those attending put the mother in a rug and swung her until the baby came into the "right" position. Normally coffee or wax was used on the navel "so it will stay there one week without falling." Furthermore, the mother was supposed to drink some of the water in which the baby was washed and to which a clove of garlic had been added "in order that the mother's milk may come sooner." 844

"After the baby has arrived the children are told that the stork has brought a little brother or sister to them through the chimney and they are very glad about it," was the way a proud young father phrased the matter in the course of our conversation about the arrival of his son.

The taboos of childbirth did not cease with the birth of the child. Since the woman was considered unclean for forty days she had to remain at home and was not allowed to attend the christening of her own child. At the end of this period she went to the church for a special purification ceremony at the hands of the priest. 846 [783]

If the child had a birthmark, many peasants assumed that the mother had stolen some object which touched her own body where the birthmark appeared on the child. Any serious abnormality in an infant was explained by the *babi* on the grounds of too close kinship of the parents to each other or the occurrence of conception on Tuesday, Thursday, or Saturday night, each of which is supposed to be kept free of intercourse because Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday are holy days. As one would expect, the latter taboo is of little importance nowadays; it is simply recalled as a convenient way of explaining something out of the ordinary. 826 842

Some of the more ignorant peasants rubbed the head of a very sick infant with urine or, if the baby was born with a "closed nose," a cure was "effected" by putting a small fresh fish tailfirst up the nose. Afterwards the fish was put under a stone. 854 757

To keep the mother from fainting during her convalescence the family surrounded her with incense smoke and burning feathers both morning and evening, and gave her holy water to wash the baby's face and her face. Should some member of the family have returned after dark he could not enter the room where the mother was lying. She 846

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"For fuel, people . . . used small branches brought from the village forest up on the mountainside." *See page 23.*

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". . . we use a great deal of bread, which is baked by the women . . . in the ovens standing in the yards. . . ." *See page 26.*

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846 herself was not allowed out after sunset, but if she should have to go, "she takes a burning coal with tongs out with her, after leaving a broom near the baby to use in defending himself against the devil."

854 The baby's clothes were taken from the line before sunset. They were first held over the fire before they were put on the baby. During the whole first year the clothes were not turned inside out, nor were they pounded when washed by the customary *buhalka* (paddle). If this should be done, the baby might be afraid of thunder. Furthermore, the water in which the baby had been bathed could not be thrown out after sunset.

854 757 If a child became sick, "the first thing was to warm him, for he might have caught cold." Then he was given some home remedies prescribed by the *babi*. If the child did not then recover, the parents tried everything they knew, hoping that after some time "everything bad would pass away." In case the child grew worse, they called some of the neighbors or some old woman to come to see him. Only in very serious cases, when the peasants became convinced that nothing could help the child, would they carry him to the doctor. The reason for taking the child to the doctor was to save the extra fee charged for a home visit. Finally, "if God has given the child some more days to live, then the child will recover; if not, then his days are finished and God wants to take the child." (It is no wonder, then, that in Bulgaria [165] 123 out of every 1,000 infants born in 1941 died during their first year of life. Although this represented a decline from the 1938 figure of 144, it still is more than two and one-half times the rate in the United States, which was 46 in 1941.)

758 The care given to a sick adult differed somewhat from that given to a sick child. When a person had been ill for a long time, his relatives went to the priest for holy water called *babina voda* (old woman's water) by the less respectful peasants. Sometimes the family let the sick person drink some of this water, but this practice was falling into disuse, "for the young people do not believe in it." I was told that very few believed in the curative power of the icons; but if a sick person should happen to, he was carried to the church to kiss the icon.

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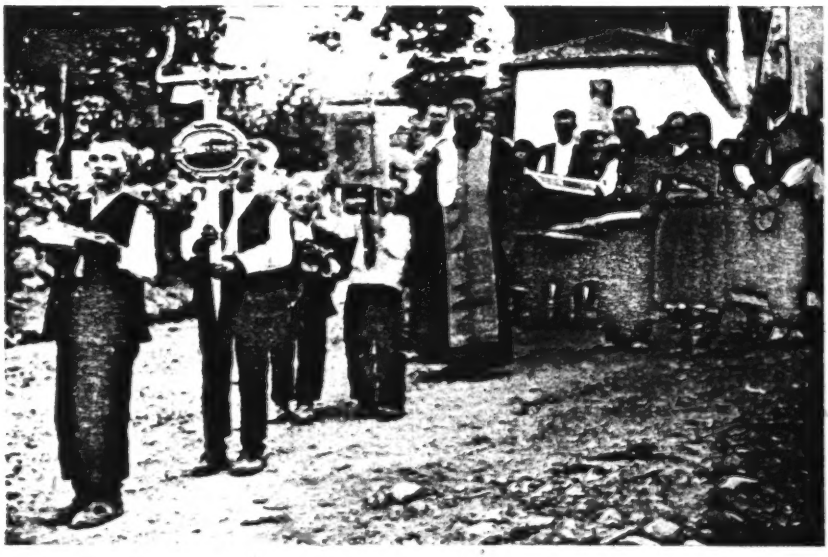

"The procession . . . was led by a boy carrying . . . boiled wheat to be placed on the grave." *See page 38.*

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"Many times we carry clothes to the river . . . where we pound them with the *buhalka.*" *See page 39.*

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Prayers were also believed efficacious. As soon as a person became sick, his people prayed to God to help him and cure him. In addition, the priest prayed for the sick individual in the church (or in the home if the sick person could not go to the church) asking God to cure his servant from such and such a sickness and to give him peace. Candles were burned when the prayers were being said, but the burning of these candles was not supposed to have any curative power. "This service is performed more for the old people and although it is said to be *vetur rabota* [plumb foolishness], yet many times it helps the sick to recover. Nowadays people do not believe in God and this is why many people die, and also that is why life in general is as it is, so heavy." 758 782 [761]

In looking for the causes of illness the peasants also turned to the Almighty who, it was formerly believed, sent sickness as a punishment upon individuals for wrongs they had done. While many people in 1937 had the same attitude, there were some who accepted the germ explanation. But even some of these, if a sickness dragged on and on, suspected that God might be meting out some punishment, germs or no germs. Here was the way they so often put it: "And God has the right to punish the people, for now they have begun not to believe in him and not to listen to him. Now the people are forgetting God and are with the Devil." 753 771

The villagers knew the names of only a few diseases and classified all illnesses under one of these few. The worst disease was the "plague" (typhoid fever), then tuberculosis, *sharka* (pox), scarlatina, and finally, "a bad cold." The doctor used a more scientific classification in listing the causes of death. Her report for 1936 showed that thirty-three people died within the year. Diseases accounting for four deaths each were tuberculosis, nervous disorders, and pneumonia; those accounting for two deaths each were scarlatina, whooping cough, diphtheria, cancer, heart disease, old age, and childbirth (mother); those causing one death each were childbirth (infant), typhus, erysipelas, bronchitis, diarrhea, digestive ailment, and accident. Her scientific approach did not necessarily mean that the doctor's recovery percentage was very high, because patients were brought too late for proper treatment. Therefore the peasants said: "And 753 [165]

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753 many times the doctors cannot help. They cannot give a second soul to the sick. If he has some more days to live, he will live; if not, he will die. Doctors are not God and even the doctors die as well."

767 In keeping with this fatalistic attitude toward sickness, the peasants accepted death as simply as they would any life process. Before I began my study of Dragalevtsy I was already familiar with the peasants' conception of death. One account which had proved helpful in gaining this understanding appeared in the *Bulgarian-British Review* back in 1931, and was written by Mrs. A. Vessova. She said in part:

775 761 "Death to these people is not considered the end; it is but the continuation of the earthly life in another sphere—the invisible world. The bounden duty of the family is to prepare the dying for their long journey so that they will not have to roam disconsolately in the darkness without finding their way to their new surroundings. Of the dying person they repeat to one another that he or she is now a traveler. Their first duty is to light a candle which they place above the head of the patient, so that they may not see it, should they happen to be conscious. Should the patient be allowed to die without lighting this particular candle, it is considered by the villagers to bring great discredit on the family. The meaning of the candle is that when the soul starts upon its long journey it has to pass through dark passages, and the candle will light the way.

". . . As soon as the neighbors hear the announcement [of the death] they immediately throw away all the water found in the house, and proceed to the fountain to replenish all their vessels. The same procedure takes place in the house of the deceased. There is no clear explanation for this custom or its real meaning, but it is supposed to symbolize, as do other customs, that as the water flows smoothly and evenly, so the voyage of the soul will be made smooth and easy.

764 775 "The peasants believe that though invisible the soul continues to keep the form of the body which it has just left. For this reason the deceased is laid to rest in his grave in his ordinary clothing. Led by his or her angel, for they believe that every human being at his

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birth receives a guardian angel, the soul of the deceased after leaving 764
this world starts first to visit all the people and places where it has 775
been when on this earth. This journey, no matter how great the distance may be, must be completed in forty days. If the departed has lived most of his time in his village, and only occasionally has gone to neighboring towns or villages, the journey will be an easy and pleasant one, but if he has traveled great distances the journey will be tiring and rough. It may be that this belief has been responsible for keeping the peasants so firmly attached to their land and village, and preventing them from migrating to new lands. . . .

"The soul has started on its journey, while the body is still in the house, being mourned by the family and the neighbors. The members of the family throw grains of corn or wheat into the coffin. They also believe that there is a great river to be passed and if the deceased has no money he will be unable to cross, and his journey will be impeded. Another peculiar belief is that the neighbors send through him messages to their departed, firmly believing that he will deliver them."

Investigation showed that these statements held true generally 763
of Dragalevtsy but needed to be supplemented. For one thing, the [821]
villagers had definite ways of foretelling death. They said, for instance, that there were as many stars in the sky as there were people on earth, and that there was a particular star for each person. When a star fell to the ground, someone was said to have died and his star to have gone out like his soul. If the star merely moved from one place to another, then its particular earthly representative had changed his residence. Many peasants also believed that "stars with tails" (meteors) foretold some great misfortune to be sent by God. Usually they were thought to signify war "because before the Balkan War and the World War there were such." But there were even more specific ways of predicting death in any given locality. When the owls cried at sunset toward a house or when a hen crowed, death was sure to follow soon. Certain dreams indicated the coming of death. Bai 787
Angel, the village registrar, told me that a soldier could be practically 763
certain of death if he dreamed of a snake. He supported this belief with the story of an officer in the first World War who lined up his men before a battle and went down the ranks to shake hands with

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763 the soldiers and told them that he would not return from the fight. He
787 was sure of this because he had dreamed of a snake during the night. Sure enough, he was killed in the action that followed.

If a person dreamed of a wedding or that he was leading a *horo*, death was probable; or if he dreamed of having a tooth pulled, the same held true. If he dreamed that he saw a deep black hole (similar to a grave), someone connected with him would die; if it was white inside, somebody else would die; if he fell into the hole, he would die.

764 In Dragalevtsy there were certain old women who considered themselves specialists in the preparation of the body for burial. They were "priestesses of superstition" who saw to it that all the pagan rites were carried out before the priest arrived to conduct the funeral. Their presence at any crisis showed the duality of the peasants' view of the universe.

771 God was thought to be the force symbolizing the Good. The
793 priest was His representative and should be given due respect; furthermore, he should be asked to perform all of the customary ceremonies such as the sprinkling of holy water in every room of the house at Bogoyavlenie or Epiphany on the nineteenth of January. Keeping on the good side of the priest meant keeping on the good side of God, whose favors one needs both in this life and the next.

[771] Inasmuch as they believed in a principle of Good at work in the
754 universe, it was logical for the peasants to believe in a principle of Evil which could do them harm, with or without the consent of the Good. Some parts of the church ceremonies, such as spitting over the child at the devil during the christening, were directed at nullifying the efforts of the Evil One. Seeing that the church concerned itself chiefly with the Good, the peasant in his naivete felt compelled to do something to ward off the Evil, and thus perpetuated many primitive customs which startle both educated Bulgarians and those westerners who are not familiar with the equally primitive customs found within certain areas of their own supposedly civilized lands.

754 The intermediaries in this "cult of the Evil Eye, Devil, Bad Luck"
789 were certain old women, called *babi*, already described in the account of a village birth.[1] These women showed people how to keep the Evil Eye away. They advised mothers whose babies were only one

[1] [See pp. 30-31, category 116-- Analyst]

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or two months old to make a spot on the baby's neck beneath the ear, using axle grease from the wagon. The spell of the Evil Eye could be cast by one who was envious or of an evil heart. That is why I soon stopped complimenting babies or animals, for the frightened look that came into the mother's or owner's eyes on occasion showed me that mine must seem an envious heart. Such envy was supposed to cause sickness in the object admired. Then a *baba* who was old and ugly, with crooked teeth, pale and wrinkled face, and sunken eyes, was called upon to perform a magic rite *(baiane)*. Water was put in a pottery bowl, an incantation was read, and live coals were dropped into the water. Some people suggested that an Evil Eye might be kept away by hanging an onion or garlic over the house, or by wearing blue beads. A few people were said to dye good animals in order to distract the attention of people from their good qualities. 754 789

Along with the belief in the Evil Eye was the belief in vampires. No cat or dog should ever be allowed to jump over a corpse before burial, or that person would become a vampire and return to plague his friends and relatives. In some Balkan villages, when it was suspected that a person might be or become a vampire, a stout stake is driven through the heart of the corpse upon interment. But there were no such stakes in the Dragalevtsy cemetery. 754

Funeral ceremonies could not be extensive since the body had to be in the ground within twenty-four hours after death. One of the last funerals I attended was that of an old woman whom I had interviewed on one occasion. When the priest arrived he found the room filled with about twenty people, two-thirds of whom were relatives and one-third neighbors. The body dressed in the best holiday costume was placed on a black, rough wooden coffin with some white flowers, dahlias, and fruit such as oranges and apples. Around the head and under the chin was a white band. The room became blue with incense smoke through which the black cover of the coffin, standing against the wall, could scarcely be seen. The chanting of the priest was constantly interrupted by the wailing of the women. 764

At the conclusion of the service in the house, four men bore the coffin into the yard as the wailing continued. All the sons and daughters carried under their arms new garments which their mother had

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764 left for them. The procession, which formed in the yard, was led by a boy carrying the boiled wheat to be placed on the grave; another carried the flower-decked grave marker on which the name, date of birth, and date of death had already been inscribed; a third boy carried a bowl of fruit, and a fourth a cross. The priest came next, wearing over his right shoulder a pair of socks, a gift from the deceased woman. Following him, with the covered coffin, were the four pall-bearers, each with a kerchief pinned to his coat. A relative carried a loaf of special bread and was followed by the other relatives near the coffin. Neighbors came next. The women wore black kerchiefs tied with a loose knot instead of the customary tight knot.

The procession moved through the gateway into the street, leaving behind the homestead where the woman had come as a bride, where each of her children had been born, and to which her husband would return a lonely widower. As we moved up the street the husband said to me, "Well, we're putting the old woman away." He was stoical, resigned, but deeply grieved. On the way to the church the procession stopped at each crossroad, symbolic of the Stations of the Cross on the way to Calvary. There was a brief ceremony in front of the church door after which the coffin was carried inside and put on chairs in the center of the church. On the small table at the head of the coffin there were a large pan of bread and bottles of liquid. Early in the ceremony everybody burned candles around the coffin; at a given sign these candles were taken away. At the end of the ceremony all performed the "last kiss," kissing the icon which rested on the body and the hand of the deceased.

The body was taken to the cemetery where quite a few superstitious practices were carried out in the presence of the priest, but without his "noticing" what was being done. There were no professional wailers at the funeral; but two women loudly mourned for the infant each had recently lost and constantly asked the departed one to deliver messages to their children. Only the close relatives made any show of grief, while all the rest maintained a dignified silence.

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Thus the house became a home. Birth and death took their turn, 000
so that every square foot of the small dwelling held its special memories. Over in that corner Ivanche was born; that stool by the bed was the one great-grandmother sat on many hours each day until her death at 102 years of age. She was the one who told the children 538
the fascinating stories about dragons, who were "human beings like the rest of us but had wings in their armpits." She always enjoyed telling the legend about the lazy woman back in the days when people did not have to bring wood home from the forest in a wagon but simply tied the wood together in a bundle, whipped it, and sent it home by itself. It seems that the lazy woman was not content with this simple expedient, but after tying the pieces of wood together sat on top the bundle in the hope it would carry her home. God became so angry at this presumption that He forbade the wood to go home any longer under its own power. Henceforth it had to be taken home in a wagon.

Not far from the iconostas was a faded photograph, the only one 000
in the room, of Peter and his bride Tsveta. Peter was the oldest son, and soon after his marriage in 1917 left for the army, never to return from the battlefield. Tsveta of course was married again, three months after his death, to a man from Bistritsa who needed an efficient housekeeper.

But not all of the life at the homestead took place indoors. The 351
walled-in yard was also the scene of many family experiences. In fact, so many of the household processes went on outside in warm weather that the grass was completely worn away. I once asked a woman doing 296
her washing out in the yard where she preferred to do that job. She replied:

"Clothes are washed with soap and hot water, and since we do not have special places for washing we do it in the living room in bad weather, or in the yard in good weather. Many times we carry the clothes to the river, but even there we heat water for rinsing. We pound the clothes with the *buhalka* [heavy wooden paddle] and wash not only our underclothes, but our outer garments as well, with the exception of the leather *kozhusi* [jackets]." She also volunteered in-

296 formation as to wash days: "We wash twice a week: on Monday and Wednesday, or on Wednesday and Saturday."

351 Many of the yards still had the threshing floor, reminiscent of Old Testament days. This could be located by a forlorn post which seemed to be serving no useful purpose. In the fall great quantities of drying wool hung from the clotheslines; and a little later the family piled in the yard the winter supply of wood from the forest.

342 The eaves of the house, deep as they were, sheltered such things as strings of drying peppers and ears of corn; milk utensils hung beneath them practically the year round; even the scythes and wooden hayforks found frequent lodging there. Storks nested in the trees and chimneys. With the coming of the warmer weather the sheep left their folds in the yards for the pastures, and the shepherd took with him his wattled shelter, which he moved on sleds across the grassy meadows.

[789] In many yards a heavy, large-wheeled wagon stood near the
351 primitive sheds for the animals and the ever-present strawstack. If the peasants were unusually superstitious, there would be dabs of blue paint on the wagon to keep the Evil Eye away. When the weather
231 was nice there were usually children at play in the yard. Upon seeing
609 a visitor they added their lusty shouts to the ominous barking of the dogs. They chased the dogs away from the gate by throwing sticks and stones at them, and at the same time warned the visitor to be on the alert. Far too often the dogs sneaked up behind to nip an ankle of the unsuspecting visitor.

247 The yards had few flowers, because chickens of a nondescript
351 variety pecked freely throughout the premises. One or two scraggly trees, from which the children shook most of the fruit before it had
735 time to ripen, stood in a corner wistfully seeking to give a touch of
511 beauty to the scene. In the spring the blossoms of such trees made the village bright, but when the fruit and leaves were gone the bare, black skeletons of the trees fitted in only too well with the poverty and sternness of village life. Poor land, inefficiently tilled, contributed to this poverty. Although the peasants worked hard in their fields, they had little cash on hand after selling their crops and paying their debts. Home improvements were postponed from year to year, but the hard work kept on just the same.

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their debts. Home improvements were postponed from year to year, but the hard work kept on just the same. 000

To describe a home, as this chapter has shown, means describing a miscellany of life activities which center there. Not only are shelter, furnishings, and the littered yard a part of the story, but also practices of cleanliness and health, religious ceremonies, food habits, the peasant's philosophy of life, childbirth, and finally death. But fascinating as Dragalevtsy home life proved to be, I soon learned that it had to take its place alongside the peasant's love for his fields. This attachment to his land and fondness for his home were the twin clues to the understanding of the peasant's limited universe.

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CHAPTER III

LAND, LABOR, AND MONEY

[241] 512 461 A PEASANT'S life in spring and summer centered around the narrow strips of earth which surrounded the village. If the scene of labor was distant from the village, the tired workers who had been at their tasks since sunup often spent the night in the field rather than trudge the long way back home. In the middle of the morning, at noon, and again in midafternoon, the toilers stopped long enough for food, sometimes only bread and salt, and a little sleep. The burning noonday sun sifted through the leaves of the solitary tree beneath which the people sprawled. Fragile rays danced upon tired faces, old-fashioned costumes, a hand raised to brush away a fly, and oxen chewing lazily. Like animals the peasants worked, like animals they slept; but when harvest time brought an end to their toil they experienced the joyous satisfaction of work well done.

241 The average farm was about eighteen acres in size and was composed of sixteen separate and widely scattered strips. (See Table [134] 10, Appendix I.) This land sold for a comparatively high figure because of its nearness to Sofia, but not because of any superior quality. In fact, most of the soil was sandy and gravelly, with a mixture of heavy clay.

[423] 231 241 [407] In addition to a house in the village and his land, the peasant also owned a few animals and agricultural implements. The work animals numbered fewer than two for an eighteen-acre holding, and the plow was the only large implement found on every farm. More than any other joint operation, plowing had the flavor of an antique ritual. At dawn a slow procession moved from the village. The distant Balkan range loomed vaguely blue far across the Sofia plain, and the golden dome of Alexander Nevsky Cathedral in Sofia shone in the thin, clear light of morning. Behind the village, the slopes of

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Vitosha and snow-covered Cherni Vruh, its peak, looked raw and wild. Against this background a trio of woman, ox, and man was repeated over and over as the households fell into line. The woman came first, leading the moon-eyed oxen which drew the crude wagon with the wooden plow inside. Behind them walked the man who was to guide the plow. He carried a long staff to poke the oxen when they grew sluggish at their task. With the stately pace set by the animals, the peasants walked as gravely through the hush of early morning as though they were moving to some pagan altar rising in the dewy fields. Time slipped back for me countless centuries when I saw the first spring plowing, for small boys had hung the oxen with garlands as though these animals had been meant for sacrifice. 241 231 461

As the days passed, this picture had its variations. Black buffalo, with a cruel crocodile look on their faces, sometimes replaced the oxen; occasionally the woman was busy about something else and the man plowed alone. If the beasts got off the track, a flood of abusive language burst forth from the exasperated peasant. The sound of the language and the pitch of the voice were even more effective than the meaning. Not only in Dragalevtsy but all over Bulgaria, slowly and laboriously the heavy earth was broken with endless patience, for almost three-fourths of the plows had wooden shares, and oxen outnumbered horses four to one.

After the seed was in the ground the peasants left the responsibility mainly to God, but partly to the field policeman and his routine patrols. To ensure God's benevolence the village had a special day for a religious procession through the fields: the first Thursday after St. George's Day (May 6). Once the constant beating of the church bell coming from a strange direction attracted my attention to a spot about one mile east of the village. There was Father Sava, the priest, in his official regalia, accompanied by several boys carrying the church cross, the bell, a flag, and large icons. From forty to fifty villagers followed in a winding line. The procession stopped to pray for rain in several places where there had been insufficient rainfall. Later I learned that on one occasion the party had climbed almost to the top of Vitosha in order to fulfill to the letter their mission of encircling all of the fields owned by the Dragalevtsy people. 527 241

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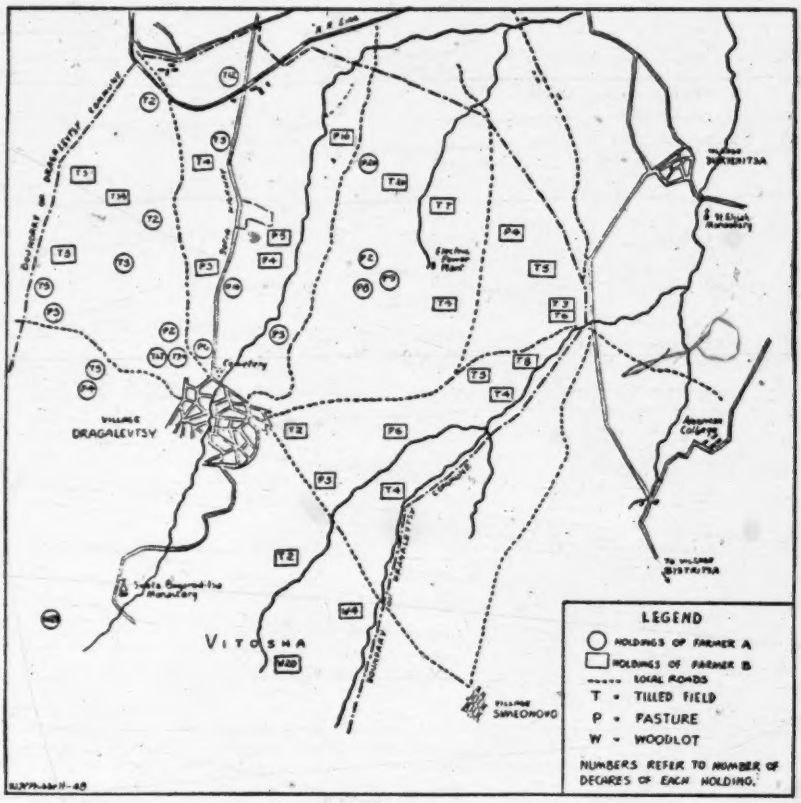

Map of holdings of two Dragalevtsy farmers

527 731 Should drought be very severe, say in midsummer, the villagers asked for another procession and additional prayers to do more effectively what the May procession had failed to do.[2] The need for such ceremonies was explained to me one day by a tavern keeper: "While the people know in their minds that wind keeps the rain away from their fields, they believe in their hearts that the cause of drought, like that of sickness, is the sinfulness of the world today for which God is punishing the people."

243 The chief bread-grain used in this region was called *smes,* a mixture of wheat and rye. It was sown by hand from a bag slung over

[2] [i.e. ensure a good harvest -- Analyst]

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the shoulder. In late July harvesters came from other villages to help 243
at least one-third of the families (the others harvested their own grain) to cut the grain with sickles and place the stalks in little piles. An old man, expert through years of practice, then made up the sheaves by tying together a bundle of stalks with the longest stalks taken from a previous sheaf. He used a round, pointed stick about fourteen inches long to make the grain compact and to tie the knot ingeniously.

Most of the grain was threshed by the hoofs of animals, usually 231
horses, on the packed, earthen threshing floors near the house. The 243
Karakachani, a band of Wallachians from the village of Yakoruda in the Rhodope Mountains, brought about fifty horses to the village at threshingtime. A peasant paid the equivalent of a dollar a day for the service of a team. The grain was placed in the center of the floor, near a pole to which the animals were hitched. Around and around the pole the horses walked until the rope's length was used up, whereupon they reversed their direction. Much grain was threshed [407]
by the machine owned by some of the wealthier men of the village, which was beginning to supplant the old-fashioned threshing floors. Some of the families still winnowed the grain by tossing it in the face of a stiff breeze, but many others had access to a separating machine in the neighborhood.

But this *smes,* or wheat and rye mixture, was not the only crop 241
raised. Quite a few of the homes had garden patches, either in the yard or on the edge of the village, where peppers, mealy potatoes, cabbages, and tomatoes were grown. The white beans from Dragalevtsy were said to be the best in this part of Bulgaria.

Some families grew sunflowers in order to sell the seeds for oil. Pumpkins from the cornfields were prized for use in a soggy pumpkin pie called *banitsa.* Fruit raising was decidedly underdeveloped, but the trees that were properly cared for produced very well. Straw for the animals was frequently borrowed or purchased from the wealthier peasants who had a surplus from the threshing.

The crop second in importance to *smes,* however, was corn. 462
Of considerable interest were the groups of women who hoed the 241
cornfield first in one direction, and a week later in a different direc- 476
tion. Varying in number from three to fifteen, these groups did 576

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462 more than merely chop weeds and loosen the soil; they also afforded
241 an opportunity for visiting and conversation. A day or two ahead
476 of time the woman needing help broached the matter to those whose
576 assistance she wanted in her cornfield. She was careful to include only those women who would work in a congenial manner, shunning those known to be gossipy or quarrelsome. At four in the morning on the day of the hoeing the hostess had to go to the home of each guest.

"Anka, Anka," she called above the barking of the menacing dogs. Anka came to the door to greet her walking alarm clock with a cheery *"Dobro utro"* ("Good morning"). Since Anka owed the visitor two days of work for having helped with her cornfield, she readily accepted, hurried about her household tasks, and was ready to leave for the fields by six o'clock. Young women received many invitations because they could better withstand the summer heat. Occasionally, young men, upon hearing that their sweethearts were to be invited, asked the hostess the night before to call them along with the others in the morning. In the field all day long they had a wonderful opportunity to hoe next to the girls of their choice and "to tell secret things and to speak what they shouldn't."

461 Each woman brought her heavy, semicircular hoe and her own
436 bread, but the hostess provided the vegetables and other food. Some-
576 times the people were paid in cash for their work, but more often the work was repaid in kind. The oldest maiden was "at the post." She apportioned the number of rows and kept the workers from getting in each other's way. She set the pace as the workers moved in a line, side by side, across the field. Her word was supreme, and even the hostess kept quiet, although she might think the girl was giving poor directions. The hostess watched the time and told the group when to stop working for the three meals she served. The girl "at the post" gave the signal to resume work, but she did not urge others to work until she saw that the group sentiment favored it. If one woman was not ready to start, the others began anyway. But the niceties of etiquette were always observed: the hostess, who was profiting from the work, invited the group to stop to eat; a guest, who was directing the group, rather than the hostess, suggested that they take up work once more.

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was directing the group, rather than the hostess, suggested that they take up work once more. 000

I spent many hours in the fields chatting with these women. There was a hypnotic rhythm of sound and color in their work as the line of black-clad bodies, and white headcloths, swayed forward together through the thin green blades. In the high altitude everything was sharply defined: the red-roofed village two miles away, the puffs of white cloud infinitely high in the blue, the strong harsh peasant voices close by. While the women worked they sang old folk songs about beautiful heroines and the brave Krali Marko, a legendary Balkan hero who carried out prodigious feats against the Turks, or of peasant girls knitting gay stockings for village boys. The songs were usually romantic and often were cheerful in theme; but now and then one was moved by a haunting sadness deeper even than that of the Negro work songs. Hour after hour I used to hear the unhappy music rise in its bizarre cadence; day after day for three weeks the corn was hoed in one field after another. Week after week the sun beat down on Vitosha and the Sofia plain, while summer burned itself away. The corn grew waist high, then shoulder high, and finally yielded the golden ears to the strong brown fists of some boy or girl at the autumn cornhusking *sedenki.* 461 241 [533]

Early July was the haying season. Each sunrise would find most of the villagers out in the fields. Some of the men with their sharp scythes cut the hay in even swaths, letting it lie as it fell, to dry in the parching sun. Others would load the cured hay onto the wagons fitted out with ladderlike sides. As the wagons rolled through the village streets they were greeted by the little children who had had to stay at home with their aged grandparents or great-grandparents. The haystacks, whether left in the field or dressed near the house, were weighted down by lines to which heavy stones had been attached.

One could not be with the peasants long at haying time, or indeed at any other time, without sensing their feeling of close dependence upon the weather. In fact, I soon found myself sharing this feeling, although I remained somewhat dubious of the infallibility of the signs by which they "read the weather." They believed, for example, 787 821

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"Plowing had the flavor of an antique ritual." *See page 42.*

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". . . harvesters . . . cut the grain with sickles, and placed the stalks in little piles." *See page 44.*

[Facing p. 48]

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787 that it would rain if the crows bathed in the river, if the sun set or
821 rose behind a cloud or was surrounded by a circle, or if the oxen dug the earth with their horns in the springtime. When the moon was surrounded by a dark circle, the weather would supposedly change to rain if it was summer and to snow if winter. Rain would also follow if the stars shone brightly, the sky was red in the morning, or the middle part of Vitosha was foggy. But the surest sign of bad weather was the sight of pigs carrying straw to the sty at sunset. Yet good weather alone did not ensure good crops. The human element was of utmost importance.

464 Bulgaria had, according to prewar figures, the largest labor
241 supply per decare in Europe, with 5.8 workers available for 100 decares (25 acres) of land. Italy came next with 4.7, then Poland with 4.3, but Great Britain had only 0.7. In spite of such a surplus of labor the people had not begun to cultivate intensively. An increasing number of young people therefore had to seek a living from sources off the farm. Such intensive cultivation, however, would require radical changes in farming practices. Not more than thirty Dragalevtsy families saved liquid fertilizer, although the rest did haul wagonload after wagonload of manure from the stables to the fields late in the winter to be dumped in piles awaiting later spreading. There was very little harrowing, and what was done took place in the spring after the rains.

243 The cornfields were plowed under at once after the harvest and were immediately sown with grain. If the field had produced *smes*, the stubble was plowed under to lie fallow for one or two years. The fallow fields were plowed once in the spring, once in the middle of the summer, and again in the autumn just before the grain was to be sown.

What might be considered a Bulgarian counterpart of our Thanksgiving feast occurred at the time of this fall sowing of grain. Early in the morning the woman arose quietly to bake one large and two small loaves of bread, and to catch a young rooster which she handed over to her husband just before he was ready to start to the field in the oxcart. What followed was the observance of a pagan fertility rite. With the dignity of a priest performing an ancient sacrifice, the

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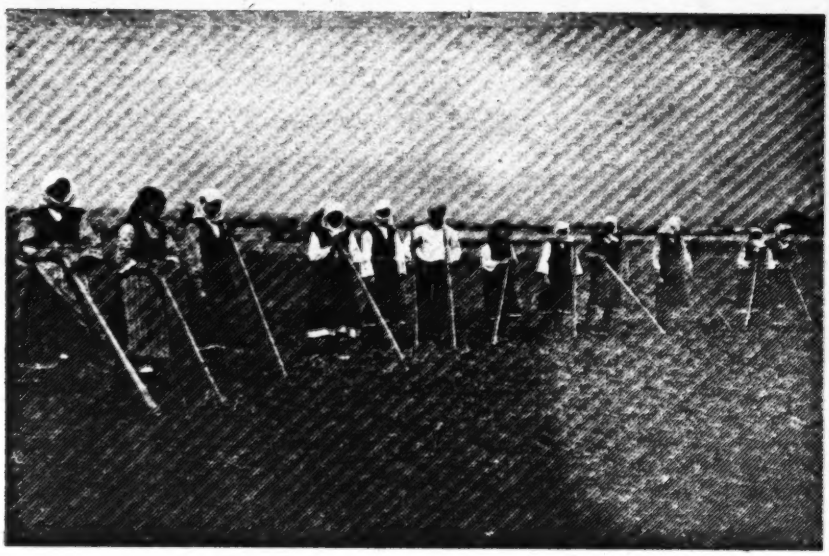

"The cornhoeing groups . . . also afforded an opportunity for visiting and conversation." *See page 46.*

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"The patriarchal system . . . won out" (a father and three married sons living together in a one-room house). *See page 62.*

[Facing p. 49]

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stopanin, or male head of the house, killed the cock and held its 243
twitching body over a bag of grain seed so that several drops of blood would fall upon it. He then drove slowly to the field to prepare the ground for the sowing, meanwhile eagerly awaiting the arrival at midmorning of the *domakinya,* his wife, dressed in her most beautiful costume and bearing a pan containing the boiled cock, meal, and bread. The family group made a tour once around the field, whereupon the man solemnly broke the bread and, before sitting with the others in the middle of the field to feast, gave pieces of the bread to the oxen. The peasants called this the "sweetest meal of the year" and delighted in having friends from a neighboring field join them in the repast. Summer's hard work was at an end; the harvests were plentiful; the peasants were deeply grateful.

Life in these scattered fields of Dragalevtsy was hard and labo- 241
rious, but to the peasant, life without the fields would not be worth 423
living, for these narrow strips of land were his children growing under his painstaking care. The land was his companion and friend, as he shared with it the thoughts and dreams of a starlit summer night, with a cloak for a pillow and dew for a blanket. Land meant more to the peasant than money in the bank; it meant more than food on the table; it meant life itself.

Some years ago I heard a Sofia University professor say in a 181
lecture that the Bulgarian peasant was more devoted to his work than 461
to his religion. "There are more songs dedicated to labor than to 275
saints," he added. Because I wondered about the truth of this statement in respect to Dragalevtsy, I polled village opinion. Here are some of the questions I asked, with representative or characteristic responses:

Nowadays, which do people enjoy most: working in the field or sitting in the tavern?

"People work to get bread. They can't earn money enough to save. Some prefer to work in the fields because we quarrel when we are in the *kruchma.*"

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275 461 181 "Most of the people prefer to be in the tavern, though there are some who go there to do *pazarluk* [arrange a business deal], drink a little, then leave to do their work again."

"I prefer to work in the fields than to sit in the tavern."

463 181 *Why do young people want to become artisans and do not want to become farmers?*

"They want easier work. Field work is heavy. If they work inside, they will live longer, the wind won't beat in their faces, they won't remain in the cold."

"It's better to work inside than out in the weather."

"If one is an artisan, one won't become hungry. There will always be work to do. But in the fields things are not so sure. Work is easier as an artisan than as a farmer. The money is only of minor importance."

461 181 *Do people of Dragalevtsy, like the heroes of old folk songs, love hard work more than easy work?*

"They prefer easy work. Fifty years ago people liked the harder work, for there were few occupations. Now parents don't control their children. A son sees his father at one tavern and he goes to the other. If his father comes to the second tavern, then he goes back to the first. Formerly people had big fields and had to do much work. They prided themselves on the amount of work they could get done. They were healthier, because they didn't smoke and drink so much. The one who could work the most was the most honored. Now the fields are small. There is little work to do in them, and so people get out of the habit of working hard."

"They like easier work now. Everyone looks for something that is light. It was not so fifty years ago, but the change came about especially since the war."

"They love easy work. Formerly there were more animals, more fields, less people, and therefore more work."

556 181 *With what adjective would a Dragalevtsy peasant prefer to be described: industrious, rich, influential, wise?*

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"Now all want to be rich and will lie to become so. There is no one who wants to be industrious. They sit in the tavern and say, 'Let those who are foolish work.' There is no shame nowadays. Formerly a man was ashamed to be seen away from his work. Furthermore, people prefer to be influential than wise." 556 181

"People would rather be rich, but think it necessary to be industrious in order to be rich. It is better to be influential than wise."

When I pursued the attitude toward money by further questioning I received such replies as these:

"When I was young I could work and get money, but now I can't, so therefore I think more about it. I sent my son to be a soldier and have to do everything all alone."

"Prices are now higher, money doesn't go so far, and therefore has to be watched carefully. Formerly people didn't have to buy so much. Now there are many who want to get more and more money."

The position of the wealthy man was described as follows:

"Rich men have lots of influence, even more than the priest. The priest is a good man and people listen to his advice, but when they go to Trayko Danev [a wealthy peasant] they take off their hat and ask for money. They give him wine to drink and roast lamb to eat because he is rich. Before the war what the priest said was thought to be what God said. Now he can't get anybody to go to church and stand for five hours hungry. It's a punishment. During the World War our people went many places—Salonika, Serbia, Bucharest—and saw how people lived; they then agreed that life in the village was too hard and not for the likes of them."

Education, which ordinarily was held in very high esteem, had yielded ground to commercialism. Villagers were beginning to prefer money to education, and said:

"In Sofia there are many unemployed educated people, and so if I have money, I'll be better off than if I had education."

Many of the villagers considered it highly desirable to have a government pension, and so valued jobs with the state railways, state telegraph system, or postal service.

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556 181 An intelligent woman once summed up for me the peasant's attitude toward labor and money in this terse fashion:

"Most people work because they want money. Everyone looks for money."

511 181 434 Although the peasant considered money of greater importance than formerly because he was becoming more and more a part of a money economy, he really handled very little in the course of a year. The annual income for a family of four or five was less than two hundred dollars, an amount that came into the family coffer in driblets and was paid out as slowly as possible. After the autumn market or the sale of a cow, the peasant was flush with money, but when he had bought the necessities which he could not produce for himself (kerosene, shoes and other articles of clothing, rice, salt, and some hardware) he was little better off financially. If a member of the family worked outside the home, his wages were a considerable help, especially when some of the many taxes were due.

465 181 I asked nine young men, picked at random, about the money they earned. Their monthly income varied from the meager equivalent of $6 a month earned by a twenty-five-year-old servant and an eighteen-year-old shepherd to $66 earned by a twenty-year-old milkman. There was only one who kept more than half of his earnings for himself. He explained apologetically that the reason he did not turn these over to his father was that he had to pay board and rent in Sofia, where he worked.

454 181 Very few Dragalevtsy people accumulated savings in the bank. They preferred, like people all over Bulgaria, to invest money in real estate. The city people did it because of the security of investment, whereas the peasants, especially in Dragalevtsy, were more interested in possessing land for its own sake.

426 181 The great majority of the peasants were in debt, though many debtors were also creditors. Those specializing in field crops preferred long-term loans, usually for fifteen or twenty years, with land as security, while sheep owners usually sought short-term loans of three or four months. One village merchant, to whom many peasants came for advice, estimated that 70 per cent of the loans were taken from [652] banks and 30 per cent from individuals. The government had done much in the past through periodic moratoria to reduce the amount of indebtedness.

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much in the past through periodic moratoria to reduce the amount of indebtedness.

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Another feature of the economic system in Dragalevtsy was the way the work was divided up, chiefly on a customary basis. There was, for instance, a traditional division between the work of men and women. Certain duties which an American man performs without hesitation, a Dragalevtsy man would think far beneath him. Furthermore, he would use the term *zhenska rabota* (woman's work), and in this one phrase express a feeling of masculine superiority handed down through the ages. To be caught at woman's work was the same as being caught wearing a petticoat. Since the chief labor was agricultural, most of the customary division of labor centered about the work of home and field:

In the House

Cleaning and sweeping: all the women.

Setting the table: daughter or daughter-in-law.

Cooking food: mother or mother-in-law.

Making bread: daughter or daughter-in-law.

Getting the water: children and unmarried daughters.

Taking care of fire: usually mother-in-law. Often anyone. (Depends on who feels cold.)

Spinning thread: all the women.

Weaving cloth: daughter and daughter-in-law.

Cutting out and sewing together garments: undergarments—wife, for her own children and husband; outer garments—village tailor.

Washing clothes: wives for their immediate families; unmarried daughter for herself and parents.

In the Yard

Caring for chickens: the old man or old woman.

Caring for oxen and buffaloes: both men and women.

Caring for horses: men.

Caring for pigs: women.

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In the Field

Caring for animals in the pasture: the children.
Plowing: the father or oldest son.
Sowing: the father or oldest son.
Hoeing the corn: unmarried daughter or housewife.
Harvesting the grain: the whole family.
Threshing the grain: the whole family.
Saving the seed for next year: no one in particular.

At the Market

Selling butter, eggs, poultry, vegetables: the housewife.
Selling sheep, pigs, and other animals: the men.
Buying the necessities from Sofia: the men.
Buying necessities in the village: the women and children.
Keeping the cash box: the father; in rare cases, the mother.

857 883 It can be seen that children as well as the adults shared in this specialization of labor. The chief occupation of those below sixteen was the care of the animals. During the pasturing season these children spent more time in the fields than in the village. Because their pastures joined they were able to get together for group games and still keep a watchful eye upon their animals. The work they were called upon to do was not dangerous, but it was time consuming. Many famous men who grew up in the villages looked back upon this pastoral experience as a childhood heaven-on-earth. Some of the old men, recalling the days when the large joint families *(zadrugi)* still existed, told of being sent with the animals up the mountains a long way from the village. For a month they were absent, seeing no one but a few strangers who happened to pass by. But those distant pastures were no longer available to the peasants, so they kept their animals (and children) close to the village.

464 Whether this seems exploitation or not is a matter of definition, but custom did decree that there should be no idle hands in the village economy, even to the extent of keeping small children occupied. To be sure, the attitude toward labor was changing, but the love of the land persisted, and owning land meant working that land, at least in

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Dragalevtsy. In general, though the division of labor was traditional, 464
the specialization of occupation was increasing. Though unemployment was absent from the village, this in no way implied that all had the kind of work they wanted. It was astounding enough that even in times of world depression all did have a way of earning a living.

In Bulgaria, as in most countries, property passed from parent to 428
child. There too the laws governing this transfer were very complicated. 593
However, as a general principle in the villages sons inherited twice as much land as daughters. Usually the sons received equal amounts, but a father while still alive could divide the land, taking an equal share for himself, which he later gave to his favorite son. Quite often a sister said when the time of division arrived: "Why should I take land away from my brothers?" and forfeited her claim. In some cases she would sell her share of the estate cheaply to a favorite brother. If she was married, however, her husband could insist that she take what was her due and might even go to court to pursue the case. [691] Every year there were a few Dragalevtsy people involved in long-drawn-out lawsuits originating over the division of inherited land. More often than not, lawyers' fees used up a great part of the value of the property.

A heavy inheritance tax accompanied any such transfer of property 428
from the father to his children. One man at work in the hayfield 651
took time off to tell me of the arrangement being worked out in his family:

"Our father, who is still living, told us three brothers to divide his property equally among us. We have not made the division officially as yet, because if we did we would have to pay an inheritance tax amounting to about four hundred dollars. We divide the land by lot. We take strips of land, both meadows and fields of equal value, and draw lots for the strips. Of course, our father has kept some of the land for himself, but we shall divide that among the three of us after his death."

The most serious conflicts in the village arose when there was 428
disagreement over the division of a patrimony. Brother turned against 578
brother, and whole families became involved in the dispute. There

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428 578 [423] was also conflict over the location of boundary stones. At first I could scarcely believe my eyes when I was shown how the peasants distinguished their fields. Taking some landmark such as a tree, a bend in the road, or a stream, the peasants marked off their strips by small piles of stone. Fences and hedgerows were impracticable because the strips were too small to justify the expense of enclosure. Since every farmer possessed several strips, possibilities of conflict over the boundaries were numerous. The wonder is that there was so little trouble, in view of the fact that every foot of the strip must be utilized if the farmer was to make any profit.

578 685 422 Animals too proved a source of dispute. The oxen, for instance, strayed into an unprotected field and did considerable damage to the growing crop. The person incurring loss often took the matter to the mayor for trial in his magistrate's court. Once an effort was made to have all funds collected from such disputes turned over to the local *Chitalishte,* or Library Association, but this received little public support. For some time there was very bad feeling between the shepherds and the dairymen over the question of pasturage. The *Obshtina,* [656] or local government, passed an ordinance that grazing should be done on one's own land and the common pasture abolished. The shepherds, accustomed to roaming over a considerable area in a day's time, were violently opposed to the new measure; those possessing five or six head of cattle naturally favored it.

Other types of conflict also arose over animals. The widow Zdravka, in explaining to me why she was not on good terms with her neighbor Dimiter, brought another case of disagreement over livestock to my attention:

"Just before St. Peter's Day, Dimiter's dogs fell upon my sow as she passed his yard on her way home from pasture. The pig, which was to bear young the next day, became frightened and fell into a ditch. I immediately went to the veterinarian who told me that the pig's young would be stillborn, and sure enough, they were. I went to the priest and the mayor to ask for justice, but Dimiter told them that he didn't let his dogs out and the accident wasn't his fault. Since he was a man, nothing was done to him and I can't do anything about it myself."

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When I asked her if she and Dimiter had quarrels about other things, Zdravka answered: 578 685 422

"We don't quarrel for I keep quiet, and he only speaks to me 'between his teeth.'"

Poultry was a source of much ill feeling among neighbor women. Whenever a hen or rooster strayed into the garden next door there was apt to be a verbal battle, the effects of which fortunately wore off within a few days. There was one woman, however, who had not spoken to her next-door neighbor for three years because of harsh words uttered about a straying hen. "May her chickens be homeless," cursed the other person in describing the incident.

In case the women quarreled over such things as chickens, overhanging branches of a fruit tree, or the return of a borrowed article, the men were inclined to treat the whole incident lightly and speak of it as "woman's business." On the other hand, if two men had a serious dispute, their families behaved distantly toward each other, either because of actual antipathy or because of paternal command. From the standpoint of social interaction, therefore, a serious row between two men was more of a strain on the social structure than was a quarrel between two women. It was apt to last longer, involve more people, and have larger issues at stake. [562]

A visit to the village courtroom convinced me that money was also the basis for much misunderstanding. The court records were full of cases of men who had argued over financial matters until one of them haied the other into court. Most of these disputes were settled by the mayor, but many people left his courtroom still dissatisfied. Because the Dragalevtsy peasant was penurious, every lev was cherished and spent only when absolutely necessary. Such frugality was a virtue from one point of view, but it became a vice when it led to disruptive conflict. 691 578

This increased emphasis upon money permeated even the family relationships. One woman exclaimed:

"Relatives don't even lend sewing machines to one another without payment. I have a sister-in-law who has a machine, but she won't let my daughters use it unless I pay."

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578 But day in and day out co-operation was much more common in the community than conflict. Conflict was more colorful, it varied the ordinary routine for participants and observers, and it brought to the surface many causes of minor irritation. The character of village life, however, called for continued interchange of labor, implements, and even work animals.

527 241 At breakfast one morning Bai Penko told me that I had better go down to the school meadows if I wanted to see something interesting. The dog days had come. The peasants would do no work of their own during three of these days because of their firmly rooted superstition that fire would later destroy whatever they did. If they should use these days for getting in their own hay, it would probably burn during the autumn. Some imaginative leader had taken advantage of this traditional idleness by proposing that every family send a member down to the school meadows to mow and stack the hay which was later to be sold for the benefit of the local school. The villagers obliged with the mental reservation that it was no concern of theirs if the school's hay burned before it could be sold to the commission merchants.

Even before I had finished my pale cocoa made of sheep's milk, some of the tavern faithful began to drift in. It was already hot outside, so hot that the men rejoiced because they did not have to go down to the meadow in the broiling sun. One patriarch had trouble persuading a daughter-in-law to represent the family, but she had agreed to go if he would buy her the pair of new shoes he had been promising her; another said his son wanted to go because he thought it would be more fun down there than hanging around the house. Such remarks as these spurred me on my way.

I had gone only a hundred yards before I caught up with a housewife headed for the meadow, a wooden pitchfork over her shoulder. She was not looking forward to the toil ahead of her, because she wanted to work in her vegetable garden, dog days or no dog days.

Even before I reached the group I saw them hard at work. Rows of men were wielding scythes, rhythmically and unhurriedly advancing together without leaving an erect blade of grass between them.

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Women, their kerchiefs loosely drawn over their heads, turned the swaths of hay that had been curing. The younger people, displaying an amazing amount of energy and enthusiasm in such sultry weather, collected the dried grass first in small piles, next in larger piles, and then several joined forces to scoot these heaps of hay across the field to the nearest stack. This scooting was the center of the day's hilarity, for it was always accompanied by shouts of triumph ("Look what a big pile we have"), and warning ("You'd better get out of our way; we're coming). The scoot usually ended in several youngsters taking a terrific tumble, but they did not seem to mind falling in the sweet-smelling new-mown hay.

The large stacks conveniently placed around the forty-acre meadow were dressed without a wasted movement by men who remained on top and were lifted higher as the stack grew in size. By the end of the afternoon some of the stacks had grown so large that the men on top had to be helped down.

A little before lunch time the priest and the mayor came strolling across the fields swinging their canes like true intelligentsia. They exchanged friendly comments with all the people they passed. They continued on across the meadow to a tavern on the Sofia road, returning eventually with two jugs of *rakiya* and a bag of fruit for those who spurned brandy.

Lunch time was quiet except when some boy played a trick on a dozing neighbor and got an angry protest in exchange. The only shade was directly next to the stacks, so most of the people had to endure the sun even while they rested. Trees were a mile away. As the afternoon wore on, the desire to get a big patch finished overcame the natural fatigue setting in. The captains, appointed by the mayor to control the activities of the people from their respective neighborhoods, stirred up the spirit of competition, and the stacks grew larger and larger. At length all the cut hay had been piled and we began to leave the field as the sun was setting behind the mountain. The towering stacks stood motionless, symbolic of that co-operation which is the heart of communal life everywhere.

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CHAPTER IV

THE GOOD OLD DAYS

168 888 539 THE DRAGALEVTSY of 1937 had much in common with the Dragalevtsy of the past centuries. The dances, the homes, and the farm practices proved that. The differences were also marked. For instance, a crude but efficient means of population control in the good old days was the killing off of the old people when they had passed the period of active usefulness. That at least was the theme of an old folk tale still current in the village. "It so happened that one spring the people discovered that they had saved no grain for sowing. The king sent men everywhere in search of grain, only to see them return empty-handed. One son, who at considerable risk to himself had kept his aged father alive, secretly hidden in his home, told him of the people's distress. The old man said: 'Tell the people to go to the ant hills for grain.' Some of the men followed this suggestion and found the grain they were hunting. When the king learned that an old man had told them where to look he ordered that the aged should not be killed for their disability but should be kept alive and respected for their wisdom."

175 Just at what time this story became a part of the folklore was difficult to determine, because of the numerous racial mixtures which the people represent. The Pechenegi, according to all accounts, might have been the ones who practiced this parricide. They got themselves into the history books by driving the Magyars (the modern Hungarians) westward from what is now Russia in the latter part of the ninth century. For about two hundred years more they, allied first with one prince and then with another, raided tribe after tribe and lurked near important trade routes. In 1091 the Pechenegi who had survived previous setbacks were finally destroyed by the Crusaders under Peter the Hermit, and little was heard of them after that.

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One account in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* describes their[1] 181
nomadic existence and the camps they formed out of rings of wagons. 175
"They wore long beards and mustachios, and were dressed in long 144
kaftans. The food of the wealthy was blood and mares' milk; of the poor, millet and mead. They were originally 'magicians', i.e., fire-worshippers; but a form of Islam early became current among them, and the nation was temporarily converted to Christianity in 1007-1008. They were the most dreaded and detested of all the nomads." They were disagreeable in other ways too. But when the writer goes on to describe the *Shopi* of today, the descendants of these Pechenegi, as "despised by the other inhabitants of Bulgaria for their bestiality and stupidity but dreaded for their savagery," I wondered how much he was letting historical antecedents influence his description of the present. He goes on to say: "They are a singularly repellent race, short-legged, yellow-skinned, with slanting eyes and projecting cheekbones. Their villages are generally filthy, but the women's costumes show a barbaric profusion of gold lace." The *Shopi* then have quite a reputation to live up to—bestial, stupid, savage, ugly, filthy, and barbaric in their tastes. Some of these definitely do apply. My version of the *Shopi* necessarily includes some positive as well as negative traits, for I have lived among them and have learned to see their good as well as their bad points.

But I must admit that if one looks to the Bulgarian ancestors of the *Shopi* for the origin of the parricide story, he will also find forebears capable of such a deed. According to Henry N. Brailsford's *Macedonia* the Volga-men, or Bulgarians, "were polygamists, owned slaves, and were accustomed to military discipline. Like the Turks they shaved their heads and wore pigtails. They burned their widows and indulged in human sacrifices." This is not a pretty picture, but one which bears marked resemblances to the accounts of the tribes in western Europe before the spread of civilization to that area.

The killing of feeble parents has been a common practice among 888
nomadic peoples because of the difficulty of caring for the aged and infirm when on the move. The mention of grain in the story quoted above would indicate that the tribe had settled down, and that parri-

1 [i.e. the Pechenegi, Bulgarian ancestors--ANALYST]

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888 cide was by that time an out-of-date practice no longer linked with the precarious economic existence of a wandering people.

539 But it was a far cry from the cessation of the killing of aged
888 parents to the "Honor thy father and mother" of the Decalogue, which
593 later became a part of the Bulgarian family system. The peasants had another story to explain this dramatic change:

"In the olden days, when fathers died the sons would drag the bodies with a hook to a stream or gully and push the bodies in. One day a middle-aged man returned home from disposing of his father's body in this way, but failed to bring back the hook. Whereupon his own son in greeting him said:

" 'But, father, where is the hook? What will I use when I drag you away?'

"This made the father thoughtful, then remorseful. It was then that he retrieved his father's body and gave it a proper burial. Since then sons have been more respectful."

593 At any rate, whatever may be the explanation, the patriarchal
562 system with its respect for and obedience to the father won out. Con-
175 tact with Byzantine culture until the coming of the Turks must have
186 reinforced the Bulgarian father's right to dominate his family. He became more fully acquainted with the *patria potestas* which had been too strongly entrenched in the Roman family system to be forgotten by the Byzantines. Likewise, the patriarchal emphasis of the Old Testament and the Pauline epistles of the New aided in the continuance
175 of male supremacy. It is fascinating indeed to observe the response that the Slavicized Bulgarians made to the Byzantine culture in general. First they opposed cultural assimilation by force of arms; more than once the armies of the Bulgarian kings thundered at the gates of Constantinople in Bulgaria's proud golden age (about 900). Military expeditions, however, proved inadequate, with the result that the Bulgarian leaders sought to build a Slavic culture to rival that of the Greeks. It was this new culture which kept the feeling of national uniqueness alive among the Bulgarians, while other tribes upon entering that region became so thoroughly absorbed into the Byzantine Empire that they ended as curious names of the past with no modern representatives.

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Then came the Turks in the fourteenth century to begin a reign 175
which lasted five hundred years. It was in this period, termed by Bulgarians *Igoto* or The Yoke, that Dragalevtsy was supposedly founded.

A pregnant sow was the beginning of it all. At least, so the 539
villagers said. Two or three hundred years ago this particular sow 173
ran away from home and grunted up the mountainside to bear her litter in the brush. Baba Dragana, a widow who owned the animal, after a long search found her on the spot where the village church now stands. Since the old woman could not carry the animals back to her village, just south of Sofia, she built a small hut where she was. She liked the place so much that she decided to stay; finally she persuaded her former neighbors to join her. The Turks who robbed them in the village on the highway, she argued, would not harm them on the mountainside. Besides, there was an ample supply of delicious water near her new shelter. The ten families who joined her began to call the settlement Dragalevtsy in honor of Baba Dragana, and the name has remained to this day.

Baba Dragana was also known for her fiery patriotism, as well as for "eternal beauty, strength, and power," if we are to believe an old folk song. This beauty was noticed by the Turkish Pasha in Sofia, and led to frequent meetings between Dragana and him. Years passed. Dragana lost her beauty but retained her strength and power. One day a Bulgarian shepherd, wounded and beaten, stumbled into her yard. Before he died three days later Dragana learned that Turkish shepherds, enraged because his animals had entered their pastures, had fallen upon him. This was too much for Dragana. She called her sons about her, armed them with pitchforks, and sent them out to avenge the death of a fellow countryman. Blood for blood. A few days later their yard was surrounded by Turkish soldiers who promptly bound the sons and carted them off to Sofia for a summary trial before the Pasha. Death was their sentence. But just before the execution the bold Dragana appeared to ask indignantly if the Pasha knew what he was doing. "These are your sons that you are about to put to death," she said. "If you do not believe me, see how much they resemble you." Confused, the Pasha looked at Dragana's sons, saw the resemblance, and called off the death sentence.

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000 resemble you." Confused, the Pasha looked at Dragana's sons, saw the resemblance, and called off the death sentence.

186 This story,[2] in addition to its glorification of Baba Dragana's love
175 of country at the expense of her morals, gives us a picture of government under the Turks. Despite the claims of some Bulgarian historians, Bulgaria was not badly off before the end of the seventeenth century. It was during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that Turkish rule became oppressive in its efforts to stamp out the spread of revolts owing, in no small measure, to the spread of national consciousness among the subject peoples. As a matter of fact, Bulgarian historians deplore more vigorously the actions of the Greek clergy who arranged with the Sultan to collect all religious fees from the people. Whereas the Turks were little interested in mass conversions to Mohammedanism, the Greeks were said to be desirous of so Hellenizing the Bulgarians that they would lose their sense of nationality. These Greek priests, however, had so much contempt for the villagers that they made little effort to influence the peasant population.

175 This period of bondage to the Turks and the Greek priests must have made the family and the village community much better integrated social units. Struggle with an outsider tends to do that. The peasants put higher walls around their yards so Turkish soldiers would not be attracted by something seen while passing. Girls who went to a friend's home for an evening spinning bee spent the night there rather than risk the possibility of capture by the Turks on the dark way home. Even today this custom persists, perhaps because Dragalevtsy youths occasionally steal their brides. Certainly Turkish influence did nothing to weaken the man's authority; at the same time it probably strengthened monogamy because of the unpleasant association of polygamy with things Turkish.

Many of the older Dragalevtsy residents with whom I talked looked back upon the Turkish rule as preferable to their present lot. They said that they were seldom disturbed by the Turkish officials unless they molested the Turks or were forced to contribute men and materials to the Sultan's army. Of course, the Turkish tax collectors also made their regular visits, at which times many peasants con-

[2] [See p. 63, category 116--Analyst]

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veniently arranged to be away from home. The villagers occasionally 175
joked about the peasant who climbed a tree to escape the tax collector and had to remain in that uncomfortable predicament for many hours before the visitor left. But the Turks did recognize the traditional [623]
form of village government, or government by elders, and let the heads of the zadrugas, or large joint families, run village affairs to their liking. Most of the time, the head of the zadruga had to accept the responsibility for the deeds of all members of his family group.

These zadrugas were little principalities guided by a *stopanin,* 596
usually the oldest male. His word was law; he distributed the work 178
among the men, bought the necessities, sold the produce, and represented the zadruga before the outside world; therefore, the zadruga usually bore his name.[1] Whenever a son, brother, or nephew of the [591]
stopanin married, he brought his wife back home to become a member of his zadruga. The wife of the *stopanin,* known as the *domakinya,* managed the housework. She kept the women busy making bread, cooking, washing, spinning, and weaving. Everything was owned in common. Work too was done in common, and whatever one earned outside was turned over to the *stopanin* for the common treasury. In return, all the members got clothes and food, which in those days were about all they expected to have.

After the death of the *stopanin,* the members met to select the next most capable male as their leader. At times, the *domakinya* took over the position of responsibility. Such was doubtless what happened in the case of Baba Dragana, or her prototype, since the ending of the word Dragalevtsy would indicate that it had been settled by a zadruga. The old joint family comprised married cousins descended from the same ancestor, with the result that it sometimes numbered as many as one hundred people.

When the older Dragalevtsy peasants talked to me of the zadruga, 596
which persisted as late as 1880 in their village, they showed that 178
wistfulness for the past which runs through the works of many Bul- 829
garian writers. The zadruga was supposed to be a source of plenty and happiness to its members. One aged peasant listed for me the advantages of this joint family over the modern family. First of all, he said, it had great economy. The members had only one lamp,

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596 one stove, and one of everything, but now the same number of people
178 living separately require many of each thing. In the second place,
829 there was obedience. The young people respected the old. This made for efficiency, since the *stopanin* was like "a general in the army, directing the young." Finally, he concluded, all the people worked together and could earn more, thus becoming richer.

596 Even under the Turks the zadruga was passing from the scene
178 because it was too unwieldy to adjust to the economic and social changes taking place. Contributing to its decline was the spirit of independence which stemmed from the French Revolution and eventually reached the Balkans. Greeks, and then Serbs, drove the Turks from their midst and established national independence. In Bulgaria and Macedonia, still under the Turks, the *haidutsi,* or guerrillas, went to the mountains every spring on Annunciation Day to spend the summer warring against their Mohammedan masters. It was this same tradition which the Yugoslav guerrillas followed in their resistance to the Nazis. This spirit of independence and the other influences from the West led one zadruga member after another to ask for a division of the common property. Usually the older men, brothers or cousins to each other, secured their shares and then established semi-patriarchal families of their own which consisted of their own sons and their sons' families. What had been common land now became the property of the individual families living in dwellings of their own. But more important sociologically than the smaller size of the individual family unit was the changed basis of authority in the family circle.

In the zadruga the head had been an overseer who achieved his position on the basis of age, ability, and special influence in the community at large. He constantly had to exercise care to keep in the good graces of the zadruga members upon whose assent his office was dependent. In this way the patriarchal pattern, although it ran through the zadruga system, was tempered by the control vested in an elected as opposed to an hereditary head. The father of an individual family, on the other hand, felt that his right of dominance was God-given. He, allied with God, invested himself with the lordship and so held his own in spite of personal unworthiness and in spite of dissension and revolt of the subject children. The father was

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a *paterfamilias,* with a unique concentration of power in his hands. 596
If his grown children did not submit to his control, then they could 178
leave his house but had no means of removing him against his will. Death alone could do that.

Such was the family situation in Dragalevtsy with the coming 178
of liberation after the Russo-Turkish War in 1878. The changes 642
which have occurred in the family since then have been related in 596
no small degree to the political fortunes of Bulgaria. The Bulgarian constitution was drawn up in Tirnovo in imitation of the constitutions of the West, and made Bulgaria a constitutional monarchy with a national parliament. Unfortunately, the new frame of government disregarded many traditional practices of the peasants and sought to impose upon them foreign ideas and strange governmental processes.

In April, 1879, Alexander of Battenberg, who was an officer 175
in the Prussian army and the favorite nephew of Tsar Alexander II of Russia, was elected Prince over the country. In September, 1885, Bulgaria united with Eastern Rumelia, an area which had been placed back under nominal Turkish control by the Treaty of Berlin. Prince Alexander, because he did not collaborate sufficiently with the Russians in their desire to make Bulgaria completely subservient to Russia, was abducted from Sofia and forced to abdicate in 1886. Then the Bulgarian leaders shopped around Europe for another Prince, and finally in 1887 chose Prince Ferdinand of the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha line. He did much to make Bulgaria a stronger state, but he showed poor judgment in ordering Bulgarian troops to attack Serbia, thereby starting the Second Balkan War in which Bulgaria suffered catastrophic defeat at the hands of her former allies in the First Balkan War. In 1918, because he had been a party to the alliance of Bulgaria with the Central Powers in the First World War, he was forced to abdicate in favor of his son Boris.

From her inception as a state Bulgaria tried to make a success 642
of representative government. Men were urged to vote; in fact, they 666
were fined the equivalent of five dollars if they failed to vote. But in [687]
spite of the dream of Young Bulgaria at Tirnovo, in spite of her

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642 666 vibrant youth and living hope, her fling at democracy failed, primarily because ballots were given to peasants who were not being taught the meaning of citizenship in a national state.

178 623 Those interested in democracy have much to learn from the story of government in Dragalevtsy. At the outset the informal rule of the elders, which had been recognized by the Turks, was replaced by a commune or *obshtina* with regularly elected officials. At first these units included a number of villages. By 1890 the increase in population necessitated the breaking up of the larger *obshtini* so as to include only two or three villages. In other words, the pendulum was swinging back in the direction of greater local control, the swing being further accentuated after the First World War.

665 Political parties grew like mushrooms in Bulgaria. In 1930 the country had more than sixteen significant parties; in the village of Dragalevtsy, with its total population of about sixteen hundred, there [557] were six important parties with recognized leaders and platforms. To be a party leader in the village meant added prestige; to be one in the city or on a national scale meant power. In order for a Dragalevtsy man to become a local party leader he had to be acquainted with important people in Sofia. Even though he had only one influential friend in the city, he could persuade this man to come out and help organize a party. Other peasants were invited to the organizational meeting and officers were elected. Naturally, the one who took the initiative would be chosen to an important post. Because of the multiplicity of parties and the intense strife among them, many people throughout the country breathed a sigh of relief when the authoritarian government, which came into power on May 19, 1934, abolished by decree all political parties and started the practice of appointing uni- [622] versity graduates as mayors in villages. This meant that the head of the government in a village was not dependent upon the will of the populace but had to produce results satisfactory to the officials over him. The breakdown of the party system was associated, especially as far as the conservative peasant population was concerned, not only with forces outside the village but also with the failure of popular education to develop into "a bulwark of people rule."

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The attitude of the peasants toward government dates from the 641
days of Turkish rule, when the chief aim of a citizen was to deceive the tax collector. The same spirit was still prevalent in Dragalevtsy in 1937. Furthermore, government had taken such a large share in the affairs of daily life that the peasants had come to feel that government, rather than individual effort, should introduce any reforms or improvements. Typical attitudes were the following:

"In general we have enough sense to know that government is necessary, but we do not expect any favors from it except to keep peace and order and to settle disputes."

"Government exists primarily to collect heavy taxes for the purpose of paying high salaries to high officials."

"Laws are things to be written in books and not to be obeyed. There are so many laws that we don't know them. The officials don't even know them. So we don't have much faith in laws."

While these political changes were occurring, things were hap- 178
pening to the large individual family which had come into being with 596
the breaking up of the zadruga. Some of the forces had already been at work before the Liberation but became more evident with the westernization of the country. The impact of westernization was shown by the fact that the Bulgarians still said when they were going to western Europe, "I am going to Europe." That is, psychologically they still felt identified with the Near East, although they were more and more exposed to the material achievements of Euro-American culture. Education, whatever may have been its shortcomings, had spread rapidly and brought many individualizing tendencies; there had been an increase in commerce, which made it difficult for large family units to be as self-sustaining as formerly. The wars also, by quickening social mobility, proved harmful to the large families. One of the younger men listening in on a group of old cronies in their endless discussions of the good old days summed up the change:

"During the war [1915-1918] and after, people traveled more to other places and saw how people lived there, so we have become more modern and started dividing our estates according to the fashion. We can now live more quietly and peacefully by living separately."

178 606 596 A daughter-in-law especially disliked to live as a stranger in her husband's paternal home subject to the will of the parents-in-law. Time and time again I heard this opinion clumsily but definitely expressed:

"The large families started to break up after the wars. The chief reason for that was the daughter-in-law. Many of them come from different places and even if they come from the same village, they begin to care more for their own children and to make things for them without the knowledge of the others with whom they are living. This brings trouble among them and so they quarrel. Then they talk to their husbands; finally the brothers, although they love one another, have to separate in order to be at peace."

178 596 Ordinarily most men felt that conditions were better before the separation, though the women were more content apart. Ill will and distrust also grew up between the members of the family when some of them who worked as day laborers failed to hand over their entire earnings to the common treasury. In the villages around Sofia several brothers rarely lived together with undivided possessions after the death of their father as they would have done in the days of the zadruga. During 1935, a record year for the division of families in Dragalevtsy, there were 9 cases of estates being broken up, 3 of them the result of the separation of son and father and the remaining 6 involving the separation of brothers. When a large family divided, the younger brother usually remained in the old homestead and assumed the care of the parents.

594 178 551 This change from the large patriarchal family to the small conjugal family was having consequences which few of the peasants realized.[1] For one thing, in comparison with the larger group, the conjugal family, which consists of parents and their unmarried children, has a short life. It ends, in a sense, with the death of one of the marriage partners. This especially affects the rearing of children, who in the olden days grew up with such a bevy of cousins that a special middle name was useful in identifying each child with his particular parents. More specifically each child received a "small" or given name selected by his godparents; as a middle name he automatically added to his father's given name an *ev* or *ov* ("the son of") or, if a girl, an *eva* or *ova* ("the daughter of"). As a last name he

[1] [Cf. pp. 65-69, category 116--Analyst]

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551 would take the larger family name of his father's kinship group. Thus
178 an outsider could immediately place each child not only in the family
594 group as a whole but in the small conjugal group as well. Students of child development have often pointed out the advantage to the child of growing up with a number of intimate contemporaries, as well as having several adults ready to serve as substitute parents whenever occasion demands.

But the change need not be viewed as entirely unfavorable. The smaller family unit was bringing about a more intimate relationship between members, breaking down the formalism between parents and children, and encouraging democratic living.

178 The good old days, if we are to believe the elders of the village,
463 differed not only in the degree of governmental autonomy in community affairs and a patriarchy in which the young respected the old: occupations too were of a different order.

"Half a century ago there were very few educated people, the chief of these being a priest from the monastery and a teacher. The mayor was an ordinary peasant elected by the town council of twelve people. There was a swineherd, as well as other herdsmen, and five merchants, plus a tanner. Practically all of the people were farmers. There was no dairyman; there was no doctor. All dentistry was done by Turks who remedied an aching tooth by pulling it out. We raised no horses, and an itinerant gypsy smith did all the necessary iron work."

When I asked another man about occupations half a century ago, he added this information:

"It was 'simple business' fifty years ago. There was a teacher for boys in the first and second grades; there was no village tailor, and the single tanner had little work. A priest from the monastery min-
652 istered to the people on occasion. We had no tax collector and an
211 illiterate mayor took all the taxes and kept the account on a *rabosh*."

(Here I steered the conversation off the subject of occupations long enough to find out what the *rabosh* was. It was similar to a practice of the Exchequer in twelfth-century England in which accounting was done with pieces of notched wood. Each family had a small piece of wood fitting into another piece kept by the mayor. The notches in the wood told the financial status of the family as far as the tax money was concerned.)

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"There was no barber because shaving and haircutting were done in the home or else by neighbors. When we began to use iron in the wagons, *maistori* came from outside. They also began to help in the building of simple houses. Until their arrival the houses were of straw with no bricks or tiles."

Even half a century ago there were a few young people who wanted to give up agriculture and become artisans, chiefly because there was not enough farm work for all members of the family. But the real shift in the young people's attitude toward farming as an occupation occurred in the 1920's along with the increased importance of the school.

"Formerly we were simple people," my informant concluded. "Now the situation is very different. Many go to study, to be officers and to be priests. Many finish the fifth and sixth class in Sofia. Now young people with ambition can be what they want to be."

One old woman in comparing the present with the period of her childhood said:

"The school is largely responsible for the change. Dragalevtsy would have been the same now as it was fifty years ago if we had had no school. The young people read and write, the discipline is more severe, and the youngsters have to go to school."

Whenever I wanted to stir up a lively discussion at the tavern, or with a group of women spinning thread, or with farmers out in the field, I could rely upon one question to do the trick: "Was life better fifty years ago than it is today?" The oldest person usually led off; after that, the discussion became a verbal free-for-all. Nothing was ever proved to anyone's satisfaction, but it was readily apparent that changes had taken place. The good old days in the opinion of some stood for the best that life had to offer, but others were glad that conditions of half a century ago belonged to the past. Perhaps the village drunk spoke words of wisdom when he finally got the attention of the group long enough to say: "Everything is better now but it is also more difficult." The more I think over that statement the more I feel that the drunk should have been a diplomat.

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CHAPTER V

THE COURTSHIP AND WEDDING

WHENEVER I asked a man or a woman "How did you come to marry?" the response was always the same. After an embarrassed laugh, the person would say, "Oh, it's so long ago. I have forgotten. I have not had time to remember such foolish things." Then would come a quick look at me from dark eyes that never seemed to lose their brilliance even when the broad face was sagging, deeply lined with the years. "You really want to know?" First it came haltingly; then soon the man would drop the harness he was mending or the woman would lay aside her distaff to give undivided attention to the story. I needed to do little prompting. My interruptions were usually questions about attitudes toward courtship or marriage in general. 581

There was never any self-pity, even among those women who had been stolen. Even for them something bright had flashed across their days. And for all—"It was so long ago, I thought I had forgotten. There has been much work." From all their reminiscences, stripped of their meager romance, there emerged the village conception of marriage.

Marriage was expected of young people in Dragalevtsy and was an affair which they usually handled in a matter-of-fact way. The peasant youth did not trouble himself as to whether he should or should not marry. He simply concerned himself, sometimes much and sometimes little, about whom to marry.

A woman who had not married by her twenty-fifth year was considered an old maid. People began to wag their heads and ask: "Why doesn't Vesela marry? She's a nice looking girl. There must be something wrong with her about which we do not know." As a matter of fact, in 1937 there was only one peasant girl over twenty-five un- 208 582

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582 married in Dragalevtsy. Because she had a physical deformity her
208 parents had given up all hope of marrying her off since they knew she would be unable to attend properly to her housework and field work. During the first World War there were two old maids in the village who had not been chosen for marriage because each of them had a goiter. A doctor with the German forces cured the goiters
[554] and these two unmarried women became desirable prospects, one of them marrying a priest's son in Sofia, one of the highest prizes a village girl could capture in her matrimonial venture.

[208] Since public opinion made life miserable for unmarried women,
[562] even a girl of independent temperament looked upon marriage as an inevitable event, especially if she stayed in the village. With men it
581 was different. They could choose to remain unmarried and not lose prestige in the community. People only said: "Well, Asen simply doesn't want to marry. He's a bit shy of skirts, you know."

The young men to whom I talked were outspoken in regard to those qualities which they looked for in choosing a mate: good health, industry, efficiency in the house and field, and proper care of the person. The girls, on the other hand, had little to say regarding the qualities they wanted in a husband. They seemed willing to accept whatever luck brought them. But marry they must.

584 There were many ways in which the husbands and wives had
574 become acquainted with each other. If both had been born in
883 Dragalevtsy, as was the case with a little more than half the couples, they were already aware of the other's characteristics either through personal acquaintance or hearsay. Many of the married couples had played together as children while tending the cattle in the sun-drenched pastures, only to become distant until most of the adolescent period passed. Then began frequent meetings at the fountain at sunset, shy flirtation at the *horo* and *sedenki,* or rambling conversation on the way to and from the Friday market. At the *sedenki,* held by the young people in various girls' homes on winter evenings, games involving forfeits were played. At one *sedenka* I attended, the girl giving out the penalties sent a couple obviously in love to the dark outdoors "to see what the weather was like." A few minutes later she sent a second couple out to see where the first had gone. All four of the

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young people came back giggling with excitement. Only in some rare instances had shyness kept the young couple apart in the village until matchmaking elders brought them together on the wedding day. 584 574 883

Old and young alike agreed as to the importance of the *sedenka* as a boy-meet-girl occasion. Even some of the intelligentsia with a nostalgia for the simplicity of their early years in the village talked fondly of these groups in which young people whiled away many hours in common work and merriment. The *sedenka* was the Bulgarian counterpart of our pioneer cornhusking and quilting bee. There, romance as it existed in the hearts of the peasant boys and girls came to the surface and was expressed in such simple acts as the giving of a flower, the kissing of a hand or cheek. These groups, which met in fall and winter, consisted early in the evening only of girls who had been especially invited by the hostess one or two days ahead of time. Two or three hours before the *sedenka* was to begin the girl doing the entertaining had to put on her heavy *kozhuh* and again tour the neighborhood to extend a formal invitation to each guest. When the girls had gathered they immediately began to spin, since work was the pretext for coming together. Sometimes the guests brought their own work, and sometimes they assisted the hostess in carding or spinning her wool. If spinning was the order of the evening, each girl was supposed to average about a pound of rather coarse thread.

As the door was usually locked after the girls were inside, the boys, whose arrival was announced by the barking dogs, had to knock for admittance. The hostess then asked who was knocking, and one of the boys told his name.

"The girls and even the hostess know with which boys he associates and if there is any one of them who is undesirable to some or all the girls, then none of the boys is allowed to enter. Usually, however, if they open to the boys, they will open to all; but if they are not in a good mood [very rarely] then they do not open to any."

A gust of cold, fresh air accompanied the boys' entrance, and activities inside ceased until they had made the rounds, shaking hands with those present. After much squeezing and adjusting each boy found a place to sit, usually next to the girl known to be his favorite.

The coming of the boys might or might not stop the work. Quite

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The coming of the boys might or might not stop the work.[2] Quite
584 often the girls were able to accomplish a great deal in spite of the
574 boys, but usually the entertainment which began soon after the boys
883 arrived distracted the girls from their task. There was much singing.
533 Someone struck up an old ballad and others joined in. Then, after a few more ballads, someone ventured a popular song. I once asked a young woman whether she ever sang any modern songs (knowing well enough that she did). She replied:

"Yes, the Dragalevtsy girls know almost all the popular songs. They hear the boys singing them on the street or at *sedenki* and then ask some boy who is a relative to write down the words. If they see that the song is not appropriate, they will not sing it. They always learn the words of songs and never whistle or 'murmur' [hum]."

I wondered to what extent the patriotic songs in the school were replacing the folk songs. Here is what informants at one *sedenka* said:

"As soon as a girl leaves the school, she does not sing any of the songs learned in school, but starts singing again the old songs that she has learned from the old people. The boys, however, continue to sing the songs, chiefly military, learned in school."

No instrumental music was taught in the school, but the radio was beginning to have some effect on the peasants' choice of music. One man listened to the radio fifteen days, stopping almost all other activity, in order to get the words of a jazz song then popular. These he sang with great gusto to his admiring friends. Many of the young people were becoming ashamed of the old songs and told me that they were out of date. The new popular songs that they learned were contained in *Pesnopoiki* (songbooks) bought for a few cents on market days.

[535] The singing of some particularly lively tune at the evening gath-
584 erings[a] might lead to folk dancing in which both the boys and the
883 girls took part. The very foundations of the house seemed to shake as the feet shuffled in time to the music. Parlor games of various sorts, quite similar to those played at a rural church social in America, were frequently played at these *sedenki*. This meant that the girls laid aside their spinning entirely and what started out as a work-bee became entirely a social gathering.

2 [-1 The "sedenka", or "spinning party", The Bulgarian counterpart of an American pioneer cornhusking and quilting bee -- Analyst]
"the sedenki" -- Analyst]

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Usually after midnight, the singing at the *sedenka* began to decrease in volume, conversation became dull, and the boys sensed that it was time to go. After their departure the hostess often served refreshments such as a soggy cheese pie *(banitsa)*, and the girls might or might not spend the night. The courting aspect of the gathering was emphasized by the fact that none of the married people of the household, except the mother of the girl acting as hostess, could be present. Even she was absent much of the time in some of the homes. 584 574 883

It was at these *sedenki*[a] that I collected a number of village proverbs, which were a real conversational aid to young people somewhat tongue-tied in mixed company. 538

"A kind word opens an iron gate."

"God gives but does not drive into the stall."

"A wet person is not afraid of rain."

"Listen much, speak little."

"Short are the legs of a lie."

"Stretch out your feet according to your quilt."

"I am telling your daughter so that daughter-in-law may hear [speaking indirectly]."

"After the rain, a raincape."

"Every pear has a stem."

"Give advice freely but not money."

"The thirsty carry water."

"A dog that barks much puts a wolf in the stall."

Within recent years the *vecherinki* provided young people other means of getting acquainted. The purpose of a *vecherinka*, or evening entertainment in the schoolhouse, was not to get any work done, but to raise money for some worthy cause. The villagers bought tickets to a program of music or drama, provided by both imported and local talent. Auctions and lotteries were features of most *vecherinki*. After the program was over the people joined in dancing: first, for an hour or so, they danced the native *hora*, to be followed, when the old folks 584 517 883 [525] [535]

[a] [A "sedenka" is a "spinning party" – The Bulgarian counterpart of an American pioneer corn-husking and quilting bee. – Analyst]

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went home, by village versions of western dances. It was a strange sensation on these occasions to see fifty young people trying to do the fox trot, when it was obvious that not more than five couples were experienced at it. But those who knew were patient with the novices. The excited faces were flushed not with the interest in learning a new step but rather with the daring of the dance's embrace. I asked quite a few of my acquaintances how they felt about these dances. Most of the older people who had seen the modern dances and many of the younger people considered them very immoral. In the words of one of these conservatives, "The boys especially are eager to learn a modern dance so that they can do very immoral things, which are very sweet for the young."

Although these evening entertainments had less importance in the social life of the people than the *sedenki* or the promenade, the villagers were proud of them as a formal medium of recreation in imitation of what one would find in a city. It was a new experience for many men to buy a ticket and be shown a seat; and such new experiences were dear to a peasant heart if they did not take him too far away from the ordinary world in which he moved. The first *vecherinka* was given in 1925. The teachers after that tried to give one or two more, but no one attended, so the practice was discontinued. In 1930, however, the *Chitalishte* (Reading Room Association) started them again, with the result that in the following years four or five were held during a winter.

Another innovation which played an important part in Dragalevtsy courtship was the Sunday afternoon promenade, which had displaced the traditional Sunday *horo*. The promenade course extended from Renaissance Square up a rocky street which bends to the left for a quarter of a mile. Here the young people in their Sunday best turned about and retraced their steps to the Square. One reason for the popularity of the promenade was its modernity; another was the absence of a church ban against it during Lent in contrast to the traditional interruption of *hora* during that seven-week period.

Even in the promenade there was no pairing off except in the case of some engaged couple. Indeed, walking in a twosome was tantamount to announcing an engagement. So village boys in twos,

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threes, and fours passed village girls locked arm in arm; appropriate (and inappropriate) comments were made as they passed. Up and down they went, greeting each other again and again, joking, blushing, laughing heartily, each wondering at the impression made upon some favorite member of the opposite sex. 584 517 883

These modern ways contrasted sharply with the laconic statements of those villagers who had married many years ago.

"When we grew older we began to know each other more intimately and went together for two or three years."

"We were neighbors before marriage. We met every holiday at the *boro* and in the evenings at the fountain. Our wedding festivities lasted three days."

"My wife and I knew one another as children. Outsiders urged both of us to marry, so I stole her. She would not agree to marry me until after I had stolen her."

Often the relatives of the couple involved kept saying that it would be a good thing to have the two persons married, and thus brought about a match they considered advantageous. [581]

In Dragalevtsy human nature asserted itself in universal forms; for example, a village Lothario boasted:

"I had had thirty-five girls, and had gone 'hand-in-hand' with one for two years. But I fell in love with my wife because she was modest and had not talked to boys."

I might add here that the parents of the girl objected to the match, but only because she was taller than her suitor.

Two-fifths of the Dragalevtsy-born men, in their search for a wife, preferred the novelty that other villages afforded. More often than not a Bulgarian youth would all of a sudden get a fixed idea in his mind, "I've got to get a wife." The search was then under way. In such a state of mind the young man was not apt to wander far. The villages in their order of popularity were Boyana, Simeonovo, and Bistritsa. Only two other villages had more than four representatives among the married women. These likewise were not far away. It was significant that no man born in Dragalevtsy and currently living there had a wife born in Sofia. This meant that if a Sofia- 581

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"*Zhenska rabota*, woman's work" (whitewashing). *See page* 53.

[Facing p. 80]

581 born girl should marry a Dragalevtsy boy, she would make him get a job in Sofia and would not return with him to village life.

When a husband and wife born in different villages told their stories I once more began to believe in the improbable. These are typical accounts:

"I went to Kumaritsa to carry my sister's things since her husband was working at the railroad station. We stopped at a house where a niece was living with her uncle. When she heard that people from another village were at her house, she returned and found that she liked me and I liked her. We were both seventeen. Half a year later we married, during which time I came to see her only once. That means we had seen each other twice before we married."

"I met my wife when she was with her father selling onions near the Sofia *Obshtina*. This was on a Friday; the next day I went to get her from her village the other side of Sofia; the following day we were married in Dragalevtsy. The father agreed to this for I seemed to be her destiny."

584 The choice of a mate was not just an individual decision in Dragalevtsy, for the pressure on the part of relatives was steady and occasionally severe. At times the young people rebelled at this guidance but generally acquiesced, largely because they were so economically dependent upon their families. There were no professional matchmakers. In their stead some interested relative would take a hand at getting a daughter married off by seeing that a fitting young man was made conscious of the young woman's qualifications. This was often done so skillfully that the young man thought he had discovered the girl himself. In the 1930's the choice had to seem to originate with the young people, and there were few cases of families forcing their children into a marriage.

583 There were times when girls did marry against their will, but this was not because of parental command. These cases occurred when the bride was stolen without her consent. The actual stealing usually took place in the evening or late afternoon when the young man, assisted by companions, carried the girl from the fountain or the *boro* to his home. The girl's father was supposed immediately to hurry to the boy's home to ask if his daughter was willing to stay. The girl

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"The school is largely responsible for the change." *See page 72.*

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". . . a wedding was a village affair . . ." *See page 85.*

[Facing p. 81]

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usually answered "Yes," since she had very little choice in the matter, even though she might be in love with someone else. One sixteen-year-old girl whom I knew had gone to Sofia to live until she was seventeen, when she married a young butcher there. Her family feared that if she had stayed in the village she would have been stolen by a local boy and been unable to marry the one upon whom she had set her heart. The stealing of the bride was a very common practice in the past, became incorporated in the marriage ritual, and was being revived for economic reasons during the period I studied Dragalevtsy. A stolen bride did not have to be married from her house with all the customary expensive ceremonies. She was married from the groom's house much more simply. Whether the bride agreed to a prearranged stealing or was the victim of a young man's sudden impulse, once she was taken to his home she dared not spurn his offer and return to her people. If she did, she would be in disgrace, with little possibility of a subsequent marriage.

Some of the stolen brides described their experiences in simple, matter-of-fact terms:

"In 1930 a group of us girls from Bistritsa had gone to the Monastery to card wool, and stayed there for a week. Some of the young bachelors from Dragalevtsy came up to see us two or three times and were with us for a long period on Sunday. My husband saw me working, liked me, and decided to capture me. He, with seven friends, waited outside the Monastery from eight o'clock to midnight knowing that I would have to go outside before going to bed. I came out with a *baba* [old woman] whom the boys frightened away with their guns; then I was taken down to Dragalevtsy. When we got to his home his mother and sisters met me in the yard with bread and salt ['so she wouldn't enter the house with empty hands,' interpolated the mother-in-law listening to the account]. The next day girls from Bistritsa went home and told my brothers that I had been stolen; they came here at eight o'clock that evening. I kissed their hands, gave them something to eat, and then they asked me if I wanted to stay or go back with them. I decided to stay, so they returned home."

The villagers described another traditional way of obtaining a bride, but I found that few young couples observed it. It involved a

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583 formal visit from some member of the boy's family, who brought the girl a hearthcake. If she and her parents accepted the proposal, the cake was eaten; then there was music and a general celebration. If the girl accepted but the parents did not agree, the guests went back home and sometime later on the girl ran away with the boy. Sometimes the girl knew the boy was sending a committee to ask for her hand; quite often she did not know. At times the young man himself made the request of the girl's father:

"We had known each other from childhood. He left bread and money for me to accept or reject, but my father turned him away, partly because I wanted to marry someone else in Simeonovo. He came, however, with three men, stole me, and wouldn't let me go."

A shy suitor acted differently:

"I was afraid to ask for her hand for fear she would refuse, so I got some older people to ask her married brothers, who agreed. Her parents were both dead and her brothers had been very strict with her, not allowing her to go to any *sedenki.*"

This last incident illustrated the popular idea that village young people are loath to discuss love and marriage with each other and do so by means of third parties. Such traditional going around Robin Hood's barn was being subjected to heavy strain by the young generation and, in fact, had always had its exceptions. "Stealing the bride" when both parties were in agreement is more correctly termed elopement; if the girl did not consent and the boy did not have the permission of her parents, then it was a case of actual stealing. Examples of elopements are:

"We were both from this village and had met at the fountain. We associated for two or three years, and one day while back on leave from the army I stole her with her agreement and then returned to the army. She stayed with my mother until I was again on leave a month and a half later, at which time we married."

"She was from Simeonovo and I met her one day as she was carrying nuts to the Friday market. Her father was a very unsympathetic man and did not approve of the match, so she ran away with me to Dragalevtsy, where we married and settled down in my father's home."

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The girls of Dragalevtsy had no way of proposing to a boy. The girl waited and, if nobody proposed to her, she remained unmarried. 583 562

Sometimes unmarried young people had sexual intercourse. If the boy did not want to marry the girl, then she told her parents; the boy was brought before the *Obshtina* and, if the charge was proved, was made to marry the girl. As one peasant said in matchless understatement: "In such cases they do not have a happy life." 836

One such case occurred during my sojourn in the village and was an exciting topic of conversation. A girl with an unsavory reputation, in the hope of gaining a certain young man as a husband, accused him of having had intimate relations with her; the parents, too, insisted upon his marrying their daughter. He refused and the matter was taken up before the village court, where several of his friends swore that they likewise had had intimate relations with the same girl. Whether the friends swore truthfully or falsely was still a matter of doubt in the minds of many villagers, but the young man was freed from all responsibility in the matter. [691]

Chastity ranked high in the scale of village social values. Even though some couples had illicit relationships before they married, they were running a grave social risk. Public indignation was especially great in the case of illegitimacy. A girl giving birth to an illegitimate child was forced to leave the village. On this subject I had the following conversation with one of the more respected villagers: 848 836 558

"Where does the girl go if she is driven out of the village?"

"She goes to Sofia because she's a bad girl."

"Do the villagers try to find out who the father was and punish him for his part?"

"The father? Why should they? The girl is to blame, not the man."

"Are many illegitimate children born in the near-by villages?"

"In my time [the last thirty-five years] there have been two in Bistritsa, one in Dragalevtsy, and none in Simeonovo."

There was no particular stigma attached to being a widow or a widower, but the village mores decreed that, when remarrying, widows had to choose widowers, and vice versa. The explanation for this went back to the villagers' belief of the afterlife. They thought of 587 775

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[775] Heaven in concrete terms and believed that husbands and wives would
587 be reunited there. Things would work out quite well mathematically if a widow and widower remarried each other, since in Heaven each mate would go to the first spouse, thus avoiding the unheavenly complication of a second mate left alone for eternity. For a second wife, they listened to the recommendations of neighbors far more than they did when marrying the first time. This was borne out by the testimony of a woman I found picking berries from a bush that overhung a garden wall. While speaking to me she kept a watchful eye turned toward the near-by house in fear that someone would tell her to leave the berries alone. "How did you happen to marry Nikola?" I asked her. Like the other women she seemed to welcome a chance to talk about herself.

"For three years I was a widow in Simeonovo before somebody recommended me to my present husband, at that time a widower living here in Dragalevtsy. One day he came over to Simeonovo, looked me up, and asked me to marry him. I accepted right away although I had never heard of him before. Winter was coming on and I didn't have any money to buy food for myself and my little boy. I went immediately home with him and lived with him as his wife for two months before we were married."

Her second husband was one of the poorest men in the village, and her life was decidedly unhappy; yet to the village way of thinking, she was better off than as a widow.

593 Most of these second marriages turned out successfully provided the question of stepchildren could be satisfactorily settled. Sometimes fathers sent away their own children to a relative and gladly took in those of the second wife. Quite often the children of both the husband and wife were brought up together as one family. A second wife was generally anxious to have children by her second husband in order to ensure her place in his affections, especially if she had children by her first husband who ate up the food and wore the clothes provided by their stepfather.

587 Widows and widowers were permitted by public opinion to live
837 together as though they were married for awhile before the actual ceremony took place. This above all else emphasized the fact that

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second marriages were entered into because of convenience and necessity. But such tolerance was not shown to the previously unmarried. 587 837

In Dragalevtsy children married according to age, the oldest first. If a younger child wanted to marry before his brother, he had to buy permission, but in no case was a son or daughter supposed to have the customary wedding celebration before an older sister married, the only chance being an elopement followed by a very simple ceremony. 582

Most girls and men in Dragalevtsy married between the twentieth and the twenty-fifth year. At the time of the last census (1934) there were only one married man and eighteen married women under twenty. Men had begun to marry later than they had ten years before, although there seemed to be no such well-defined trend for the women.

Since marriage was the normal channel for sex expression, an enamored couple thought readily of a wedding. When they reached an understanding, they considered themselves engaged and sought parental approval. Of the thirty representative families that I studied, eighteen, or more than half, were engaged one week. Only two couples were engaged for longer than two weeks. 584

The engagement did not grant the couple any privileges of intimacy; indeed, the boy was not allowed to visit with the girl until the wedding. His sisters and relatives went to call upon her, or, if she had been stolen and was in his home, his parents kept the girl away from him until the day of the wedding. Therefore, the engagement period did not give the young couple any chance of getting better acquainted; it simply gave the families an opportunity to prepare for the wedding a week later. Whenever a wedding was to take place, someone usually sent a message to me at the College, and if possible I attended. As a foreigner I was attracted to those customs that were bizarre; so to offset this I persuaded three peasants of different ages and from different families to give me separately a complete description of the typical wedding. This showed me which points they thought most important and served as a check to my observations.

A wedding was a village affair, the parents of the girl inviting all of those who had previously invited them as well as those whose invitations they would like to receive. This meant the laying in of large 585

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585 quantities of wine and *rakiya,* the hiring of musicians from Sofia, and the baking of many pies and loaves of bread. Of course, the women of the neighborhood shared in the excitement by helping both the parents of the bride and of the groom.

Before the church service all of the young people who could find a wagon went to the bride's house, and after certain formalities took her possessions to the home of the groom. The bony horses raced around the curves in a cloud of dust while the boys cracked whips and shot guns. The procession to the church went first to the home of the godparents, a point of special honor, then to the home of the groom, and finally to that of the bride. As in America, there was room for great variety in wedding procedures, according to the amount of money the families could afford to spend.

431 584 Another important aspect of a village wedding was the custom of presenting important guests with some sort of garment. The groom's family gave a shirt, a belt, or a handkerchief to each of its close relatives, but the bride had to have something ready for the relatives of both families. When she was eight or nine years old she began preparing these numerous presents, doing them all by hand. In return she received a small sum of money from each person she [574] honored. At the first weddings I attended I failed, through ignorance of the custom, to live up to my part of the bargain, but that seemed to make no difference in the way the people felt toward me. They never came to remind me of the oversight, because with natural courtesy they did not want to make me, a guest, feel uncomfortable or embarrassed. One evening when I was visiting one of the families I knew best, I asked a twenty-year-old girl to show me her hope chest containing the presents that she intended to give away as well as those garments that she planned to keep for her own use. This is what the chest contained:

25 pairs of socks knitted by the girl
55 long white shirts of homespun cloth (half to be given away)
35 homespun belts to be given to unmarried men
15 face towels
15 headkerchiefs worn by married women
20 *sukmani,* or black jumper dresses (most to be kept by the girl)

This girl was by no means from a rich house hold.

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This girl was by no means from a rich household.

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The church ceremony always took place on Sunday if neither the bride nor groom had been married before. On Saturday the groom, bearing up fairly well under the good-natured jibes of the officials and his friends, went to the *Obshtina* for a license. A little after sunset the intimate friends of the bride and groom carried water from three different fountains to the bride. After the first two trips she poured the water brought to her onto the ground, but when the company returned from the third fountain she kept the water to heat later on for washing her hair. I shall never forget accompanying a group of young people on such an occasion. The bride was from a distant village, had come to Dragalevtsy to help harvest grain, and had been stolen by one of the young men. She, of course, was taken straight to his home, whereupon the boy's father started on the thirty-mile journey to visit the girl's parents to get her hope chest and wedding finery. The girl herself had no chance to go home for a farewell visit, nor did she have a single friend with her for the wedding. She was a sad little figure that Saturday evening as she received the water from these kind but strange young people. We were all excited because the boy's father had not yet returned from the girl's home. As everyone expected a favorable reply, wedding preparations went on without any delay; but there was always the possibility, however slight, that these preparations might be in vain.

When the father did return with the consent of the girl's family, the wedding followed the usual procedure. Sunday was the big day, with the *horo* set for the morning. I left my room at the tavern about nine o'clock, after breakfasting on sliced bread, white cheese, and linden-leaf tea provided for me by Bai Penko. The *horo* had not yet begun, so I talked with the groom's father for more than an hour on the sunny porch. The bride was being dressed in a room on the first floor; women bustled in and out carrying garments, water, combs and brushes, and ribbons. Upstairs the groom was being shaved and spruced to the accompaniment of considerable horseplay. There was a noticeable difference of atmosphere in the two quarters: great solemnity and a certain sadness pervaded the lower room; hilarity, aided by considerable drinking, rang out from above. Several women who

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585 were busily preparing the big meal to be served after the church ceremony every now and then rushed out with something for me to taste, with the groom's father insisting that I sample some of the choice wine or brandy purchased just for the wedding.

535 585 [186] The dance I had come to see did not begin until afternoon. It lacked the enthusiasm which I had learned to anticipate, but was nevertheless colorful: the girls and women wore their most beautiful costumes; the men were neatly dressed, some in army uniforms; the leader of the *horo* carried the Bulgarian flag of white, green, and red, taking care that it did not catch in the overhanging branches. (In time of war the colors are reversed with the red bar on top.) This dance really was the prelude to the gay procession which headed for the church about two-thirty. First came the musicians with their battered instruments; then the principals of the wedding, followed by the guests. The flag was there, as well as Bulgarian tricolor sashes over the shoulders of the men.

585 292 Ordinarily the bride was a gay figure in the procession, her somber black overdress brightened with huge silver belt buckles and cherished strings of thin gold coins handed down for generations from mother to daughter. Hair and face shining with cleanliness, she moved in her wedding procession, happy, although considerably confused by her prominent position. But this particular bride had no ornaments—(Had her parents refused to send them?)—except a flower over her ear and the usual short, coarse white veil on her head. She did have on real leather shoes, instead of the customary pigskin sandals, but that was the only elaboration of her costume. It was hard to get her to smile for her picture; but when her new brother and sister each took an arm to encourage her, the broad, rather dull face suddenly lit up and a pair of beautiful dark eyes looked shyly at my camera.

585 All the village turned out to see the procession pass. Swarms of children came racing down the principal streets at the sound of the music. Once we had entered the churchyard I learned that they were there to scramble for the candy and coins which were thrown in the air along with rice to symbolize sweetness, wealth, and productivity. But this came at the end of the ceremony, and the children stood

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closely packed in the church as the wedding party entered to face the 585
altar before a table in the center of the church.

The bride and groom had no more than taken their stand when [831]
a middle-aged woman hurried to place dough baked in the form of a male phallic symbol deep in the sash worn by the bride and another piece to represent the female organs around the waist of the groom. This was done half surreptitiously while the priest was busy about something else.

As the ceremony began I realized as never before the important [608]
part played by godparents in the ritualistic and spiritual life of the village. They stood behind the bride and groom, who were attended by the groom's brother as *dever,* or best man. The young couple shifted from foot to foot, each holding a bunch of flowers in one hand and a large burning taper in the other. The priest read from the Bible in his beautiful rich tones about the wedding at Cana of Galilee, and then asked God's blessing upon the couple.

At this point the priest stepped out of his role and said to me: "Would you like to take a picture now?" Then when I was set for a time-exposure, he said to the crowd: "Everybody, quiet!" My act done, he told the godparents to assist in the changing of the rings from bride to groom, as well as the fragile, bright crowns previously placed upon the heads of the couple. In addition, the priest, as part of the ritual, passed around the chalice so the young couple, the best man, and the godparents could sip the wine. These same people then followed the priest in a walk around the table on which a cross and the Holy Scriptures rested. Three times around they went, stopping four times during each circuit to symbolize north, east, south, and west. At each of these twelve stops the party bowed over the table and its sacred relics. It was during this walk that the godmother tossed the rice, candy, and coins in the air for the children.

Such a brief account fails to include much of the liturgy which was an important part of the Orthodox Church's ceremony, but the peasant accounts of a wedding skimmed over this as being either unimportant or else a topic about which they were uninformed. In fact, most of the men accompanying the bridal party to the church remained outside during the ceremony. The parents of the groom

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585 had no important part to play, and, of course, the parents of the bride did not attend because of the distance.

The musicians began to play as soon as they saw the people coming from the church, and the procession formed again and went back to the groom's home over a different route, for it was considered unlucky to retrace the route. Back at the house a *horo* began with the liveliness I had always associated with the wedding dances. While many of the guests danced, others with special invitations went into the house to eat what had been so laboriously prepared over open hearths and sheet metal stoves. About dark the young couple were led to their room and left alone with the best man on guard by the door. An old custom, now falling into disuse, required the groom after intercourse to present the undergarment of the bride to the best man as a proof of her virginity. In the old days this was passed from guest to guest in a flour sieve so that all could be personally assured of the fact. But in the case of this young couple that custom was not observed. Word did get around that the groom was satisfied with his bride; if he had not been, then she could have been sent home in disgrace and the wedding called off—that is, provided he had not been guilty of previous incontinence with her. The groom's parents in their joy passed "sweet brandy" around for all the guests to drink.

Early in the morning the bride came out for the rest of the ceremonies. She was taken to the chopping block underneath the nut tree to demonstrate her ability to wield the axe. The godmother then took her bridal veil, wound it on a stick, and touched some of the other village girls in the belief that they would soon get married. [292] In place of the veil the godmother tied a kerchief, brown in this case, over the girl's head to show that the wearer was married. The bride was then sent to the fountain for water of which all had to drink. The musicians were aroused from their befuddled sleep and told to strike up some lively music; the blaring horns and the beating drum woke the whole neighborhood, and then the whole village, as another procession began. This time all were headed for a wedding breakfast at Bai Penko's tavern, where they sat outside, just beneath my window. The first thing I noticed was the brown kerchief which, with the cheap

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gold ring on her finger, symbolized what a tremendous change had taken place in the life of the bride. A week before she had been a girl gathering wheat in the company of other girls; now that kerchief separated her from these former friends and meant that she was a daughter-in-law in a strange home, in a strange village, married to a strange man. But for this she had been born; there was no reason or precedent to complain, no matter how disturbed her emotions might be.

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CHAPTER VI

MARRIAGE

585 517 THE BULGARIAN groom settled down naturally into the role of the married man as the embarrassment of the first few days of good-natured joshing wore away. He took less and less interest in the Sunday afternoon promenade, preferring to sit in front of the tavern with the other married men where he liked to be complimented on the woman he had chosen in the same way that he would appreciate compliments on a cow just bought. However, as marriage progressed he began to respect his wife as a person rather than as a possession.

593 851 It was when the first child arrived, in a year or so, that the husband suddenly felt a sense of tremendous importance. He was no longer just a married man; he was a father. Though the beginning of married life had little effect upon his behavior, the fact of parenthood changed even his facial expression, his earnestness in his work, and his whole attitude toward the future. I sensed this often in the requests that people made for photographs. Few young men came to ask for pictures of their brides; but many wanted pictures of their infants, especially of the sons. In the case of the first child they would hold him up squarely in front of the camera so that he would fill up the whole picture if possible. But as children continued to arrive year after year, the fathers often asked, "Could we get our new oxen into the picture too?"

581 Most of the men accepted marriage as they did the weather: inevitable, sometimes balmy and sometimes disagreeable, but utterly essential. They did not go out of their way particularly to adjust themselves to marriage, and spoke little of marriage. They patiently waited for parenthood, which was revolutionary in its effect upon them.

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With women it was quite different, since marriage for them called for major adjustments. Not only did the wife have to become accustomed to the demands and habits of her husband, but she also had to fit into the routine of her husband's parental home. In some cases she had to subordinate herself to other daughters-in-law in the household. Should she and her husband live in a separate dwelling near the husband's childhood homestead, she still was so subject to the scrutiny of the in-laws that she found it expedient to conform to their ways of doing things. 581 562 606 591

The woman, much more than the man, had to give up the companionship of her former friends to move in the group of the married women of the neighborhood. In these groups she was initiated into much of the folklore about anatomy, conception, childbirth, and child care. The frank discussion by various women of their personal experiences was enough to make any squeamish girl terrified at the very thought of becoming a mother. Continued discussion, however, made the experience eventually seem less of an ordeal; in fact, it was often a source of comfort and encouragement when her time arrived. 521 571

These neighborhood gossiping groups did much more than shock the girl into some of the realities of married life; they also informed her of the personal peculiarities of her in-laws and neighbors; they let her know what she should and should not do. And if she was one of the first of her circle of friends to marry, she could look forward to the day when one or two of them would become brides in the vicinity and could join her in the company of these older married women.

The role of these women's groups in the village was interesting and far more important than the surface informality would indicate. Recreation for the older women was generally tied up with work. Distinctions, however, should be made between the women's work groups, such as those for spinning and carding, and women's gossiping groups, in spite of the fact that the membership was the same in both groups and that gossiping was the chief recreation in both instances. In the work groups, the women were invited formally by the hostess, were fed, and were expected to stay most of the day, definitely to work. Gossiping groups, however, were much more informal, since people

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came together without an invitation. If it was a workday, a few women of the neighborhood gathered in one of the yards to spin, sew, or knit. If it was a holiday, they simply talked. The village women spoke of it as getting together "to laugh, to be merry." The women gathered in twos, threes, or more, almost entirely on a neighborhood basis. If relatives were in the neighborhood, they were included, but because they were neighbors, not relatives. Seldom did relatives from other sections of the village attend. Among some women it was the practice to go only when invited, however informally. As one woman said:

"We take our work along. If there is anything to eat, we eat. Age makes no difference. It is seldom that an unmarried girl participates in a group with married women, because the married women talk about things which a girl should not be permitted to hear. A girl would be allowed to stay with the women only if the discussion is not of a kind bad for her." She went on to add that the young and old people customarily did not mix in conversation. "The old have little to say which interests the young, so then they begin to give advice and the young people run away."

I met five women varying in age from thirty-three to sixty-six talking one Sunday on the street corner. Some of the women had taken off their shoes and were standing in the brook beside the road. This group had a decided neighborhood basis. When I asked how these five women happened to get together, this was the explanation:

"Slavina came to ask Geny about a sick neighbor across the street. Maria saw them talking and came over to hear what the news was. Stenna, who lives up the street, also came, and after her the other Maria."

They had been talking there for almost an hour before I came and were still talking an hour after I left, as I saw on my return to the College. Since it was Sunday they were doing no handwork, but said that often during the week they gathered to help one another spin, hoe corn, and harvest. One said to me, "We live together." Even in the wintertime they went around to visit, to inquire if the friends had enough wood to see them through the winter, if the cow was still sick, how much the taxes had been. Of all the women Geny

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did the most talking. The women found it difficult to say which one helped the others most, because "this depends so much upon one's special knowledge of cooking, caring for the sick, and sewing." Each woman was expert in a different line, but all were willing to help in any way. [476] 571 521

The distinction between age groups broke down when the group was hard at work, as the work was then more important than the flow of gossip. In general, the gossiping groups got together more frequently in the summertime and on Sundays. Women found their chief recreation with women, and men with men, though the men said they needed the stimulation of tavern society. [517]

This willingness of the men to spend money for recreation and to limit their wives to the questionable joys of gossip illustrated the common saying, "Bulgaria is a man's country." A Dragalevtsy peasant saw nothing strange in the sight of a man riding a donkey while his wife trudged along behind carrying their purchases home from market. Or if a man returned alone from market, having ridden all the way in his wagon, his wife, tired from a day in the field, went out to carry in his things, saying, "He's weary and needs my help." She was always careful to make no queries about the day's activities, although she might be bursting with curiosity to know what had happened at market. She went about her work and waited until he was comfortably fed and settled, knowing full well that then she would have a complete report. Usually her husband made himself out to be the hero of each little episode, but "men are like that," she would say. 562 181 593

The well trained wife always deferred to her husband. If ever I asked a question in the presence of both, the woman turned her eyes to see what response her husband made. If he made a gesture as though to say, "You go ahead and answer," then she began to talk, becoming silent whenever her husband wished to interject any comments.

What was even more conclusive proof that Bulgaria was a man's country, and certainly that Dragalevtsy was a man's village, was the obedience of women to their husband's command. I asked thirty wives in the course of my family interviews:

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"The musicians [here a *gayda* or bagpipe player] began to play as soon as they saw the people coming from the church." *See page 90.*

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"A village bride . . . wearing cherished strings of thin gold coins handed down . . . from mother to daughter." *See page 88.*

[Facing p. 96]

562 "Suppose you wanted to go to market some Friday and your
181 husband thought you ought not to go, what would you do?"

Not a single wife would dare go to market under these cir-
593 cumstances. Two or three said, "I wouldn't even start for the door."

"But suppose you wanted to make some small purchases in the city and your husband disapproved, what would you do?" Only two daring ones out of the thirty said they would make these purchases if they had money.

It paid the women to "behave," because the husband did have the right to beat a disrespectful wife. I never happened upon a wife-beating, but the fact that a few husbands told me with pride, "I never beat my wife," showed me that they considered themselves exceptional.

[208] A wife who received rough treatment, especially if her husband
562 had been drinking, could go to her father's home. She could not stay
593 there very long after her mate had become sober, because her father and the village in general made her feel that her place was with her husband no matter how disagreeable he might be. Usually she waited until her husband came with a meek promise of good behavior to ask her to come back.

In those formal ways a village wife showed respect to her husband. She did not, most of the time, find them burdensome because she knew nothing else. All of her experiences from childhood to
[208] marriage had conditioned her to a subordinate role. Should any woman have tried to rebel against her lot other women would have been her most vigorous critics. They, more than the men, aided in the perpetuation of the existing order.

562 The woman, however, had a far more important place than the
581 social amenities would indicate. Men frankly admitted that they could not make a living without their wives. This feeling of de-
593 pendence overshadowed the traditional masculine superiority to the extent that a partnership resulted. The man, to be sure, was the senior partner, but he knew that he was a member of a team in which co-operation was essential.

This deeper sense of partnership was best shown by the practice husbands had of consulting their wives on every matter of importance as well as on minor matters. Out of twenty-six representative cases,

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"Bulgaria is a man's country."
See page 95.

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"The neighborhood gossiping groups did much more than shock the girl into some of the realities of married life . . ." *See page* 93.

[Facing p. 97]

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nineteen husbands always consulted their wives before doing anything such as selling a calf, hiring a servant, or building a small stable; four husbands consulted sometimes, and only three were so strong-willed and dominating that they never asked their wives' opinions. Many husbands said that their wives knew more than they did about the management of the farm, though these same wives modestly asserted that they knew very little. One man said: "That's why we are married: to ask each other." Quite a few husbands, having learned that it paid in the long run to consult the women, betrayed this by saying, "We have to ask," or "We have to listen to women." 562 581 593

Consulting, however, was not always the same as catering to the wives' wishes. I asked twenty-six husbands: "Suppose you had set your heart on buying something but your wife objected, what would you do?" Twelve said they would make the purchase anyway, three hedged a little in their answers, but eleven would buy nothing contrary to the wishes of their wives. This last group of eleven showed that to many men the judgment or wishes of the women meant far more than one would expect in "a man's country."

Much of a woman's hold upon her husband came about quite unconsciously on the part of either. The village wife was artless and ignorant of the wiles of a sophisticated society, but she knew that as long as she was efficient, decorous, and dutiful she could count upon continued support from her husband. She also knew that she was not in competition with adventuresses or with women, jaded and disappointed, frantically seeking excitement to enliven their days. Instead, the Dragalevtsy woman felt secure. With her there was a solemn finality about marriage to which her husband and others in the village subscribed.

She expected no courteous gestures or terms of endearment from her husband. Her name sufficed. Only three couples out of twenty-seven used affectionate names for each other, these taking such forms as *bulka* (bride), *baba* (old woman), and the like, but never *dear*, *darling*, or *sweetheart*. One of the three men who used such names saved them for times when his wife did not listen, and then he used several to get her attention. The occidental practice of kissing was little used by the married couples, though the younger generation was [551] 562 593

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593 562 [581] beginning to imitate "the people of the world" in this respect. As the psychological aspect of the sexual relationship between husband and wife varied with each couple, no generalization could be made except to point out that sex seemed to be a concomitant of marriage rather than the basis of marriage. Mates were picked by young men more for their potentialities as hard-working farm hands than for their sexual attractiveness. Quite often before marriage a sort of affection had grown up between the couple; more often affection came after marriage and increased as the partnership proved successful and the feeling of mutual dependence deepened.

Most of these couples freely, sometimes jokingly, admitted that they quarreled more or less, even when they were in many respects fortunately adjusted to each other. Nevertheless, in only one-third of the cases did this quarreling lead to a permanent cause of conflict.

273 593 The disciplining of children by the husband frequently aroused the wife to indignation, but perhaps not to such a depth as did his late arrival from the tavern in an intoxicated condition. Few Bulgarian men drank to get drunk. Intoxication, when it came, was often the result of overenthusiastic observance of drinking customs. For instance, when men drank in the saloon all of them ordered drink and food not only for themselves but for the whole table, everybody paying for what he had ordered before leaving; the people always toasted health, long life, or happiness when they raised a glass of wine, beer, or whisky, at home, in the tavern, or in the field; at feasts *rakiya* was served before the people began to eat; during the meal they drank wine. A drunken man was sent out of the tavern at closing time, and it was up to him to get himself home, even though he fell down several times en route. If he was having too great a difficulty, some companions might lead him. If they were not around, the policeman or night watchman might act as guide. At his approach, the children hid and the wife became afraid. The villagers said: "Even an insane man runs away from the drunken." Sometimes in order to sober up the drunken man, people put a little urine or horse manure (substances rich with ammonia) in his mouth. The chief complaint the women made against drinking was economic, The spending of money "for nothing," as they said.

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Husbands and wives also disagreed frequently over the importance of a certain task, since the husband was likely to order the wife to work in the field when she felt it necessary to complete some task at the house. Money was often a source of conflict. Since all the villagers were members of the same church they rarely argued about religion, the few discussions which did arise being about the desirability or undesirability of church attendance. One of the most significant results of this study of village families was to show how little disagreement there was concerning in-laws, since husband and wife usually stood together as a unit against these outsiders, whether they belonged to her family, his family, or had married their son or daughter. 593 [771] [606]

In spite of these quarrels about discipline, drink, and jobs to be done, most couples considered their marital venture highly successful. I believe that an important reason for the success of marriage in Dragalevtsy was the recognition on the part of husband and wife that even love was not an answer to all of life's problems. They took each day's pleasures and disappointments as they came, rejoicing or sorrowing in quiet unison.

Many times as I listened to the husband or wife gravely narrating with satisfaction and pride the calm and uneventful story of their marriage partnership, details of the room in which we were sitting would strike me with such force that I had to recall myself with an effort to the conversation. We always sat in the best room; sometimes it was the only room. It was always the room where the family lived. The chief furniture was a bed, perhaps two or even three beds. And here two or three couples and their children spent their days and nights. I would try to imagine married life under such circumstances. [342]

Life of any kind became not merely a matter of privacy, but really a problem of where to carry on the necessary daily activities without getting in another's way. And yet, in most of these crowded households the marriage bond had grown strong. If there was no actual happiness, I often saw a friendly contentment and a mutual regard, particularly as the couple grew older and could look back upon years of joint achievement.

000 regard, particularly as the couple grew older and could look back upon years of joint achievement.

586 Should quarrels become frequent the inhabitants of Dragalevtsy did not use divorce as a means of breaking up such a marriage relationship, unpleasant though it was. This was due partly to the influence of the church, the only institution at that time which could grant a divorce; but public opinion was an even stronger sanction against it. The oldest villagers could remember no case of actual divorce in Dragalevtsy. The village as a whole was considerably stirred up for more than a year while I was there by the relationship which existed between the village tailor and his wife, who were mentioned in an earlier chapter.[1] When I raised the subject of divorce at one of the tavern sessions, one of the old men suggested gravely, but with what I soon learned was some suppressed amusement, that I interview Zdravka, the tailor's wife. "She is one of these modern women, you know; she has her own money and job. In fact, you have probably already met her for she is one of the servants at your school."

This looked like a gold mine in my own backyard, but I was somewhat hesitant about questioning Zdravka directly. I went to the Bulgarian teacher who had so often helped me in the more delicate questioning of village women. We learned that for over a year Zdravka had talked divorce and even claimed that she had consulted a Sofia lawyer about the matter. For weeks at a time she would stay away from her husband, leaving him in such an equivocal position that out of sheer embarrassment he used to hate to go to the tavern for an evening drink; then she would decide to spend the summer with him and help him make the garments which he sold. After two or three such separations and reconciliations Zdravka and her husband were together again. They lived in a neat little whitewashed house, quite new. There were screens in the windows—("Zdravka learned that at the College," her husband said proudly)—and there were flowers around the door. Why she wanted to leave him no one knew exactly, least of all Zdravka. What it boiled down to was the strangely familiar cry, "I want to be independent." But even Zdravka, with all her surprising initiative and contacts with the

1 [cf. p. 14, category 116 -- Analyst]

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intelligentsia, when it came to the point dared not run counter to the old village sanctions against divorce. 586

More often it was the husband who left the home. When he did and in rare cases interested himself in another woman, the villagers did all in their power to make him return. If he refused at first, they made him feel the indignation of public opinion, treating him as an outcast and sometimes going to the length of beating him. If he remained in the village, he had no choice but to go back to his wife. During the time he was away his wife also was put to shame, getting little sympathy from the general public. She knew, furthermore, that in case of a divorce both parties would be held guilty by the villagers, so she was willing to take her husband back and get along with him as best she could. A divorced man was considered to have loose morals; a divorced woman would have been thought thoroughly bad. There was thus a situation in which everyone was expected to marry, with no sanctioned way out once the marriage contract had been entered upon. Though such an attitude meant that unfortunate marriages had to drag on interminably, it also had the effect of forcing couples to adjust themselves to each other. [208] [558]

Dragalevtsy seemed a curiosity indeed: a village in which marriage was little questioned, where there was practically no marital unfaithfulness, and no divorce. What were the reasons for the family stability? For one thing, life was still lived according to ancient customs. People only recently had begun to wonder about the age-old patterns which they had been following so faithfully. Some writers would call them the "dead hand of the past," others "the cake of custom." Whatever their name, they were conducive to a common understanding of the place of marriage. All the people expected the same things from life and from the home. 581 593 181 829

Then, too, earning their living by farming was a joint enterprise. People got used to putting their shoulders to the wheel as a family group. In addition to what they all did together, women were supposed to do certain things, men other things, and children still other things. As long as every person did his part there was no friction, but quiet efficiency. Furthermore, the presence of a number of relatives made for greater stability. In the case of apparent misunderstanding

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between a husband and wife, the proper relative intervened to suggest a way out. Most of the husband's relatives were in the same locality with him and could keep an eye on his behavior.

One was not only tied closely to the husband's blood kin *(rodstvo)* but had to enter upon a formal relationship with one's in-laws. Families related by marriage felt close to each other, the intensity of the feeling depending upon the frequency with which the families met and the way the young couples got along. Ordinarily, however, the family of the bride was considered by the husband's parents to be as close, at times even closer, than blood relatives. For instance, if there was any sort of celebration to which guests were invited, the family of the bride was the first to be asked. One reliable informant estimated that ninety out of one hundred people in Dragalevtsy felt the force of *svatovstvo,* or this relationship springing up through intermarriage. The young people, who are usually so prone to make a break with the past, maintained it in all its vigor. Here was the way one young man explained the *svatovstvo:*

"If my sister married some man in Simeonovo, even though I had never seen him before, his brother and sister would be my *svati,* and if I met them we would feel like cousins. I would never curse them or quarrel with them and would call their father *'dedo'* and their mother *'baba,'* the same names I use for my own grandparents. My parents and the parents of my new brother-in-law would likewise be *svati* and would treat one another reverently." Two brothers could [582] not marry two sisters from another family, though there was no blood relationship, because the second couple were *svati* after the first couple married, and *svati* could not marry. Two brothers could marry two first cousins, but not two sisters. This feeling of closeness in families related by marriage did not stop with the husband and the wife, nor with the single in-law gained by each family. It included, as well, the in-law's parents and brothers and sisters with whom just dealings and proper behavior had always to prevail.

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More than anything else, however, the shared activities of husband and wife developed an understanding which lasted through thick and thin. Some of these shared activities were the trip to market, the

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Christmas Eve feast, Easter festivities, and the ceremonies on St. George's Day. 593

Roughly two-thirds of adult Dragalevtsy was in Sofia on an average Friday. On Thursday evenings the village was already bubbling with excitement. The wagons had already been loaded. All that was necessary in the dim light on Friday morning was the yoking of the sleepy oxen. Soon cart after cart would creak heavily down from the village, overtaking those peasants who cheerfully made the long trip by foot. By the time sleepy city-dwellers were breakfasting, the village was well on its way to the outside world. 443 432 366

Once in Sofia there were four possible destinations for the peasant wagon: the cattle market, the mill, the big curb market, or the *Bezisten Pazar* (another smaller market).

The cattle market was located across the city, back of the railroad station, near the municipal cemetery. This market was owned and managed by the municipality. Every peasant before passing into the enclosure with a beast had to pay the tax of ten leva. The sun had already grown warm by the time the Dragalevtsy peasant and his wife passed through side streets to this square, packed with bargaining, shouting men and noisy animals. Usually the women sat outside the square in their wagons loaded with pumpkins and peppers in season, though once in a while a woman accompanied her husband through the bargaining and sale of the animal. The bright blue uniforms of the police were very much in evidence in this dusty confusion, where hard bargains sometimes led to fist fights. At the east end, gypsies raced their not too spirited horses up and down to prove to would-be purchasers the absence of defects. At the northeast side, the red-eyed water buffaloes and their dirty little black calves moved restlessly because of biting flies. To the northwest, along the iron rail the oxen ruminated.

Through the tumult and dust wandered the sellers of *boza* (fermented millet drink) and the vendors of round *gevretsi* (small rings of bread); here a man was eating a melon near a sucking calf. I was always interested in those performing *pazarluk*, which was the method of clinching a bargain. The buyer and the seller of an animal would stand shaking hands as the seller demanded an unreasonably high

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432 443 366 price, to which the buyer retorted with a ridiculously low price. As the two amounts approached each other the handshaking grew warmer and more rapid until finally the buyer and seller agreed on a sensible figure, at which time a third party added his hand to those of the other two. The third peasant, the witness of the sale, often enjoyed shouting as much as the principals. The bargain concluded, the men went to arrange a bill of sale, after which the newly purchased animal was led across the plain to its new home.

[435] At this market in 1937 a sound young bull cost between twenty-five and thirty-five dollars; a fresh buffalo cow, between fifty and sixty dollars; ordinary cows brought slightly less, between thirty-five and forty-five dollars. Horses ranged from twelve to sixty dollars, while the humble donkey varied in value from twelve to eighteen dollars.

Not far away from the big cattle market, in the high-walled enclosure, was the sheep bazaar. There shepherds lolled in the shade with their flocks and waited for purchasers, often long in coming. This too was a municipal bazaar, and the peasants paid a small fee for the privilege of carrying on business there. Ordinarily a pair of sheep cost $3.60.

Near the Bridge of Lions spanning the narrow canal around Sofia was the mill which the people of Dragalevtsy had chosen to patronize. If they were tired out after their trip into the city, the villagers lay down on sacks of grain until their turns came. When at last they aroused themselves they were coated with a thin layer of flour dust which filled the air around the electrically operated machinery. In the mill courtyard the unyoked oxen rested beside the wagons, and chatting groups of women sat in the scanty shade.

From the Bridge of Lions there jutted off a narrow street lined with people displaying homegrown and homemade wares. This was the beginning of the general market which extended with innumerable side-street ramifications for several long blocks. This market did not really get into full swing until nine o'clock, owing to the drowsiness of Sofia housewives.

The real life of this market resided not so much in the great variety of products on sale as in the peasants: their dress, their immeasurable patience, and their childlike curiosity at strange things

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such as a tourist's knickers or the cheap gay contents of the toy-sellers' pushcarts. 432 443

Each woman had something to sell: a few eggs, some blueberries picked up on the mountain, two or three chickens, a bag of peppers, strong-smelling buffalo butter, a bunch of carnations, white beans for which Dragalevtsy was especially known throughout this region, or a few walnuts. The woman's merchandise, piled on the sidewalk before her, was her excuse for coming to town. 366

It was around the next destination, the *Bezisten Pazar*, that fondest memories clung, because this was the spot near the Sofia flower bazaar where young people from surrounding villages went upon completing their morning duties in town. It was here that young men from one village met girls from other villages. During the afternoon, brightly dressed, giggling young couples promenaded in the sunshine while the older people, especially the men, gathered in the *"Dulgata Mehana,"* the tavern to which Dragalevtsy peasants were especially loyal. They lunched and drank, rested, and swapped their stories here. Nor was it without pride that they told how the late Fiodor Chaliapin, the celebrated opera singer, in 1934 spent a very merry evening in this same *"Dulgata Mehana."* [883]

This weekly trip to town on Friday did surprisingly little to introduce changes to the village. Even while in the capital city, the peasants still lived in a peasant world. In the animal bazaar, for instance, there was little social conversation and little opportunity for a villager to widen his knowledge of urban life. Too often in this place he learned to distrust the city-dwellers through frequent dealings with the keen-witted, professional cattle merchant. In the mill he was still in a peasant world even though noisy machines foreign to his village ran at lightning speed. It was true that in the general market all types of Sofia citizenry passed in review, but the peasants' chief contact here was with the servant girls accompanying the housewives on the Friday shopping expedition. Even after finishing their little business in the general market, the village men and women found most enjoyment in being with other peasants. Few people of Dragalevtsy ventured on the city's main streets; even if they should have happened into a movie house, it would have been one on some 369 443

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369 443 back street. I do know that the inarticulate peasant woman who sat for hours crouched on the sidewalk wondered at the strange styles of women's clothing, and that the village man, in his wandering, coveted some glittering object in a shopwindow for his child. In the late afternoon as they went home, and during the days that followed, man and wife talked about this trip to market. For them it had been a shared adventure.

527 Other activities which the family members shared besides the tasks of home and field and the trip to market were the holidays. The traditional holidays were religious, while the ones most recently introduced were patriotic.

796 January sixth was *Malka Koleda,* or Little Christmas. Many Bulgarian villagers would tell you that Christ was really born on the day before Christmas, but his birth was not made known until the following day. For that reason, great emphasis was laid upon the celebration of Little Christmas, or Christmas Eve, with the meal on Christmas Eve as the most important part of the season's festivities.

[609] Each time I spent Christmas in a Bulgarian village home I was deeply impressed with the simplicity and beauty of its symbolism. I was a foreigner and a Protestant nonbeliever. Bai Milush and his family received me as though I were one of their own large family. Carefully and patiently they explained to me each bit of ceremony and tradition and symbolism. Often a ceremony was repeated so I could photograph it. There was not a single appurtenance of the Western Christmas in the household; even the date was different, but the Christmas spirit meant more there than anywhere else I had ever been.

To commemorate Christ's birth in a manger, straw was laid on the floor and covered with a blanket which served as the tablecloth for the evening's repast. The whole family gathered around this blanket after an incense urn had been carried as a good luck symbol from the iconostas to each room of the house and to all of the animal stalls. Because the meal was late in starting, three of the smallest children had gone to sleep, one in a crib and the other two on a wooden bed. In order to get the meal under way without further formalities, the women passed hot, fiery *rakiya* (plum brandy) to each person and stood patiently until the single glass had been emptied

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before filling it for the next in turn; wine followed *rakiya* as the single glass continued to perform its simple function. There was a china cup, to be sure, but it was used by those preferring water. 796

Then the real ceremony began. The loaves of bread, crudely adorned on top with symbols standing for plows, sheep, the house, and sheaves of wheat, were passed to the head of the household, who broke the loaves with great solemnity. The loaves contained many notched pegs, the number of notches standing for objects on the farm; somewhere in the loaf was also hidden a coin, far more coveted than the notched pieces of wood. I, as the guest, broke open my bread first, only to find a three-notched peg, and was laughingly told that I would have to tend the sheep during the year and would not be as lucky as my neighbor who got the two-notched peg representing the cow. Still luckier was the elder brother who found the one-notched peg representing the house. A shrill shout of joy told at once that Mitko, the eleven-year-old boy, had found the coin and would be the luckiest of all.

The excitement subsided as all began to eat heartily of the special food which the women had been preparing all afternoon. Every home followed the same traditional menu, which featured the meatless main dish of pumpkin pie or *banitsa,* soggy in spite of long baking in hot ashes. The family, in between bites of *banitsa,* spooned with great gusto into the compote of stewed prunes to which pounded garlic and nuts had been added. Everyone had to partake of this for, as the villagers assured me with a twinkle in their eye, "it makes hair grow under the arms." 262 796

The other traditional dish was *surmi,* a combination of onions, peppers, raisins, and rice rolled up and stewed in brine-soaked cabbage leaves. The compote and *surmi* were eaten from communal bowls.

The meal was concluded by the serving of withered apples, stored just for this occasion, and nuts cracked in the mouth of a neighbor who soon discovered the guest's unwillingness to risk his teeth for a kernel. As the men got out their cigarettes a girl rose to pass, in lieu of a match, a live coal, held with tongs, from the sheet metal stove.

On important occasions like this, the animals were not forgotten. A piece of the specially prepared bread was dipped into the compote 796

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796 and given to each animal, though the chickens tussled over a large chunk thrown to them. Sometime during the night straw was reverently taken from beneath the blanket and tied in little tufts onto all of the fruit trees "in order to ensure a good crop of fruit the following season."

The feast was concluded around midnight. All of the family retired with the exception of Trayko, the young man with a sacred duty to perform: He had to watch the yule log *(budnik)* and see that it burned continuously until the rising of the sun. This log had been chosen with care up on the mountainside and brought down to the house on a crude sled. As the flames crept up its gnarled sides Trayko let his imagination run riot until he heard the sounds of husky voices cursing the dogs out in the yard. He knew that a group of friends who had been out caroling were stopping to have a word with him. The visitors were carrying lanterns and staves, which they waved recklessly because of the mixture of drinks and food given them at every house in which they had sung. They got a late start this particular Christmas Eve because they had had to go to Sofia to sing over the radio. Trayko was particularly anxious to hear about this experience. Before leaving, the carolers sang for the benefit of the now wide-awake family, but found difficulty in consuming all the food and drink offered to them. Trayko's mother insisted upon putting on the staff of each boy doughnut-shaped pieces of bread, prepared for this purpose.

On Christmas Day the rising sun did little to warm the wind-swept village. A few of the most pious men and women were returning from the early morning service, but most of the villagers were sleeping late. When at length the people got up they began to indulge in quantities of pork meat, for every home had killed a pig for the grand occasion. Those who had kept the long six-week church fast found the taste of meat most pleasing. In the afternoon the people gathered in the main square to dance, to visit, to watch the antics of tipsy men. Around midafternoon a lively band struck up a *horo* tune and the dance got under way. The chief social gatherings throughout the village at Christmas time took place at the homes of those named Hristo or Hristina (Christo or Christina), since these

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individuals were celebrating their name days with appropriate hospitality. 796

Bulgarian children did not hang up their stockings on Christmas Eve but, if their parents were being influenced by modern ideas, did find a present or two at the foot of their bed when they woke up in the morning. They immediately ran to kiss the hands of their father and mother. They called Santa Claus *"Dedo Koleda,"* which meant "Grandfather Christmas." He did not wear a bright red, white-furred costume but had on a brown homespun outfit that corresponded more nearly to the peasant's manner of dress.

On these ceremonial occasions the father and mother presided with quiet dignity over the celebrations. They were accorded every respect by their children. As the Christmases passed, the couple's feeling of partnership deepened. Each year left its accumulation of memories, about which husband and wife said little, but about which they could feel sure the other was thinking. [593]

Christmas and the holidays that followed were only a prelude to *Velikden*—literally, the Great Day—the day of Christ's resurrection. On the eighth Sunday before Easter, or *Mesni Zagovezni* (meat fast), all those who kept the long Easter fast stopped eating meat. The following Sunday was *Sirni Zagovezni* (cheese fast) after which those fasting gave up all milk products. This Sunday itself was a day of great feasting on all sorts of cheese products. On both Sundays fires were lit; on *Mesni Zagovezni* there was a great fire at night in the village square, and on *Sirni Zagovezni* almost every household lighted a fire in the yard around which the youngsters waved burning straw stuck in the cleft end of a stick and chanted an ancient couplet [785]

> Orata, Kopata!
> Dai mi, chicho, momata

whose significance had vanished with the ages.

On this Sunday, and the three days preceding, all quarrels among the villagers were settled, everyone visiting his neighbors and relatives to beg pardon for real or fancied offenses. The quiet that reigned over the village on the evening of *Sirni Zagovezni* was little short of wonderful. At the break of day the children had risen to kiss their 796 578

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parents' hands and ask pardon for past misbehavior, and all day long there had been a wandering in and out of homes by men to meet some other men with whom they had been at odds, and by a handshake to ask pardon.

I came into the tavern late in the afternoon of that day. It was snowing heavily and the warmth from the stove felt good. Near me sat a man rubbing his chilled hands. After we had exchanged formal greetings, I asked him where he was going, the usual village question.

"I'm going back to my village, eleven miles farther on."

"Where have you been?"

"I've been over to Durvanitsa [two miles away] to visit my parents and beg their forgiveness."

"Have you had any trouble with your parents during the past year that would make you take such a long walk in such bad weather?"

Patient with me, a foreigner, he said, "No, I've had no troubles with my parents. I've been to visit them. That is the custom."

A little later he went out into the snow to resume his eleven-mile tramp back home. His heart was at ease, for he had fulfilled the age-old custom of *Sirni Nedelya* (Cheese Sunday).

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The Saturday following Cheese Sunday was *Todorovden* (the day of St. Theodore, patron saint of horses). Then the children stopped fasting, for their young bodies could not stand seven weeks of a milkless diet. Early in the morning they, together with some of the old people, took communion in the village church. Many of the young men visited the village of Gorna Banya, which had its *Subor* on *Todorovden*. There was a great deal of horseback riding and racing up and down the muddy village streets, in honor of St. Theodore and "to protect the horses from worms."

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Eight days before Easter was the Saturday called *Lazarovden* (St. Lazarus's Day). *Lazarki* groups, consisting of six girls each, went from house to house to sing and dance, according to the villagers, in honor of the resurrection of Lazarus. They were given coins and eggs by the peasants who believed that these girls would bring them good luck in the months to come.

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On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Passion Week, all the people fasted and refrained from work. Even a stranger felt a certain awe at the grave anticipation filling the village. On Saturday evening all the village gathered in the church for the midnight service. The long liturgy led the silent, densely packed worshipers into a mood of growing suspense, emphasizing in word and music the tragedy of the tomb. But at midnight, reputedly the time when Christ's tomb burst open, a startling transformation took place. The glorious Easter hymn "Christ Is Risen" thundered forth to the clanging of the church bell. At first it was stately and restrained, but as the magic of its message spread, a joyousness exalted the worshipers. All rushed to light the tapers which they had held unlit throughout the service. They had been waiting for this moment for the holy fire sent down each Easter from heaven. Carefully they watched the taper while exchanging the happy greetings—"Christ is risen," "Risen indeed"—and passing red Easter eggs from palm to palm in lieu of a handshake. The church had come into its own. As the crowd dispersed, each villager protected the sacred fire from the breezes in an effort to reach home with the taper still alight, whereupon it would be blown out and put aside for special use later on.

At home the people broke their long fast by eating the hard-boiled eggs and the *kozunatsi,* or very yellow Easter cakes. Then a feast followed. For forty days afterwards the spell of the occasion was often recalled as pious villagers greeted each other with those sacred words, "Christ is risen," and received the answer, "Risen indeed."

Another holiday of importance to every family was May 6, or St. George's Day. The head of the house, no matter how poor he might be, contrived to have a lamb killed for the festivities. When the meat was roasted to a delicious flavor the family gathered, often in a sunny meadow with other relatives, to feast. The husband and wife planned carefully for this day, and together saw to it that everyone enjoyed himself. Though the husband might later go to the tavern to be with other men, he and his wife had experienced again an event for which both prepared and which both enjoyed.

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"To commemorate Christ's birth . . ." *See page 106.*

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"The loaves of bread, crudely adorned on top . . ." *See page 107.*

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593 The story of married life, of life in common, could be retold in many ways. Underneath it all was a realistic acknowledgment that marriage had its ups and downs. As long as one felt useful and needed, then it had its satisfactions too. Often people ask, "Are those peasants happy with such a family system?" There is no adequate answer. Happiness is a state of mind, and the meaning of happiness varies from culture to culture as well as from person to person. On the whole, Bulgarian husbands and wives were happy, for they were getting from marriage what they expected and were untroubled by alternatives. Furthermore, life to them was more than a frenzied search for happiness. It was rather the serious fulfillment of customary duties, the performing of daily tasks to keep one's people and one's animals alive, and the taking of sufficient time to cultivate the art, almost lost in our civilization, of forming personal relationships which stood the test of time. Under these circumstances happiness came as it only can, as a by-product of rich life experiences.

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". . . the carolers sang. Trayko's mother puts on the staff . . . doughnut-shaped pieces of bread prepared for this purpose . . ." *See page 108.*

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"*Lazarki* groups . . . went from house to house to sing and dance in honor of the resurrection of Lazarus . . ." *See page 110.*

[Facing p. 113]

CHAPTER VII

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

"ARE children gods or kings that older people should tremble over them?" was the way one village woman reacted to what she considered the newfangled ideas of child rearing taught by the village doctor. Another woman said to me, "Why should so much be made of children when there is no sense of their living in such a heavy life?" 855

These attitudes reflected themselves in the statistics of infant mortality, which were given in Chapter II but deserve repetition. Back in 1926 one out of every five babies born alive died during its first year; this figure had fallen to one out of every eight in 1941, but was still much higher than the United States rate of one out of twenty-two. But the birth rate too has been falling. When I first went to Bulgaria in 1929 I found village after village where 45 babies were born annually for every thousand people. This number has fallen to around 30 for Dragalevtsy and 21 for Bulgaria as a whole. The United States rate was about 23 in 1946. 165 163

Childhood was a period to live through, not especially to enjoy. Bulgarian peasants, if they ever had given thought to it, would probably have agreed with the results of some of the American studies which suggested that childhood was not necessarily the happiest time of life. In Dragalevtsy it was, in fact, the period of greatest uncertainty and insecurity. The Dragalevtsy child early learned the basic principle of action: if you want to stay out of trouble, keep out of the grown-ups' way. The child's greatest errors were those of commission rather than omission. 855

"Children are the wealth of the poor. They are for God and for the peasants and so why should we worry about special care for them?" said one woman who realized that the townspeople had smaller families in spite of greater comforts. Her statement also showed how her

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855 people had reconciled themselves to comparative poverty: abundance of children in contrast to the abundance of goods. When I asked her if they gave the children any special food, she answered: "No, certainly not. They eat the same food as the older people. If they want to eat, we let them eat. If they do not want to eat, who is to be blamed?" Children's mealtimes were a matter of convenience. They asked for food when they were hungry, receiving a crust of bread if the adult was not too busy.

The mother-in-law usually took care of the children, especially while they were babies, because she was considered more capable and experienced than the young mother. There were cases in the village where a comparatively young mother-in-law took such complete care of her son's children that the mother of the children did not know what it meant to have children and to care for them.

When people went to work in the fields and there was no woman to remain with them in the home, the children were left by themselves on the streets.

"Doesn't the Village Council do anything to aid these children?" I asked.

"Oh, the *Obshtina* takes care of some children, but what can it do when it is not from the same blood? It is only to shut the eyes and the mouths of the peasants for the very high taxes they pay to the *Obshtina.*"

The children were not well dressed. Their clothes were often dirty and ragged. One tired mother of several complained: "Can a child keep anything on his back clean and not torn? Now you put on his back something clean and new, and when he returns from playing in the street it is all wet, dirty, and often torn. So children do not deserve to have good and new clothes." Often their clothes were made out of garments discarded by adults, though they did receive new garments at Christmas.

858 But even though the peasants did not "tremble over" their children, they valued them highly. When they first came they were
593 tokens of a successful marriage. The husband and wife had both borne fruit and so had conformed to the expected life cycle. As the children grew older, however, they became important as economic

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assets. They could do hard work; they could run countless errands. 858
Later, they were the heirs to the father's fields and the chief support of the parents in their declining years.

One of the first women I interviewed about family life told me: "I had a little boy but he died when forty days old. Now I cannot help crying every St. George's Day [May 6] and every St. Dimiter's Day [November 8] when my husband goes out to hire a boy to care for our sheep. If my son had lived, he could have taken care of the sheep for us."

Later on in the course of a conversation with a garrulous *baba* I asked her if she did not think her seven children too many for one woman to have. She snorted, pointed out of the window to her sons unloading wood they had gathered in the forest, and said: "If I hadn't had lots of children, who would go to get our wood?"

Sons were greater economic assets than girls but even so would 858
have normally received more attention in this man-centered society. 562
As parents often had to go to some expense to get their daughters 593
married off, they were always jubilant at the arrival of a son. The good-natured priest was occasionally the butt of a number of sly jests because he had three daughters and no son. One man in particular, Stefan, who had been in the same predicament, had recently acquired a son, who was now the apple of his eye. He was fond of his daughters, but made no secret of his particular pride in his boy. I thoroughly enjoyed a conversation between Stefan and the priest in which Stefan fully explained how to be sure the next one was a boy. I have known of fathers who refused to look at the newly arrived infant upon learning that it was a girl. Of course, they eventually acquiesced and simply hoped for better luck next time. Where parents had no sons, village curiosity reached a peak when a new child was expected, and an occasional wager was laid on the possibility of its being a boy. But favoritism was the exception rather than the rule. When you asked a Dragalevtsy parent which child he liked best he responded: "I like them all equally; they are just like the fingers on one's hand." He often added the proverb, "The fingers on one's hand feel pain equally, do they not?"

Whenever a child suffered from a physical or mental handicap 732
Dragalevtsy parents, like most parents around the world, were more 593 758

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732 593 758 solicitous than they would have been if the child were normal. A peasant named Vladimir once invited me to his home for what I thought was to be a chat about life in general. We walked through the sturdy gate, slushed through the mud in the yard, and lowered our heads as we entered the house's one large room. The children scurried out of our way while Yurdanka, his wife, offered us each a low three-legged stool. Not far from the stove in the center of the room I saw in the dim light what appeared to be a teen-aged girl, drooling and entirely oblivious to our presence. Vladimir, Yurdanka, and I talked about many things while their younger children sat on the bed and listened intently. Then the father brought up the matter of their feeble-minded daughter:

"*Tova e nashe neshtastie*" (This is our misfortune), he said. And then he told me her story. Some illness, probably meningitis, had arrested her mental development at an early age. Doctors had given them no hope and they wondered if I, a foreigner, knew of something they could do. Their faces showed the suffering that had touched their lives: the comments of misunderstanding, superstitious neighbors, and the constant attention they had to pay to the child's physical needs. Truly she was their misfortune. I knew that the treatment of the mentally deficient and mentally ill in Bulgaria was still in that tragic stage where the unfortunates were confined and given almost no scientific treatment. The parents wanted more than that. It was with a heavy heart that I left them, for their misfortune was not only that of economic loss, but of seeing a wasted life sharing the one living room of the tiny house.

593 The child, whether grown or small, approached the father through the mother. Though not universally the case, most Dragalevtsy children told their mother what they wanted and then asked her to relay this request to the father. The mother did so quite willingly, for she felt much closer to the children than the father. In this way the distance between father and children was traditionally maintained, increasing filial respect.

There were accepted ways for children to show their respect to the parents. The traditional patterns all centered around the father: standing up when he entered the room; waiting for him to eat first;

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kissing his hand and toasting him before drinking *rakiya* at ceremonial 593
dinners. The newer patterns, such as little children giving a goodnight kiss, which had penetrated a few of the homes, centered around the mother.

For instance, in a family where three married sons dwelt in the same room with their parents and three unmarried brothers, one of the married sons said: "Our little children sometimes kiss the hands of the grown-ups before going to bed, and we married sons always kiss our parents' hands before drinking *rakiya* at home. We never quarrel with our father; if we are dissatisfied, we do not dare raise our voices." The married sons are thirty-six, twenty-seven, and twenty-five years old.

But sometimes the tables were turned. There was another case of a sixty-eight year old father who had entrusted the management of the estate to his thirty-four year old son. He had to consult his son before spending any money or doing anything around the place. The household still respected him in many ways though not leaving him much authority. He took comfort in at least one thing: "I am always the one to begin the meal, and all wait for me to begin before they start to eat."

One home which I studied made a great deal out of forms and ceremonies and was one of the best regulated and happiest homes I found. The children were doing excellently at school, and I came upon them studying their lessons even in the pasture while tending the sheep, a most extraordinary thing. The mother had been orphaned at an early age, appreciated a mother's role, and took her task seriously; the father likewise considered his parenthood as a real obligation and was ambitious for his children. When the children got up in the morning they put on their shoes, ran to the street fountain to wash, returned to say their prayers and then to kiss the hands of the elders, the youngest son kissing the hands of his older brothers (aged thirteen and twelve). Every day the mother reminded them: "Today you will be good."

When daughters married, they never returned to live at home 591
except under the most unusual circumstances. If the father was without a housekeeper, he might ask his married daughter, accompanied

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591 by her husband, to come and live with him. Most married daughters
594 liked to visit in their parental homes on Sundays and other holidays, with their children and their husbands. While the frequency of visitation naturally varied with the daughters' sociability, it was significant that the daughters of wealthy peasants returned more often for visits than the daughters of poor peasants. There might have been an economic as well as a filial motive involved in this visitation. Married daughters still living in Dragalevtsy frequently called on their mothers, and helped them through difficult times. In more than half of the homes the married daughter-mother bond was kept intact, a source of comfort to both parties.

593 Married sons living with their parents were far more considerate of them than sons who had separated and lived in houses of their own. While in the paternal home they were subject to the authority of the old people, especially to that of the father. Sons living separately had no reason to obey the father if, as was usual in such cases, the property had already been divided. Though he might go to his father for advice, he was just as apt to seek the advice of tavern cronies. Of course, there were many variations of this situation. One thirty-eight year old son, married but not living in the paternal home, consulted his father about everything of importance—buying land, selling animals, building a house.

In another case, where the youngest son and his family lived in the paternal home with the widowed mother, the son got along extremely well with the mother. For instance, when she slapped him resoundingly because he had gone to the drink-shop, he simply smiled and said: "All right, you have the right to do that." He consulted his mother about many things, saw to it that she did not do heavy work and that she had an honorable place in the household.

In one household the twenty-six year old son spent little time at home because of his job as the *Obshtina* courier. He and his father experienced considerable conflict because he did not hand over his earnings to the old man but spent them on his own needs. At the same time he was living and eating free of charge in his father's house, much to the satisfaction of his mother who championed him before her husband. Naturally the son was dissatisfied with staying at home,

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for, in the words of his father, "he does not like the village work and wants something lighter. He wants to go to Sofia." The son obeyed his father most of the time as regards work assigned, but paid less attention to what his mother said. He went with any girl he liked, though his father, who in his youth married a girl of whom his parents had disapproved, insisted that if the son did the same, he would turn the son's wife out into the street. 593

This case was quite typical of most village young men. They performed, though unwillingly at times, whatever tasks their father ordered them to do, but paid little attention to the mother, since "she is a woman and doesn't understand man's work." A smaller number listened to the advice of their parents in the choice of girl friends, but most looked upon that as a personal matter in which parents should not interfere. One father who made a matter-of-fact adjustment to the situation said, "I can't keep a candle for my son in the streets," meaning that he could not go before him to light up his path.

When young men kicked against the traces, the older people did not become particularly disturbed. At times they were annoyed, but there was a general feeling that once the boy got married he would settle down to the conventional routine. This tolerant viewpoint was supported by even the staid middle-aged men, who liked to give the impression that they had been wild and troublesome in their youth. This complacency would have been less widespread if the parents had realized how greatly conditions had changed in one generation.

Unmarried daughters caused little trouble to their parents. They were ordinarily obedient to both father and mother, but, like the sons, quarrelled most often with their mothers, for they were with them more and felt that the mother loved them more than the father. Daughters in three-fourths of Dragalevtsy's homes went with any boys they chose, though some parents were firm in stating that the young man must be suitable before they gave their consent to marriage. It was highly doubtful whether this threat had much effect on the young. One father, apparently devoted to his twenty-year-old daughter, whipped her for going with young men of whom he disapproved and quarreled much with his son of eighteen. [562]

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591 562 If a daughter failed to marry, she spent the rest of her life in her father's home and received sympathy only as long as her mother was alive. Her father and married brothers thought of her as a servant in the home and treated her accordingly. Fortunately there was rarely more than one old maid at a time in Dragalevtsy.

593 855 562 The treatment of younger children, of course, varied greatly with the home. Children in Dragalevtsy were accustomed to being yelled at from their first toddling days by displeased older people. As we have already seen, there was no question about boys being preferred to girls in most homes, especially if there was only one boy among several girls. In such homes it was the boy who received the presents when the father returned from town, and who was picked up first; it was the boy whom the parents held when they asked to be photographed.

[861] Whipping, which was usually done by the father, was such an effective check on misbehavior that parents often needed only to threaten it. Another method of punishment was to withhold bread from the child for two or three hours, but, as one father said, "This doesn't always work, especially if the child begins to cry."

[357] Some parents, when they were unable to make ends meet, sent a girl off to Sofia to work as a domestic. One family revealed that five years previously a twelve-year-old daughter had been sent to be a servant in Sofia; she would never return to the village to live, nor did she ever come to visit. In this case the parents could not support an extra person, so chose the simplest way out. The fact that many Bulgarian families in cities sought female servants from twelve to eighteen years of age made such a practice possible. Indeed, on St. Dimiter's Day (November 8) and St. George's Day (May 6) there used to be a "servant bazaar" in Sofia. Village girls went to a certain place and stood in a row where housewives could look them over like heifers and choose a maid. Changes in servants, including shepherds, were ordinarily made only at these two times during the year.

593 857 Should parents find a job for a teen-aged boy, the father might require the boy to accept the job. Most boys wanted work; only a few resented working at all. If a father had more sons than he needed on the farm, he sometimes chose a trade for or with the boy. Such

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boys usually became cobblers, tailors, or tanners. In all cases where the sons remained to work in the village, they were expected to turn over to the father a part or all of their earnings. This practice once more emphasized the economic importance of children. 593 857

As far as I could discover, none of the villagers resented my questions into their personal affairs. More than once, after the routine interviewing was over, a man unburdened himself of some hurt or grievance that revealed more than any questionnaire could. It was through such outpourings that I realized how land could dominate or warp completely otherwise normal family relationships of father and sons or brother and brother. 156 554 593

Lonely old Bai Dimiter held especial interest for me since his wife had earlier told about incidents in his past which helped me to understand better why he began to drink so much that his girls felt ashamed of being called his daughters; to see how he bore his loss of economic and social position in the village owing to bad business methods coupled with a disabling accident. The key to the whole situation was the fact that his own father had tricked him in his early married days. After the son had paid off a heavy debt owed by his father, the father refused to deed him meadows in return but frankly confessed: "I fooled you in order to get money." To make the deception harder to bear, Dimiter inherited no land from his father, all of it going to another son with whom the father had been on better terms. Naturally, Dimiter had a falling out with his brother, and took the matter to the courts where, after long litigation, he failed to obtain any part of the inheritance.

The books I had read about Bulgaria in the old days pointed out the role the older brother formerly played when the father died. One village home was actually operated on the old principle of subordination of the younger brother to the older. Hristo, the older brother, was smaller than the younger brother, standing huge and stooped in the low-ceilinged room in such a way that the kerosene lamp cast a grotesque, mountainous shadow behind him. I knew, of course, about these men, as I knew about most village men, from the talk of tavern groups and other willing informants. I knew that they were ashamed of their family name which meant "the son of a donkey," and I knew

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156 that Hristo had served in the first World War and had been taken as
593 a prisoner to France, which gave him a definite claim to distinction in
554 the village. He talked easily and willingly of the war but just as willingly turned to discuss the arrangement whereby his brother and he, with their large families, lived in the same room in comparative harmony. In the first place, Sando, the younger, submitted to Hristo's authority, but Hristo, in turn, did not make or execute any plans without consulting his brother. Hristo had the task of managing the farm and doing the field work, marketing the products, and laying in the meager supplies; Sando worked as a teamster and as a day laborer if necessary to earn extra funds for the common treasury kept by Hristo. Some idea of the trust that the younger brother had in the older came from the knowledge that the wages of each long day's work, the pay for every laborious haul, went to the older brother. He spent it as it was needed together with the profits from the farm; he gave the money to the younger brother for clothing his children, for buying his wife new *tsarvuli* (pigskin sandals); he also took for his own use whatever he deemed necessary, though never abusing his prerogative. This was the only such relationship which I came across, simply because brothers did not live together as much as they used to, even in Dragalevtsy, ordinarily so tenacious of the older forms of life.

593 The lot of an unmarried brother in the paternal home managed by an elder brother was likewise one of subordination. I visited one home which bore the unmistakable signs of belonging to a dairyman: milky buckets littered the inside; cows hopelessly switched at flies coming from the ever-present manure piles all over the yard. In the course of the conversation I learned that there was little difficulty between the brothers concerning work: the younger together with the wife of the older got up long before daybreak to milk and prepare the milk for Sofia; later on the older brother got up at the same time as his widowed mother to breakfast and started on his daily trek to Sofia and back. Whenever the younger man had extra money he gave it to the older, with the understanding that he could ask for what he needed. There was one source of trouble in the brotherly relationship arising out of the attempt on the part of the older to dictate whom the younger should marry. The inconsistency in this de-

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mand cropped out when the older brother's wife and mother admitted 593
that the older brother had married against the wishes of his parents, and had brought his wife home to a round of constant toil and insufficient sleep. It was not surprising that the younger brother insisted on the right to choose his own friends, probably with the determination that upon marriage he would not live with his older brother, no matter how desperate the financial conditions might be.

Married sons living with their father and under his domination usually relied upon one another for mutual sympathy and understanding, at times acting as a unit in dealing with the older people. Between brothers who lived apart the relationship was often cordial, especially if they had been able to clear the greatest, most dangerous hurdle of all, the division of the inheritance. The younger continued to call the older *bate,* "my big brother," and went often to him for counsel, for loans, for aid in the fields, gladly repaying in kind. They saw much of each other in a social way, since they associated with men of the same age; their familial problems were often the same. The bond existed, not crystallizing into a situation where one submitted to the authority of the other, but rather into one in which the brothers felt equal. This type of relationship was growing with the trend toward smaller households.

The relationship between sisters never had to take the definite form which the brother-brother relationship assumed, for there was no situation possible from the village point of view in which a married sister could command a younger married sister. In the first place, married sisters always lived apart, and distance lent enchantment. In the second place, their husbands, and not they, were primarily disturbed if there was any irregularity in the division of their estate; therefore, any ill-feeling developing over a lawsuit was reflected rather than actual. When the parents died, unmarried sisters found refuge [768]
in a married sister's home if there was no married brother; normally, however, the unmarried sister went to live with a brother, since he was still living on the father's farm in which she had a right to share. Sisters who lived in the same village saw much of each other when they got together to card and spin wool on weekdays; and they visited together on Sundays.

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593 Although this insight into the relations between parents and their children, both adult and immature, has taken us beyond the period of childhood, it does show us why the children had to learn obedience and respect and why the village would soon show its dissatisfaction [857] with anyone who flouted the established rules. Children also learned to defer to an older brother or sister, and assumed responsibility for those who were younger. In the main, a child's life was centered about the home and about those activities which he shared with members of his immediate family or the relatives in the neighborhood who were young enough to be his playmates.

527 574 Children became acquainted with their relatives in other villages on the annual *Subor* or "At Home Day" which each village observed. Dragalevtsy families had four village *Subori* which they could attend; on Pantaley Den (August 9) they could go to Boyana; on Spasov Den (the Monday of the eighth week after Easter) they could go to Durvenitsa; on Petkov Den (October 27) they could visit Bistritsa; and on Archangel Day (November 21) they could visit Simeonovo.

I once attended this Simeonovo *Subor* with the Dragalevtsy families. I was told gravely by the old women that on this day everyone must be especially good, for the Archangel Michael was the one who received the souls of the dead into heaven. On the day preceding, the Simeonovo women had gathered to make many loaves of bread from flour previously donated to the church by its loyal supporters. Early on the morning of the *Subor* the church sexton with some helpers killed four sheep for the big meat stews; later he gave terse commands regarding the flavoring of the stews: bean and mutton, cabbage and mutton, and rice and mutton—a somewhat monotonous menu, but one hallowed by tradition.

We started our four-mile walk at an early hour. The air was crisp and so clear that the great Balkan range, miles across the plain, stood out sharply in its rose and blue. By midmorning a large number of people, including the children, had come into the churchyard. Most of them entered the church and attended part of the service; the women carried bread and boiled corn to be blessed by the priest, who received a portion. At noon, the church service was concluded and the priest blessed the meal prepared under the auspices of the church. Then it

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was that a few hundred people—guests, villagers, and total strangers— partook of the common meal. This dinner was typical. There was wine in abundance, for, as a member of the financial committee told me, wine induced a generous spirit in the hearts of those making their annual pledges to the church. After the meal and the pledges, the crowd dispersed. Visitors went home with family groups for further eating and drinking. The village square became a kaleidoscope of colors when peasant boys and girls began to dance the stately *horo* to the music of the pipes and drums. 527 574

With the coming of evening the guests left the village. Simeonovo moved again through a period of quiet and almost unbroken monotony until Archangel Day next year. Of course Christmas and Easter brought celebrations, but not the dash and gaiety that the presence of several hundred outsiders invariably created.

In spite of these set occasions for visiting, a surprising number of Dragalevtsy people stayed put, at least as far as going to other villages was concerned. *(See Appendix V.)* They had business in Sofia, and could justify going there. But almost half of the *stopani* never went to another village, even though there were four villages within five miles of Dragalevtsy. The same held true for their wives, the *domakini*. But those that did take such trips usually let their children go along, at least on some of the visits. These proved to be gala events in the lives of the youngsters. 574

In addition to the commemoration of Christmas and Easter and the celebration of St. George's Day, described in the last chapter,[1] there were other holidays during the year which interested the children as much if not more than they did the adults. On the few summer holidays the villagers avoided any strenuous field work; since most of the special days came in the winter it was simple enough "to remember the holiday and take it easy." If the people found it necessary to do some important job on a holiday, they had a precedent set by no less a personage than St. Peter himself. On his own name day (July 12) he saw that the grain needed harvesting, so he took a piece of hearth cake in one hand and a sickle in the other and went to work reaping his wheat "so that the ripe grains wouldn't fall to the ground." 527 857

[1] [cf. pp. 106-111, category 116--Analyst]

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527 This was the peasant version of the Sabbath being made for man, not
857 man for the Sabbath.

One holiday which children particularly enjoyed was New Year's Day, which, like Christmas, came two weeks later than our own because of the Old Style Calendar still in use by the church. Boys and girls were up at break of day to tap every passer-by with a gaily decorated branch of a cornel cherry tree. As they tapped they chanted:

[539]

Fresh, fresh New Year
Happiness to the end.
Let mother and father be healthy
Like the past year!

Striking with a cornel-twig higher than the cap;
Wishing you a houseful of corn,
Yellow as the gold,
To ripen early, early in
The fields during the summer.

Let wedding guests again pass by
With full wine casks
To present us with white kerchiefs
And embroidered belts.

Fresh, fresh New Year,
Let us get sister married! . . .

With this chant they wished good health. In return they expected
[772] a coin or something to eat. This tapping continued until nightfall. Most members of the family looked sleepy during the day because they had stayed up late the night before to gamble. Their success or failure on New Year's Eve was supposed to foretell what luck the new year had in store.

Early in the morning the older boys and girls told fortunes by gathering around a copper kettle in which each one had placed some identifying article, such as a ring or knife. The group sang a song, connected with some occupation, while one token was drawn from the pot. If a boy's token was drawn, the occupation described would be his; if a girl's token was drawn, then she would marry a man engaged in that occupation. After this they all danced the *horo*.

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Epiphany or Bogoyavlenie on January 19 commemorated the baptism of Christ. The Dragalevtsy boys and girls knew how the day was celebrated in other villages near the rivers or the sea. There the altar cross was thrown into the icy water. Naked youths dove in and struggled violently for it. The winner, carrying the cross, then collected money from the crowd. More important even than the money was the feeling that he would be fortunate during the coming year. But Epiphany did not pass unnoticed in Dragalevtsy, even though the river was nothing more than a racing mountain brook. The priest brought the cross out to sell at auction. The buyer, of course, returned it to the priest, but with his purchase received the assurance of God's blessing in the days to come. One year, a hiker happened to be passing through on his way up to the top of Vitosha. He saw the crowd gathered around the priest, bought the cross, went to the tavern for a free drink, returned the cross to the priest, and went on his way up the mountain. Peasants marveled for some time afterwards over the dispatch he showed in the whole affair. 796 527 857

Formerly on this day, children were christened with cold instead of lukewarm water, and all brides of that year were bathed in the river. When I asked why such custom was no longer practiced, Bai Angel, the village registrar, shrugged: "Oh, then the people were stronger and could stand such treatment."

On the previous day the children had all awaited the priest's arrival to sprinkle holy water in every room of the house. As we have already seen, many families collected bottles of the water that had been especially blessed for Epiphany, in the belief that it would cure various illnesses later on. [777] [788]

Bulgarian boys and girls never celebrated their birthdays. Instead, they made much of their name days. Each child bore the name of some saint, with a special day on the church calendar. Each Ivan (John) celebrated on the day following Epiphany, January 20; each Grigor (Gregory) on February 7; each Iliya (Elijah) on August 2. And so it ran throughout the year. Those with names not appearing on the calendar generally chose the day of "The Forty Holy Martyrs." Whereas Americans would expect to receive gifts on their birthdays, Bulgarians, especially those who were married, expected to entertain 527 857

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"Studying their lessons in the pasture while tending the sheep . . ."
See page 117.

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Dragalevtsy families on their way to a *Subor* in Simeonovo.
See page 124.

[Facing p. 128]

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527 857 and provide food and drink for their friends on their name days. Children had to grow into the many practices surrounding holidays just as they had to grow into understanding of how to become a good farmer. It took some time to learn, for example, that on September 11, the Day of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, one should have nothing to do with objects colored red. That color symbolized blood and guilt. On the first of March, however, red was very much in evidence. In the cities the young people exchange *martenitsi,* equivalent to our Valentines. This day was popularly called *Baba Marta* or "Old Woman March," because the weather during March was changeable and whimsical.

Although the villagers themselves paid little attention to the patriotic holidays which had been started within the past few decades, children welcomed them, for they meant a variation in the school routine. Schoolteachers would never think of letting a patriotic holiday go by without some special exercises. Among such holidays were those commemorating the liberation of Bulgaria, the King's birthday, the King's name day, the King's ascension to the throne. A special holiday for students was also becoming firmly rooted. It was the one honoring the missionary brothers, St. Cyril and St. Methodius, who were the patron saints of learning.

[574] These holidays, both religious and patriotic, were often the occasion for relatives to come to the village. The buses, mysteriously held together in places by baling wire, chugged up the hill to the square to disgorge their load of people and grotesque bundles. Children crowded around to greet the newcomers and merrily skipped beside [166] them as they walked toward the house. However, one-third of the homes had *no* visitors from outside the village during the year. Many of the visitors were originally from Dragalevtsy. A record of one year's migrants, twenty-one in all, showed that six had married outsiders and settled elsewhere; four had gone as soldiers, four as students, two as laborers, and the rest as cabmen, watchmen, and a coffeehouse proprietor.

527 857 608 All these holidays meant much to the children: exciting food, observance of age-old customs, and the arrival of guests. A few holidays were of special importance to godparents and godchildren. On

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"Boys and girls were up at break of day to tap every passer-by with a gaily decorated branch of a cornel cherry tree." *See page 126.*

[Facing p. 129]

Epiphany the godparent went to the home of his godchild, poured water on him or, in a rare case, pushed him into the river for the sake of his health during the coming year. On Cheese Sunday, however, the godchild went to his godparent's home with a gift and begged forgiveness for all sins committed during the year. On certain other holidays and special occasions the godchild was also supposed to pay his respects. 608 527 857

Some features of this bond between godparent and godchild were strange to one unfamiliar with the Orthodox Church. Behavior in the presence of godparents was highly formalized and correct. A person would not lie to his godparent; nor was he supposed ever to swear in his godparent's presence. These customs emphasized the mystical spiritual union which was supposed to exist between godparent and godchild. 608

Because the office of the godparent was hereditary, the same family provided godparents for the members of another family for generations. Consequently a feeling of strong relationship had come about. A godparent was considered one of the closest of relatives. "The godfather is closer than an uncle, and the godmother is closer than an aunt," the peasants used to say. Children of the two families could not marry even though madly in love, because, in the sight of the village, they were related. The taboo against marriage into the family of the mother's godparents further complicated matters. A woman, upon marriage, adopted the godparent of her husband, who assumed the same responsibility to the children of that couple as he did to the father. If a godparent was called upon to officiate at a wedding or a christening and was unable to attend, he could send one of his children to perform in his stead. [582]

We have already seen the part that the godparents (*kumove*) played in the wedding ceremony.[1] The rite of christening revealed even more of the relationship between godparent and his spiritual ward. He went with a friend or relative to the infant's home, some two or three Sundays after its birth, and took it to the church. He had previously discussed the child's name with the parents and usually followed their wishes, but had the right to give the child any name he thought proper. In the case of the first son he was apt to follow the 608 553 851

[1] [See p. 89, category 116 -- Analyst]

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custom of giving him the "little name" of his paternal grandfather.

After the morning church service a small group of interested people would gather around the priest up near the front of the church. The priest, dressed in his richly decorated robes and with his long auburn hair uncovered, made an impressive figure. The sexton and a woman or two scurried around getting lukewarm water ready in a basin. The air of the room was heavy with the combined smell of incense, used in the church service, and melting tallow, as the tapers in the front candelabra sputtered toward exhaustion. Before they flickered out an attendant doused them in water and threw the stubs into a tin receptacle near the bowl of sand, in which worshipers had placed candles in memory of the dead.

After the layers of swaddling clothes had been removed from the infant the priest quieted the small group by saying: "Let us begin." While the godparent held the baby he listened to the solemn obligation which he was assuming, an obligation made more impressive by the use of scriptural passages and a charge by the priest. Levity quickly replaced any serious thoughts as the godfather jocularly affirmed three times that he "resigned" from the devil, and spat across the baby resoundingly onto the floor to signify that he would keep everything unholy from the child.

The high light of the church ceremony was the immersion of the tiny baby three times in warm water mixed with olive oil. As Father Sava had had ample experience with the three little girls of his own, he deftly balanced the child in palm and forearm while laving it three times in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Then the woman assisting the godfather, usually his wife, dressed the baby in an entirely new outfit. While this was taking place the priest was washing and drying his hands with a bar of soap and towel which the godparents provided and which they expected him to keep as a part of his fee.

[846] The infant's mother had remained at home because her purification ceremony at the church could not take place until forty days after the child's birth. Of course, she was expected to help prepare the christening feast which followed the church ceremonies. The christening party invariably arrived at the home in a gay mood and stood around laughing as the godfather turned the child over to the mother

[From the christening ceremony -- Analyst]

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with these words: "I took the child away a Jew and now I return him to you a Christian." 553 851

There was usually an awkward wait of half an hour or more until the meal was ready and the priest had come to give the blessing so the feasting could begin. The christening dinner was one of the most significant of all family events for both adults and children. A child could not attend school without a baptismal certificate, nor could he later join the army, get a passport, or do anything of real importance without this church record. For a child from an Orthodox home to be unchristened was worse than having him unnamed; he did not exist legally. The national government, however, honored the equivalent of these baptismal certificates given by religious minority groups for their members, and also considered valid their marriages and divorces, be they Moslems, Jews, or Protestants. This religious freedom and tolerance had been a source of pride to many a Bulgarian in the past. 608 [798]

There were times in Dragalevtsy, though rare indeed, when the two families involved felt it best to break off the godparent relationship. If a woman, for instance, had three or four miscarriages, the godparents, who officiated at the wedding, might say: "You're not having very good luck with your children. We've been talking it over, and believe that things would work out better for you if you had different godparents." The husband and wife could then invite another couple to be godparents. 608

There were a few instances where babies did not have godparents at birth. Former godparents for the family might have died, moved away, or been unwilling to serve. In such a case the baby, no matter what the weather happened to be, was left on a street corner near the church just prior to the Sunday morning service. Naturally, the cries of the child attracted the curiosity of some passer-by. At the moment that he went over to look at the baby some elderly woman rushed out of hiding to say: "Congratulations, sir. You have the honor of serving as godparent to this child." So off he was marched to the church, be he foreigner, gypsy, drunk, or on important government business, to participate as godfather in the christening. Should he move to some distant place, he was still expected to keep in touch with his unexpected charge and, if possible, return in due course of time to take part in the 608 553 851

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godchild's wedding. This strange custom illustrated that where there is a *must,* such as *having* to have a godparent, there was a traditional method for correcting any irregularity.

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Another *must* for the children, at least from the government point of view, was school attendance. The child began his formal education at seven years of age. In the "good old days" much ceremony attended this event. The peasants called the teacher *"Kandilo,"* a candle, the one to light the path for the child entrusted to him. As education became more common, the old ceremonies died out. All that remained of that old ceremonial respect was the handful of flowers the children sometimes gathered in the fields for a favorite teacher.

In Turkish times, only boys attended school. Educational activity in Dragalevtsy, however, took a new lease on life with the completion of the excellent building in 1931, made financially possible by the help of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior. The school consisted of four primary grades and three classes which were termed the "pro-gymnasium." Boys and girls were supposed to complete the pro-gymnasium, though they could drop out as soon as they reached their fifteenth year. The director was in charge of all of the school's activity, under the supervision of the school inspectors.

The diagram on the following page illustrates the educational hierarchy of the country.

Few decisions were left to the local school authorities, whose duties had become largely administrative, in the sense of observing the regulations handed down from above. As the school director said, "Everything is controlled from the *Inspection,* though the teachers have much freedom in the classroom." Even this freedom was supervised. At the conclusion of each class the teacher had to go to the office and list the work taken up that hour, the questions asked, and assignments made. The inspector made surprise inspections of the health situation, the records of the director, and, if he chose, of the lesson notebooks of the school children. The purpose of this inspection was to check up and control, not to supervise constructively.

The school was supported financially by the Dragalevtsy *Obshtina,* though the salaries of the eight teachers were paid by the national

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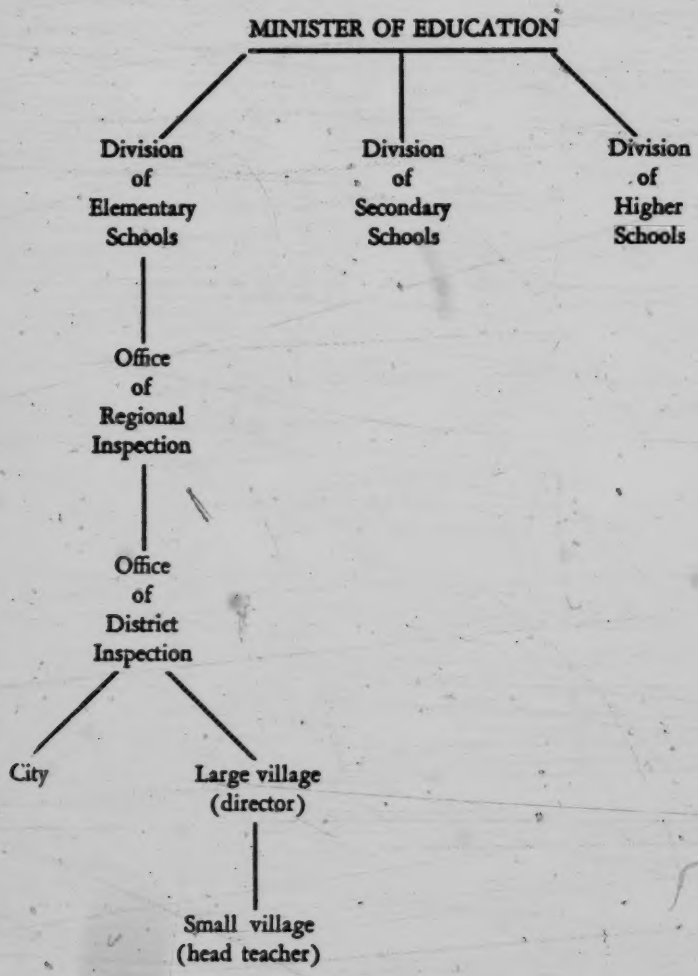

The Educational Hierarchy of Bulgaria as It Affected a Village Schoolteacher, 1937

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658 871 government through the Ministry of Education. Parents had no fee to pay, unless the child continued his education in a gymnasium in Sofia.

[593] [861] There was, the director said, a noticeable relationship between the type of home and success in school work. Uneducated parents did not provide good conditions for study, since the pupils had no tables on which to write, no quiet, and lived in unhygienic surroundings. The more intelligent parents did their best to remedy such defective conditions. Most of the children had a great desire to study, but unfortunately many parents killed this enthusiasm. They either sent their children to tend the cattle, or, if the student gave lessons as an excuse for not doing some task, the parent said, "You don't need all that stuff from books."

876 At times the teachers gave some of the poor but bright students garments, shoes, and caps. The students receiving the mark six (excellent) were taken free of charge on a trip to a theater in Sofia, were given a free bath at the public bathhouse, and a large bowl of soup in a Sofia restaurant. As the director said, "Prizes help a great deal to stimulate study, and those who do not attain them are very disappointed." Five or six times a year the teachers took the older pupils to Sofia to visit the zoological gardens, the museums, a monastery, and sometimes a movie theater.

871 A glance at the list of courses on page 135 shows how the subjects were distributed through the first seven years of school. The tendency had been to follow the conventional courses of Western Europe, without any real adaptation to the needs of the villagers.

872 The textbooks, uniform for the whole Sofia district, were chosen by the Ministry of Education. While most students bought their own paperback textbooks, the school had approximately $245 in its budget for a textbook loan library to aid the poor students. The teachers assigned written work at intervals; for instance, the teacher in history and geography would give homework every five or six lessons, the teacher in arithmetic every day. All students recited daily because of the small number in the class, but written tests and examinations were not employed to the extent they are in American schools. Near the end of the semester one written lesson was required in each

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CURRICULUM OF BULGARIAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL (1937)

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Hours per week

Subject	Primary (Grades)				Pro-gymnasium (Classes)		
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III
1. Religion	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. Bulgarian Language, Reading	9	9	7	7	7	6	5
3. Storytelling	3	3	—	—	—	—	—
4. French, German, or English	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
5. Arithmetic	4	4	4	4	3	3	3
6. Practical Geometry	—	—	1	1	—	—	—
Geometric Drawing	—	—	—	—	1	2	2
7. Civics,	—	—	4	4	—	—	—
General, Bulgarian History	—	—	—	—	2	2	3
8. General, Bulgarian Geography and Civics	—	—	—	—	3	4	3
9. Natural Science, National Economy and Peasant Hygiene	—	—	3	3	—	—	—
Natural History, Physics, Chem., and Hygiene	—	—	—	—	3	4	3
10. Drawing and Handwork	2	2	3	3	4	4	4
11. Penmanship	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
12. Singing	1	1	1	1	2	2	1
13. Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Total hours per week per class:	22	22	26	26	29	30	28

subject, the date to be fixed by the teacher. Sometimes this was the only written test the class had during the course of that semester. At the end of the year there was a formal examination to help the teachers in judging the progress of the pupil. 872

It was the duty of the director to visit classes for purposes of supervision. She gave suggestions and occasionally taught a class to illustrate teaching techniques to less experienced teachers.

Judging only from the deportment marks, which were perfect for all students, there was little or no trouble with discipline. The truth of the matter was, however, that in Bulgaria a student's deport- 861 871

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861 ment mark was written on his diploma, thus following him throughout
871 life. Therefore teachers found it more of a trial to lower a student's conduct mark than to fail him scholastically. All discipline cases were sent to the director, who reprimanded the student or sent the child home to his parents. The law did not permit corporal punishment, although many parents would have been glad to give the director the right. The final step, to which the director seldom resorted, was to require the student to attend school in a neighboring village.

658 There was little friction between the parents and the local school
871 authorities, probably because the schools were a branch of the government and one seldom protested loudly against the government. If some trouble arose, parents complained to the school director, who passed the complaint on to the mayor.

There was nothing in Dragalevtsy, or in any other Bulgarian village, comparable to our Parent-Teacher Association. The very old peasants still regarded the government school as an outside and, therefore, slightly suspicious innovation—valuable for "the people of the world" perhaps, but yet to be proved indispensable for the village. Most of them agreed that the school widened the already existing dif-
[593] ference in attitude between young and old. I once heard a good-humored disagreement between a mother and her twenty-five-year-old son. The woman had been explaining to me that she went to church to pray to God to help with the fields, to send rain and sunshine.

"But mother," interrupted the son impatiently, "the rain doesn't come from God."

"From where does it come then?"

The son sighed as though he were exhausted by endless repetition of a lesson to a stubborn child.

"From vapors up above, as the books tell us."

The old woman grinned undaunted.

"Well, God gives the vapors."

In spite of the suspicion toward anything new, the peasants were, on the whole, favorable toward education. While they slyly pointed out instances of unemployment among the intelligentsia, they were shrewd enough to see the economic advantages of formal schooling. Many villagers told me of a Dragalevtsy man who got a gymnasium

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(secondary school) education, found no work in Sofia, and came back to farm his land. The fact that he could survey his fields, keep his accounts, and do various other things more quickly and efficiently than his unschooled neighbors, had made him a living example of the benefits of education, as far as the Dragalevtsy farmers were concerned.

I had often heard both Bulgarians and foreigners say that children in Bulgarian villages did not know how to play. Though such a statement accurately describes the past, it was certainly becoming less true because of the growing influence of the school. Nevertheless, with the exception of certain games played in the pastures, children's group games were new to the village.

The older people said that fifty years ago there were almost no games; even these few were played only by men and boys while the women and girls always carried their knitting needles or distaffs with them. "The women sang while they worked and that was their game. The lonely shepherd boy had his *kaval* [flute]." Most of the old people had absolutely no recollection of games they played when young, which probably accounted for their unfriendly attitude toward children's games. One laconic old *baba* snapped: "The children throw stones at one another for a game."

There was much difference of opinion among the adults as to just what the children did in their playtime and with whom they played. A young man told me that children played together even if the families were unfriendly, but an older woman insisted that parents completely controlled their children's choice of playmates. The simplest way of getting at the truth was to talk to the children themselves. The children were used to seeing me and were uniformly friendly, often running to meet me as I came up the lane from the meadows. I had photographed many of them and knew their parents, so it was easy to get them to talk.

One solemn little group of five girls told me they were playing, which I took to mean that they were at leisure for the moment, for they were simply sitting on the ground by the stream trickling down the village street.

"What do you play?"

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"Oh, we play 'woman's work' and talk about the cattle, school, and such things."

"Don't you ever play with dolls?" I ventured, for only one of the group was as old as thirteen. Five pairs of black eyes looked at me seriously.

"Some of us have never had dolls, and now we are much too old."

Shocked exclamations greeted my last question, when I asked if they ever quarreled.

"Never, for we are neighbors, and share our bread, and play together every day."

Borislav, Ivan, and Boris (one thirteen-year-old and two eleven-year-olds) were an entertaining triumvirate. The father of Borislav was a streetcar conductor in Sofia and often took his son to the city. On one of these trips, the boy had seen Sofia children rolling hoops. When Borislav got back to the village, he showed his cronies how to make and play with hoops. The boys said they shared food as well as toys, and helped one another with work. Ivan had to work a great deal, which curtailed their games considerably. When I asked this group if there was any fighting, the boys grinned.

"We fight with the other boys because they make fun of us when we don't know our lessons."

"What about fighting among you three?" I persisted.

"Well," said Borislav frankly, "we have to beat Ivan once in a while because when we fight for fun to see who is strongest and Ivan wins, he boasts, and then we have to fight him seriously." (Boris told me later in private that he didn't like Ivan very much, but "I take him as a friend so as not to be without any one.")

While I was sitting on the curbing near the fountain with the three boys, a tiny, six-year-old girl wandered up. I asked her if she ever played with boys. The thin little braids bobbed vigorously up and down for the Bulgarian "no," as she gave the universal reason, "My mother doesn't let me."

All the children to whom I talked agreed that it was more fun for boys and girls to play separately. (Seven-year-old Mara did play with Peter, but only, she assured me earnestly, because she had no one

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else in the neighborhood.) It was also better to play with relatives because "one doesn't quarrel so much." The boys in general liked to play in the schoolyard "because one meets one's friends from outside the neighborhood there." One brown-skinned imp in ragged hand-me-downs said that "Lots of us play near the school because our parents cannot see us and call us to work." Both boys and girls said that the teachers showed them many games which they still played in the summer.

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The children of Dragalevtsy seldom acted out stories or dramas which they had seen portrayed in books or in a *vecherinka* (entertainment). The boys did almost no tree-climbing because there were few trees in the village large enough. All the climbing that was done was "for work," to get nuts or fruit. Games with balls or marbles were brought to the village by students going daily into Sofia to one of the higher schools. The group games of a formal nature requiring ten or fifteen children were learned in the village school and were usually played in the schoolyard. Some of the most popular children's games were the following:

Na svinkya (Playing swine). Several boys hit a wooden ball into holes with the use of clubs knotted at the end. There was a boy guarding each hole and one in the center. The idea was to get the ball into the hole. This was a peasant form of golf and was one of the oldest games played by Bulgarian villagers. It was the special favorite of boys who were keeping the animals in the pastures.

Sus kukla (With a doll). Some people estimated that one out of every six little girls had a doll, while others maintained that the number was nearer three out of six. There were no statistics on this subject, but playing with dolls was uncommon enough to make it a source of great joy to children who did so. Some of the dolls were very crude and ugly, though many parents were buying western dolls in the market to bring home.

Na Tsiganeta (Playing gypsies). Since every boy caring for animals carried a stick, it was natural that a game using this stick originated. The game called for the contestants to bounce their stick from one end to the other in rapid succession, much as one would "skip" a rock on the surface of water. The stick might jump five or

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857 524 six times before falling motionless. The least skillful contestant received a beating from the others.

Na machuklin (In New England called "Peggy"). Consisted chiefly of tapping the end of a small stick so that it would rise into the air to be hit again before it fell to the ground.

Na Kokumish. This was a form of tag played by children sitting around in a circle.

Na gonenitsa (Form of running tag). The one to be "it" *(gogan)* was chosen by "counting out" with the use of the following poem, which corresponded to "eeny, meeny, miney, mo":

[539]

Ala bala nitsa,
Turska panitsa,
E, gidi Dancho,
Nash kapitancho.

Ala bala nitsa,
A Turkish plate,
Hey, you Dancho,
Our leader.

The children when counting out spit on their fingers. The *gogan* would run and try to touch the others.

Na zhmish (Hide and seek). The one who was "it" said the following poem while the others hid:

[539]

Dve vrabcheta
Se skaraka
Na Popovota vrata.
Pop izleza i im kazva
Ish, pish, tish, stesh, mish.

Two sparrows
Quarreled
At the Priest's gate.
The Priest came out and told them
Ish, pish, tish, stesh, mish.

After he said this he went to hunt the others. Wherever he found anyone he spit in the place where he was. The others tried to run to the homebase and spit there before he did.

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Kosharki (Sheep folds). This was a game which had been played extensively a generation ago, but its use was dying out in the village. The children would build miniature sheep folds, houses, and fences out of rocks. This game corresponded after a fashion to our building with blocks. 857 524

The outstanding characteristic of all these games was that they required little equipment and few participants. At home, the play groups were inevitably restricted to the family and nearest neighbors, often relatives. At school, children could choose relatives and other children in the same grade. Play groups in the fields were formed on the basis of family ownership of land and common pasture. These latter groups often gathered in the village and went to the fields together, the youngsters carrying loaves of bread, baked peppers, and fresh tomatoes. Even in play, the family was important, for every type of play group almost automatically included relatives. As was previously pointed out, there was less quarreling among the children who were related. I often heard: "You shouldn't hit him; he's your relative."

The new types of play were still limited. The radio, comic papers, and movies were almost unknown to the village child, just as they were to the average adult. Only twenty-five newspapers reached the village daily, and these had few comic strips. Magazines and books were a rarity. Sofia bookshops had some exquisite children's books, but I never saw one in the village. Sometimes when I came into a village home on a winter evening, I would see an unforgettable picture. Near the fire the father sat quietly, elbows on knees, the mother was spinning near the one dim electric bulb, and in the center, crouched at the low table, a boy, nine or ten years old, was laboriously reading some fragment of a periodical to his parents. Their pride and pleasure was unspoken but obvious. [214] [593]

There was one radio in the village, and the children were of course conscious of it as it blared incessantly in Renaissance Square, but it was not a part of their life, any more than the movies or trains. Only 45 per cent of the total population, including babies, had ever attended a movie, and less than 40 per cent had ever been on a train. [207] [517] 369

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[369] 857 With Sofia, a city of over a quarter million people, only five miles away, the ability of the villagers to resist, however passively, the influence of the "people of the world" was astonishing. It was a remoteness, not to be measured in miles, but in generations.

Such pleasant customs as keeping pets were almost nonexistent. The tiny puppies with which the children sometimes rolled were bred for strictly utilitarian purposes, to guard the sheep, and were taught to be unfriendly to man.

[888] The very young and the very old in the village spent much time together. When I was taken to pay my respects to the oldest man in the village, a venerable figure of over a century, we found him sitting in a sunny corner of the yard under a gnarled pine tree. Tumbling around him were half a dozen tiny children, somewhat hampered in their movements by their clumsy, heavy clothing but very proud to show off their ancient relative.

The older children derived a quiet amusement from their position as spectators at the village ceremonies. There were always little boys making merry along the path of a wedding procession or tramping along wide-eyed beside a funeral. At *Subori* and *hora* mischievous little boys were ubiquitous. The little girls stayed solemnly by their mothers; only their eyes wandered, alternately solemn and amused. The village child had no routine planned for him, either for his physical or his psychological needs. There was no emphasis upon self-expression for the child, only upon conformity to the routine of the family.

858 593 Yet there was warmth and affection for the children. When a child died, the tempo of the household perceptibly slackened. "It is God's will. It is Kismet [Fate]," the family said, but the father grew more taciturn and the mother wept silently as she spun in the evenings. And when a funeral procession reached the cemetery, the new mourners often found there other mothers who had lost their children. These wailed again for the long-departed and begged the spirit of the newly dead to carry messages to their babies.

And when a family grew rich according to village standards, it was on the children that gifts were lavished, perhaps a wish-fulfillment by the elders inherited from their own drab childhood.

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The irrepressible fun of childhood could break through even the hard crust of conformity to village life. The older villagers might suspect and even condemn the amusements of the "people of the world," as they did the trouser-clad women skiers who streamed through the square on winter week ends. The youngsters were different. As I was leaving the tavern one February afternoon I saw a pigskin-sandaled urchin, seven or eight years old, attempting to go down the hill on a crude pair of homemade skis. The snow was thin and he stuck fast in the mud. He took off his skis, put them on his back, and started up the steep slope to try again, and again. 857

"Hey, there, what have you got?" I called. The answer was a sly smile and a revealing comment: "Skis, like the 'people of the world.' "

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"The family is the productive, distributive, and consumptive unit . . ." *See page 144.*

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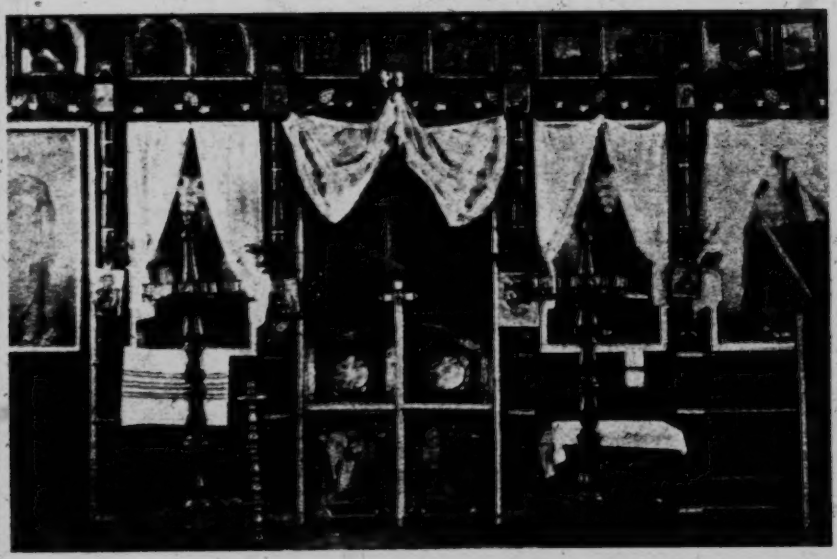

". . . religion . . . has become rigidly institutionalized." (The altar of the church). *See page 145.*

[Facing p. 144]

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CHAPTER VIII

FAMILISM, A CHANGING WAY OF LIFE

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THE DAY at last arrived when I could anticipate the peasants' answers to most of the questions that I asked them. When I inquired what they would do if they had five hundred dollars to spend, I could list in advance the items they would name. The older people, especially, thought and acted largely in terms of the Dragalevtsy of the "good old days," when life was lived in a *familistic* way because the family played the major role in the community. When I understood the characteristics of familism, as a result of observing and reading about peasant life in other parts of the world, the many interesting but isolated facts I had noticed in Dragalevtsy began to make sense and to form a pattern. In a familistic society, whether it is in the Balkans or China, life is largely customary and traditional. Individualism is discouraged because of the crises that the unusual person creates in the daily routine. People prefer a dead uniformity, or a leveling of the best toward the mediocre. The family plays the leading part in this task of molding an individual into the accepted pattern. From childhood to old age the kinship group brings pressure to bear upon any nonconformist, since the family as a whole loses prestige in the community if a member gets out of hand. The family, too, is the chief training ground for the young, and parents cannot blithely transfer any responsibility of this sort to an outside agency such as the school or the church. Village opinion holds the parents accountable.

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Furthermore, economic life is centered about the family. Since family members grow or make for themselves most of the things they need, they depend only to a minor degree upon stores, factories, and other commercial agencies. The family is the productive, distributive, and consumptive unit. This is one reason why village families can weather so many wars and so many depressions: they can satisfy most of their immediate wants at home.

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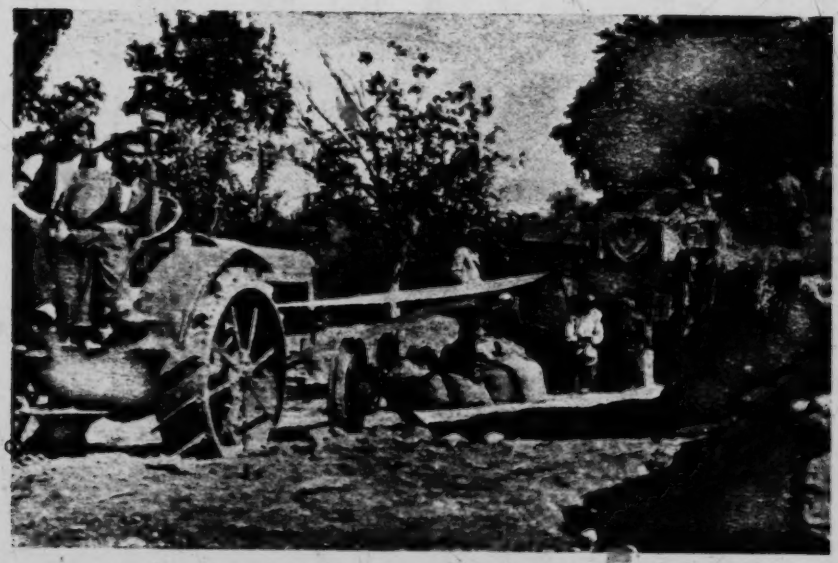

". . . they threshed the wheat of fifty-five farms . . ." *See page 151.*

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"The people . . . customarily associated liquor with holidays and leisure times." *See page 155.*

[Facing p. 145]

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Visitors suddenly confronted with the familistic way of life for the first time are often shocked at the low level of living which they observe: animals sharing the same dwelling; monotonous diet and low health standards; waste of time and energy with inefficient tools and methods. Before the peasant is condemned as unambitious, indolent, or stupid, there are a few things the outsider must bear in mind. In agricultural villages throughout the world the land base has been shrinking while the population has been expanding. This has meant decreased economic opportunity. Farms which were once adequate are now divided up strip by strip and handed over to many descendants, with the results that the term "eking out a living" has come to have real meaning for the peasant. The outsider often forgets that the rise in the level of living in the cities through the techniques of mass production and mass distribution has been relatively recent and phenomenally rapid. The villager is not really so far behind the times if one compares his life with that of many cities a few decades ago, or with the blighted areas of these same cities today. But one cannot deny that quite a few peasants seem to take pride in resisting social change; they are slow to experiment with new methods, and they assume that what was good enough for their fathers is good enough for them. This resistance is based, to a great degree, upon the realization that accepting too much from outside will seriously affect the social organization of their community. Urban society is not nearly so close-knit and can allow for contradictions and inconsistencies on a much broader scale than can the village, where life is still intimate and face-to-face. Dragalevtsy people, for example, in 1937 were conscious of the far-reaching changes brought about by the abandonment of sheep raising in favor of dairying. Sometime ago, a number of the peasants actively resisted this economic trend. In the opinion of many, these conservatives were stupid; at the same time they were bright enough to figure out that changes would result in the economy to which they were accustomed. Because they were accustomed to it, they wanted to preserve it.

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In a familistic society religion has usually become rigidly institutionalized and is closely allied with the family. All family events call for the blessing of the religious intermediary; there are usually household shrines; there is considerable emphasis upon observing the

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181 forms of the religion; and usually the prevailing religion has a monopoly in its field. Where there once existed two or three competing religions, the peasants now have a syncretistic set of beliefs that almost all of the people accept.

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[168] The population in a familistic society tends to be stable. The folk legends and religious beliefs stress the importance of remaining at home. Permanence becomes a virtue, for travel outside introduces too much novelty. Separation places a strain upon the family relationships, which must be kept at full vigor in the interest of community self-preservation.

[517] Recreation is personalized instead of being commercialized. Peasants, as far as possible, spend their leisure hours in the company of others, to say nothing of the many hours women spend working with each other within a family or neighborhood circle. Just as the villagers have ceremonial ways of doing many things, they also have formal ways, or proverbs, of saying many things. This we saw earlier in the description of the *Sedenki.* Proverbs reinforce those beliefs that help maintain the familistic society, and serve as convenient means of self-expression. At the same time they are standards of behavior.

[212] Because recreation and economic life are personal, the familistic society has little need for much reading and writing. The priest, the middlemen, the taxgatherers, and a few others who early associated themselves with the village economy needed to "figure," but the rest of the people had little concern with that.

In most family-dominated societies, life is man-centered. In some areas this arrangement is related to religious beliefs; in others, it is related to the economic organization of the family in which somebody has to give orders necessary to the carrying out of the daily activities. A recognized head, conscious of his own importance, acts authoritatively in directing his family group.

The local government is traditionally managed by elders, who represent families rather than political parties or individuals. The village elders make their decisions from the standpoint of what is good for the village as a whole in the light of precedents rather than from a narrow legalism. The religious writings or sacred legends are conveniently cited to justify the actions they take. Such govern-

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mental activity exists primarily to meet crisis situations and to keep 181
the established ways of life moving smoothly. The giving of relief, 829
the provision of education, healing of the sick, insurance of cattle 596
and crops are all left to the family rather than to the government.

It is quite possible for several societies to use the familistic approach, in the sense that the family is the dominant institution, and still differ as to the relative importance of many community values. Most of them would probably respect the heritage from the past, but even here there would be variations. As far as Dragalevtsy was [577]
concerned, the chief values or virtues were land ownership, hard work, frugality, premarital chastity, observance of some of the more important religious rites, and being a good neighbor. In connection with the last, the villagers said, "God help those with bad neighbors" and "Without good neighbors life couldn't go on."

The Dragalevtsy people, although their underlying organization and philosophy was primarily familistic, had adjusted themselves to a number of modern ways. Some ways persisted because they fitted in with the established customs, and others because they were kept in vogue by force or by the authority of the mayor.

Commerce, as represented by about ten merchant groups, had 441
become established in the village because it was conducted essentially 596
as a family enterprise. From time to time a local man sold some of 462
his land and started in business for himself. He always employed members of his family rather than outsiders, because he trusted his own. If he needed extra help and had an unmarried son, the normal thing was to urge matrimony. He carried over into his business the same idea of division of labor which prevailed at home and in the field. The men ordered the goods, settled the accounts, sold the liquor in the taverns. The women acted as cooks or clerks. Some of the wives who helped keep the store could not read, write, add, or subtract and had to give whole measurements or else depend upon the customer to hand them the right amount for fractions. A husband explained when I discussed the matter with him, "It is better to lose money through error than through dishonesty." Both men and women co-operated in keeping the place clean. Here the man made a concession which he would seldom have made in the home.

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These merchant groups, with the exception of two or three of the most prosperous, led a precarious, short-lived existence. During the three years in which I knew the village, three successive proprietors managed a business undertaking in one building alone. Bai Penko's tavern, the largest of all, was founded thirty years ago by his father; another tavern which was founded fifty years ago had been owned by the present proprietor for ten years; one grocery store was started in 1935, and another was taken over by its present managers in 1936.

The largest grocery store had stock, which I carefully inventoried, approximating $200 in value. It included many articles which would have been found in an American country store a generation ago. *(See Appendix III.)*

The degree to which the old familistic way of doing things pervaded the local businesses was shown by the nature of the groups that conducted these businesses. In the case of one grocery store two men were in partnership. One partner took care of the cardplaying, which he promoted in a small space at the end of the store, and his wife took care of the grocery section. The second partner, in addition to helping with the cardplaying and the grocery work, mixed bread for the bakery downstairs, and sent his wife up to work in the store when she was not busy in the bakery. The stock of goods in this particular store was very small, and so was the clientele. The proprietor of a second grocery store was usually away from his place of business, leaving his wife in charge. She was quite dissatisfied with the present arrangement, saying, "I have to get up at two or three in the morning to do the housework before coming to the store. I go to bed at night between eleven and eleven-thirty. Life is full of hard work, but life is more sure now because we have food and money." This couple, incidentally, was one of the few childless couples in the village.

Bai Penko, too, made use of members of his family. He himself was the general manager and worked several hours a day in the tavern; his wife was in charge of the kitchen; the older daughter took care of the six or seven upstairs rooms which were rented to the veterinarian and summer guests when not occupied by members of the family. The older son, Pano, was in charge of serving drink and

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food, and of all accounts connected with this service. His younger brother was in charge of the small grocery store next door, though he often turned the store over to his mother while he served drinks at rush hours in the tavern. The younger daughter helped with both housework and the grocery store, while the eighteen-year-old granddaughter did the heavy, disagreeable work. Both sons married shortly before I left Dragalevtsy and their wives spent several hours each day working under the direction of Bai Penko's wife. Because of this large family circle Bai Penko hired two men only on holidays, one as an extra waiter and the other to roast meat freshly killed for the occasion.

Familistic, or at least personal, reasons determined why families traded with one particular merchant. Reasons such as these were most frequently cited:

"We are close friends."

"We are slightly related."

"He loans me money when I need it."

"We were members of the same political party."

"I had a quarrel with the proprietor of another grocery store, so changed to this one."

Only occasionally did the people say:

"He sells pure and fine goods."

"His prices are cheaper."

Just the same, there did seem to be considerable shopping around on the part of the villagers. They favored those places where they could get credit. But here again family connections helped decide whether or not a man could get credit from a given merchant. Credit was extended with discrimination. A poor risk, when credit was refused, frequently transferred his trade to a different store. The older proprietors were often called upon to give advice, and thus enjoyed an advantage over the younger businessmen trying to establish themselves. One of these young men said to me: "Because of my age, nobody comes to me for advice. That is why my trade is small."

Commerce also made its way into Dragalevtsy through a few commission merchants who regularly visited the peasants to buy eggs, poultry, and livestock. Occasionally they speculated in land.

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441 596 [178] In Dragalevtsy, therefore, familism had yielded some ground to commerce. People did make occasional purchases in the village and in Sofia. They talked more and thought more about money. They even valued it more highly than a generation ago, but the basis of their economic life remained self-subsistent, with an emphasis upon goods, not cash.

476 596 Co-operatives had also come to Dragalevtsy. In a very real sense village life itself was a co-operative enterprise, although it did not possess the specific characteristics of an economic co-operative. The large joint family, which has been widely prevalent throughout the world, also had many elements of the co-operative which have been maintained, at least in the sentiments of the people, even though the family group has become individualized and smaller.

Self-subsistent peasant farmers are accustomed to working together when something needs to be done. Theirs is, after all, a co-operative way of life. They also know that their own hard work and their own planning are responsible for whatever success they achieve. They are suspicious of outsiders who seek to organize them, and are fearful that any tie-up with the business interests outside the village means loss rather than gain. They are not accustomed to using money to make more money, although they know well enough what it means to pay interest on borrowed money.

[369] [423] Agricultural co-operatives often gain adherents more quickly when there is a feeling of distinction or distrust between city and the country people. This is because co-operatives have been identified in such places with the agrarianism which unites the peasants. The profit motive of capitalism is linked, in the minds of many villagers, with the urban businessman, in spite of the fact that the villager who owns his land is also a capitalist. Perhaps it is this idea which Americans find hardest to grasp in their evaluation of peasant Europe. Land is not something to be bought and unfeelingly sold for money. It is rather a means of livelihood, an extension of oneself and one's family.

476 As the merchant groups in the villages are few and insecure, the co-operatives do not have the opposition of vested interests which they face in a more highly developed economy. I realized from the beginning that co-operatives had made much less headway in Dragalevtsy

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than in many other Bulgarian communities. The secretary of the General Union of Bulgarian Agricultural Cooperatives explained: "The farmers live near the city and prefer to market their goods themselves rather than through the medium of co-operatives. They find that they get higher prices in the Sofia bazaar than they would receive from co-operatives." 476

Nevertheless, the three co-operatives represented in Dragalevtsy gave me some insight into the reasons for success and failure of those which did get off to a start. The co-operative which had made most progress in Dragalevtsy was a purely local affair which arose to meet a definite need. In some respects it was more like a corporation than a co-operative, but it was a "combining together" to get something done.

One of the richer families in the village used to spend twenty-five days threshing its grain with horses. As a result, the family began to think of using a machine to do the work. The idea incubated until Trayko Danev decided to take the initial plunge and persuaded his relatives to plunge with him. Two other men joined them in the purchase of a threshing machine in 1930. Their purpose was to thresh their own wheat and, if possible, thresh the wheat of others for a fair return. The first years of the ring's existence, when the price of wheat was high, were the best years. Between 1935 and 1937 the prices were so low that the group just managed to cover its expenses. However, because of their 400,000 leva ($4,878 at 1937 exchange rate) investment, the men did not think of giving up the ring. 476 243

The structure of this group was simple. Annually, a president, a treasurer, and a manager were elected to control the operations of the ring. The manager, who had technical training, received a salary. Two workers and a machinist were employed from outside and were paid a percentage of the wheat threshed. In 1935 they threshed the wheat of fifty-five farms, including that of the original ten partners. A written agreement existed among all members, who paid in wheat, which was sold for a sum to be divided among the members.

The familistic background of this group was interesting. The originators were all members or cousins of the Danev family except two rich landowners living in the center of the village, who were close friends of the Danevi. After four of the original partners died, 596 476 243

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596 their sons or sons-in-law succeeded to the control of their shares. The
476 five Danevi outnumbered the others, forming a unit around which
243 clustered three other members. There was some friction whenever meetings were held, but the minority was easily suppressed by the majority.

Most of the group considered membership an honor, symbolizing wealth and importance. Generally the village approved its existence, as shown by the increasing number of families who sought its services at threshing time.

476 Twenty-one Dragalevtsy men also belonged to the Animal Hus-
234 bandry-Dairy Cooperative, with headquarters in Sofia. This group had a twofold aim: (1) to enable members to get animal feed on credit and more cheaply; (2) to develop a milk distributing center. Though Dragalevtsy members did not have regular meetings in the village, most of them attended the annual meeting held in Sofia at which the reports of the officers of the co-operative were read. Before this annual meeting the Dragalevtsy men got together in the village and agreed on common action at the Sofia meeting. Dragalevtsy had one representative on the Executive Committee and one on the Control Committee. These men kept the villagers informed as to the condition of the co-operative. Two or three Dragalevtsy people had resigned, recently saying that "there were hidden matters." Most of the men who still belonged said that their membership entitled them to cheaper feed for their animals. I asked ten of the members why they belonged to the co-operative:

"I get cheaper feed through the co-operative."

"I joined in order to work collectively; to have a central depot for milk."

"The co-operative gives credit for food at a lower price."

The agricultural crisis through which Bulgaria had been passing reflected itself in the life of this co-operative. With the hard times, peasants said they did not have enough ready cash for their dues, and so dropped out. However, one could not consider this a true village organization because its physical basis was Sofia, and there was no formal organization operating in Dragalevtsy as a local.

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In 1934 the Association for the Insurance of Horses and Cows was organized in the village with the help of the veterinary doctor stationed there at that time. He was acting under the guidance of the Bulgarian National Cooperative Bank. The idea back of the association was to make it possible for peasants to obtain additional credit, since no credit could be extended by the bank on uninsured animals. Insured animals were considered better collateral than land and were allowed a greater percentage of money in proportion to value. When the organization was first founded, the fifteen or sixteen charter members entered because they were in favor of insurance. The seventeen members who joined later did so because they needed to insure their animals to get a loan, regardless of their attitude toward insurance.

In the normal life of this organization almost no difficulties were encountered. The members used the schoolhouse for the annual meeting, which was open to all outsiders. There was an executive council, a control committee, and a committee for the evaluation of animals. A president was elected every year and a treasurer every three years. Some of the committee members were changed each year. If a farmer wished to join the association, the proper committee appraised his animals and insurance was assessed at the rate of 4 per cent of the total value of the animal.

The conservatism of the peasants prevented any rapid growth of such an organization. As one peasant, not a member, explained: "I haven't joined because I feel that here we have good air, good food, and good water for our animals, and therefore they aren't as subject to diseases as are the animals nearer Sofia. God is kind."

A few years ago a private insurance association was organized which ended unfortunately for the investors. This failure was cited by some people as an additional reason why they should not join the present association, though it was backed by the Co-operative Bank.

In order to get a better idea of the relationships among the members and between the members and the officers of the Insurance Association, I interviewed fifteen of the thirty people registered and found that:

1. Friendship played little part in determining who should become members.

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2. The reasons for joining were varied:

a. "I have six cows. Need help in case a cow dies."

b. "I wanted to get money from the bank."

c. "The veterinary doctor enrolled me when he organized the association."

3. All members were satisfied with the officers who represented them.

4. The relations with the Co-operative Bank in Sofia had been cordial. Once a year the bank sent out a commission to see that everything in the village was in order; a commission also came out in case of the death of an animal.

The Insurance Association illustrated the way many village organizations arose in Bulgarian villages. The idea of the organization originated in Sofia, was put into effect by a State employee, and members were recruited from those who thought that their interests would be served by belonging. A glance at the list of members, ranging in age from twenty-four to sixty, showed that they were among the most enterprising in the village. The organization would doubtless have been only half as large had it not been for the ruling of the bank which required insurance on any animals put up as collateral. Since the association did not attempt to teach the peasants how to feed or stable the animals, it was missing a real opportunity for further service.

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The traditional economy of Dragalevtsy had therefore been subjected not only to the incursion of commerce with its emphasis upon money, but also to the formation of co-operatives to meet some specific needs of a group of interested persons. In addition there was a concerted effort throughout Bulgaria by the national government to raise the peasants' plane of living. Some of this activity found expression in Dragalevtsy, largely through the initiative of the county agent or *agronom* who was concerned with the improvement of agriculture and livestock. Since he had to care for almost a score of other villages, his visits to Dragalevtsy were few and far between, so the peasants were quite correct in saying that little was being done for the improvement of agriculture in the village. While the county *agronom*

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gave lectures at intervals during the year and consulted with some farmers regarding their work, he could not initiate and carry through a thorough program without the help of a local *agronom.* 476 657 178

As far as livestock was concerned, there were two boars and one village bull for breeding purposes. The law required that each *Obshtina* take charge of its own breeding animals. There was supposed to be a local breeding association, but the mayor was the only member. A fund was being collected for a village barn. Meanwhile, the animals were boarded out to various peasants who received a fixed sum. Improvement of livestock was more easily managed through the control of male animals, which were inspected each spring. Those of bad quality were castrated (the veterinary's fees for this work being the following: pig, 10 leva; donkey, 20 leva; horse, 40 leva). If the animal died, the State paid for the loss. I happened to visit the village at the time the veterinary doctor was making his inspection of horses. Before he could begin his thorough examination, the representative of the *Obshtina* looked over the bills of sale to be sure each man had his own horses. This bill of sale cost 3 per cent of the amount exchanged. If the horses had been foaled at the home of the present owners, the men presented certificates of ownership which they had previously obtained from the mayor for fifteen leva. If the doctor found that a horse was ill, a second examination was made two weeks later. If the animal was still sick, State officials bought the horse for a small sum and killed it. A fine ranging from two hundred to five hundred leva was charged if the horses were not brought for the examination. While a national program for home demonstration work had been prepared, Dragalevtsy so far had received few benefits. 232 476

Recreation, like economic life, had been subjected to efforts at organization. The people of Dragalevtsy customarily associated liquor with holidays and leisure time. In the earlier days there was little organized opposition to the use of alcohol, but by 1922 considerable public opinion had been aroused against the *kruchmi.* On January 1, 1922, all the taverns of the village were closed by order of the Village Council, which thought that the drink shops were a social evil. The village was very much stirred up, most of the men siding with the tavern keepers and the women with the Village Council. The tavern 273 733

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keepers immediately petitioned the higher court in Sofia, which reversed the decision of the Village Council on the grounds that the order had been issued illegally, without having a vote of all the people. On March 12 the taverns opened again. A large sum of money was due the tavern keepers in the way of damages, but they did not try to collect for fear a referendum would be carried out and the taverns abolished indefinitely. Between January 1 and March 12 the men of Dragalevtsy had gone to Sofia and to other villages so frequently to drink that they had lost much time from work, to the distress of their families. Since Dragalevtsy became a resort place, it has had summer guests who demanded alcoholic beverages; this clientele aids the tavern keepers, although many peasants are still in favor of closing their places of business.

In 1935, largely at the suggestion of one of the schoolteachers, a temperance society was organized among the young men. The score of members took their organization seriously, though many villagers ridiculed it. This organization gave a *vecherinka* at which a "drunk" comedy was presented in order to discourage drinking. The temperance pledge included not only drinking but smoking and was so difficult to keep that a year later some of the members had fallen from grace. The village registrar, who was active in the Village Council in 1922 when the taverns were closed, was not permitted in the temperance association because he smoked. His admission would have greatly strengthened the work of the organization as far as alcoholic temperance was concerned.

The monthly dues were five leva, which were to be spent for buying temperance literature and sometimes in helping the poor. One member was sent to the city of Stara Zagora for a conference of all temperance associations in Bulgaria. The priest could not be a member "because he has to drink in his work," that is, communion. The organization was almost extinct because the initial enthusiasm had waned and some of the original members had dropped out. In order to justify their own actions those who quit talked against the remaining members and accused them of smoking and drinking on the side. The society's value as an aid to temperance would have been hard to estimate. While it must have had some effect on the minds of the

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young people connected with it, it had little reforming influence upon 273
the older people. The government was trying to control the sale of 733
liquor by limiting hours of sale and by excluding minors from taverns. For example, the taverns were closed during the time of Sunday morning service.

Here, then, we have three efforts on the part of villagers and authorities to promote abstinence or temperance. The first, in 1922, used the local governmental machinery but lacked the support of the men who were the only ones with the right to vote. The second was the voluntary association of strong-willed youths, who soon found that formal organizations had short lives in Dragalevtsy. The other method consisted of the mayor's arbitrary edicts, which he had power to make people obey. From time to time he overlooked infringements of his rules, being more interested in avoiding excessive drunkenness on the part of well-known sots than in decreasing the tavern keeper's revenues.

The chief objections raised to the use of liquor were economic rather than moral. Although recreation was not commercialized in our sense of the term, the tavern keepers did make an adequate income from catering to patrons with free time on their hands.

The only formally organized recreational group in the village was 529
the *Yunak* organization. It began its career in the village in 1932. 575
The local group was one of hundreds scattered throughout the whole of Bulgaria for the purpose of organizing the youth for sport and physical education. The activity of this organization was intense in the beginning. Since then, however, interest died down to the point that the young men gathered only two or three times a year for exercise in the schoolyard where there were rings and a horizontal bar, and once a year for election of officers. Many of the members felt that it was an honor to belong because it signified to the rest of the villagers that "you want to be healthy." The older people, however, thought that such an organization was unnecessary since, in their opinion, "if the young people did enough work in the fields and around the stables they would not need any organization for exercise." As is the case with many clubs of this sort, there were four or five people who really carried the load in an effort to keep the group alive. Because this organization was so utterly out of line with the familistic point

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529 of view, its members got little encouragement from the older people
575 and had little lasting enthusiasm for its program.

575 The Reading Room Association *(Chitalishte)* was organized
829 locally on February 10, 1921, upon the initiative of men who had been outside the village and had returned with the desire to raise the cultural level. From its founding, however, it concerned itself more with financial than with cultural problems. In the words of the constitution, the purposes of the organization were:

A. to influence the people of the village, especially the young to self-improvement.

B. to cause to grow among the people a feeling for public unity in life and for intelligent usage of the village domain.

C. to cultivate love towards the fatherland and towards the good and morally edifying elements of the national literature.

The *Chitalishte* planned to achieve its purpose by opening a public reading room free for all inhabitants and visitors and supplying the room with suitable books. The *Chitalishte* group also planned to organize evening lectures and other public performances and entertainments "in order to create a patriotic feeling and appreciation of the nation's past."

The first act of the newly organized society was to buy a large sign inscribed with the name of the organization. After that the officers spent money for chairs, lamps, benches, bookcases, stovepipes, and tables, while individuals donated inkstands, water jugs, a box for gathering money, and a picture of the Madonna. Unfortunately this left practically no money for any form of reading matter. The expense of having a share in the construction of the *Obshtina* building further drained the financial resources of the organization. It was also a factor in keeping away prospective members who preferred to wait until the building was paid for before they joined. In 1937 twenty-two people, most of them charter members, were looked upon as active supporters of the work of the *Chitalishte*.

Most of the members were critical of the present officers, and recognized that the organization's activities were at a standstill. When members were asked to tell how they would improve matters if elected

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to a position of importance they answered: "We should choose a new executive committee, put the library in order, lend out the books, have more evening entertainments. To do this we should get in touch with people in Sofia." 575 829

Part of the trouble arose from disagreement among the officers. In the words of one member, "An organization cannot get ahead with that sort of business." But even more of the trouble went back to the fact that the organizers had not convinced the villagers of the importance of the group. Meanwhile, most peasants looked upon it as an importation of interest only to the intelligentsia and their hangers-on.

The experiences of the *Chitalishte* and other organizations in Dragalevtsy revealed that the peasants were not organization-minded. Even if we included the governmental groups to be discussed in the next chapter, we would find that less than ten women in the village belonged to any formal group, and only 107 of the 510 men over twenty years of age had an organizational membership. Where people's homes were so conveniently located one would expect greater participation on the part of the men, at least. But almost four-fifths of them avoided any organizational affiliation, largely because they were not accustomed to using an organization to do what they thought needed to be done. One of the most frequent reasons for failure to join was this: "Why should I pay the fees charged when I would get nothing in return?" 575

In this world of competing *isms* Dragalevtsy represented in 1937 a modification of familism, the oldest and most widespread way of life we know, perpetuated by agricultural villages all over the world. But familism was slowly losing out. In some quarters of the world the commercialism of a capitalistic system was supplanting the older values with money values; in other quarters the collectivism of a communist society was shaking the economic foundations of the large family group. 178 596

As far as Dragalevtsy was concerned, commercialism was in its infancy. Back in 1937 communism might have seemed to the outsider to have a hold on this village as well as on others in Bulgaria

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"Even the priest was a government employee . . ." *See page 163.*

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because of the old affection the Bulgarian peasants had felt for the Russians since the days when the Tsar Alexander II of Russia helped free Bulgaria from Turkish control. Contemporary Russia also was making its appeal through Bulgarian communists who had taken the agrarian, or "rights-for-peasants," aspect of the modern Russian system and expounded it to the peasants as communism. Although it was doubtful whether the Dragalevtsy peasant had any clear idea of collectivism, it was certain that he would have been completely bewildered by the idea of giving up his cherished holdings to the state.

Dragalevtsy, therefore, was something of an anachronism, for the familistic system still had a firm grip on many of the adults. Their ideas had been set a generation ago by parents who subscribed unquestioningly to the familistic way of life. The young people, on the other hand, were receptive to other values and other standards and were ready to look more and more to the "people of the world" for guidance and leadership.

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"The mayor [with his family] was the spearhead in the attack on the old ways." *See page 163.*

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"Trayko Danev . . . one of the richest peasants in the village." *See page 164.*

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CHAPTER IX

THE NATIONAL STATE AS INTRUDER AND REFORMER

In Dragalevtsy, as in agricultural villages throughout the world, the national state was building up a loyalty in competition with the unquestioned loyalty people used to give to their family group and their community. The spread of the government-sponsored school, though its scientific teachings were elementary, weakened the hold of the formalistic, institutionalized religion which went along with a familistic society. Because of the school there was increased conflict between the older and younger generations. 178 656

Not only in time of war but also in time of peace the national government had been calling its young men to leave their plows and their cattle to take up pick or rifle. The *trudovatsi* handled the picks, and those in military training the rifles. 466 656 702

After the first World War Bulgaria initiated an ambitious program of compulsory labor as a substitute for military training, formerly required. The original plan called for service from both young men and young women. Recruiting of women later ceased for they proved unsuited to the system. The young men of the country were enrolled in labor camps where they performed their *trudova* (compulsory labor). Each young *trudovak* was required to serve eight months, though for two thousand leva, or less than $25, he could buy himself off at the end of six months. Some young men paid a total ranging from 9,000 leva to 32,000 leva, according to their economic status, to be entirely exempted from service.

The *trudovatsi* built many highways and bridges, and worked without pay in government shops, factories, and lumber plants. Their achievements were significant although much of this potential man power was unused or misused because of the lack of sufficient engineers to give proper direction to the work.

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466 656 702 The *trudova* system existed in principle until Bulgaria joined the Axis, though, she like all countries defeated in the first World War, passed through a period when compulsory labor was gradually replaced by compulsory military service. After the *coup d'état* of May, 1934, various groups of army officers controlled many of the country's policies; so it was not surprising to learn of the strengthening of the military forces of the nation. One sign of the government's changed policy was the fact that in 1935 not a single young man from Dragalevtsy went as a *trudovak,* but sixteen were called to do military service. Those eligible for service were called before a commission of army officers and examined; the successful ones passed on to receive military training, and the rest were returned home. Those who were rejected lost some standing in the eyes of the villagers, because it was thought that they had inherited some family weakness. The *family* rather than the individual was blamed.

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[156] There was undeniably a great influence exercised upon the village by the practice of taking young men, in their impressionable years, away from the village for an interval of several months. They lived in an army barracks or a *trudovak* camp with other young men from different parts of the country. For a time they ceased doing some things which the village thought essential, and they learned to do other things which older family members would perhaps have frowned upon. They went out from a family system where each member worked more or less as a part of the whole; they returned often very conscious of their own individuality, and had to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought once more closed about them. There were some individuals who never again fell completely into line and who turned to Sofia for employment and a more congenial atmosphere.

[554] Older men who returned to the village as retired noncommissioned officers enjoyed a certain prestige that lingered after brass buttons and clumping boots had been exchanged for the conventional village attire. On the wall of the office of the Village Clerk, the names of all local officials and public employees were posted. There was considerable information regarding each man, but the concluding and perhaps most important item was the statement of the person's service

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to the State, either as a soldier or a *trudovak*. All had served in one of these capacities, else they would not have been employed.

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The young men were the only ones called to leave the village. As for the rest of the people, the national government went to them in the persons of its civil servants, who comprised most of the intelligentsia. Even the priest was a government employee, since the state supported the church. The doctor received most of her salary from public funds, since private practice in a village would have been financially unrewarding. In addition to these, the veterinarian, the schoolteachers, and an occasional lecturer from outside formed the advance guard of the national State. All of these public servants knew that they would be held accountable by their supervisors or inspectors, and identified themselves much more readily with the national bureaucracy than with the peasants whom they were supposed to help. Of these, the mayor was the spearhead in the attack on the old ways. One of his duties was to preside over the village court, where he stood for the law and order of the land.

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One day as I was leaving the office of the mayor he asked me to stay and attend court. I sat in the corner of the room next to a bookcase jammed with documents. The mayor sat behind his desk, covered on such occasions by the white, green, and red Bulgarian flag, on which there was a stack of folders, one for each case to be heard. On the wall over his head were pictures of the King and Queen, a beautifully colored coat of arms of Bulgaria, and a patriotic calendar. Through the window I could see the small memorial garden in which forty-four fruit trees had been planted in memory of the forty-four local sons killed in the battles of Bulgaria's several wars. Two rifles for use when the policemen were on patrol stood in the gun rack not far from the desk. A bench lined another wall close to the small cast-iron stove. Near me there was a hat rack, and a spittoon less popular than the floor. A muddy, unshaven policeman stood at the door to bark people in and out.

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The first man to come in was Iliya Trunin, a thirty-two year old villager in a *kozhuh* (sheepskin coat), who was being sued by Ivan Katsarov, a tavern keeper. Iliya, instead of going to the expense of running an electric line from the main electric cable, had arranged

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695 with Katsarov to extend the line from Katsarov's tavern to Trunin's tavern for a sum of five hundred leva. Bai Ivan, in testifying before the court, said that on the Day of the Virgin he had let his friends talk him into favoring Iliya, although he knew he was helping a competitor. A year passed, however, without the sum being paid to Katsarov, so the case had been brought to court. The witnesses upheld the plaintiff's side and the mayor charged Iliya to make the payment.

A peasant man in ragged clothes, worn *tsarvuli* (pigskin moccasins), and uncut hair, brought action against a peasant proprietor, who had engaged the plaintiff's son to work for him for a small amount of money from May until the time school should begin. The defendant claimed that the boy was to serve until the eighth of November. The father maintained that the agreement had been until the beginning of school in September and not until the eighth of November. Unfortunately for the father, in writing out the official charge he had mistakenly said that the contract period ended on November 8. The mayor, seeing the situation, persuaded the peasant proprietor to release the boy for school against a partial refund of the wages on the part of the boy's father. This satisfied both parties.

After these two men went out, Trayko Danev, whom the reader knows by now as one of the richest peasants in the village, brought charge against a Sofia merchant for breach of contract in a financial transaction involving hay. Trayko apparently had justice on his side and was ready to prove his case by the use of two witnesses, one of whom was to testify regarding the agreement made and a second to testify regarding the partial fulfillment of the agreement. The first witness testified:

"As I recall the incident, I was at the table with this merchant and Trayko Danev and heard them make an agreement whereby Trayko said he would give 780 leva for hay. He went away and that is all I remember."

Trayko then asked for the testimony of the second witness whose name had been written on the brief as Nikola.

The Judge (Mayor): "Nikola, Nikola. But the last name is not written."

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The Merchant (Defendant): "Your Honor, I object. This man has not indicated the last name of his second witness and God knows how many Nikolas there are in Bulgaria. Furthermore, the second witness was present in the courtroom while the first witness was testifying. Therefore, the second witness, according to law, cannot testify, no matter what his last name is." 695

Trayko: "I didn't tell him to come in here. It's not my fault."

Judge: "The defendant's objection sustained. We cannot accept the testimony of the second witness unless the defendant agrees."

Defendant: "I do not agree."

Judge: "In that case, the plaintiff loses, since he cannot use the second witness and cannot prove his charge."

Trayko: "I am just a villager but I don't want any crook stealing money from me. I'll take this to a higher court."

The defendant (who had just walked toward the door) returned and said:

"Your Honor, I want it put in the record that this man called me a crook so that when he takes this to a higher court, I'll show him that I, too, know how to act."

I could see that the Sofia merchant was well posted on legal procedure. Afterwards Trayko and his two witnesses went to Bai Penko's tavern for a round of drinks which seemed to do little to console Trayko's aggrieved feelings.

The next suit did not get very far because the plaintiff wanted the judge to have the defendant swear that he did not owe the plaintiff any money. The defendant answered:

"I will swear if the plaintiff will swear first that the sum mentioned in the statement of the case is accurate down to the very last lev."

The plaintiff was unwilling to do this because the mayor, in the short time he had been in the village, had made the peasants afraid to swear falsely, something which they commonly did before. The plaintiff, seeing that he was at a disadvantage, agreed to compromise.

Court adjourned with a brief formality and the mayor came over to discuss the afternoon's proceedings, with evident enjoyment of the flashes of humor.

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623 Local administration of justice was not the only thing the mayor had changed. Upon his arrival in Dragalevtsy he had replaced the traditional Village Council, composed of peasants, with an Advisory Council, made up of other public officials. Later, when the national authorities wanted to restore the appearance of representative government they worked out a scheme for establishing a new Commune Council. They took care, however, to rid it of any candidates that they did not like.

666 623 On March 28, 1937, six councilors were elected for the Dragalevtsy commune: three from Dragalevtsy proper, two from Simeonovo, and one from the "quarter" near Sofia. In addition to these six, the following were ex officio members of the council: the mayor, the representative of merchants, the representative of the agricultural zadruga, the director of the school, the physician, and the veterinarian. To obtain its three members, the village of Dragalevtsy was divided into three districts, from each of which one representative was chosen. Any man over thirty and with an elementary school education who signed the following petition could nominate himself as a candidate for office.

To the Judge of the Commune
in the village of_____
County _____

PETITION

With this I wish to declare:

1. that I wish to offer my candidacy for a village councilor in the elections which will take place on _____ 19__ for the purpose of electing members of the commune councils.
2. that I offer my candidacy in _____ elective district of _____ commune _____ county.
3. that I do not belong to any secret or open organization forbidden by the laws of the country.
4. that I do not have ideas against the government, that I am not in favor of communist, anarchist or violent methods for social and political struggles.
5. that if I am elected as a commune councilor I will not favor any class, society, groups, nor will I serve my personal interests, and in my work I shall be guided by the common interests of the commune of which I am a member, and

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6. that I have been registered under No._____ in the election list of the commune. 666
I wish to have my candidacy recognized as legal and confirmed. 623
I enclose certificate No._____ from _____ 19__ year issued from _____ commune, which shows that:
(a) I have the right to elections (commune elections)
(b) that I am 30 years of age and have completed my military service (or the regular labor service)
(c) that I have completed _____ (education)
Village, City _____ year 19__

Respectfully:_____

The names of those wishing to run were posted publicly by the mayor; all the villagers had the opportunity to contest the fitness of any candidate; afterwards the mayor sent the names to Sofia with his own recommendations. The final decision was in the hands of the judge in Sofia. Thirteen Dragalevtsy men decided to stand for election. Three of these were rejected by the authorities. People from each district voted only for a candidate from their district. Mothers were the only women permitted to vote.

Before the election, with the permission of the mayor, the candidates were allowed to make speeches. After the election, as is frequently the case in countries elsewhere, some people were dissatisfied with the results and demanded a new election. However, everything seemed to go off in an orderly way and the voting was fairly done. This election, though, was the prelude to the national elections which were later held, resulting in the restoration, after a fashion, of the *Subranie,* or National Parliament.

Re-establishing a commune council seemed to be a very complicated affair to the average peasant, and afforded quite a contrast to his usual way of getting things done. In order to fulfill the law requiring ex officio members to represent the merchants and the agriculturists, two new organizations had to be started in the village before the time of the election. The merchants organized a Merchants' Association, had one or two meetings, elected a representative, and discussed general policies for the future. Although nothing definite had taken shape by the time I left the village, the merchants hoped to 623 441 241

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623 441 241 practice price-fixing, standardization of products, and the like. The representative appointed by the merchants was Ivan Katsarov, previously mentioned as a manager of one of the village taverns who appeared as a plaintiff in court. Furthermore, the farmers had to organize themselves into an association called a zadruga (which had no connection with the old form of joint family known by that name). Such organizations followed the Italian system of corporations under the Fascist regime and insured representation in government on the basis of occupation rather than political preference. These agricultural zadrugas worked well in theory around the council tables in Sofia, but met with resistance in the village. In the opinion of many leaders of co-operatives, the zadrugas ran counter to the strong co-operative movement which had already made such headway in Bulgaria. Their critics point out they not only struck at the very foundation of this movement, but also had the fault of being handed down from above instead of springing from natural needs in the village itself.

623 Should there have been a number of industrial laborers in the village they too would have had an ex officio member on the council. The presence of the other ex officio members on the council was easily understood. The doctors, the school director, and the mayor were expected by the national authorities to take an active part in deciding the policies of the village government. Such a council, in spite of the great furor connected with its formation, was still an advisory rather than a governing body.

In order to get a better understanding of the way government affected the life of the individual peasant, I sought answers to several questions.

651 *How were the taxes paid?* On February 25, July 25, and October 25, people were supposed to come to the *Obshtina* and pay taxes. Those who did not show up were summoned by the courier. If this summons went unheeded, the individuals were sent red notices reminding them that they had to pay within three or four days. If they failed to do this, the *Sekretar Birnik* made out a list of their possessions for a public sale which was held if the taxes remained unpaid. There had been several instances where goods were actually sold for failure to pay taxes, much to the shame of the people involved.

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What happened if a man owed some money and didn't pay? If the sum owed was over 1,000 leva, the people had to go to Sofia to court. If it was under 1,000 leva, the people appealed to the village court (the mayor was judge, and the registrar was secretary). The creditor made an application for the sum due, and had either to give a certificate that the sum was due or, having no certificate, swear by a cross and the Bible that his claim was just. 686

What happened in case two men got into a fight and hurt each other? In case of a fight or a disturbance of the peace, the men were subject to fine up to 500 leva. However, the mayor smiled when he said: "I haven't given any fines for fighting yet, for I am a man with a Christian soul." Should the mayor feel less virtuous he would fine a drunk, together with the tavern keeper who let him get drunk. The fine would range from two to three hundred leva, leniency being shown to drunken men because they are "not responsible for their actions when drunk." 683

How did people transfer property? The transfer of animals was performed at the *Obshtina.* A bill of sale was made out and signed by the mayor. The transfer of land and houses had to be made through a notary public in Sofia since the banks in such cases usually needed to be consulted regarding indebtedness on the property. 425

How were public lands administered? Because the forest pertaining to the village was not large enough to justify a special forester, it was placed under the care of the *Okoliyski* (county) forester who was in charge of planting new trees. A forest policeman, regularly employed by the *Obshtina,* saw to it that the villagers cut no wood without the special permission of the local authorities. The land belonging to the *Obshtina* had decreased greatly during the past twenty years because of its sale as building sites. If the *Obshtina* decided to sell land valued at less than 200,000 leva, then the *Okoliyski* governor could give permission. For more than that, the Minister of Interior had to approve the transfer. 659

Who saw that roads were kept up and bridges repaired? If a bridge was broken, the fact was reported to the mayor, who sent a man to repair it. The State took care of all the roads outside the village, and the *Obshtina* of those inside. 653

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656 *What other things did the village government do for the people of the village?* The *Obshtina* saw that pure water was piped to the different neighborhood fountains. In addition, the *Obshtina* had the only telephone in the village, which anyone might use upon the payment of two leva. It also had a fire pump, which, so far as could be learned, had never yet been put to work in an emergency.

656 747 The national government encouraged its village representatives to set up organizations to promote specific activities. One of these was the Red Cross, to which a score of adults, most of them of the intelligentsia or official group, had paid membership fees. The village doctor was one of the leading spirits in this association, though the mayor, having been connected with the Red Cross in Sofia, was also interested. Its activities did not get under way until after 1937, with the exception of the placing of a few posters and a drive for members. The more active Junior Red Cross, headed by the school director, stimulated the interest of children in first aid and good health practices.

A second organization was a local branch of the Union for the Protection of Children, organized by the mayor, who was also its president. Its chief activity was the serving of hot lunches to all school children who did not go home for lunch. This applied to rich and poor children alike, because the wealthier parents were often away from home and thus unable to provide a hot meal for their children. Sometimes as many as eighty of the children received their meals in the *trapezariya* (dining room). The adult members of this association or Union were also for the most part from the intelligentsia and the official groups. This hot-lunch movement had spread throughout Bulgaria into hundreds of schools. Many times it was financed outright by the government; oftentimes by private groups aided by government subsidy. This association, with the support of the *Obshtina,* distributed food to the poorest families of the village at Christmas time. For instance, the officers gave two pounds of sugar, two pounds of rice, and two pounds of meat to each of 120 families at the Christmas season. The pride and independence of the peasants was demonstrated by the fact that no families came to ask for these gifts, because no family wanted to admit it was poor enough to require them. However, those in charge of the distribution were

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well acquainted with the economic situation of the villagers and distributed the food accordingly. There was an annual meeting of the Dragalevtsy Union to hear the reports of the retiring officers and to hold the election of new officers. The basis for membership was payment of the annual fee. In other words, it was purely philanthropic, in that the members expected to get nothing in return. I was not surprised to find the names of but very few farmers on the membership list. Peasants did not yet understand organized philanthropy, though individually they might be unusually generous on occasion. 656 747

Another group in the village was known as the Association of the Decoration for Valor. In 1935 the mayor got together all of the men who had been decorated for bravery during time of war. A Sofia major talked to them and persuaded them to form a local association, after pointing out that no harm could come and that possibly some advantages might follow, such as price reductions at State baths, special rates for traveling on the railroad, and pension legislation through collective lobbying. At the time I studied the group three or four meetings had been held with unusual group harmony. There was an initiation fee of twelve leva, and an annual fee of twenty leva per member. The membership totaled twenty-eight, which showed Dragalevtsy's reputation for bravery in war. I obtained facts about the organization not only from the officers, but also from interviews with fifteen different members. The reasons given for joining were varied: 729

1. "To have pensions."

2. "We who have decorations are to get help from the State by working together better."

3. "The privileges of free baths, freedom from school tax, reductions on the railroad, free medicine."

4. "We were ordered to form the local association from Sofia."

5. "Said I would get an iron cross. I wrote down my name but I don't know why."

Some conflict had sprung up between the village veterans with decorations and those who received no decorations but still thought they should have been allowed to enter the association and obtain the same privileges as the others. Many association members felt the same because some friend was in this predicament. The situation became

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729 more complicated when the members of the association began to receive public recognition on certain holidays while the other veterans remained in the background. Although this was an organization planned in Sofia and organized in the village by a Sofia man, good local men were elected as leaders and, judged by the number of meetings, the organization had been very active since its founding. However, since the interest in the organization was dependent upon the benefits the members expected to receive, the organization could be expected to die a natural death if no such benefits materialized. Then, too, it definitely ran counter to village practice in that it gave prominence to a few peasant men, setting them up over others whom public opinion considered just as worthy.

757 The local doctor, like the mayor, was also concerned with changing the ways of the people. She was sent to Dragalevtsy by the Department of Public Health, which had charge of selecting and locating all physicians in the State service. Because she was married, she received the higher salary of $41 a month, was allowed a private practice in the afternoon, and could charge 30 leva for a night visit. For assisting at a birth, she got 500 leva ($6). Since the people were poor, she was able to collect little money from private practice.

The doctor did not keep her office hours regularly "since the villagers don't understand office hours." During the month of August, for example, she was asked to visit only five or six houses, which showed that most of the patients wanting her services came to her office, where the treatment was free. The patients suffered chiefly from stomach trouble in the summer and from bronchial trouble in the fall; in the latter case coming more often for consultation. Because of the expense involved, rarely did the patient ask for a second visit. "The poor people who don't pay apologize; the richer people who don't pay do not apologize," the doctor commented.

744 There were national laws which, if stringently applied, would have done much to raise the level of sanitation and health throughout the country. Their application depended upon the initiative and knowledge of the local health authorities. In Dragalevtsy considerable effort had been spent in seeing that the laws were kept. The doctor and the mayor, or the mayor's representative, visited the taverns and

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sent samples of liquor and wine to Sofia to be examined. They also noticed what disposition was made of all sorts of waste and where manure was stacked. The doctor then wrote a report on the basis of which the mayor made a decree as to what changes were to be made. After thirty days the two made a second examination. The doctor usually found that the people did not really carry out these orders, and assessed a fine which the *Sekretar Birnik* had to collect. Such fines were imposed upon a baker who had been warned several times that his place was not clean enough. He did nothing to improve the situation, so he was fined five hundred leva to be paid within a month. If the fine had not been paid, he would have had to spend three days in prison for every one hundred leva due. A local confectioner was fined 22,000 leva ($266) for using saccharine, banned simply because the government had the monopoly of sugar. 744

Specimens of the village water supply, sent by the doctor, were examined at least once a month by the Institute of Public Health in Sofia. The doctor also had the right to analyze samples of all foodstuffs and household articles on sale, such as soap, cheese, sugar, pepper, and canned goods, but could hold the grocer responsible only for things which were unpackaged. Bread sold in the tavern and bakery was examined for an excessive percentage of water.

Vaccination against smallpox was scheduled three times in a village person's life: before he reached one year; when he reached seven, the age for going to school; and when he was twenty years of age. Typhoid inoculations were given only "if there are more than ten cases in the whole village." Diphtheria serum was given only in case of real need. Plans called for giving all school children the Pirquet reaction test for tuberculosis. In addition to the steps just mentioned, the doctor, through the *Obshtina,* organized a few health lectures during the winter and conducted a mothers' course. Young mothers especially were encouraged to visit the health station every week with their infants.

Assisting the doctor there was a midwife provided by the State, who aided not only in deliveries of infants but also worked with the children of school age and, in order to fill up her time, helped the doctor in her office work. She had had a gymnasium (secondary 759

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759 school) training and worked for two years in a lying-in hospital. The midwife, who had difficulty in winning the co-operation of the old *babi*, could not set a charge for her services but had to take only what the women gave. The State paid the midwife the equivalent of $16 each month. There was a health committee, composed of the doctor as chairman, the priest, the director of the local school and the mayor. The midwife attended unofficially. This committee met once a month to consider the problems of village hygiene and sanitation and tried to enlist public support for the doctor. The county doctor came twice a year without advance warning to visit the village doctor for the purpose of seeing if her reports were made out properly, if she exercised suitable control of the merchandise, and if she gave the school children proper supervision.

544 Another impact, of an educational sort, upon the traditional way of life was the *Naroden Universitet*, or People's University. This consisted of a series of lectures in the schoolhouse on such topics as these:

1. "Our National Awakeners: A Patriotic Talk"—by a local schoolteacher.

2. "Problems and Purposes of the Zadruga"—by the local president of this agricultural group.

3. "The Insurance of Cattle"—by a veterinarian from Sofia.

4. "Alcohol and Effects"—by a medical man from Sofia.

5. "What Village Homes and Food Should Be Like"—by a different medical man from Sofia.

6. "Concerning Faith"—by a priest from Sofia.

7. "Concerning Tuberculosis"—by the local doctor.

8. "The Cleaning of Seed"—by the district *agronom*.

9. "The Significance and Service of the Producers' Cooperatives"—by a former attorney and by the Superintendent of Cooperatives of the Bulgarian Agricultural Bank.

The mayor encouraged the peasants to attend in the hope that they would be inspired to improve their living conditions or become more loyal to the government.

871 656 Another educational group affected by the intrusion of the State was the school board. Formerly the peasants themselves controlled the board's membership but it had become an ex officio body composed

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almost entirely of the intelligentsia. The peasants no longer had much to say about the employment of teachers, or what or how they taught. They and their children accepted what the national government, through its local representatives, provided for them. They took it or left it, but mostly took it. 871 656

The national government, along with its other activities, maintained a close connection with the national church. Before the liberation of Bulgaria, the practice arose of having three or five members act as a church board in each village. Even if there happened to be no church building, this group was elected to see about the construction of one. Such a board followed the familistic practice of expecting elders to manage local affairs. After the growth of the national state the board was continued, but subjected to outside control. In Dragalevtsy it consisted of five people: the priest (who was the president), a treasurer, and three other village men who acted as a control committee to audit the work of the old board which they succeeded at the end of its two-year term. In the past the biennial election was held on a Sunday morning immediately after church. But the government took care to see that only those men who had the right to vote *politically* were eligible to elect the church board from a list of candidates prepared by the priest. As the priest prepared his slate with the help of the older people in the village, his choices usually met with the approval of the majority of men. 659 794

A candidate had to be an Orthodox Christian by baptism, should never have been in a lawsuit, should not be a drunkard, thief, and the like, nor an atheist opposed to the church. The elections had to be approved by the Sofia Metropolitan, or the high church court, thus removing the authority still further from the village. An office of an elective nature such as this carried a great deal of honor with it. The duties of the office were not burdensome because the church possessed no lands to be administered. Traditionally the church board was supposed to aid in enforcement of Sabbath observance, but members were not particularly zealous in carrying out this obligation. The priest had been having trouble of late with one board member who had become such a tippler that the board's prestige was suffering. If some question needed to be decided, as was the case about five or six times

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659 794 a year, the priest asked the board members to assemble at the church, minutes were kept, and no outsiders attended. The government's influence was further felt during the period 1934-1937, when all political elections were suspended, and with these all church board elections too. No one was eligible to vote.

659 869 771 As the national school and church authorities had not been satisfied with the type of religious training that the children had been getting in the average peasant home, they had set up in each village an organization called "The Association for the Orthodox Christianization of Bulgarian Youth." In general, the work of the group consisted in teaching the school children the significance of the iconostas, church ceremonies, and other related matters. School hours were used, and attendance was compulsory. The school director, who had been asked by the Archbishop in Sofia to conduct the work of the association in co-operation with the priest, said that they had had about twenty-five meetings during the year. Parents and others who were interested attended these meetings. This was one activity which the peasants had accepted quite willingly because, as one woman said, "the children are kept off the streets when there is a group gathering, and thus do not learn so many bad things." This was the woman's way of berating parents for failing to take better care of their children. But fundamentally the acceptance was based upon the traditional recognition of the church's importance. In the past, whatever had bolstered up the established church had bolstered up the familistic system.

178 181 596 Such a barrage from the batteries of commerce, government, and education[1] had left the familistic way of life in Dragalevtsy battered but not crumbling. The peasants were still amused at the intense activity of the intelligentsia; the few who were asked to confer with the authorities enjoyed reporting back to their families and friends just what they said and did. The people co-operated in the campaigns for this-and-that only when they knew that the mayor would send the policeman along if they did not co-operate. They attended lectures when ordered to do so, but they joined few of the organizations planned outside. Perhaps the best indication that this beehive of governmental activity was still on the surface was the failure of the peasants to seek advice from the intelligentsia who were supposedly there to help

1 [For a detailed account, see category 116, pp. 161-176 - Analyst]

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them. An exceptional peasant did; but the vast majority kept an eye upon what was going on without becoming involved in any newly initiated affairs.

Just the same, changes were in the making. Year after year, within given limits, people would be content to do what the authorities told them to do. This was because their family life, with its emphasis upon obedience and respect, had made them docile. If the commands proved too disruptive, however, or took away the things they counted most dear, their family and their land, they resisted.

But the peasants were little interested in fighting for political rights; these were individualistic and not in keeping with familism, which emphasized the welfare of the group rather than the rights of the individual. They did not yet want to have a hand in what went on in Sofia, in Berlin, or Washington. They still were village oriented. To be sure, war affected them, as did the price of grain, but in much the same fatalistic way that a heat wave or a cold snap would. They did not yet feel that they, and millions like them throughout Bulgaria, had the power to control many things affecting their daily life. Some of their fellow villagers in other parts of Bulgaria were alive to this fact, but Dragalevtsy was still politically illiterate.

The leaders in the village were aware of their lack of success. Some of them were disappointed in the peasants for not accepting at face value the words of wisdom they proffered so freely; others cautioned patience. They said, "We can't change things overnight. We will work with the children in the school. Our future lies with them." And they were right. But it was clear that the future they anticipated would be much more distant if the leaders continued to force upon the peasants a way of life imported from "the people of the outside world." Their quickest success lay in evaluating the familistic society that existed, in deciding what should be retained, and what changes should be made. The next step would be to discover by what means, already in use in the village, these changes could be effected. Then, above all, the leaders should have sought to persuade the peasants to help themselves. The governmental paternalism at work in Dragalevtsy created as many local problems as it solved.

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178 The conflict was on, then, between the old and the new, between familism and the forces from the "people of the outside world." It was a stirring struggle when viewed in terms of people I had come to know and respect. It became a significant struggle when I remembered that Dragalevtsy was only one village out of hundreds of thousands where the conflict was even then being dramatically staged.

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000 The new way of life that emerges may be more democratic or it may be the basis for additional authoritarian states. Democracy can be assured only if its representatives, who introduce the new, have an insight into the peasants' way of life, a sympathy that is so genuine that it can be quickly sensed by untutored folk, and a skill that can weave into the fabric of the past the strands of the present, in keeping with a sensible pattern for the future.

DEPARTURE—AUGUST, 1937

000 THE VILLAGE seemed unusually peaceful on that August day in 1937 when I made the rounds to tell my friends in Dragalevtsy goodbye. Many wanted to know how long the trip to America would take, others asked about my future plans. The majority said, *"do vizhdane"* ("till we meet again"), but several of the older people, who had patiently endured many hours of interviews in the previous months, sensed that their "time" would come before I set foot in Dragalevtsy again. They used the other form of leave-taking—*"sbogom"* ("God be with you"), and also asked God's blessing upon my trip. The mayor told me how much he had enjoyed having me study his village, the priest asked me not to forget my many friends, and Bai Penko took great delight in showing off his new grandson whom I had never seen.

The weather was hot. Few people moved through the Square and only occasionally did a wagon creak down the streets to the fields below the village. Even the flies, usually so troublesome, seemed languid. The dogs slept. Vitosha had lost its cap of snow. Storks

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grazed in the meadows, enjoying the frogs or snakes which they sometimes caught. Three of the few planes recently added to the Bulgarian air force flew overhead with a roar that was ominous and quite foreign to a village where the ringing of Iliya's anvil, the grinding uphill of a dilapidated bus, or the squealing of pigs coming home from pasture were ordinarily the chief disturbers of serenity and quiet. OOO

As the train pulled out of the Sofia station late the following afternoon I watched Vitosha slowly disappear from view. Ordinarily the sight of this mountain would have been merely an enjoyable esthetic experience, but now, with the realization of actual departure, Vitosha stood as a symbol of the way of life I was leaving behind, and I became aware of the degree to which I had identified myself with it and with its people. I knew that months of patient working with my Dragalevtsy data would be necessary before I would feel objective enough to describe, rather than champion, my Dragalevtsy friends. That is because once the "Balkan bug" has bitten an American, neutrality is difficult to maintain; one either sides with this faction or that faction, this country or that country, and thus becomes a partner in perpetuating in "the outside world" those differences which periodically rend the Balkans asunder.

Even as I left Sofia I knew that my village study had proved personally rewarding. Most important of all I had learned the importance of trying to view the world through the eyes of others before I passed judgment upon them. I knew that merely being different did not mean being inferior, and that physical appearance and material possessions were not the most important indices of contentment and security. I also knew that in the Balkans, the term *peasant* carried a connotation much more dignified than that usually ascribed to it. Bulgarian farmers were neither serfs nor dispossessed day laborers, but for the most part were proprietors of their land and home, and were respected by their families and associates. The sense of belonging to a large mass of kindred spirits, who shared the agrarian point of view, dressed in village clothes, and abided to a great degree by tradition, gave each peasant a "consciousness of kind" which in our society has to find its substitutes in the Farmers' Union, the Farm Bureau, the National Grange, and a host of other organizations devoted to serving

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000 those who farm. This self-identification with a mass of other peasants of course nourished conservatism and made the Dragalevtsy farmer of 1937 feel so secure that he had little incentive to rise above his present lot.

Another fact which became increasingly clear as I studied and reminisced about life in Dragalevtsy was the importance of the village community, not only in the economy and social structure of the country as a whole, but in the life scheme of each individual. In a very real sense, as preceding chapters have indicated, the village was the peasant's social world. And from his point of view, life was far from dull. Although he never formalized his thoughts on the matter he was quite conscious of the play of outside forces because he simply watched what was happening to the church, the school, the business life, and government administration in his small community.

In Dragalevtsy, as well as in many other villages throughout the Balkans, the leaders of these various local institutions were in competition for power and prestige. As an earlier chapter has shown, the family remained a basic institution, although it was experiencing changes year by year. No longer were village matters formally decided by elders who represented the different kinship groups of the village, but instead, the national government in the person of local officials whom it appointed was making many decisions for the people. Religion, which had been traditionally allied with the family as the source of authority, likewise had been giving way to the State at the village level. Furthermore, the word of the schoolteachers was of less importance than formerly because, as the population became literate, what seemed to be the skills of a few became the accomplishments of many. There was no longer any magic to reading or any esoteric knowledge which the teacher alone could impart. The increase in commercialization made the businessman an important figure to watch, for he seemed to deal, as the teacher did formerly, with terms and processes, such as the pricing system, the demands of the outside market, and the occurrence of depressions and boom periods, which the peasant did not comprehend.

As a matter of fact, these representatives of the different institutions might be considered actors in a drama which the peasant watched

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curiously and carefully. He knew by heart the roles of the priest and the family heads; but he was less decided about the schoolteacher. The peasant was on the edge of his seat, though he attempted to hide his excitement, when a new governmental representative walked on the stage, reciting no memorized lines of his own but parroting off what the prompter whispered. Nothing else could be expected from one acting under orders of the national government located outside the village. The businessman, the fifth character, would be dressed for the occasion as a manager of a local co-operative or as a traveling buyer. Both he and the governmental representative had a self-assurance which commanded respect, and both tended to disregard the other characters on the stage, probably because they understood that they symbolized something foreign to the village.

Strange as it may seem, the peasant of Dragalevtsy in 1937 watched this struggle for institutional leadership in the detached way a critic views a play and considered the outsiders on the stage only as a slight threat to his mode of life. He also knew quickly when an actor was out of character.

As I approached America and again fell under the spell of the hurry and bustle that fills our days, with its emphasis upon novelty and having something just as good if not better than the neighbors, the importance of tradition in Dragalevtsy stood out in contrast. From the peasant standpoint basic decisions were relatively simple because past precedents usually indicated only one course of action; fellow villagers steeped in the same tradition expected compliance, so that a person easily became contented with things as they were, subscribing to rationalization which made him satisfied with and even smug about the *status quo.* Thus Dragalevtsy proved an interesting illustration of the paradox that a traditional society, while deadly from the standpoint of scientific, material, or intellectual progress, nevertheless accentuated those traits which made for contentment and for developing a perspective toward death and time which helped keep life going on an even keel. There individual maladjustment was at a minimum, for each conforming individual had the backing of all other guardians of tradition. In our western society the material prizes are much greater but the risks are greater too. Truly, the individual stands alone

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against the world, the captain of his soul, capable of reaching heights of achievement of which no peasant would ever dream, but likely to grow disappointed in his failure to accomplish more. Widespread personal insecurity is the price we pay for the possibility of advancement. In Dragalevtsy of 1937 the peasants would gladly do without very rapid advancement or progress for the security inherent in their devotion to and perpetuation of the past. This was borne out by a letter from Father Sava, the priest, which came months after my return to America. He wanted some children's story books which he felt would aid him in quickly acquiring a reading knowledge of English. (If English-speaking visitors to Bulgaria should hear a black-robed village priest with a red beard talking about Little Red Riding Hood, Cinderella, or Goldilocks and the Three Bears, they will have come upon Father Sava!) He ended his letter by saying with seeming approval, "All is the same in Dragalevtsy. A few people have died, a few have been born since you left, but there has been little change." Time was apparently standing still in the village while the world was rushing into conflict.

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CHAPTER X

PRELUDE TO COMMUNISM (1937-1944)

RETURNING to Bulgaria in the fall of 1945 meant returning to a defeated, occupied enemy country. Because I had followed the political events only from a distance, I was anxious to see how native Bulgarians, and particularly my Dragalevtsy friends, would interpret what had happened during the intervening years. Overshadowing all, of course, had been their active collaboration with the Germans. 000

Germany's entrance into Bulgaria proved a comparatively easy achievement. Basic to the plan was the conviction on the part of the Bulgarian people that Germany would actually win the war and give them a safe way of profiting at their neighbors' expense. Economic penetration had come first. Gradually Germany bought more and more of Bulgaria's goods and by 1939 was taking almost seventy-five per cent of all of the country's exports. Even before I left, Bulgarian friends were deploring the anti-Semitism of the Nazis, but when I asked them why Bulgaria seemed to be receptive to German propaganda they usually replied, "But Germany is our best customer. And one always humors one's best customer." Ideological penetration accompanied the economic. The German School in Sofia was managed by ardent Nazis. The greater part of the student body was composed of loyal Bulgarian boys, but any boy of German parentage (and there was a fairly large German colony in Sofia) had to belong to the Nazi Youth organization to remain in the school. Bulgarian army officers came back from trips to Berlin ardently pro-German. A few highly placed officials acquired an opulence that made people raise their eyebrows, until these same officials acted friendly toward the Germans; then people understood. A large contingent of Bulgarians made a trip to the 1936 Olympic games held in Berlin and returned with increased admiration for German efficiency. Inept British and French diplomacy made the German success even more outstanding. 648

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648 But the Germans had fertile soil. Defeated in the second Balkan War and in the first World War, the Bulgarians were quick to grasp what seemed to be a sure thing. They had built up a chauvinism in their educational system that made the end of getting back what they considered former Bulgarian territory more important than the means chosen. As the smaller countries fell one by one, the Bulgarians began to squirm. Then came the debacle in the West illuminated only by the shining stand of Britain. The satellites, Hungary and Rumania, had fallen into line. While Hitler helped Bulgaria obtain South Dobrudja from a badly disrupted Rumania, Russia, Bulgaria's former champion, was still bound by a nonaggression pact with Germany. Over and over again the Germans showed moving pictures of their European conquests to groups of Bulgarians. Thus the idea of German invincibility took root and was in full bloom when the Nazi armies crossed the Danube to join the hundreds of German "tourists" already filling up the country's hotels and inns. Bulgaria had been duped, but this, like ignorance, afforded no justification, and certainly little comfort, in the days of Allied Victory.

The tragedy of Greece and Yugoslavia, to which Bulgaria was a party, made plain to all what the "New Order" actually meant, as if Poland and Norway were not evidence enough. Bulgaria took over the job of policing some of these occupied territories and officially annexed part of them to the Greater Bulgaria. Millions of leva went into the building of highways, railways, school buildings, and land reclamation projects in these new territories, and enthusiastic attempts were launched to make "good Bulgarians" out of all of the newly acquired citizenry.

Bulgarians traveled in great number through Skoplje and Ochrid of Eastern Macedonia in order to see these places which one-sided history and geography books frequently said should belong to Bulgaria. Then clouds, black for the Bulgarian nationalist, began to appear on the horizon: Stalingrad, El Alamein, Italy. As the Allied might grew, the Bulgarians became restless; as they became restless, the secret police became more active, and the handshake of their German ally proved to have the strength of steel, at least for a while.

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Anglo-American bombings of Sofia and of strategic railway yards helped pave the way for eventual Russian occupation on the heels of German evacuation. September, 1944, saw the arrival of the Red Army and the beginning of a new phase of Bulgaria's history, to be described in the following chapter. 648

All of these facts were running through my mind when, with a feeling of genuine excitement, I went to Dragalevtsy one mild November morning in 1945. I had little idea of what my investigation would uncover. The village had a tidiness I had not remembered, a tidiness noticeable despite the mud from the previous day's rain which, as I sought firm earth on which to step, slowed down my brisk gait to the easygoing tempo of former years. A flood of memories came over me as I went through one street after another: in this house I had attended a funeral; there Yurdan with considerable merriment had told me about his second courtship and marriage; around this corner had lived the only "old maid" in Dragalevtsy; and the Obshtina, or Municipal Building, now completely done, had settled down to being a definite part of Renaissance Square. 000

Bai Milush, I knew, would tell me about the Germans, so I stopped at his big wooden gate, and one of his sons escorted me to the house. Vicious dogs still protected the place and had to be kept at a safe distance, but these belied the warm greeting I received once I was within the house. First, I heard the story of the three oldest sons who no longer lived with their father but, true to their intent, had built homes of their own not far away. The other two married sons, who had been in the Army during much of my previous stay in Dragalevtsy, now lived with their wives and children in the old ancestral dwelling. Then, I looked over the score of pictures which I had taken in earlier, happier years and which were mounted on the wall as part of the family's most important mementos.

"We were foolish to declare war on America," he declared, before I got around to asking anything about the Germans. As he talked I knew that he was afraid Bulgaria had forfeited America's friendship. Like the old man that he was, he began to reminisce about the last World War and to recite how America had helped his defeated nation then. 648

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648 "We would have starved," he said, "if America had not sent that ship of food to Varna on the Black Sea." Truly such an accomplishment by one ship would necessitate a cargo legendary in size, but nevertheless symbolized to Bai Milush and others of his generation the humanitarian America, the land of plenty, opportunity, and democracy. And then he told me of the work that Dominic Murphy, an American State Department representative in Bulgaria, had done in the wake of the last war to meet the relief needs of the people. And even Bai Milush knew that a street in Sofia bore Murphy's name transliterated into the Cyrillic alphabet.

000 Bai Milush's wife, his helpmate through the years, had survived the war too. She proffered food and drink and seemed relieved when I suggested that instead of eating then I would like to take a little of the cheese away with me to use in rounding out my meager hotel breakfasts in Sofia. Later, when I was photographing her outside, I realized that she was unsteady on her feet because she had taken too much *rakiya* as a medicine for a racking cough. *Rakiya* remained the cure-all for every ailment as well as the solace to every sorrow.

178 362 511 Wherever I turned, whether to look at the new houses Bai Milush had erected, or to talk with the peasants about the past few years, I was impressed by the prosperity that the war had brought. Since I had last seen Dragalevtsy, almost one hundred new houses had made their appearance, constituting a decided boom for a village which had boasted only three hundred earlier. Some of these houses had been built as villas by people from Sofia because the city law prohibited any new construction there. The various bombardments had caused so much destruction in the city that nothing but repairs were allowed. Nevertheless, the peasants of Dragalevtsy themselves were replacing old homes with new ones simply because they could afford it now.

178 465 511 I had already learned that during the war the peasants had been the favored element of the Bulgarian population; they had been paid good prices as incentives to increased production; earlier in the war they could use that money to buy articles which they had always wanted but had not been able to afford. For example, the number of radios in the village rose from three or four in 1937 to more than a hundred in 1944.

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But peasant prosperity, especially in a village so close to Sofia, was also based on black-market activities. Even in 1945 economists estimated that about ninety-five per cent of all dairy products reached the urban consumer through the black market at prices fantastically high. The peasants, moreover, had learned new ways of circumventing government requisitioning during the war. Just after harvesting, while rye and wheat crops were still in the field, they would shake from one-fifth to one-fourth of the grain onto blankets and secretly hide this amount from the Germans. Then they would, as the law decreed, take the sheaves to the village to be threshed. A part of this threshed grain, varying in amount each year with the size of the harvest, had to be turned over to the authorities at prices fixed by the government, but the previously sequestered grain could be used at home or disposed of at black market prices. 178 437

One additional economic factor of importance[1] was the rise in land values, which surpassed the general rise in prices. For instance, I had not been in the village long before I learned how valuable was the land on the right as one approached the village from Sofia. Within two years the land had gone up ten times, from 35 leva per square meter to 300-400 leva. No wonder then that peasants had been ridding themselves of their debts, selling a field or two if necessary to put them in the clear. Some of the poorer families had been deriving extra income from the earnings of about twenty teen-aged girls who went daily to Sofia to work in the knitting mill. This was a concession to industrialism which the Dragalevtsy peasants would not have made back in 1937, and it was already having some effect upon village life. 178 423

But perhaps one of the greatest economic changes was the reversal of the trend toward dairying mentioned in earlier chapters. Shortly after my departure from Dragalevtsy, a milk producers' co-operative had been established in the village, largely through government prompting and support, and collected all of the milk formerly taken to Sofia by the individual milkmen. The co-operative also ran a grocery store and sold large quantities of feed to the farmers. Owing to price policies of the co-operative and the government price-fixing agency, the peasants began to consider dairying unprofitable. They 178 234 [474]

1 [Following World War II -- Analyst]

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178 234 began to compare the cost of feed with their income from milk and realized that they were losing money. As the war progressed the government bought more and more forage for military animals, feed costs went up, and dairying profits went down. Once this fact became evident and was noised throughout the village there was almost a wholesale withdrawal from dairying. Whereas three or four years before 1,300-1,400 kilos of milk were sold daily, by 1945 only 40 kilos were sold. The 1945 situation was aggravated by the excessively dry season and the reduced yield per cow from 15 liters daily down to 4 or 5. In other words, the number of cows fell off by as much as 90 per cent owing to the low prices of milk and feed difficulties. The peasants liked to mention the fact that *boza,* a fermented millet-seed drink which tastes like sour, liquefied chicken feed, sold for 40 leva a kilo and milk for only 22 leva.

178 233 The loss in dairying, temporary though it may prove to be, meant a corresponding gain in sheep-raising, with 1945 estimates of sheep numbers varying from 12,000 to 15,000. Sheep had also become popular because of the wool they made available for garments in the days of clothing shortage during and following the war. A return to sheep had created interesting social problems connected with pasturing. The sheepmen wanted to go back to the days when sheep could graze freely on uncultivated land, but many of the peasants wanted to keep pasturelands for their own use rather than common use.

178 593 As I talked to the peasants and heard the concerns expressed by the parents and the aspirations voiced by the young, I began to realize that the family trends already under way in 1937 had progressed further than I would have anticipated. Parents, although very much interested, had less to say about the choice of mates for their sons and daughters. Some of them were quite skillful in making use of relatives to advise the young people in choices which the older members of the family group considered wise.

583 178 593 Brides were still stolen but, contrary to the case in former years, the girl could return home immediately if dissatisfied with the man desiring to become her husband. Shortly before I visited the village a young man had "captured" the girl of his choice and taken her to his father's home. When the girl's parents came to ask whether she chose

to return or remain, the girl decided to go back to her parents. In 1937 this would have made her ineligible, in a sense, for further consideration as a wife. Now she simply explained that when the boy had asked her in advance if she would marry him she had thought that he was joking and told him "Yes," in what she considered to be a jesting manner. She was greatly surprised two weeks later to find that the boy had been serious. The whole affair turned out happily in the end because within another two weeks the young man had found a willing girl, had become engaged to her, and married her. [583] 178 593

Another evidence that the family system was having to change to meet the stress of new times[1] was the lack of social disapproval shown to widows and widowers who married persons previously unmarried. Heretofore, only widows and widowers could marry each other, and this was chiefly because of economic necessity. Although not yet common, it was a growing practice for a widower to take a fancy to a girl whom he later married. The age of marriage was becoming lower, dropping to 18 and 19 years for many of the couples. The engagement period still lasted only one or two weeks, a time sufficient to allow the girl to make her wedding preparations. [587]

Accompanying these changes[1] was a greater freedom among the young people both in relation to each other and in relation to their parents. The *sedenki* for young people followed practically the same patterns which I had previously observed but had not yet popularized the kissing games which featured *sedenki* in northern Bulgaria. Clandestine love-making was increasing as was the tendency on the part of the young people to pair off. [883]

The changed relationship of sons to their fathers was shown by the failure of many of the sons to turn over their earnings to their parents as part of the common family treasury. Formerly more than half of the young men had followed this practice, but estimates in 1945 placed the number at approximately one out of ten.

Of especial interest was the pattern which younger couples were establishing after marriage. Whereas, ten years ago even the young wife would have given implicit obedience to her husband's orders, today[1] many of the families were becoming equalitarian. The older women, however, still clung to the patriarchal pattern, though they [562]

[1] [i.e in 1945 -- Analyst]

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[562] 178 593 were willing to grant that the changes introduced by the young people were a part of the times and might not be so bad after all. In talking to these older women I noted a touch of envy, which I would not have suspected ten years ago.

In contrast to these changes many phases of the family system remained the same. These included the attitude of intolerance towards a childless couple, the role of the mother-in-law in the caring for infants, the parents' preference for boys, the reserve between father and the children, the continued dwelling of many married sons with their fathers, and the importance attached to being an older brother or sister in the family. The godparent relationship and the attitude towards the *svatovstvo* (in-law relationships) were still of major importance.

[848] The moral standards remained relatively rigid, with continuing intolerance toward illegitimacy. The one such case within the past ten years[1] had caused a great amount of unfavorable comment. The mother resolved her predicament by leaving her child with relatives in the village and marrying in another place.

178 183 Many other traditional practices besides those related to the family still maintained their strong grip on the people. The Christmas Horo took place as always and the Sunday afternoon promenade had become more firmly established. The *babi* (older women) were called in whenever illness or childbirth occurred. The smaller families, of course, numbered fewer children these days, but the *babi* were kept just as busy since the state-employed midwife no longer worked for the Obshtina. The dead were buried much the same as formerly, although the priest forbade people to cry messages to the dead while the funeral procession paused at the crossroads on the way from the home to the church.

[527] The people still made much of the mice and wolf holidays. One day after St. Dimiter's Day (November 9) the peasants continued to fast to keep the mice from coming in and eating up not only stored food but even clothes and other prized possessions. Bai Yurdan, the tailor, told me in all seriousness, "When I was in Sofia I didn't observe such holidays but now that I am back in the village I must."

1 [ie. 1935 - 1945 -- Analyst]

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When I pressed him for his reasons, fully expecting him to say that he was yielding to the pressure of his wife or public opinion, he gravely replied: 527 178 183

"You see in Sofia I did not own any of my own cloth but now I have a great deal downstairs which I must protect from the mice." I might mention in passing that Bai Yurdan had become a faithful member of the Communist party.

The wolf holidays were still observed for three days following the Day of the Archangel Michael, which comes on November 21. During these days the peasants were careful to do no work and refused to cook or boil anything. Such rigid observances, they believed, protected their sheep from wolves, which were still numerous upon the mountain.

One event of overshadowing importance in the changes which had occurred in Dragalevtsy since 1937 had been its incorporation in Greater Sofia in 1939. Even though their village was close to Sofia, Dragalevtsy people had always considered themselves quite apart, and looked upon Sofia ways as alien ways. However, Sofia politicians managed to bring the village under the sway of the city's municipality. Most villagers considered this an evil day in the history of their community and could cite a number of disadvantages which had occurred as a result. One of the village officials, whom I had known previously, complained particularly about the following points: 369 178 186

1. The city municipality had taken over the forests.

2. It had taken over the meadows which the peasants owned in common. For instance, the villagers no longer did the haying in the meadows which used to belong to the school because all of the revenue from the sale of this hay went to the Sofia School Fund. This meant that the three Dog Days,[1] described in an earlier chapter, were once more days of idleness.

3. Formerly the Dragalevtsy Obshtina collected seven or eight million leva in taxes, but since incorporation with Sofia had only a budget of one million on which to operate. My informant failed to mention that much of this money came from the factory district down on the Sofia plain which had once, much to the dissatisfaction of the [651]

1 [cf. p. 58, category III -- Analyst]

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[651] people living in the district, been a part of the village Obshtina. This
178 area had always been referred to by the villagers as the Mahala, or
369 Quarter.

4. Repairs in the village, such as putting a wooden bridge back into commission after a heavy storm, could be made only after the Sofia authorities gave their approval. Thus, maintenance of roads and other services in the village were said to suffer.

[759] 5. No longer did the village have its own doctor, and it had even lost, so the villagers said, all the medical equipment including microscopes and blood-testing units which the village Obshtina had once owned. Instead, a doctor came at irregular intervals to render whatever medical services were required. This loss of medical equipment, even more than the loss of the physician's services, was a hard pill for some of the more active village leaders to swallow.

6. In place of the veterinarian, who formerly lived in the village, one came twice a week to examine animals and to see that the various veterinary regulations were observed.

But whether they liked it or not, the Dragalevtsy people were a part of Sofia, even to the extent of being included in the city's wartime rationing system. The old rural-urban differences persisted, reminding Americans of similar situations in the United States where the businessman's daylight saving time was anathema to the farmer.

159 As I tried to reconstruct the chief occurrences of the years in-
565 tervening between my departure in 1937 and the end of the war, I inquired often as to the whereabouts of some members of the intelligentsia whom I had known well. I learned that the mayor, who had been so helpful during my earlier visit, had given up his post during the days of German collaboration. Apparently he had disagreed with the local committee as to procedures and amounts of grain to be requisitioned from the peasants. He had already been suffering from ill health and could no longer stand the pressure of troubles, arguments, and dissatisfactions which each day brought to his office. From Dragalevtsy my mayor friend had been transferred to the picturesque village of Panchevo, which I shall long remember because of the lunch I had there one summer's day many years ago.

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A friend and I had been cycling on the road which followed the Iskar River and stopped at a Panchevo inn. The waiter brought us white peasant cheese, wrinkled brined olives, and freshly made bread to which warm ashes clung. Cold beer made a perfect drink. 159 565

The village priest, who had become such an integral part of village life and managed to keep harmonious relationships between the church and the state functionaries, was no longer in Dragalevtsy. Three years ago he had become involved in an administrative argument with his superior and was told to transfer to a much less desirable parish. Rather than make this shift he went to live in Sofia where, true to his training in finance and commerce, he had a share in a small business enterprise. He still wore his priestly garb, occasionally officiating in a Sofia church. Someone described him as "a minister without portfolio."

The directress of the school was the only member of the intelligentsia who had stuck to her post through thick and thin. She still took the same interest in the all-around development of the children, emphasizing in particular their hygienic training and their religious tuition. There had been considerable shifting in the membership of her teaching staff, but she still had five teachers who, like their predecessors, were more interested in Sofia week ends than village welfare.

The Sekretar Birnik, who had much to do with the collection of taxes and thus enjoyed a social standing out of line with his educational preparation, had also left Dragalevtsy and had been replaced by a local person.

It seemed strange to visit the now completed municipal building and to find the woman doctor no longer there and to notice the absence of her husband from the taverns where he had enjoyed playing cards. Since both were White Russians they knew that their lot under the Communists would be full of uncertainty. No one seemed to know just where they had gone.

Much had been happening to the village organizations as the intelligentsia faded from the scene or were replaced by others with different points of view. The Red Cross, in which the mayor had 575 178

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575 taken such an interest, had long ceased to have any importance. This
178 was also true of the Union for Protection of Children, which had had as its chief function the provision of school lunches for the poor children. The Association for the Decoration for Valor was still tottering along, and its members hoped eventually to enroll three or four members who had participated in the recent war. The School Board had become a thing of the past as the control of the school passed into the hands of the Sofia School System. The Church Board, however, was maintaining its existence and was giving its support to a new organization called the Christian Union which had been founded during the Fascist regime as a religious welfare organization. Before the coming of the Russians this Christian Union had collected and distributed to the poor families at Christmas time and the New Year an amount varying from sixty to seventy thousand leva. In 1945 it boasted about seventy-five members and was flourishing.

For the most part, however, the village organizations died at birth or perished in early infancy, as an earlier chapter showed. The
[596] Dragalevtsy peasant had not yet become a joiner.[7] He gained his social status by the position his family held rather than by the numbers and types of organizations to which he, as an individual, was elected

183 Such, then, was the prelude to Communism. The coming of the
178 National State to the village back in 1934 set a pattern by which each peasant household was later on closely geared in with a totalitarian wartime economy. The majority of traditions were holding firm among the middle-aged and old, while many of the younger people no longer disguised their interest in the fascinating ways of the West. The net effect of the war was to commercialize more fully the village's economic life and make the peasants more money-conscious. Their incorporation into the Sofia municipality as well as the Fascist nature of their state made them feel less responsible as individuals for governmental affairs and drew them farther away from the democratic Slavic tradition inherent in their old joint family system. Religion continued to be accepted as a matter of course, for no one questioned the propriety of having a priest officiate on ceremonial or patriotic occasions.

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The peasants became more nationalistic, since they knew that their own fortunes were closely identified with the fortune of the Bulgarian (that is, Axis) armies. Their social world expanded, and their horizons broadened in a dim, vague way. As defeat stared them in the face, however, they watched their leaders try to extricate the nation from its inevitable doom. A beaten, humiliated people, they knew not where to turn, until Russia made that decision for them.

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CHAPTER XI

COMMUNISM KNOCKS AT THE DOOR

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COMMUNISM came in the dead of the night. Dragalevtsy people awoke on September 6, 1944, the morning after Russia had declared war on Bulgaria, to find big posters proclaiming throughout the village such slogans as "Welcome to the Heroic Red Army" or "Long Live Stalin."

The peasants realized in retrospect how well organized everything must have been, for these signs showed that the local Communist sympathizers had been ready for this big event. One or two had fought in the mountains against the Germans as Bulgarian Partisans and had been schooled in the part they were to play when the Germans were finally driven out.

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On September 16, 1944, at least eighty villagers from Dragalevtsy had gone to Sofia to welcome the Russians. Traditions live long in Dragalevtsy, and especially the tradition of brotherly Russia and its overwhelming contribution in emancipating Bulgaria from the Turks in 1878. So this demonstration of admiration for the Russians was genuine and spontaneous. Many parents took their children along so the youngsters could describe to their children and their children's children the excitement and greatness of this day. And the spectacle was one that was memorable, not like the arrival of the Nazis for whom there had been admiration mixed with fear, but rather the arrival of brother Slavs who would help Bulgaria grow great and strong. Thus the peasants had thought.

But news travels fast in Bulgaria and usually becomes altered in the traveling. Within five days, the people of Dragalevtsy heard so many rumors about the Russians that they soon had become afraid. They were especially nonplussed by the Russians' disregard for property. They heard about a man from another village who had been

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hauling corn in his oxcart. Russian soldiers told him to stop, get out, and give them the oxen, the cart, and the corn. He insisted that they must pay him, at which they laughed. Stubborn as only a *Shop* peasant can be, he sat rigidly in his cart to protect his own. From this point on versions differed: some said he was pulled out and beaten, others that he was shot and left dead by the roadside. And always the tale ended with, "The Germans always paid us, but the Russians never did." 668 648 186

But the Communists offered an explanation for the differences in the behavior of the two armies. The Russians invaded in battle order, which necessitated eating off the land on a catch-as-catch-can basis. The Germans, on the other hand, had sent large staffs ahead to make preparations for the coming of their troops. The net effect upon the peasant mentality was radically different, since property rights seemed violated by the Russians and respected by the Nazis.

Eventually a detachment of Russians had been established around Dragalevtsy. They frequented the taverns so constantly and with such enthusiasm that the peasants had a new saying: "There's nothing worse than drunken Russians." They began to judge the Russian nation by the off-time indulgences of its soldiers.

Although the "great disillusionment" regarding Russian soldiers had begun soon after their arrival, the people still hoped that all would go well politically. Most of the major political parties—the Agrarians, the Zveno, and the Democrats—joined with the Communists in September, 1944, to form a coalition, which they called the Fatherland Front. It was this government that conducted the purge, or the sentencing of about three thousand men and women by the people's courts on the grounds of collaboration with the enemy. About two thousand of these were executed. Some observers now feel, in the light of later developments, that the real basis of selecting victims for trial was not only their complicity with the Germans but also their danger as potential rallying points for a counterrevolution against the Fatherland Front. Two Dragalevtsy young men were tried and executed for collaboration with the Nazis. According to village reports, Communist sympathizers tried to exert pressure upon the new priest in the hope of preventing his officiating at any funeral ceremonies or memorial services for these men. According to the Com- 668 [661]

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[661] 668 munists, they were traitors. The priest still considered them children of God and officiated anyway, although they were not buried in the local cemetery.

[665] 648 By the New Year, 1945, many of the political leaders in the Fatherland Front discerned the handwriting on the wall. The Agrarians and the Democratic party especially recognized the Front for what it was—a Communist screen for actual control. All the while, the Communists—a minority party—had been growing stronger and were nurtured by the Red Army officers who really directed Bulgarian affairs. British and American army officers were represented in the Allied Control Commission which was under arbitrary Russian direction. American and British diplomatic representatives were somewhat more effectual, but only within a rather limited sphere of activity. With the cards stacked in their favor, the Communists controlled the key ministries, chief among them being the Ministry of Interior which had charge of the police and local administration. Therefore, early in 1945 there was a gradual loss of popular enthusiasm for the Fatherland Front, with the real defection coming in May. At that time the leading representatives of the Agrarian and Democratic parties, as well as a section of the Socialist party, withdrew from the Front to form an opposition. In Dragalevtsy, this move met with tremendous support, for there the Agrarian was the major party. The Zveno group, which had engineered the *coup d'état* of 1934 against the king, stayed with the Fatherland Front in which they held the premiership and other prominent positions.

A few former acquaintances of mine had joined the Communist party and were sincerely trying to win their fellow countrymen to their cause. They were inclined to be impatient with those who differed from them, and still felt very much on the defensive. Their condescending attitude toward members of other parties co-operating with them in the Fatherland Front was expressed in a comment making the round: "Oh, these other members of the Front are our water boys.' They'll carry the water to the top of the hill for us and then we'll take it over."

[666] The next political crisis arose in August, 1945. The government had scheduled an election through which it had planned to obtain a

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parliament, whose first duty would have been to approve the previous actions of the government and to give the Front broad powers to continue on its way of reform and reconstruction. Because of the claims by the opposition—those who had withdrawn from the Fatherland Front—that they were not being given a fair chance for representation in the elections, the American and British governments insisted that the elections be postponed and threatened to recognize no government coming into power under the proposed arrangements. The elections were postponed. Most Dragalevtsy people again wholeheartedly approved.

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But that was the heyday of the opposition. Those who did not like the way matters were moving put their faith in America and expected her to stop further Communistic consolidation within the country. In the taverns of Dragalevtsy the buzzing must have reminded one of bees in a swarm when the Agrarian leader of the opposition, Georgi M. Dimitrov, sought refuge with the American Political Representative, Maynard B. Barnes, and spent part of the time in Barnes's villa near the Sofia-Dragalevtsy highway, with a handful of American soldiers on guard to protect Dimitrov whose life was endangered. The American authorities assumed some personal risks in sheltering him, and eventually secured his departure from the country. Thus, in the minds of the people as well as in the minds of the Bulgarian authorities, America more and more became identified as the chief support of the opposition and as an enemy of the new state being created. Because lines of antagonism had been drawn so sharply, the peasants of the opposition asked, "When will the war between America and Russia take place?" Those favoring the government asked in an uncertain tone, "Will there be a war between America and Russia?"

News of the atomic bomb gave the opposition increased hope since many of them expected America to use the bomb immediately as a threat in the bargaining and jockeying going on between the Western and Eastern powers.

American popularity rode another high wave when Secretary of State Byrnes sent Mark Ethridge to Bulgaria and Rumania to make a study of the situations in these two countries. Mr. Ethridge, a well known Louisville, Kentucky, newspaperman and a keen student of in-

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648 668 ternational affairs, conducted himself with such astuteness that he became almost a legendary figure in a short time. In fact, he enters this account in an authentic way because he visited Dragalevtsy quite unexpectedly, ate meat balls at the tavern with the peasants, and endeared himself in particular by treating the crowd to two or three rounds of drinks. "Setting up the house" was a practice none too common in the frugal economy that characterized the village. Most of those present spoke quite freely, but two Russian soldiers, definitely ill-at-ease, remained stolidly silent. One old villager did throw caution to the winds and sidled up to tell the distinguished guest, "We are not satisfied, Mr. Ethridge. Don't believe all of the things these young fellows have been telling you." Mr. Ethridge, upon leaving the tavern, was surprised to see Renaissance Square filled with enthusiastic villagers, who cheered him and presented him with many bouquets of flowers.

[666] Later the Secretary of State's special emissary wrote a critical report on the existing Bulgarian government and pointed out what he judged to be its undemocratic features. The American representatives were unable, however, to persuade the Bulgarian authorities to postpone the elections for a second time, so the voting went off as scheduled on November 18, 1945, with the opposition groups abstaining from the balloting.

[687] In spite of these political developments, the peasants in the Agrarian party (the majority in Dragalevtsy) continued to regard Mr. Barnes and Mr. Ethridge in a favorable light. They like to tell stories of the way these Americans supposedly outwitted the Bulgarian authorities. One of these stories, with no foundation in fact, shows how rumors rise in the Balkans. Mr. Ethridge and his small party were said to have visited a concentration camp for political prisoners near Dupnitsa. Since they were planning to visit the historic and beautifully situated Rila Monastery, they obtained permission to stop off en route at this particular camp. According to the peasants' version, when the party arrived they found comparatively few people in the camp; the place was clean, and the prisoners seemed well cared for. That was that; farewells were said and the party moved on to the Monastery. Late in the afternoon, instead of going to the provin-

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cial town of Somokov as originally scheduled, Mr. Ethridge asked his driver when they reached a crossroad to take the fork of the road which circled back past Dupnitsa. Once more at the camp, he asked to be admitted and saw for himself the conditions of overcrowding all too evident when the prisoners who had been sent to the woods for the day were back in their quarters. Without wasting any words Mr. Ethridge merely smiled to the attendants, got back into the automobile, and returned to Sofia.

But stories of camps for political prisoners took my mind back to the 1930's when the government then in power was fearful of Communism and conducted frequent raids upon Communist-operated printing presses. Much doctrinaire literature was seized and the offenders were given heavy prison sentences. A member of an opposition group has never felt very safe in the Balkans. The Zveno group, which has already been mentioned, came into power in 1934 and which still was co-operating with the Fatherland Front, worked out a new wrinkle in the treatment of political prisoners. On March 19, 1935, I wrote in a letter to America:

> Just a little sidelight on political life in Bulgaria. Students who make radical speeches or editors who print little articles opposed to the *status quo* are forcefully invited to leave Sofia for a rest-cure in one of the provincial towns of Bulgaria. They go, for instance, to Karlovo and are "put up" by the government. They are perfectly free with the exception that they must stay in Karlovo, must report to an official at eight each morning, at noon, and must be in their room by eight in the evening, and cannot venture forth until eight the next morning. Such an "invitation" usually holds good for one month, after which the chastened individuals are permitted to return to Sofia, the political cauldron of Bulgaria.

More and more, Balkan governments must be judged not only in terms of the four freedoms which we publicize in America but also in terms of the governments which have preceded them. That is, they must be interpreted, although not justified, in the light of the cultural setting out of which they have sprung.

There was another apocryphal Ethridge story, which illustrated the use of humor as a weapon of the opposition groups to make their life more endurable. The scene was laid around Kyustendil, the chief

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668 fruit-growing area of the country. Mr. Ethridge, in his search for the
687 truth, reputedly approached some of the local inhabitants:

"How are you getting along? Are you satisfied with conditions as they are?"

"Oh, yes, Mr. Ethridge. We are quite satisfied, for this is just like Paradise [the Garden of Eden]."

The visitor was jolted a bit to hear so much enthusiasm after the many tales of woe which had been poured out to him elsewhere. "What do you mean? In what way is this like Paradise?"

"Kyustendil is just like Paradise," came the reply, "because we have plenty of apples to eat but no clothes to wear."

668 As time passed, the Communists became more determined to make their position secure. To accomplish this, Bulgarian-born Georgi Dimitrov came down from Russia, where he had once been Secretary of the Comintern, to take over active direction of party strategy. (This Georgi Dimitrov was quite a different person from the Agrarian leader, Georgi M. Dimitrov.) Occasionally peasants would joke about the high board fence around Communist Dimitrov's
[666] yard in Sofia, built to protect him from any would-be assassin. The elections of November 18, 1945, revealed to the leaders of the National Front their relatively weak position. Great numbers of people had abstained from voting, a fact commonly interpreted as a vote for the opposition. Few foreign observers in Sofia actually believed the highly favorable figures which the government claimed in the announced election returns. In the Dragalevtsy district, for instance, thirteen hundred people had been eligible to vote. This number included for the first time all women and all young people 19 years of age and over. It also included the industrialized area, called the Mahala, which lies just below the village on the Sofia road. Approximately 800 votes were cast, of which 200 were against and 600 for the government, or Fatherland Front. Well informed people connected with the Ministry of Interior said that most of the five hundred abstainers had been peasants and that most of the votes cast for the government had come from the industrialized Mahala, which was known as a Communist center. In other words, as one village man succinctly expressed it, "Our people in Dragalevtsy are not for the present government."

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Granting then that a personal sampling of public opinion, conversation with both Communists and Agrarians in the village, and the rough approximation of election returns all added up to a fair statement of the case, Dragalevtsy would definitely be labeled an opposition village. In fact, before I had even revisited the village a number of people in Sofia had told me that I would find this to be the case. Therefore, as I went around among the people and watched the government in action, I asked myself how it happened that a minority could so easily gain control of all effective governmental machinery. The chief secret lay, of course, in capturing the central government in Sofia, which since 1934 had more and more become a dominant influence in the country. But there were other methods adopted by the Communists which, when multiplied in the five thousand villages throughout the land, would explain to some degree why Communism's knock on the door might be said to have turned into a banging. Some of these techniques of political power were proving successful in Dragalevtsy, while others were not. 668

Effective party work in the villages would normally be guaranteed and to some extent guided by the organs of the state, such as the controlled militia (police) and the hand-picked mayors and secretaries of the communal councils. But even with this provision all was not smooth sailing in Dragalevtsy for the newcomers back in 1945. The difficulties over the mayor would be a case in point. 668 622

In September, 1944, the Central Ministry of Interior appointed a young Communist as mayor. Because local public opinion was either indifferent or unfriendly his work was relatively ineffectual. The following July the members of the Agrarian party, which at that time still participated in the Fatherland Front, held a meeting to protest against their present mayor. They went even further and elected a mayor of their own choosing, with the backing of the mayor of Sofia who was well disposed toward their cause. Although this election was not declared legal, the new mayor took over and began to function. His status remained unclarified because the Communists in the Ministry of Interior did not feel sure enough of themselves to force the issue at that time. By December, 1945, the situation had become further complicated since the incumbent mayor lacked the education necessary

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622 to qualify for governmental retirement benefits and his former sup-
668 porters were now a part of the opposition. Sofia, too, had a new mayor. It seemed to the village dignitary that all of his trouble was becoming a labor of love for which he would receive little financial return. Upon last report he was seeking a way out of office and was subject to a great deal of jesting in the taverns. The men all laughed one day in December, 1945, when a visitor from Sofia addressed him as "Mr. Mayor," because nobody knew at that time whether he was the mayor or not.

An office more important, however, than that of the mayor was that of the Commune Secretary. In Dragalevtsy this man was a Communist and, although he did not take the public limelight as much as a regular mayor would, he was the key person in the local government. Communist party matters frequently cleared through him, and he was in position to inform higher authorities about all phases of village government. Whereas the mayor's allegiance was primarily to the people of Dragalevtsy and secondarily to the Agrarian party, a luncheon conversation with the Secretary showed me that his loyalty was first of all to his party. Through serving it he felt he was best serving the people.

668 Part of the secret of Communist control in the local community
575 lay in the success which the Communists had in enlisting the aid of many of the young people. In a traditionalistic society, such as one
883 finds in Dragalevtsy, young people have no place of importance.
178 Prestige is reserved for the old; and wisdom is the prerogative of the aged. Therefore a young person is constantly being urged to conform; and whatever idealism may flare up within him in his late teens becomes dissipated in the face of his placid parents and the other apostles of the past. The Communists showed real insight, therefore, in their glorification of the young people, in giving them a place in the sun, as it were. One of the first things they did was to get control of the *Chitalishte,* or Reading-Room Association, and use that as the core for their young people's program. In the house just back of the *Obshtina* they set up clubrooms where members of the *RMS* (Workers Youth Union) could hold meetings, study up on party doctrines, or loaf. The members of this particular organization, although not

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representing the majority of the young people, had an increasing voice in village affairs and were aggressive in their approach to practical problems. Part of this aggressiveness was directed against the young people at that time still active in the *ZMS* (Agrarian Youth Society), which was a part of the opposition.

Another means by which the Communists gained support was in the favoritism shown to party members in the distribution of rationed articles. Just as the ward boss of an American city or the prewar mayor of Dragalevtsy learned that gratitude prompts support or that favors done call for favors in return, so the Fatherland Front made good use of its opportunities. Some of its generosity served purely political ends. The mayor of Sofia, so the Dragalevtsy peasants said, gave one million leva at Christmas time to the *Septemvriche,* or National Children's Communist Organization. Opposition groups, of course, received no such largesse.

But many of the criticisms of pork-barrel politics were due to misunderstanding. The peasants of Dragalevtsy could usually procure no clothing coupons if they had wool at home, and most of them did have a small supply which they were allowed to keep. This amount was based on family size and any surplus was requisitioned by the government. Artisans and laborers, however, who had no sheep, who worked in factories or at their trade, received the clothing coupons, for that was the only way they had of obtaining wearing apparel. Wool and cotton, thread, and goods were still so scarce in both villages and cities that no one group was content with what it had, and peasants were inclined to ascribe whatever others received as due to favoritism rather than the merits of the case. The proof that wool was scarce was the relative inactivity of the carding and spinning *sedenki,* the working bees so popular among the women.

"Why don't you have *sedenki* now," I asked.

"We have no wool to work," was the plausible answer.

Communist party members who used their political standing for self-aggrandizement and enrichment were supposed to be severely dealt with by the party authorities. One story making the rounds in Dragalevtsy had done much to discredit the Communists with those in the opposition. Since living in a Balkan village is a great deal like

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668 661 687 living in a goldfish bowl, it was not long before the peasants knew that almost a million leva (notice how rounded or approximate the numbers are in such stories) had disappeared from local public funds. There was no official explanation as to its whereabouts, but one Communist had become quite rich and built himself a house better than the village expected of him. Later he was expelled from the party, reputedly because of conversion of funds, but even this action did not restore the funds to the public treasury.

Unquestionably, a loyal supporter of the Fatherland Front was able at times to use his political connections for personal advantage. The peasants would have been surprised if this were not the case, for they philosophically said, "Whoever sticks his fingers in honey is apt to lick them."

207 668 Mention was made in the last chapter of the phenomenal increase in radio ownership since 1937. Now about every third home has a receiving set and is thus in contact with the propaganda line of the government-controlled broadcasting service. Listening to the radio had become a new recreational pattern for many people. Over and over again I asked them what programs they preferred. The men, perhaps because they deemed it the proper answer, often said that they listened to the news. Quite a few were quick to add, "It's nothing but lies though." Many of the women preferred the folk music, and the young people jazz. Long speeches claimed few listeners. The net effect of radio listening then was recreational, with some political influence exerted upon the devotees of the newscast. As yet, the radio had not become a channel for education or raising the standard of living. I wondered, too, just when it would, for the peasants had little hesitation in turning off the set if the program became too serious, and most educational programs under Communist leadership were inclined to be serious.

204 668 American and British influence was sufficiently strong to force the Fatherland Front officials to allow an opposition press. Although this press was beset with difficulties in 1945, it nevertheless became a vehement, at times vitriolic, critic of the regime in power. It took a strong pro-American, pro-British complexion, though never out-and-out anti-Russian. A good check on Agrarian claims of majority sup-

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port was the unquestioned popularity in Dragalevtsy of the *Green Banner*, the newspaper published by the opposition Agrarian group. As long as the opposition press continued to circulate throughout the country, the tried and trusted technique of one-sided interpretation could not be brought into full play. Schoolbooks could be rewritten, pamphleteering could be done in the Communist children's and youth organizations, but these activities were much less effective when other groups could print their versions to serve as antidotes. One-party control, such as the Fatherland Front wanted for Bulgaria, was authoritarian. It preferred to have no alternative opinions presented to the people, and felt that as long as it alone could tell the people what they ought to believe, the people would be well off, for they would be indoctrinated with the truth, as the Communist saw the truth.

Another weapon which the Communists hoped to use as a means of penetration was Pan-Slavism, especially among the Bulgarians. The members of the Red Army, however, instead of being missionaries of this mystic racial dogma, did it the greatest harm. Occupying armies seldom become popular, especially when the mass is held accountable for the sins of the few. The peasants were only too prone to fall into the error of the "lumping fallacy," and condemned all Russians on the basis of a few spectacular events which occurred in the village. One happening which Dragalevtsy peasants used in forming their attitude involved two peasant girls whom I had photographed as children several years before. Now that they were in their late teens they proved unusually attractive to two drunken Russian privates who tried to break into their house late one night. Although a noncommissioned officer came to order them away, these soldiers cursed him and kept on pounding against the door of the living-room. The door held fast, and they finally gave up and went away. Had they but known it, the lock had already been smashed; all they needed to do was to turn the knob and enter a room where the peasant family sat in mortal fear. The father knew that to fight for the honor of his daughters would have meant a bullet from a drunken soldier's pistol; the mother sat in prayer before the crude iconostas, while the girls cried softly at the thought of what seemed to be in store for them. In a village where immorality was frowned upon so strongly, this

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668 attempted assault was an experience which would be told and retold
186 generation after generation, with some such bitter moral at the end as "And those were our brother Slavs."

668 Perhaps the most important technique of control was the effective
626 play upon the fears of the people. Fearful people are a paralyzed people, and it was this creeping paralysis which was beginning to wear down the opposition and make possible Communism's eventual triumph. Sometimes events reached such a climax that fear was turned into action, but matters in December, 1945, were not reaching such a climax. Little by little the people were being made more fearful of the future, especially with the decline of British and American prestige. One never knew when the walls might have ears, or whom one could trust, or when one's home would be invaded and searched. One woman Communist spread a story about a neighbor's hoarding; he was twice arrested and his house searched three times, although the rumor was apparently unfounded. Grudges were sometimes "settled" when one of the parties tipped off the authorities to the failure of the other party to follow some unpopular regulation. Accompanying this fear was the belief that one would not have due protection of the law at a trial, since the new law was being written as cases came up, with little reference to prewar statutes or precedents. One was at the mercy of the court where the all-important question too often had become, "Did you or did you not fight against the Fascist German hordes?" Conceivably in the not-too-distant future the "sixty-four dollar question" might be, "Have you ever been sympathetic to Anglo-American interventionists and reactionaries?"*

When I asked my Communist acquaintances how they justified the interpretation of justice which I have been describing, they flashed back, as though well drilled: "But in America does the Negro or the poor man get justice? Don't the courts serve the interests of the rich? Here in Bulgaria our courts do not serve the interests of the privileged, but rather the good of the masses." I already knew that some of these Communist converts had been motivated by the highest idealism, that they felt they had a remedy for the economic and political evils of their country, and that any means they used to correct those evils would

* An observation made in 1946, which has become only too true in 1948.

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be justified in their opinion. They argued further that all social 668
change was costly, and they firmly believed that the time was ripe for 626
change, their kind of a change.

Many of them felt confident of the future, but some qualified 668
their anticipation by saying, "It all depends upon America and Eng- 178
land. If we are left alone, we can work matters out. We want no interference." And as I reviewed the methods by which they attained their present dominant position nationally in the face of hostile opinion in many quarters, I could see that if left alone for a long enough period, they would succeed in instituting the changes they wanted, whatever might be the cost. They controlled the national government and could rely upon Russia for help whenever needed; they were making headway with the young people; they increasingly directed the chief decisions made by village councils and through these councils and secret police knew what was happening throughout the land; they had control over the radio and were biding their time until they could also control the press completely; education was a function of the national government; economic dependence of the peasants upon the local and national authorities was increasing, and there were both tangible and intangible rewards for Communist party membership; fears could be aroused or played down as the government desired, and courts had become not the servant of abstract justice but the instrument of the state.

The time element was of utmost importance. Before the Russian 668
armies left Bulgarian soil upon the conclusion of the peace treaty, the Communists had to have everything well in hand or face the possibility that dissatisfied cliques in the old Bulgarian army could step in to throw the Communists out and set up a military dictatorship which, while anti-Russian, would certainly have few of the earmarks of the democracy known in the West. It would be a recrudescense of irredentist nationalism, and Bulgaria would be on sale to the highest bidder promising to keep the Russian bear at bay. Without the army the Agrarians, who had a realistic, well-thought-out program, would be powerless; but reliance upon the army for a long period would negate most of their plans and make them the bulwark of a dictatorship which they professed to abhor. Such was the unfortunate dilemma

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668 confronting anyone seeking a rational solution to the Balkan impasse back in 1945.

178 578 My visits to Dragalevtsy, however, were not for the purpose of involving myself in the weighty matters of Balkan politics. I simply wanted to see how the village had changed, but soon found that an understanding of political events was necessary to an interpretation of the present situation. This became further apparent when I discovered that the three most significant differences between 1937 and 1945 were heightened factionalism, an increased feeling of insecurity, and a shifting of the relative importance of village institutions. Each of these deserves further explanation.

668 178 578 The coming of Communism had fostered factionalism to a degree never before experienced in Dragalevtsy. That, in fact, was its chief sociological effect. During the times when political parties were flourishing with abandon in the late 1920's and early 1930's the competition between party members was more a recreational pursuit than serious political maneuvering. All parties had had considerable backing from their respective leaders in Sofia, and all to that extent were on a similar footing. With the coming of the Germans some villagers ardently supported Nazi ideology and considered Bulgaria fortunate to be allied with the Axis powers; others had their misgivings, but never to the point of splitting up the village on factional lines. Upon the formation of the opposition in 1945, matters were different. No longer was the political competition an internal affair alone, but was one in which outside powers took an active interest. The Communists openly boasted about the might of Russia and spoke with assurance of Russian support; those in the opposition took what comfort they could from British and American actions and speeches but could not claim unqualified aid.

The splitting up of the village into Communists and non-Communists had therefore caused a tear in the total social fabric. For example, children who belonged to the Fatherland Front organization —the *Septemvriche*—received many small favors from the state. Little *Septemvristi* were sent to conferences within Bulgaria and even to Yugoslavia where they performed for their neighbor Slavs. Children who did not belong because their parents disapproved were taunted

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by the others. They answered back, repeating many of the comments heard around the house, comments definitely unfavorable to Communism and its cause. So the bickering reached into the schoolhouse and the playground, and children early became conscious of political differences not of their own making. 668 178 578

With the young people, as already indicated, the division on the basis of political sympathy was even more marked. The Agrarian young people tended to associate with each other, and watched with dismay the active role that the members of the Communist youth group were playing in village life. Some enamoured couples, where each had differing political loyalties, disregarded political barriers in their devotion to each other, but when broaching the question of marriage to the parents often met stern disapproval. A girl's father would say, "I don't want my daughter marrying a Communist" or "You do what you want, but if you marry a Communist never come back to my house."

The controversy over politics extended also to the various "working groups" which had been such a basic part of village life in the past. A woman who was organizing a corn-hoeing group would invite only those whose political interests were similar. She knew that little work would be done in her fields if she got together women who differed over the present government.

At this stage of accommodation, therefore, factionalism was based on political differences and expressed itself in a separatism which seriously affected village life. People who differed politically simply stayed apart; where they had to mingle, such as on a bus, they made the best of it by teasing and horseplay which seemed to be all in fun but which often gave voice to deeply rooted emotions.

Accompanying the disagreements within the agricultural group itself were disagreements between the Agrarians and the artisans. The peasants of the opposition resented intensely the attempt on the part of the government to classify them with "workers," or men who owned little or no land and who depended entirely upon some skill for a livelihood. The peasant in the past had felt superior, or at least claimed to be more favored in social position than the artisan such as the tailor, although envious of the "easy work" that the tailor had to 668 578 554 178

[The Communist government in 1945 - Analyst]

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668 do. Owing to the Communistic agitation in Dragalevtsy, lines were
578 more sharply drawn between the peasants on the one hand and the
554 artisans on the other. Most of the artisans had learned their trade in
178 Sofia, had been subjected to city influences, and many of them had become acquainted with Communist ideas there before the war. Even Bai Milosh, the village patriarch so frequently mentioned in this account, had a son who had become an ardent Communist. This son was not the one who took over the management of field crops, nor the one responsible for the livestock. Instead he had become a cobbler. He thought of himself as a worker, whereas his brothers thought of themselves as farmers.

668 Quarreling between the young and old also characterized the
578 factionalism. Although the Agrarian young people opposed the
178 Communists, they were certainly influenced by the actions of their
[888] more progressive or radical contemporaries. The older peasants who were opposed to the present regime emphasized time and time again the danger of having young people run the affairs of the land. This displacement of the aged rather than the indifference of Communists to God seemed to be causing the gravest concern to those who had been steeped in the traditional way of life.

But factionalism was not the only pronounced change which I
668 noted. I found everywhere an insecurity which was foreign to the
178 Dragalevtsy I had once known. The opposition supporters could be
626 expected to feel insecure, for they had to face the possibility that Communism would carry the day. But even the Communists who were definitely in the good graces of the party were having many troubled moments. The wife of one Communist was active in the opposition, and when I asked him why he tolerated such political division in his family he simply laughed. I continued to question him: "Aren't you the boss in this family? Why do you let your wife have such independence?"

He then became deadly serious and sought to lead me out of my cloud of ignorance. "You see, it's this way. Suppose the Communists are overthrown. Where would I be then? But if my wife is active in the Agrarian group, she can then speak for me and get me out of trouble."

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But some of the peasants who turned Communists were having 668
their days of religious doubt. They asked quite frequently, "Can we 178
be Communists and still believe in God?" They voluntarily sent 626
their children to the priest's class in religion held in the schoolhouse. "And the Communist children know their lessons better than the children of the opposition," was the opinion of a member of the intelligentsia.

The ideas of many new converts to the Marxist doctrine had been [789]
rudely shaken the previous summer at the time of the church processional for rain. The drought had been devastating. Corn was drying up; pastures were turning brown. So a band of villagers, with some Communists who went along for old times' sake, accompanied the priest on a circuit of the fields. The boys carried the church relics and the priest walked faithfully along in his hot, black vestments. No rain came and the Communists thoroughly enjoyed scoffing at those who had started out with such bright hopes. Conditions grew worse and worse, so the religious leaders thought another processional in order. The whole performance was repeated, with Communists along again. This time the priest went up high on the mountainside, so as to include village properties not previously visited. His prayers were efficacious, for a shower which later turned to steady rain burst forth upon the band of villagers, wetting them to the skin before they could return to shelter in the village. The religious people thus had the last word when atheism was discussed.

The prevalent feeling of insecurity included more, however, than 668
beliefs and basic attitudes about religion and politics. It stemmed 178
also from the economic uncertainty which characterized the period. 626
Always lurking in the peasant's consciousness was the fear that his 423
holding, his precious acres, would be collectivized as was done in 829
Russia. It mattered not to him that his farming was inefficiently done or that such inefficiency was no solution for the overpopulation which characterized his land. He wanted no part of a great impersonal *kolkhoz* where in the long run he would become a worker instead of an owner, or where he would work land which he could not call his own. That to him was serfdom; it was not freedom. And discussions of these topics trailed off into many beside-the-point objections, which

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668 nevertheless seemed important to the peasant. I recall one such
178 discussion which dealt with the idea of a shortened work-week at the
626 factories. The peasants disapproved of the whole plan and used it
423 as a basis for condemning land collectivization because "We want to
829 be able to work as long as we want without having people tell us that we have to stop working."

Peasants were greatly confused, therefore, over the farm policies to be pursued in the next two or three years. They planned and schemed and talked endlessly about what they should plant, what they should do about their debts, or whether the aged fathers should distribute their land to their sons before they died. But always there was the great unknown of government policy which upset their calculations and kept them insecure.

668 Another important social change was occuring in the institutional
178 pattern of Dragalevtsy. In earlier chapters we noted how the en-
596 croachment of the state was making considerable impact upon the traditional familistic patterns, while economic life was becoming more commercialized and religious activities were declining in importance. The coming of the Communists had begun to weaken the family ties even further, for the Fatherland Front had given votes to all women and had thus attacked the dogma of male supremacy; it had honored the young at the expense of the aged; and it had turned brother against brother as the struggle for control grew more bitter. As the representative of the central government, the Fatherland Front was affecting an even larger area of life than the prewar regime did, especially when its economic regulations and its threat to the hallowed traditional system of landownership.

668 Another disturbing effect was the substitution of Moscow as
771 the center of the universe, for the Communist adherents at least, when
178 formerly Dragalevtsy or perhaps Sofia by courtesy was thought to be the center. These innovations of the present government had done
829 much to prejudice it in the eyes of the people, who made decisions not upon the basic issues which the government was striving to champion, but resisted blindly and perhaps fanatically simply because the new regime spelled the end of their way of life. As they realized this, some of the peasants turned more and more to the church, the institu-

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tion which had kept Bulgarian nationality alive through the centuries 668
and had become the champion of an independent Bulgaria in days 771
gone by. In Dragalevtsy church attendance had increased and more 178
attention was paid to the forms and ceremonies, although fasting was
not gaining any in popularity. Nor were the peasants too trustful of 829
Archbishop Stefan, the politically minded head of their church. But they knew that the church and the family served as mutual supports and that if one suffered the other suffered too. Government which was once tolerated as a necessary evil now had become an active menace to be combated whenever possible. The means of struggling against the government were inadequate, but the peasants had patience and said that they would bide their time. But as they bided their time many of them died and were replaced by men and women who had grown up under the tutelage of the Fatherland Front, who had forgotten about the days of village elders, of large family groups, and no longer reverenced out-of-date superstitions or valued quaintness in contrast to that which was modern.

A new Dragalevtsy was thus being born. Change was nothing 178
new to the village, but this time changes were occurring so fast that the old way of life could no longer absorb the impact of strange traits and differing social values. The transition period was proving painful for those who still wanted to live in the past. Whether it held promise for those gazing toward the future depended upon the decisions or indecisions of men sitting around conference tables in countries thousands of miles away.

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RETROSPECT, 1948

000 As soon as I began to understand what was happening in Dragalevtsy I knew that I was in touch with something tremendously important. Here, in a Bulgarian village which I had once known intimately, I was encountering the same peasant reactions which I had found in many parts of Yugoslavia, a country which also was experiencing political and social upheaval. The Yugoslavs had a National Liberation Front under Tito which paralleled Bulgaria's Fatherland Front under Georgi Dimitrov. Throughout Serbia, in Dalmatia, Croatia, and parts of the Vojvodina I heard Yugoslav peasants complaining about their new regime in the same overtones and undertones as did my Dragalevtsy friends.

What was there about the Communist-dominated governments that the peasants did not like? It was not until I had left the Balkans, and was weatherbound in Vienna, that I had time to formulate the reasons. Some of these have already been mentioned in the discussion of postwar changes in Dragalevtsy, but they can be accurately applied to those other areas in the Balkans where landed peasants are the rule.

668 423 471 The Communists are aware of the peasant's hunger for more land and have instituted land reforms to bring about a greater mass ownership of the farming areas, on the principle that "the land belongs to those who till it." But in the case of those who have land, even in quantities small enough not to be affected by the reform laws, the governments have given little assurance that the land will remain private property for an indefinite period. Constitutions guarantee this, to be sure, but constitutions mean little to many authoritarian regimes. The greatest insecurity in the rural Balkans today, as previously pointed out in the case of Dragalevtsy, is the ever-present threat that one's land may sooner or later be taken over by the state and operated as a government holding. Part of the Communist policy may be the promotion of this uncertainty on the theory that insecure people are more easily controlled. But when one tampers

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with a relationship as deep-rooted as that of the Balkan peasant to his land, he is also creating the seeds out of which a spontaneous resistance movement could grow. There is little evidence of collectivization at present, but the peasants are not convinced that it is not just around the corner. 668 423 471

Then too, the Balkan peasants, especially in the settled agricultural areas, have not taken kindly to Communism because they characterize it as an urban movement. When seasoned Communists try to converse with peasants about the merits of the Russian system their factory-oriented dialectic falls flat. Nor have they developed an agricultural vocabulary with which to communicate intelligibly with the rural people. The more the Balkan Communists talk, the more the peasants are convinced of the urban orientation of the new government. They consider it anti-Agrarian and anti-peasant. In an attempt to overcome this reserve to their program the Communists organize deputation teams of artisans who spend Sundays out in carefully selected villages helping the peasants repair their wagons, mend their pots and pans, or they even bring along a corps of barbers to cut the villagers' hair. The spirit behind such a move is to have the artisans show by their deeds, "You see, we are your friends. We're all brother Bulgarians [or Yugoslavs, as the case may be]." But it takes more than this to sell such a radical program as Communism to the capitalistic-minded peasant. 668 369 829

The rural villagers elsewhere in the Balkans, as well as in Dragalevtsy, resent the term worker. Newspapers studiously attempt to get the worker ideology accepted by the rural citizens, but the social statuses of the peasant and the worker are such that the government is asking the former to step down a rung, in the peasant's estimation. So Communism is thought to represent a backward rather than a forward move, and is related to the all-important matter of land: the peasant generally possesses it, whereas the worker is usually landless.

Many analyses of the Balkan problems play up rightly the role of the church, whether it be Eastern Orthodox or Roman Catholic, in the peasants' lack of enthusiasm for Communism. Others stress the generations-old nationality antipathies which have some influence. Certainly Pan-Slavism is not paying high dividends in rural areas in 668 641 186

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spite of heroic efforts by Russian ballet and athletic troupes who tour the provinces of all the Balkan lands. Other writers seek to show that modern Communism is merely a fulfillment of the traditional Communism of the zadruga, but they fail to point out that the zadruga was built around the family and land owned by that family, whereas modern Communism is centered around an impersonal state and ideology. To shift their loyalties from the family to such a state or to replace their religion with a new ideology is asking a great deal of the relatively inelastic peasant mass. State loyalties in the past were built upon joining the army and fighting, even to death, when one's country was threatened, but in times of peace one returned to the native village and had as little as possible to do with the national government after that. But the new turn of events in the Balkans seeks to whip up enthusiasm for the government, morning, noon, and night, when all that the peasants ask is "Please leave us alone."

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The future seems to hold little peace for the landed peasants. Russia is in the Balkans to stay. Granting no American armed intervention, only some great upheaval in the heart of Russia itself could weaken the grip of the present National Front governments to the point that the opposition in the Balkan countries could take over the control. Given enough time, the Communists can coerce compliance and can train up a new generation which would enthusiastically repudiate the past, thereby consolidating the Communist position.

The process will, however, not be one-sided. The peasants of the Balkans will in turn influence Communism and indirectly help fashion a type which, like Chinese Communism, is somewhat different from that imported from the Kremlin. (Since this was originally written, Tito's failure to push the collectivization of the Yugoslav peasants has gotten him into trouble with Moscow.)

Americans then must more and more regard the area as Russian-occupied, a conquest of war, which the Reds will continue to dominate because of their advantageous diplomatic and geographic position. Out of their occupation Russian sympathizers have argued that two decided gains would come: the lessening of the nationality and ethnic differences, which have heretofore been such a fertile field of ex-

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ploitation and manipulation by the great powers; and secondly, the rooting out in some areas of an archaic medieval system of landholding which was the economic basis of whatever Balkan aristocracies existed before the war. A further benefit, under any government would be the elimination of the inefficient strip-farming methods which characterize this area. There is a danger that if this means a complete substitution of a wage economy for the system built around the family farm, new social problems might arise which would prove as great as the problem being remedied. This, like any of the supposed benefits under the Russians, must be weighed against the terrifying, ruthless methods by which their achievement is attempted.

Americans must also recognize the possibility that United States prestige will diminish as the Balkan opposition groups, which had counted on active American intervention, are left to their tragic fates. Furthermore, an active anti-American and anti-British propaganda campaign, sometimes conducted flagrantly, sometimes subtly, will give the Balkan people an eastward rather than a westward orientation. Friendship could turn to indifference and then hostility, illustrating anew the principle that Americans must deal with Balkan questions not just between Washington and some Balkan capital but directly between Washington and Moscow.

Dragalevtsy is a long way from either Washington or Moscow and seems even farther away from the Main Street of any American town. But even now and surely in the days ahead Main Street is going to determine what happens in the Renaissance Square of Dragalevtsy. American foreign policy, which in the final analysis rests upon the informed (or uninformed) opinion of the general American public, more than anything else holds the key to the future for Bai Milush, Yurdan the tailor, and all the other village notables mentioned in these pages. Some of them hope that we will fight Russia soon, drive her out of the Balkans, and set up democratic governments; others hope that we can persuade Russia, though it still remains the dominant power in the Balkans, to give the "four freedoms" a chance to operate so that democracy can become a fact rather than a farce; only a few hope that we will yield to every Russian demand so that present

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Russian aspirations in the Balkans can be realized without hindrance or interruption.

But whatever our American foreign policy is, and I hope it will be one of persuasion played more skillfully than in the past, it will not be dealing merely in abstract ideals, ponderous discussions, or complicated financial agreements; fundamentally our policy deals with the lives of millions of people who know that their future rests in American-Russian relations. Only as the average American on Main Street begins to personalize America's world responsibility in terms of something as ordinary as a Balkan village will we as a nation rise to fill the role that the rest of the world, including Russia, is expecting of us.

And the rest of the world is predominantly peasant. I am fully aware of the difference in tone between the bulk of this book and the last three chapters. The first part was a joy to write; the last part, in view of what has happened to the structure of Dragalevtsy, has been painful and difficult to record. I must therefore remind myself, as I remind the reader, that Dragalevtsy on Mount Vitosha is one of the thousands of villages which have survived catastrophes and wars through centuries. The form and substance of their community life is based on change which in the past has come more slowly and gradually, and not as it has recently come to Dragalevtsy with dictatorship and war. Their stubborn spirit, which has given them continuity, has sprung fresh each generation from their close ties with the cherished soil. This spirit, like Mount Vitosha, is subject to erosion but is still strong enough to withstand the buffeting of many storms. Dynamite, however, can change the face of any mountain if the blasting crews stay at the job long enough. It is still possible that the granite of the peasant spirit may in the long run outlast the zeal of reformers—whether under the banner of an impersonal economic system or that of an impersonal state, and thus re-introduce into our way of living at some future date a personal quality which we so sorely need.

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APPENDIXES

NOTE ON APPENDIXES

Appendix I consists of tables containing information about Dragalevtsy. Some of the data are based on the 1926 census, since the tabulation for the 1934 census had not been completed at the time of my departure in 1937. Few of the computations were made by machine and there was considerable delay in the publication of detailed analyses for specific localities. Postwar conditions made it practically impossible for me to get more recent statistics from the Central Statistical Bureau on my last visit in 1945.

Appendix II sets forth the kinds of taxes peasants had to pay, and helps explain their attitude of distrust, suspicion, and even antagonism for any centralized government.

Appendix III, by describing the inventory of a grocery store in 1937, reveals the relative self-subsistence of the local economy.

Appendixes IV-VIII are articles, previously published in professional journals, which contain much material not incorporated in the body of the book.

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APPENDIX I

A. TABLES ABOUT THE PEOPLE

TABLE 1

FAMILY HEADS BORN IN DRAGALEVTSY, 1934 CENSUS

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	Both Heads Living		One Head (Single or Widowed)		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total number in village	252	252	14	10	266	262
Born in Dragalevtsy	212	139	9	4	221	143
Per cent born in Dragalevtsy	84.1	55.2	64.3	40.0	83.1	54.6

TABLE 2

NATIVITY OF DRAGALEVTSY-BORN MALE HEADS ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE AND THEIR FATHERS, 1934 CENSUS

162

	Total Number in Village (Male Heads)	Male Heads Born in Dragalevtsy		Fathers of Dragalevtsy-born Also Born in Dragalevtsy	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Agriculturists	209	191	91.4	184*	96.3
All occupations	266	221	83.1	213	96.4

*184 out of a possible 191

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TABLE 3

FAMILY SIZE IN DRAGALEVTSY, CENSUS OF 1934

162

Number of Members in Household	Number of Households	Number of People	Per Cent of Population
1	7	7	0.4
2	13	26	1.6
3	39	117	7.2
4	42	168	10.2
5	46	230	14.2
6	46	276	17.0
7	28	196	12.1
8	21	168	10.3
9	12	108	6.7
10	8	80	4.9
11 and over	18	248	15.4
Total	280	1,624	100.0

TABLE 4

MARITAL STATUS OF THE DRAGALEVTSY POPULATION, CENSUS OF 1926

162

Age (Years)	Married		Unmarried		Total per Age Group
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
Under 15	0	0	325	307	632
15	0	0	16	19	35
16	0	1	25	20	46
17	0	1	29	18	48
18	1	0	21	11	33
19	3	8	22	18	51
20	4	8	11	7	30
21-25	52	44	22	21	139
26-30	63	66	6	1	136
31-35	36	42	3	2	83
36-40	54	55	0	1	110
41-50	57	55	0	0	112
51-60	47	37	1	0	85
Over 60	27	17	1	0	45
Total	344	334	482	425	1,585

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TABLE 5

LITERACY AND ILLITERACY BY AGE AND SEX GROUPS, DRAGALEVTSY AND THE MAHALA, CENSUS OF 1934

AGE (YEARS)	LITERATE			ILLITERATE		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
15-20	106	85	191	4	10	14
21-25	140	65	205	2	49	51
26-30	101	44	145	4	39	43
31-35	89	35	124	0	41	41
36-40	61	17	78	1	46	47
41-45	47	8	55	4	41	45
46-50	52	12	64	5	45	50
51-55	33	9	42	3	28	31
56-60	17	5	22	2	24	26
Over 60	43	5	48	33	44	77
Total	689	285	974	58	367	425
Per cent of total	49.2	20.4	69.6	4.2	26.2	30.4
Per cent of men	92.2	—	—	7.8	—	—
Per cent of women	—	43.7	—	—	56.3	—

TABLE 6

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NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTION, DRAGALEVTSY, CENSUS 1934

Newspapers:

Families which buy or receive newspapers		21
Daily newspaper every day	13	
Daily newspaper twice a week	2	
Daily newspaper once a week	1	
Weekly newspaper regularly	5	
Families which receive no newspaper		257
Unreported		1
Total number of questionnaires		279

Magazines:

Families which receive a magazine	7
Families which receive no magazine	271
Unreported	1
Total number of questionnaires	279

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TABLE 7

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LENGTH OF ENGAGEMENT PERIOD, DRAGALEVTSY, 1935*

No engagement	1 couple
"Short"	3 couples
1 day	1 couple
3 days	1 couple
1 week	18 couples
10 days	1 couple
2 weeks	3 couples
6 weeks	1 couple
8 weeks	1 couple

* Information gotten from people selected at random. They were of varying ages and had been married for varying periods of time.

B. TABLES ABOUT THE FARMS

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TABLE 8

SIZE OF HOLDINGS OF DRAGALEVTSY FARMERS, WITH NUMBER ENTIRELY OWNED, CENSUS OF 1926*

SIZE OF HOLDING (DECARES†)	NUMBER OF FARMS	TOTAL DECARES	NUMBER OF FARMS OWNED	TOTAL DECARES OWNED
0- 10	12	35.2	11	32.2
10- 20	14	237.5	14	237.5
20- 30	27	674.9	26	654.6
30- 40	32	1,147.1	29	1,048.4
40- 50	21	947.3	21	947.3
50- 60	24	1,319.4	22	1,206.3
60- 70	17	1,104.0	17	1,104.0
70- 80	19	1,429.8	17	1,276.7
80- 90	7	589.7	7	589.7
90-100	7	657.3	7	657.3
100-150	37	4,300.2	34	3,950.6
150-200	13	2,191.8	13	2,191.8
200-300	2	492.7	2	492.7
Total	232	15,126.9	220	14,388.6
Per cent owned			94.8	95.1

* Monastery farm of 1,176.1 decares omitted from table.
† 1 decare is ¼ acre.

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TABLE 9

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DRAFT ANIMALS OWNED BY DRAGALEVTSY FARMERS, CENSUS, 1926

SIZE OF FARM IN DECARES	HORSES	OXEN	COWS*	WATER-BUFFALO	TOTAL
0- 10	7	0	0	0	7
10- 20	1	4	2	0	7
20- 30	8	10	5	5	28
30- 40	7	11	5	6	29
40- 50	8	16	5	0	29
50- 60	9	32	4	4	49
60- 70	7	27	3	5	42
70- 80	12	20	4	3	39
80- 90	3	6	0	4	13
90-100	5	11	0	0	16
100-150	41	60	6	14	121
150-200	14	16	0	11	41
200-300	5	0	0	6	11
Total	127	213	34	58	432

* Cows includes buffalo cows.

TABLE 10

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FARM MACHINERY OWNED BY DRAGALEVTSY PEASANTS, CENSUS OF 1926
(EXCLUDING MONASTERY FARM)

TYPE OF IMPLEMENT OR MACHINE	NUMBER OWNED BY ALL 232 FARMERS
Wooden plow	176
Plows with wheels	157
Metal plows without wheels	5
Harrows	1
Rollers	13
Planters	2
Hay rake	1
Winnowing machines	57
Cream separator	1
Honey separator	1
Others	7

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APPENDIX II

A NOTE ON TAXES (1937)

An item of great expense to the peasant is taxes. The taxes may be divided into two kinds, State taxes and *Obshtina* (local) taxes. 651

Some of the taxes collected by the State are:

1. An occupation tax, which does not apply to agriculturalists, but to grocers, tavern keepers, milkmen, and teamsters.
2. An income tax on incomes of eighty thousand *leva* (pensions excluded). This tax varies proportionately from two to thirty-six per cent.
3. A construction tax. If a house or building costs 100,000 *leva*, a three per cent tax of its value must be paid after the building is finished.
4. A sales tax on many industrial products which the peasants have to buy.
5. A wagon tax. 25 *leva* annually if the wagon is for home use; 150 to 250 *leva* annually if the wagon is for business use.
6. A road tax. 140 *leva* minimum, with a graduated tax on higher incomes.
7. A railroad tax. 30 *leva* a year if not near a railroad. 90 *leva* a year if near a railroad under repair, which happens to be the case with Dragalevtsy.
8. A school tax for students from the fourth class to the eighth class, which does not affect the Dragalevtsy school (only to the fourth class).

Various local taxes:

1. A land ownership tax. 3½ *leva* per decare (14 *leva* an acre).
2. A land value tax. The village land is divided into first, second, and third categories, and is assessed as follows:

   8 *leva* per decare for the first category
   6 *leva* per decare for the second category
   4 *leva* per decare for the third category

3. A tax on buildings. An assessment is made at the rate of 2½ *leva* for each 1,000 *leva* of value.
4. A pasturage tax of 15 *leva* a year for each work animal.
5. A tax for livestock fund. 15 *leva* per head per year. This covers the cost of keeping a village bull and accumulates a fund for erecting a village barn later on.
6. A wood tax. 20 *leva* per cubic meter if purchased from the government.

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APPENDIX III

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AN INVENTORY OF STOCK CONTAINED IN A DRAGALEVTSY GROCERY STORE IN MARCH, 1937

Actual Value: $160

100 grams black pepper
200 grams ground cloves
1½ k* bicarbonate of soda
20 liters sunflower oil
150 eggs (taken in exchange for goods)
3 k homemade bread
2 k ground coffee
1½ k powdered sugar
4 liters vinegar
20 k granulated sugar
40 envelopes cinnamon
50 envelopes vanilla
3 boxes sardines
3 cans beans
100 labels
12 packages cookies
7 packages macaroni
7 packages cake flour
4 papers of pins
3 k loose cookies
bottled soft drinks, in season
60 pairs horseshoes
60 pairs oxen shoes
60 k nails (5 sizes)
3 k wagon bolts
7 k small bolts, nails
4 kerosene lamps
10 sheets wrapping paper
40 liters kerosene (near foods)
50 boxes matches
30 balls lace thread
2 k cleaning soda
¼ k black wool dye
15 balls cobbler's thread
18 boxes shoe polish
12 boxes of icon wicks
5 boxes of crayons
10 boxes Sunlight Soap
12 packages glass cleaner
50 packages special bluing 3
30 pairs shoestrings
60 spools sewing thread and darning cotton
15 k lentils
1 k dried peppers
12 k potatoes
11 k onions
3 k red pepper
1 k garlic
15 k prunes
2 k olives
3½ k *halva* (candy)
1½ k fish
10 k cream cheese
1½ k sausage
1½ k butter
2 k cheese (yellow)
2 dozen rolls
5 k plum jam
2 k zwieback
100 grams tea

*k—kilogram, or 2.2 pounds.

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3 k wheat
10 k lard
9 k spaghetti
3 k sea salt
½ k alum
14 k lump sugar
½ k sage
½ k linden tea
3 boxes cocoa
4 cans honey
11 lemons
9 bungs
100 candles
6 k beeswax
1¼ k sulphur
2¼ k glue
¾ k ink
1 liter Flytox
½ k starch
200 grams resin
7 lamp chimneys
2 k hand soap
30 erasers
30 packages needles
15 nipples
3 curry combs
60 copy books
$4-$5 candy (6 kinds)
3 dozen pencils
135 packages cheap cigarettes
lamp wicking (45 meters)
6 big cans shoe blacking
2 dozen handkerchiefs
15 meters garter elastic
1 dozen key chains
1 pair red earrings
2 dozen knives
10 packages razor blades
1 flashlight battery
12 boxes thumb tacks
12 pairs cuff links
8 boxes hair pins
3 dozen bachelor's buttons
300 grams spices (3 kinds)
6 cigarette holders
6 penholders
100 packages milk biscuits
20 packages pipe tobacco
5 cards of snaps
15 electric bulbs
4 padlocks
1 bottle cleaner
6 brooms
2 balls string and cord
2 jars honey
1 k parchment
90 feet rope
2 boxes toothpicks
80 packages abrasives
2 k naphtholene
¼ k tartaric acid
1 k epsom salts
¾ k dyeing salt
300 grams incense
¾ k bluing
50 k washing soap
6 wick holders
50 crochet needles
200 hair clips
2 scrubbing brushes
4 pacifiers

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APPENDIX IV

NEIGHBORHOODS AND NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS IN A BULGARIAN VILLAGE*

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During my first three years in Bulgaria, 1929-1932, I became generally acquainted with its rural life. When I returned to Bulgaria in 1934 for another three-year period I chose for special study one village, Dragalevtsy by name, whose 1,669 inhabitants live in houses clustered near the foot of Mount Vitosha four miles from the outskirts of Sofia. I visited the village on frequent occasions and lived there for weeks at a time. Although my investigations led me to consider many things such as the basic institutions, the formal and informal groupings, customs and folklore, along with the operation of the social processes, social control, and social change, one of the most difficult of the social phenomena for me, an outsider, to understand was the *mahala*, or neighborhood.

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THE MAHALA. Dragalevtsy, like the majority of European agricultural villages, is a compact settlement of farmers whose land lies around the village in strips, numbering approximately 16 per Dragalevtsy farmer. The village is at least four centuries old and has grown but slowly during that time. Until three or four generations ago all life was organized around the patriarchal *zadruga*,[1] or joint-family. The members of such a family owned everything in common and worked in harmony under the administrator or *domakin*, the acknowledged head of the *zadruga*. Although their dwellings were crude and overcrowded each *zadruga* needed a large plot of land around the houses for the flocks of sheep and other animals kept at home during the winter months. With the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkey in 1878 forces were let loose which hastened the break-up of the joint-family system.[2] Brothers moved away from the paternal home into dwellings of their own, these usually being

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* This article appeared in *Social Forces*, XVII, No. 4, May, 1939. Reprinted by permission.

[1] Ivan Evstatiev Geshov, *Zadrugite Vv Zapadna Bulgaria*, Per. Spisanie, God. V. Kn. xix i xx, str. 426, Stredets, 1886.

St. L. Kostov and E. Peteva, *Selski Bit i Izkustvo Vv Sofiisko*, Sofia, 1935, str. 58.

[2] Some of the factors contributing to this break-up: (a) individualization following Bulgaria's liberation in 1878 and the spread of popular education; (b) fashion of small, individual families in the West; (c) disagreement between the wives of brothers living together under the same roof; (d) unwillingness of men working outside the *zadruga*, either as laborers or professional men, to hand over their whole earnings to the common treasury; (e) woman's newly-acquired right of inheritance.

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constructed on a part of the large plot of ground belonging to the dissolving *zadruga*. It therefore happened after a generation or so that six or seven houses whose heads all bore the same family name were located in a particular section of the village. Such clusters of houses in Dragalevtsy were called a *mahala* and often bore the name of the oldest living member of the family such as "Grandfather Grigor's *Mahala*." This usage of the term grew up quite unconsciously on the part of the peasants, and even today they use the term *mahala* without any clear conception of just what they mean by it. 621 596 178

At first glance it seems that *mahala* means a certain section of the village because it is often referred to in giving directions, but it is more correct to say that the peasant really means "over there in that particular section of the village where all of those related Manchevi live." This means that the *mahala* has both a geographical and kinship nature. On the other hand, if one of the Manchev men should for any reason move to another section of the village, he would still consider himself a Manchev, while admitting that he lived in a different *mahala*; and that the Mancheva *mahala* would not be extended to include him. In other words, the *mahala* is not identical with the term *rodstvo*, which means the large family connections. It applies only to those large family connections living in close proximity plus any other families dwelling among them. And this latter element is becoming of more importance. Today traces of kinship are beginning to vanish because the origins go back too far and because outsiders are slowly moving into Dragalevtsy. 621

The *mahala* never acts as a unit about anything, because its geographical character is its predominating aspect. Every villager can give the names of the other homes in his particular *mahala* and can even plot the *mahala* boundaries on a map of the village. But this does not mean that he feels any psychological bond connecting him with each of those homes any more than would the people who live on the same street in a small American town. Yet the very fact that they live near one another means that they will tend to interact more with one another than with people living on the other side of the village. This is why the *mahala* becomes important in a sociological analysis: it locates an individual in a given environmental setting.[8]

[8] Louis Petroff in his article "Peasant Primary Groups in Bulgaria" (*Sociology and Social Research*, 13, p. 557) thinks of the *mahla* (so he transliterates the word) as one of the important primary groups of the Bulgarian village. In his article he does not attempt to explain the origin of the *mahala* but thinks of it rather as "A section of the village separated by a small stream, a hill, a main road or a similar boundary. Or it may be a cluster of houses around a centering place, such as an inn or a store, but most commonly around a water fountain or a well." In Dragalevtsy the *mahala* originated as a kinship group, though the land originally owned by a *zadruga* was doubtless determined largely by geographical factors. The kinship origin is also shown by the fact that all the *mahali* in Dragalevtsy bear family names rather than those based on topographical or economic features.

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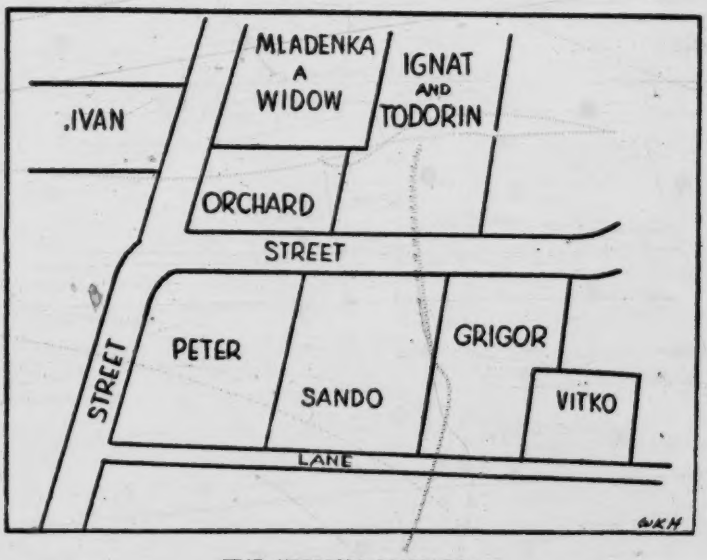
621 [554] Furthermore, the *mahali* (plural form) differ in size and prestige as well as in location. If the fortunes of two or three homes in a *mahala* rise, then the prestige of that *mahala* rises too. Land values go up in that place and the choice residential sites tend to shift there. This is illustrated in the case of the Daneva *Mahala* where the Danev men because of shrewd business methods have been able to accumulate considerable capital. Just the reverse is true in *mahali* where the families are very poor.

621 578 But the general use of the term *mahala* by the Dragalevtsy villagers is that applied to the smaller neighborhood of from seven to twelve houses. This use will be best understood if we briefly consider one of the village *mahali*: for instance, the Stoiova *Mahala* which consists of eight families living in the following spatial relationships and identified by the names of the family head as follows:



THE STOIOVA MAHALA*

Seven family heads are men, one is a woman.

Ignat and Todorin live with their families in separate divisions of the same house.

The kinship nature of the *mahala* is shown by the fact that Ignat and Sando are brothers and are nephews of Peter, and uncles of Todorin. They

* Subsequent investigation showed this *mahala* to be representative of others in the village.

[cf p. 231, category 116-- Analyst]

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TABLE 11

INTERACTION BETWEEN FAMILY HEADS OF STOIOVA MAHALA, DRAGALEVTSY, SUMMER OF 1937

(Positive Interaction, +; Negative, —; Neutral or None, O)

GIVEN NAMES OF HEADS	MLADENKA	IGNAT	PETER	SANDO	GRIGOR	VITKO	TODORIN	IVAN
1. Mladenka,* a widow		+	—	O	—	—	O	—
2. Ignat, a "peacemaker"	+		—	O	+	O	+	+
3. Peter, an elderly man	—	—		—	O	+	—	+
4. Sando, bro. of 2	O	O	—		+	O	+	+
5. Grigor, an outsider	—	+	O	+		—	O	O
6. Vitko, now retired	—	O	+	O	—		O	O
7. Todorin, nephew of 2, 4	O	+	—	+	O	O		O
8. Ivan, a landlord	—	+	+	+	O	O	O	

* The predominance of conflict in Mladenka's relationships may be attributed to the fact that she is a woman and thus at a decided disadvantage. The peasants think of Bulgaria as still being a "man's country," and so it is.

are very distant cousins of Vitko and of Grigor's wife who persuaded Grigor, an outsider, to move to Dragalevtsy. Mladenka moved in from another *mahala,* while Ivan came from some other part of Bulgaria. Further light is thrown on the nature of the *mahala* by an analysis of the interaction between the family heads of the Stoiova *Mahala* as shown in table 11. The positive interaction[4] took such forms:

Ignat plowed Mladenka's garden plot for her and received in return permission to keep his sheep in her yard during the winter.

[4] I made no attempt to work out a complicated classification of social interaction with these simple, peasant folk. I soon learned that a rule-of-the-thumb method *similarly* applied in each case got results which checked with my own observation as well as that of the best informed people in the village. Eliminating from consideration here assimilation, competition, and accommodation I used merely the concepts of co-operation (Positive interaction) and conflict (Negative interaction). Where there is little trace of either positive or negative interaction I used the term Neutral. My description is based on the following questions: Which of the family heads co-operate regularly? Examples. Which have difficulties or quarrel more than they co-operate? Examples. Which have little to do with each other? Why?

The examples presented by the villagers to justify their statements were common knowledge in the whole neighborhood. Therefore, I was little surprised to find that once I had tentatively jotted down the prevailing interaction as given by the first informant every subsequent interview confirmed it. It is the case of anybody's business being everybody's business. Indeed, there is little doubt in the "public's mind" as to the relationship between any two people. I even suspect that two people wanting to better their relationship, for instance, would find the public a handicap due to the fixed conception of their respective roles.

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Families of Ignat and Grigor work together in the field and at home throughout the year. Their children are of similar ages.

Sando and Ignat draw wood from the mountain for Ivan and in return borrow money from him occasionally.

Peter and Ivan, both elderly men, are drawn together by common interests.

Negative interaction can be illustrated as follows:

Peter's dog attacked Mladenka's sow which was about to bear young. As a result the litter was stillborn. Mladenka unsuccessfully tried to recover damages from Peter. Now she says of Peter: "He only speaks to me between his teeth."

A quarrel between Mladenka's daughter and Vitko's daughter, formerly the best of friends, over the question of employment as a domestic.

Mladenka is engaged in a lawsuit with Ivan over the question of property. The dispute arose when a new street was constructed between their houses.

Grigor quarrels with Vitko, and Ignat; Sando, and Todorin quarrel with Peter over land.

A count of the bonds between the family heads shows that the three categories are approximately equal in number: Positive—nine; Negative—eight; Neutral—eleven. Of course, we have not attempted to analyze bonds between the wives of the family heads, but we can be sure that if two men are in a quarrel they will forbid their wives to associate with members of the other's family.

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In other parts of Bulgaria I have found that the word *mahala* has a slightly different significance and is used to describe some large section of the village which is separated because of such physical limitations as a river or a hill.[8] This means that other places would not have the twenty-two *mahali* which we find in Dragalevtsy. However, the Dragalevtsy people themselves use this broader term to describe an industrial community which is springing up between the village and Sofia and which has been assigned to the Dragalevtsy commune. Whenever any resident from there comes to Dragalevtsy to pay

[8] "The *mahala* (Dorfviertelschaft) is an enlarged neighborhood, which is usually determined by the physical features of the village. A river, a hill, or a strip of woods divides the village into two or more parts, localities, 'house complexes,' even *mahali*. If, however, there are no geographical lines of demarcation, 'calling-distance' determines the extent of the individual 'house complexes.' If two inhabitants of separate or distant 'house complexes' greet each other, each speaks when the conversation turns upon it of his *mahala* as of something individual and independent, distinct from the others. To each his *mahala* is a sort of miniature *Heimat*. Every man in the whole village is identified first as a native of his *mahala*, then as a member of his neighborhood, finally as a native of his own home. Neighborhood, *mahala*, and village are three gradually increasing entities, of which only the last two exhibit outwardly defined boundaries." (Wasil Handjieff: *Zur Soziologie des Bulgarischen Dorfes*, pp. 35-36.) Also see Note 3 in this connection.

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taxes or to attend some social function, the villagers say, "Oh, he's from the *mahala*." In this sense, therefore, they are thinking not at all of any family relationship between the people of that settlement. 621

NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS: THE *Susedstvo*. For a clearer picture of social interaction we must turn to a smaller unit than the *mahala*: namely, the *susedstvo*[6] which is a complex of houses whose yards adjoin or face each other across a narrow street. The peasants say, "Without neighbors life is impossible," or "God help those who have bad neighbors" and they are thinking of next-door neighbors. Bulgarian writers especially in reminiscing about their childhood tell of the free interchange of goods between neighbors. In any time of need, whether it be of food, garments, or work, the neighbors were always called upon to render aid. That is still true today, though there are two tendencies setting in: first, many villagers prefer to go to relatives living elsewhere in the village for aid rather than to go to a next-door neighbor; second, nowadays neighbors when they lend live more in expectation of financial remuneration. In other words, the commercialistic spirit is pervading even neighborhood contacts. Some villagers feel this more keenly than others. 621 571 [476]

The *susedstvo* therefore, like the *mahala*, is a geographical unit which is the scene of intense social interaction, though this interaction takes place through ordinary individuals and groups rather than through the *susedstvo* itself, thought of in terms of a psychical entity. It is an interesting fact that personal friendships and preferences sometimes carry women outside of the neighborhood for even the ordinary needs of life. For example, Anna may live next to Gorka but may prefer the companionship of Mara who lives four or five houses down the street. Sometimes this friendship goes to such an extent that Anna will draw water from a more distant fountain in order to meet there with Mara.

However, no number of exceptions can do away with the fact that women who are neighbors depend greatly upon one another. Not only in times of crisis such as birth, death, or marriage are the neighbors' services invaluable, but are especially useful in varying the tedium of everyday life. If a woman has half an hour to spare, she is apt to pick up her knitting or spinning and go to a neighbor's house for a chat while doing her handwork. After a while, visits of such a sort become so habitual that a woman would find it difficult to get along without them. It must be remembered that the Bulgarian woman has no magazines and no radio to entertain her at home. Her only source of entertainment is to share some other neighbor's company. [517]

Newcomers to a neighborhood (and these are usually women) have to go through a period of assimilation. Not only must they bear the embarrassing

[6] Many of the peasants still use for neighbor the word *komshia*, a Bulgarized form of the Turkish *komi*.

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scrutiny of the neighbors and answer hundreds of questions, but they must also be quick to appreciate the social values and interests of the women of the surrounding houses. This is always so difficult that the villagers have a proverb: "One can't even drink the water from a different village," which they use in the social as well as physiological sense.

In a *susedstvo* we likewise find that there is often a family tie because the yards of married brothers or cousins frequently join. (See diagram on page 232.) If there is harmony between the brothers, such relatives are the closest of all because they are also neighbors; between such houses most of the borrowing takes place.

Since at least three-fourths, if not more, of a woman's recreation is provided in the neighborhood, this unit forms the basis for most gossiping groups. Men cross neighborhood lines because they can go to the tavern, but their wives must stay at home.

In comparing the *mahala* and the *susedstvo* we may conclude that the *mahala* once was the scene of the intimate interaction now characterizing the *susedstvo*. This was back in the days when the *mahala* was a family circle because of *zadruga* ties. As the number of houses increased and the feeling of kinship weakened or became extinct the *mahala* was superseded by the *susedstvo* as an important basis of interaction.

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APPENDIX V

THE SOCIAL CONTACTS OF A BULGARIAN VILLAGE*

It seems an anomaly that the peasants who live in the Sofia region are among the most conservative in Bulgaria. One often hears the statement from Bulgarian and foreigner alike: "Surely the fact that a peasant lives near Sofia, a city of almost 300,000 inhabitants, should have some pronounced effect upon his attitudes and lower his resistance to social change." But there is universal agreement that these peasants are backward, though there is divergence of opinion as to the reason why. An early writer[1] advanced the theory that the *Shopi*[2] stock had been weakened because of the frequent "calls to arms" answered by the peasants. Living as they do on the edge of the important Sofia plain these peasants have been drafted for military service much more frequently than their fellows in the distant mountain recesses. In the little village of Dragalevtsy, four and a half miles from the outskirts of Sofia, more than forty fruit trees grow near the War Memorial, a tree for each son fallen on the field of battle since 1885, the date of the Bulgarian-Serbian War.

Another explanation for the *Shopi* conservatism is the fact that close proximity to the city makes it easy for the most intelligent and the most ambitious villagers to break with the village and establish themselves in Sofia. One of Dragalevtsy's most brilliant young men now resides in Sofia and visits the village only occasionally. But during his early days in the village he was a dynamic spirit: serving as president of the School Board at the time of negotiations for and erection of the handsome new school building; as chairman of the Committee on the Erection of a War Memorial, carrying the project through to successful conclusion where four previous committees had failed and the funds collected mysteriously disappeared; as president of the Reading Room Association, a "cultural" organization which has become an uplifting force in villages throughout the land. But now that he is gone, no native has arisen to lead as he led.

The *Agronom* for that district explains the conservatism in part by the poverty of the soil. Unproductive soil forms a poor basis for an enlightened,

* This article appeared in *Rural Sociology*, IV, No. 3, September, 1939. Reprinted by permission.

[1] Irechek, Konstantin, who traveled extensively in Bulgaria in the latter part of last century.

[2] *Shopi*—the term used of the peasants in the Sofia region. Formerly it was derogatory in content.

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181 up-to-date type of farmer. Coupled with poor soil is the dividing up of the farm among all the children upon the death of the family head, with the result that farms become smaller, strips of land more numerous and scattered, and the occupation of farming a less remunerative enterprise.

Other theories take into account the descent of the *Shopi* from stock differing from that of Bulgarians in other parts of the country and their lack of educational facilities under Turkish rule (14th to 19th centuries). Then, too, we should remember that Sofia was nothing but a small provincial town—not much more than an overgrown village at the time of Bulgaria's liberation in 1878.

Part of my purpose in selecting one village for investigation was to determine as far as I could what contacts these villagers had with the outside world. I knew that I would probably arrive at no single all-embracing explanation of *Shopi* conservatism, but I did feel that I could suggest to those interested in overcoming this conservatism the proper modes of attack.

The analysis of Dragalevtsy's[3] social contacts falls naturally into two divisions: (A) the peasants' contacts outside the village, and (B) the peasants' contacts with the "outside world"[4] within the village.

THE PEASANT VISITS THE "OUTSIDE WORLD"

1. To Sell and Buy; to Work. Thirty-eight milkmen go from Dragalevtsy to Sofia every morning. Eight walk beside a donkey; thirty ride in the high two-wheeled horse-drawn carts. The majority of milkmen cover a milk route, knocking at the doors of the regular customers and waiting patiently for the maid to bring a container into which to pour a quart or so of milk from the large cans they carry. The rest, perhaps less energetic and content with a lower price, leave their milk at a milk-station just inside the city limits. They are paid weekly and do not have the bother of making collections from housewives; furthermore, they do not have to rustle out of bed so early in the morning. Some of the milkmen buy newspapers to read on the return trip, some like to go farther into the city for a glass of wine or brandy, but most hurry back home to aid in the work on the farm, especially if a busy season is on.

Besides the milkmen there are sixteen workmen and ten students who make the daily trip and serve as a bond between the village and the outside world. These two groups are usually less opinionated and better trained than the other villagers to whom they attempt to interpret the puzzling aspects of western culture manifested in Sofia.

[3] Population, December 31, 1934: 1,669 inhabitants.

[4] The peasants often speak of Sofia as "the outside world" and people from Sofia as "the people from the outside world," thus showing that a pronounced psychological barrier exists.

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TABLE 12

FREQUENCY OF TRIPS TO SOFIA, MALE AND FEMALE FAMILY HEADS, DRAGALEVTSY, 1934 CENSUS*

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FREQUENCY	NUMBER		PER CENT	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Daily:	37	1	13.9	0.4
Weekly:				
4 times	7	1	2.6	0.4
3 times	9	2	3.4	0.7
2 times	17	4	6.4	1.5
1 time	113	99	42.5	37.5
Monthly:				
3 times	8	9	3.0	3.4
2 times	14	26	5.3	9.9
1 time	35	58	13.2	22.0
Yearly:				
4 times	7	16	2.6	6.1
3 times	1	3	0.4	1.1
2 times	3	2	1.1	0.7
1 time	0	4	0.0	1.5
No times	15	39	5.6	14.8
Total	266	264	100.0	100.0

*Unreported: 3 male, 3 female.

The above table, based on the trips of the family heads, reveals the frequency of trips to Sofia: 484

The table* shows that thirty-three male heads go to Sofia oftener than once a week. The great exodus comes on Friday, the market day. The peasants' childlike anticipation of market-day is best symbolized by the wagons which stand already loaded in front of the gates on Thursday evening. All that is necessary in the dim light on Friday morning is the yoking of the sleepy oxen, before the families start on their way to Sofia. I went with the villagers on these expeditions and saw their "ports of call," each visited via back streets and not by any handsome boulevards. 369 512

* At the time of the government census in December, 1934, I received permission to add to the regular census blanks a questionnaire of my own dealing chiefly with social contacts. Every family head was required to appear before one of the local clerks and answer all questions on the blanks, the writing being done by the clerk. Many of my statistics in this article are based on these questionnaires which, in the person of family heads, represented 97 per cent of the population. 125

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Cattle market: The cattle market and the sheep market, located not far away, lie on the other side of Sofia from Dragalevtsy, back of the railroad station toward the municipal cemetery. It is there a peasant goes if he wishes to dispose of, or purchase, an animal. At this market a nice young bull costs $25-$30, a fresh buffalo cow, $50-$60; ordinary milch cows, $35-$45; horses, $12-$60; donkeys, $12-$18. In the sheep market a pair of sheep sell for $3.60. The cattle market is a colorful place. There is much excitement in the horse section where gypsies ride their not-so-fiery steeds up and down to show how sound they are. But the peasant does little visiting with others in the market; he is not the kind to strike up an acquaintance with just anyone. He does deal with the nimble-witted cattle-buyers whose crafty ways stand for city ways in the peasant's undiscerning judgment. In other words, the peasant's contact with "the outside world" in the cattle market helps build up a psychological barrier against the city since the peasant seldom leaves feeling that he has made a good bargain, unless he has concluded a trade with another peasant more rustic than himself.

The mill: A second place the peasant is likely to visit is the mill, not far away from the general curb market. In spite of the fact that there are many mills in Sofia the people of Dragalevtsy have chosen this as their favorite one, with another ranking as second choice. If they are tired out after their trip to the mill, the villagers lie down on sacks of grain until their turns come; if not sleepy, the peasants form talkative groups near their unyoked animals in the mill courtyard. But here again we find peasant talking with peasant, much of the conversation condemning the modern times, some government policy, or the sad effects of the World War. A talk with a conservative peasant from another village merely heightens the conservatism in the Dragalevtsy peasant.

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Curb market: After finishing at the mill the peasant will perhaps go to the General Curb Market where his wife, squatted on the sidewalk, has been crying her wares for hours in the hope of selling a few bunches of vegetables or several "pairs" of eggs. She has seen many enticing objects in the vendors' pushcarts, observed the styles* worn by city housewives accompanied by peasant servant girls, the strut of the military, the bizarre appearance of a foreign tourist in knickers taking pictures of the scene. She must also have talked to other peasant women who, like herself, return to a favorite spot week after week. But the question arises: Do all the men usually take their wives along? Is it usually a family affair, this trip to market? The answer is that between fifty and sixty per cent of the female heads go to Sofia on a typical market day; fifteen per cent never go at all.

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*The chief tailor in Dragalevtsy says that styles in dress reach the peasants from other villages. The women, for instance, imitate what a peasant from another village wears, but not what a city woman wears.

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Flower bazaar and tavern: It is around the fourth destination on Fridays that fondest memories cling, because this is the spot near the Sofia flower bazaar where young people from surrounding villages go upon completing their morning duties in town. It is here that romance blossoms and young men from one village are introduced to girls from another. While the younger people are amusing themselves here the older people, especially the men, gather at the tavern called *Dulgata Mehana*, the particular establishment to which Dragalevtsy peasants are loyal.[7] They lunch and drink here, they rest here, and here they swap their stories. Nor is it without pride that they tell how Fiodor Chaliapin, the celebrated opera singer, in 1934 spent a very merry evening in this *Dulgata Mehana*, enjoying its drink and atmosphere. Seldom, however, does the peasant get to converse with the Sofia citizenry in this tavern. Here again he is in a peasant world; if he were not, he would feel decidedly uncomfortable. Should he decide to see a movie, in the afternoon he would go to a cheap theater on a side street and guffaw with his fellow peasants.[8]

2. To Serve His Country. The *trudova* system, or that of compulsory labor for the young men of Bulgaria, has received much attention in the West. It served a magnificent purpose, taking as it did young men from villages throughout the land, mixing them up in labor camps, and providing them with picks and shovels for the construction of highways, bridges, and other public works. But now the young Bulgarian citizen is given military training instead. This is not in keeping with the Treaty of Neuilly, which limited Bulgaria's armed forces to 33,000, but what nation in Europe, the Bulgarians ask, has been abiding by the treaties? The trend from *trudova* to military service is shown by the fact that in 1935 not a single youth was called from Dragalevtsy to do *trudova* service, but sixteen went to be trained as soldiers.

The effect of life in a labor camp or a military barracks upon the young men is apparent upon their return to the village. They have gone out from a family system where each member works unquestioningly as a part of the whole; they return, in spite of military discipline, often very conscious of their own individuality, and have to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought again close in about them. However, before the returning young men are reabsorbed by the community, reverberations of struggle are felt throughout parts of the social structure. There are some who never again fall completely into line and who naturally

[7] Every village over a period of years has tended to select one tavern where peasants from that village spend their leisure time while in Sofia.

[8] Fifty-five per cent of the villagers (babies, children, and adults) have never seen a cinema. Out of 265 families reporting, *all* members of 73 families had seen a cinema; *no* members of 78 families had done so.

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156 turn to Sofia for employment and sympathy. But the significant fact is that
702 most young people do submit to the process of resocialization and as they grow older adopt the conservatism of their elders. In other words, no attempt is made in the army experience to teach them new farming methods, bee-keeping, animal breeding, or anything else which they might apply in a useful way upon their return to the village.

554 3. For the Good of His Soul. When asked "Why do you go on pil-
788 grimages to various Bulgarian monasteries?" the peasants often answer: "We
484 go for the good of our souls." No mention is made of the enhanced social status that is theirs as a result of such a trip or the excitement of being sped on their way at the edge of the village by the priest and a flock of relatives or welcomed back far outside the village by the same relatives two or three days later. The most popular place to visit is Rila Monastery, the historic, magnificent establishment in the heart of the Rila Mountains to which thousands come at Easter time. The Dragalevtsy peasants (only thirty-five from the village went in 1934) mix with the assembled multitudes at Rila, attend the services, buy sacred objects, and snatch what sleep they can before starting on the return journey. If they are walking, the pilgrimage requires five or six days; if they go by automobile from Sofia, they spend one day en route each way. In olden days pilgrimages played a great part in creating social contacts between the villages and the outside world. Now we can safely conclude that as other means of making social contact increase, the importance of making pilgrimages decreases.

484 4. To Visit Socially. Once a year a Bulgarian village has an "At Home
574 Day." This event always falls on the name day of the saint, angel, or member of the Trinity for whom the local church is named and is commemorated by the preparation of immense quantities of stews for the few hundred guests from outside. Many of these guests are old residents returning with their families for a visit. There is a special service at which bread and boiled corn is blessed, the priest in return receiving a portion of the food. At the meal afterwards, to which all guests are invited, pledges are made for the upkeep of the local church. Many guests would rather go to the homes of friends and relatives than partake of the common meal; this makes more intimate visitation possible. These "At Homes" of neighboring villages are the chief attractions drawing the peasants from Dragalevtsy to other villages. Table 13 on the following page shows us how often Dragalevtsy family heads visit other villages (for the "At Home" as well as other purposes).

484 Combining the data in this table with other information obtained we can make the following conclusions regarding the social visits of Dragalevtsy people to other villages:

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TABLE 13

FREQUENCY OF TRIPS TO VILLAGES, MALE AND FEMALE FAMILY HEADS, DRAGALEVTSY, 1934*

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FREQUENCY	NUMBER		PER CENT	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Monthly:				
6 times	2	0	0.8	0.0
5 times	0	2	0.0	0.8
4 times	2	4	0.8	1.6
3 times	3	2	1.2	0.8
2 times	8	9	3.1	3.5
1 time	68	52	26.4	20.3
Yearly:				
6 times	4	8	1.5	3.1
5 times	2	3	0.8	1.2
4 times	14	8	5.4	3.1
3 times	21	17	8.1	6.7
2 times	13	19	5.0	7.4
1 time	8	8	3.1	3.1
No times	113	124	43.8	48.4
Total	258	256	100.0	100.0

*Unreported: 11 males, 11 females.

Roughly speaking, about half of the family heads (men and women) do not go to other villages in the course of a year. For those who go, the greatest frequency of visitation is once a month.

Men born in Dragalevtsy visit the other villages more than do their fellow-villagers not born in Dragalevtsy; however, women born in Dragalevtsy visit less than those born outside.*

Children seldom go with their parents to other villages, though certain young men make numerous visits to parties during the year.

There are other contacts which the peasant makes with the outside world away from the village, but these are not important enough for separate consideration. There is, for instance, "the iron grip of the law." Since the mores of Dragalevtsy are still strictly observed, no criminals were led off to prison from the jail-less village during the three-year period in which I studied Dragalevtsy. Annually there are four or five lawsuits, involving about thirty people and taking on an average ten days' time for each person. For those 691

* Eighty-three per cent of the male family heads but only 55 per cent of the female heads were born in Dragalevtsy. The 45 per cent of non-native wives come from villages ranging in distance from two to ten miles.

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691 involved, the trial is a big, important event, but the effect upon the village is slight. What does have an effect is the quarrel which leads to the lawsuit, but that is an internal and not an external matter.

THE "OUTSIDE WORLD" VISITS THE VILLAGE

609 369 1. THE MOUNTAIN AND THE MONASTERY. The "white-collar" people of Sofia are enthusiastic hikers. On sunny days, both winter and summer, they start out on an extended hike, usually in the direction of Vitosha, a majestic mountain which towers seven thousand feet above the Sofia plain. If very active, they climb to Hizha Aleko, the mountain hotel below the summit, there to spend the night. Or if interested only in a Sunday afternoon stroll of ten miles, they visit *God's Consecrated Spot on Vitosha,* a historic monastery from which they get a magnificent view of the Sofia plain, the city, and the Balkan peaks twenty miles to the north.

Dragalevtsy, hugging as it does a shoulder of the mountain, is on the main road leading from Sofia to the monastery (twenty minutes' walk above the village) and the mountain hotel far above the monastery. Dragalevtsy's taverns serve, therefore, as resting places for the weary, hungry, and thirsty trampers. Especially in Bai Penko's tavern is there mingling between the village "elite" (intelligentsia and richer peasants) and these Sofia visitors—"people of the world." The peasants laugh at the sight of the women dressed in winter in ski trousers or in shorts in summer. No one ever explains to the peasant that sport styles are extreme.

One evening in Bai Penko's tavern I was with a group of peasants who chortled when they saw a fat betrousered woman attempt unsuccessfully to get her loaded knapsack off. Turning to one of them I asked what he thought of such women, "Oh, we know what they are like," was the answer. When I pressed him further as to what he meant, he said: "They are the worst kind." Then I could not resist asking: "What would you do if your daughter came home dressed like that?" and the retort flared back, "Why, damn it, I'd kick her out of the house."

Estimates vary as to the number of *turisti,* as the Bulgarians call them, who pass through the village each year. Suffice it to say that on holidays and week ends there is a steady stream pouring through unless the weather is too forbidding. On August 28th, the Day of the Virgin, thousands flock to the monastery for the special services there as well as for the setting. Many of these hikers visit Dragalevtsy, whose square has been changed overnight into a lively market lined with temporary restaurants and a ramshackle merry-go-round.

369 The chief influence that these visitors have upon the villagers is to make them think that life in the city is as gay and carefree as the singing groups who

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stop to spend money in a generous manner. This is one reason that the peasants complain so bitterly of their dull, monotonous life and long to have their children counted among the white-collar class. 369

Recently Dragalevtsy has become a mountain summer resort. Twelve families have little villas in or near the village, while as many more live in the monastery. These seasonal guests buy most of their produce from the villagers, and patronize Bai Penko's tavern daily. Some, especially the twelve families with summer houses, are counted as real citizens of Dragalevtsy, though the peasants do not try to assimilate them into their informal groups. These summer guests are in a position to do much in the way of village improvement if they cared to seize their opportunities. 529

2. Family Guests. Another important influence from outside comes in the form of guests entertained by the family during the course of a year. The numbers of guests from Sofia, from other towns, and from villages are shown in Table 14 below: 574

TABLE 14

Guests in Dragalevtsy Homes During the Year 1934, Classified According to Domicile (Census of 1934)

Number of Guests	Number of Families Entertaining Guests			Total Number of Guests*		
	From City	From Town	From Village	From City	From Town	From Village
0	96	249	62	0	0	0
1-10	125	8	135	786	36	824
11-20	34	0	58	555	0	888
21-30	3	0	14	75	0	380
31-40	4	0	1	150	0	35
41-50	5	0	0	250	0	0
Over 50	1	0	1	100	0	65
Total	172	8	209	1,916	36	2,192

*Computed from actual figures and not from class midpoints.

Out of the 268 families that reported, 96 families do not have any guests from Sofia during the year. The guests visiting the 172 remaining families total 1,916 people. In other words, if all the people who come from Sofia to visit stayed in the village and did not return home, the village would little more than double its present population, ignoring the possible natural increase. Of course, the total of 1,916 does not necessarily include that many people, but certainly over 1,000. These visitors are relatives or friends, generally of peasant origin, who have gone to the big city and succeeded. As one stands in

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574 the main village square and sees these visitors arrive, averaging 36 each Sunday, one marvels at the grotesque bundles with which their arms are loaded. A christening, a wedding, and, to a less extent, a funeral, call them back to the village. Conveniently for them, christenings and weddings take place on Sundays; funerals, unfortunately for them, cannot wait for Sunday but occur a day or two after the death.

There are no towns within forty or fifty miles of Sofia, and therefore very few guests from other towns visit the village. Only 8 families report such guests, the total number of the visitors reaching 36.

Out of 271 families reporting, only 62 do not have guests from other villages during the year. This means that 209 families do. The total number of outside villagers is 2,192, many of them coming to Dragalevtsy's "At Home Day" on the Day of the Holy Trinity.

Only a few of these guests originally came from Dragalevtsy but it is of interest to notice how many leave the village permanently in the course of a single year, why, and where they go. These facts are shown in Table 15.

TABLE 15

166 MEMBERS OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS WHO PERMANENTLY LEFT DRAGALEVTSY DURING 1934, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO REASON FOR LEAVING AND DESTINATION (CENSUS DATA)

LEFT TO BECOME:	DESTINATION:			Total
	Sofia	Town	Village	
Soldier	3	1	0	4
Student	4	0	0	4
Coffee house proprietor	1	0	0	1
Cabman	1	0	0	1
Watchman	0	1	0	1
Laborer	0	0	2	2
Wife	1	0	4	5
Husband	0	0	1	1
Unreported	1	1	0	2
Total	11	3	7	21*

*These 21 persons came from 19 of the 279 families covered by the census questionnaire.

574 3. VILLAGE GUESTS. During the course of a winter several *vecherinki*, or community parties, are staged in the schoolhouse by some organization for the purpose of raising funds. These are usually followed by a dance at which the thirty-five guests from Sofia (that being the average) mix little with the peasant folk. These guests are entertainers or friends of the intelligentsia.

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Three or four lectures, dealing with topics related to the elevation of village life, are given each year by men from outside. Each government inspector from the various departments is required to visit the village once a year and some in the course of this visit take occasion to give an educational address to the people. I do not feel, however, that the peasants take a very vital interest in these talks unless they get into the realm of politics, always a fascinating subject. 544

From the 15th of May until August 1st soldiers in training are encamped in and about Dragalevtsy, but it is only occasionally that they mingle with the young people of the village. Every year, however, three or four village girls become engaged to soldiers and subsequently upon marriage move elsewhere. 609

The outside world is also represented by a few salesmen and speculators in land and cattle, these numbering about fifteen a week. They transact their business with the interested party, perhaps break bread with him, and then go on their way.

4. Telephone, Radio, Letters, Printed Matter. There are two radios in the village, one belonging to the priest and the other standing in the window of the mayor's office to blare forth its music and messages to passersby in the main square. The first program I heard from the public radio was the aria, "My Heart at Thy Sweet Voice," from the opera *Samson and Delila* as played by an orchestra in Amsterdam, although music like this is soon turned off in preference to the folk-music periodically broadcast from the Sofia station. 207

There is one telephone in the village in the office adjacent to the mayor's. There is great pomp about the use of this instrument since one pays two cents and receives a receipt of payment from the telephone operator. Making a telephone call is a serious affair, so serious, in fact, that few peasants ever do so. 206

The post arrives around one o'clock each week-day afternoon, but there is little excitement attached to its coming, for not more than ten personal letters, usually for the intelligentsia, arrive daily for the whole village. A peasant family receives no more than one or two letters a year. Twenty newspapers and twenty magazines come each day for the 279 families. According to data furnished by 279 questionnaires, 21 families bought or received newspapers* to 257 who did not; and 7 families received magazines to 271 who did not. In both cases, 1 family failed to report. 205 204

* Of these, 13 families received a daily newspaper daily; 2 received a daily paper twice a week; 1, once a week; and 5 received a weekly paper regularly.

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CONCLUSION

571 178 The concept "social contact" implies both the possibility of contact as well as psychic interaction.[11] The quantitative measurements of this study deal chiefly with the possibilities which the peasants have or create for social interaction, since these were sufficiently clear-cut for the village officials and peasants to measure. But when it came to the more intangible element of psychic interaction I had to rely on direct personal observation. Therefore, the following conclusions are based in part on statistics and in part upon observation:

369 571 178 1. Proximity to a "city-culture" and frequent trips to the city on the part of the villagers does not necessarily mean psychological contact with that "city-culture." For the most part, the peasant moves in a peasant world even while in the city. It is quite natural for him to attach himself to the familiar.

2. Proximity to the city may in itself be a deterrent to the ready acceptance of "city ways" on the part of the villager, since he constantly confronts fashions, habits, and viewpoints which clash decidedly with his own. This leads me to wonder whether or not "modernization," granting that it is desirable, might not come more quickly through a small, provincial town which is more in keeping with rural thought and life than through direct contact with the city. The hikers who visit Dragalevtsy, although causing dissatisfaction, make the mature peasant more resistant to city influences; these visitors do seem to have an influence upon the young; but it would be hazardous to guess to what degree, because so often the seemingly liberal young people become conservative when they have children of their own.

656 369 571 178 3. Government leaders in their attempt to raise the peasants' standard of living visit the village systematically for lectures and some demonstrations. They seem to be overlooking the fact that thousands of peasants regularly visit the city where, if some Peasant Center could be established, methods of improved living could be interpreted in a favorable light. Some such approach would lessen the peasant's negativism toward the city, a negativism which has been built up as a defense or as a result of genuine disapproval.

4. The statistics relative to the reading matter which comes into the village weekly show how little is being done effectively to influence the peasant by letters, journals, and other publications, although the literacy rate for males over fifteen years is 92.

[11] At first I had in mind the formulation of a contact Index such as Kulp used in his Chinese study, *Familism in South China.* I soon found that the various contacts were of varying intensity, concerned different types of people, and would, therefore, require separate weighting. My methods were not refined enough to make such weightings feasible. Furthermore, aside from the methodological interest, the value of such an index would be limited to the study of other Bulgarian villages in the same cultural setting.

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5. This study of one village can be merely suggestive and does not afford the basis for any sweeping conclusions, but it can serve as a pattern for those who wish to measure the social contacts of villages which are similar in many respects to Dragalevtsy. 000

6. In considering the social contact which the peasants have with the city and its implication for social change, we must not overlook the sheer enjoyment derived by the peasant from the very fact of contact itself, whether it be from the thrill of a new experience or the more intimate association with friends from other villages. Because recreation is not yet commercialized and impersonalized, face-to-face contact is the chief form of amusement. Of course, this need is usually met within the village, but a talk with someone from the outside world does possess a novelty not afforded by everyday association. 369 571 178

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APPENDIX VI

SOCIOMETRIC WORK WITH A BULGARIAN WOODCUTTING GROUP[1]

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In the late autumn, when all other farm work has been completed, the villagers of Dragalevtsy[2] turn their attention to the gathering of the winter's supply of wood. The scene of their activity is a wooded section of the mountainside, three or four miles from the village, determined in advance by a forester's decree. Most of them toil gladly, since all winter long they must continually feed the wood into the ever-devouring gullet of the sheet-iron stove standing in the center of the living room. No twig is too small to find its way there.

It would be wrong to imagine that the villagers were doing any lumbering, even on the simplest scale. Most of their activity centers around the task of cutting down brush as high as a man's head, or of felling trees so small that a pair of hands could include the trunk in its grasp.

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I. MEMBERSHIP OF GROUP. There are ten wood-gathering groups in the village. Before 1931 individual families went to the section of the forest opened up for the people of Dragalevtsy and took all the wood they could get in the time allowed. This system had two chief faults, according to Yurdan Chalukov, the assistant mayor at the time: in the first place, the members of the political party supporting the mayor learned beforehand at what time the forest would be opened to the villagers and stole the march on the others by going there on the day assigned, although the other villagers did not learn about the opening until two or three days later, by which time the best wood had been collected.

The second chief fault with this system was that families with more able-bodied workers gathered the most wood, although they paid perhaps less taxes than those who got less. In order to eliminate these evils, a new system which is peculiar to Dragalevtsy alone was inaugurated. The near-by villages, for instance, still use the older method of permitting each family to "grab while

[1] This article appeared in *Sociometry: A Journal of Interpersonal Relations*, II, October, 1939, pp. 58-68. Reprinted by permission.

[2] Dragalevtsy, a village of 1,669 inhabitants, located four miles from the outskirts of Sofia, Bulgaria's capital city. The peasants of that region are generally regarded as very conservative by educated Bulgarians.

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the grabbing is good." Now, the *Obshtina*[8] divides the village into ten groups; the part of the forest made available to the villagers is likewise divided into ten sections; each group thus has a limited section in which to work. The *Obshtina* usually divides the village according to neighborhoods, though sometimes one family from a larger neighborhood is assigned to the group of a smaller neighborhood in order to make the number of families average about thirty for each group. The only case of this kind in Group X, which we are studying, is that of Krustan Arnaudski, who lives across the river from the others. 313 476 596

The *Obshtina* lists the names of the family heads in making out its divisions; theoretically these family heads are supposed to go collectively to get the wood for their households. In other words, they are supposed to constitute the group. However, variations occur. Some of the family heads are too old or too busy or too lazy to go. In that case they do one of three things: (1) they send their married sons who live with them, these sons performing the work more capably than the older men could; (2) they hire village youths from other neighborhoods to go and gather the wood for them; or, (3) they send weaker members of their own family, such as younger boys, the older girls, wives, or—in the case of one lazy man—a mother. 313 476 571 596

Thus, in reality, the group of wood-gatherers varies from day to day as regards the actual personnel of those working in the forest. We might say that most of those working there are family heads or able-bodied married sons, though mixed with them are women, girls, and younger boys. Before sending a substitute the family head is supposed to get permission from the group leaders. The failure to do this results in many quarrels and, as one leader says, "makes a man quarrel with his best friend."

The reason why the presence of women and children is frowned upon lies not so much in the objection to women and children working, as it does to the fact that women and children cannot do as much work in a day as a man. Since all the cut wood is piled into thirty different piles, one for each family, and the piles later distributed by lot, those who work hard each day get no more wood than those who do less work or who send weaker substitutes.

The question arises as to the classification of this type of group. On the basis of admission to membership, we can conclude that it is chiefly involuntary since the family heads are assigned by the *Obshtina* and since the family head can order members of his family to replace him in case he does not care to go. Only in the case of outsiders gathering wood for pay does the group seem voluntary. The group is secondary as far as function is concerned, but partakes of certain primary group characteristics when we notice that the *Obshtina* 313 476 571

[8] *Obshtina*—used here in the sense of the local governmental unit under the direction of a mayor appointed from Sofia.

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313 usually divides the village up according to neighborhoods. Thus we have many
476 persons accustomed to associate as neighbors interacting along economic rather
571 than social lines.

II. Duration of Group. The group is temporary, since the *Obshtina* lists have varied from year to year. However, for thirty days the wood-gathering continues, halted in bad weather but energetically pursued in good weather, even on Sundays. During this period there is constant interaction between the members of the group, who get to know the working qualities of the others in an intimate way. The most exciting day of all is the day when the wood has been piled up, the piles numbered, and the family heads take their turn drawing lots for the piles. It is then that the whole family comes in the ox-cart to haul the wood home. There is joy as though a harvest were being gathered. Each family usually takes home from four to five ox-carts full of wood, most of which consists of branches or scrub-growth. After the wood is stacked in the yard, the group is ended; its existence is terminated by the completion of the job it set out to do.

313 III. Structure of Group (Relationship). With thirty individuals,
476 unequally divided as to ability or inclination to work, there must be some sort
571 of leadership to keep the group functioning effectively. The nominal leaders
157 are two men appointed by the *Obshtina*, one as superintendent and the other as his assistant. Leaders appointed by the *Obshtina* usually serve even though they profess an unwillingness to do so. Some members of Group X point out that those who do the most talking against the way the present leaders discharge their functions are themselves loath to accept the responsibility if it is offered to them. The leaders of Group X this year were Stoyanche Chalukov and his god-son (almost his equal in years) Yurdan Chalukov.

The leaders of all ten groups gather on an appointed day to visit the forest with the forest policeman, who shows them how the forest has been divided into ten sections. The leaders then draw lots to see which section will fall to their particular groups. On the day of the visit this fall neither leader of Group X went because each one thought, or at least hoped, that the other leader would go. It so happened that Group X got what its members considered the worst part of the forest, though the leaders maintain that their absence had nothing to do with the section allotted. Upon seeing the state of things, the leaders of Group X went to the mayor and asked that some re-distribution be made on the grounds that the forest had not been equally divided. As such re-distribution seemed out of the question, the mayor suggested: "You go ahead and cut down the wood in your section, and the priest and I will come and visit the forest and see whether people in other sections have bigger piles

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than you. If they do, we'll re-distribute then." But the mayor and the priest never made this visit with the result that the members of Group X have nothing but complaints as consolation.

The duties of the leaders are burdensome. They must decide whether the weather permits work in the forest or not; they must accept or reject some family head's proposal for substitution; they must argue with those who do not work well; they must direct the making of the piles and the equal distribution of the wood among these piles; furthermore, they must keep a record of those who come to work and those who do not. The only authority vested in them is the right to report to the mayor the name of any man who they think should not be given any wood for failure to do his share of the work. However, no such instance occurred this past year.

Quite often a group has a formal structure in addition to the actual structure. This formal or theoretical structure corresponds to the plan of a house; the actual structure corresponding to the shape, relationship of the parts, etc., which may be quite different from the original plan in even so definite a field as architecture.

The woodcutting or wood-gathering Group X has two leaders appointed by the *Obshtina,* under whom the family heads are supposed to work. This is the plan, but we notice that there are variations since many family heads send substitutes. Our first problem is to see whether the appointed leaders are the actual leaders: that is, to see if the plan of the group corresponds with the structure as we discover it.

In order to accomplish this I followed Moreno's method as explained in his book, *Who Shall Survive?* namely, to ask each member of the group which five men he preferred and which five he would eliminate if he were choosing a group of his own with direct reference to one activity—the gathering of wood, and with no interest at all in the question of the friendship involved.

Each of the family heads on the *Obshtina* list furnished us with the information desired. Where some family heads had sent substitutes, we interviewed the substitutes instead. A few people, neither full-time substitutes nor family heads, who worked in the forest from time to time in the place of someone who stayed away were interviewed if they were mentioned twice by others. The only exceptions were numbers 19 and 30, both of whose fathers we interviewed. Some family heads who did not go to the forest were mentioned either as desirable or undesirable, and their names were included on the list which formed the basis for the diagrams.

There was no way of cross-checking to see whether the answers were correct; nor was there any reward to hold up to them in order to identify their emotions with their answers. In this respect, one might consider the method open to question. However, each man was told: "There will be no reward for you in answering these questions, nor will any harm come to you as a

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234 BALKAN VILLAGE

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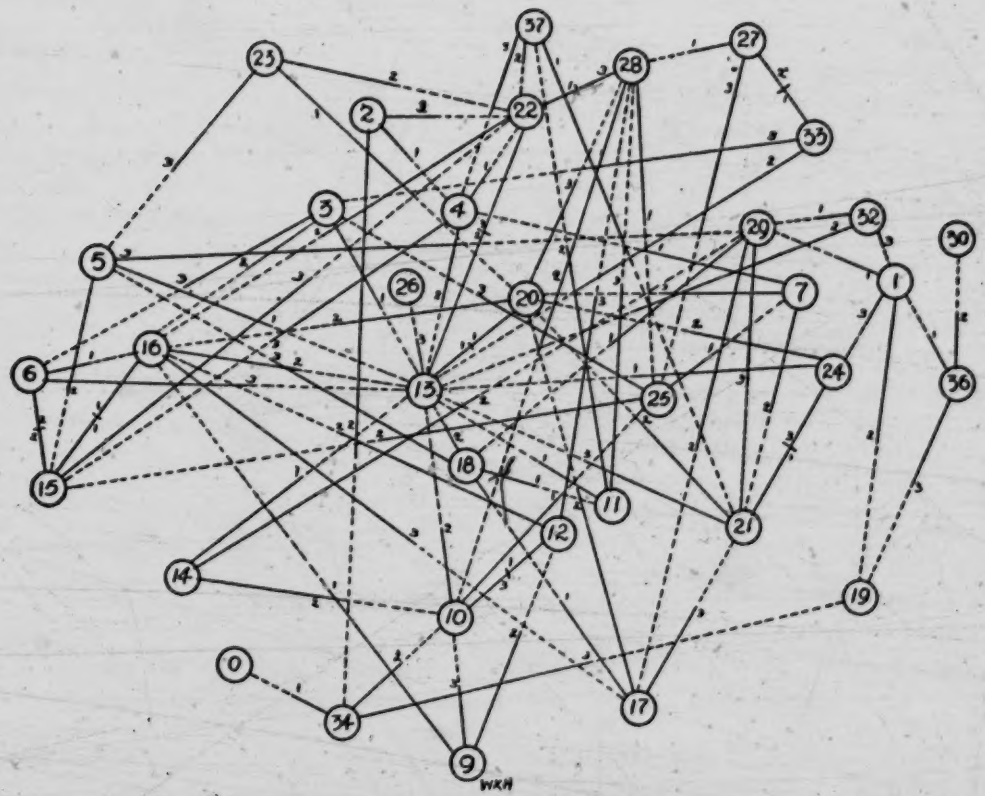

SOCIOGRAM I. Woodcutting Group, Dragalevtsy, Bulgaria—34 men, first three choices

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result. If you answer, it will be simply out of kindness and because of your desire to help me." Such an approach met with a splendid response, since practically all of the villagers knew that a "book" was being written about their village and were eager to help in its preparation. I am inclined to believe that in most cases this desire to help on the part of those interviewed has an emotional content, though it is something hard to measure or estimate.

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While these interviews took place over a two-day period during the Christmas holiday recess, I visited the village several times when the wood-gathering was taking place to make family interviews and received considerable incidental material about wood-gathering which seemed to be on everybody's mind. Group X was selected by chance. Since the groups were all equal in size there was no reason to choose any one more than another for the study of the group *per se*. (See Sociogram I.)

An analysis of Sociogram I, which is based on the first three choices of each man, shows us how weak is the leadership of the two men appointed by the *Obshtina*—namely, numbers 4 and 7. At no time do they come out as important leaders but this may be due to conflict situations which arose between them and group members during the course of the wood-gathering. The predominant choice is 13, a hard-working retired railroad man, who is close-mouthed and has the reputation of "minding his own business." He was mentioned 15 times: 6 firsts, 6 seconds, and 3 thirds. This sociogram shows that when the mayor appointed the leaders he did not consider the same qualities which the peasants themselves thought essential. He appointed men who had been former political figures on the assumption that they could also lead capably in the task of woodcutting.

The other leader individuals besides 13 are 10, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 28. An interesting concentration of leadership is shown by the reciprocal bonds existing between some of these eight leader individuals: namely, 15-16, 13-20, 13-22, 22-28. (Notice again the strong position of 13.) The leaders also have the following reciprocal bonds with non-leader individuals: 10-12, 15-6, 21-24. That is to say, every leader individual has at least one reciprocal bond, while three of them have two reciprocal bonds—the majority of these being with other leader individuals. *Furthermore, there is only one other reciprocal bond in the whole group in which a leader does not figure*—namely, 27-33.

Perhaps the quadrilateral 13-20-28-22-13 sums up the concentration of leadership best of all. The only gap is the failure of 28 to reciprocate the choice of 20. But both 28 and 20 are joined by reciprocal bonds to 22 and 13 respectively, who in turn are connected reciprocally. This, it seems to me, demonstrates the value of a sociogram in an analysis of group leadership, for in no other satisfactory way could this quadrilateral be illustrated and its implications manifested.

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WORK-SHEET FOR SOCIOGRAM I

Individual Number	Chose	First	Second	Third
1	–	29	19	24
2	–	4	34	22
3	–	13	16	6
4	–	22	13	15
5	–	13	15	29
6	–	16	15	13
7	–	4	21	20
8	Did not go.	Sent Number 4 instead		
9	–	16	12	10
10	–	25	13	12
11	–	12	37	28
12	–	10	28	16
13	–	20	22	26
14	–	13	10	29
15	–	16	6	22
16	–	15	13	17
17	–	18	20	21
18	–	11	13	5
19	Did not go.			
20	–	13	16	28
21	–	24	20	13
22	–	28	16	13
23	–	29	22	5
24	–	13	20	21
25	–	7	15	3
26	Did not go.	His brother, 33, went instead		
27	–	28	33	25
28	–	25	10	22
29	–	18	17	21
30 and 31	Did not go.			
32	–	29	13	1
33	–	27	13	3
34	–	outsider	10	19
35	Did not go.	No. 3 went for him		
36	–	1	30	19
37	–	21	22	4

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IV. EFFECT OF KINSHIP ON CHOICES. Twenty-seven of the thirty-four individuals comprising this group are related to some other individual in the group.[1] Therefore, the question naturally arises as to the influence of such relationship upon the choices that the men made. Sociogram II, on the following page, shows seven clusters, each cluster made up of related individuals bearing the same family name. Of course, some of the individuals within a cluster are only distantly related because the joint-family names in Dragalevtsy have a place connotation in addition to the one of relationship. But just the same, the village usually thinks of the Pachevi or the Chalukovi as a definite group in the community bound together by kinship as well as geographical proximity. The sociogram also shows the choices made by each individual for other individuals in the same cluster. A few in-law relationships are not shown in this sociogram, but an examination of the data showed them to be relatively unimportant in this woodcutting group.[4]

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I was interested in my analysis of the group to see what effect a feeling of insecurity on the part of an individual might have upon his choice of a relative. The best measure of this feeling of insecurity seemed to be the failure to receive favorable votes. It does seem significant that every individual[5] shown on Sociogram II who received only one or else no favorable votes from the group at large selected some relative, with whom he naturally felt on more intimate terms. When an individual received as many as two votes from the group at large, then the chances were about fifty per cent that he would name a relative among his first three choices. Of course, the unwanted individual does not know definitely the opinion, expressed on the questionnaire, which the general public has for him, but in a face-to-face society like Dragalevtsy every individual has a rather clear picture of his social status. This was illustrated forcibly when 23, who received the largest number of negative votes, refused to name any individuals which he would reject from a woodcutting group of his own formation. He co-operated in naming those he would like (two of the first three being relatives), but lacked the hypocrisy necessary to name any others as being undesirable; he knew where he stood in the opinion of the community.

Not only was I interested in the position of the person choosing relatives but also in the position of the relatives chosen. I wondered, for instance, if relatives out of kindness or a sense of loyalty would list some kinsman whom the group at large might reject. This did not prove to be the case because only one person named by a kinsman was not listed by someone outside the

[4] The *svatovshtenie*, or in-law relationship, is very important in Bulgarian villages—so much so that two brothers cannot marry two sisters, since the second brother by marrying a sister-in-law would be marrying a relative, something taboo.

[5] The Voynishki (Numbers 36 and 37) are exceptions here, but since they are not on speaking terms one would not expect them to choose each other.

[1] [This refers to a woodcutting group studied by the author; see pp. 250-256, category 116 -- Analyst]

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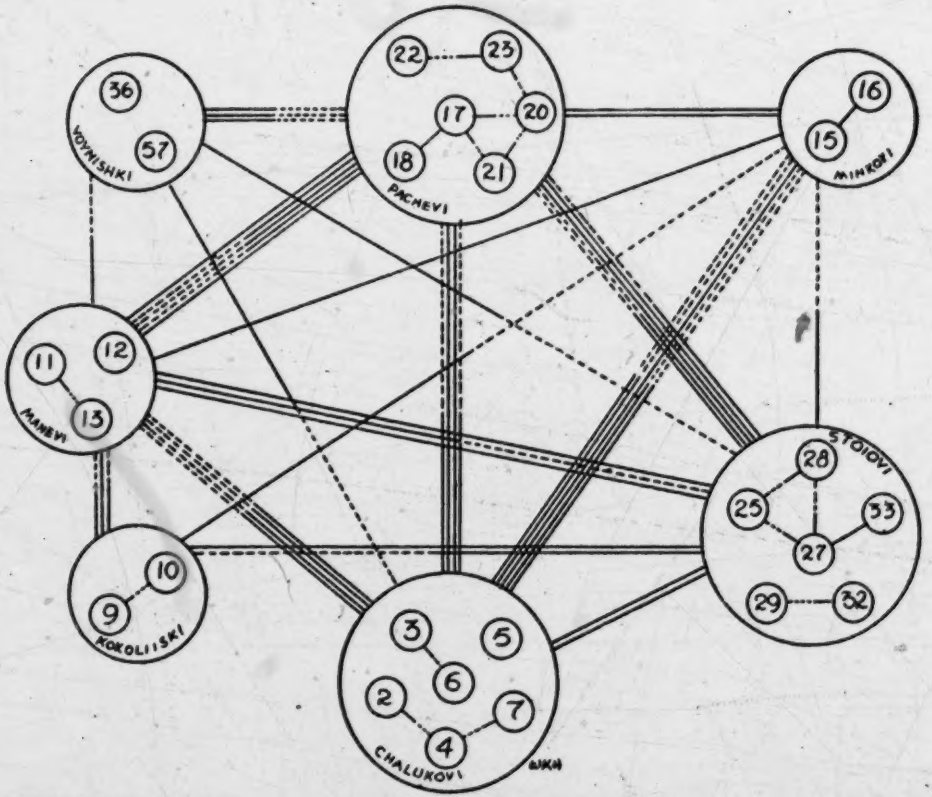

SOCIOGRAM II—EFFECTS OF KINSHIP ON CHOICES. Each cluster is made up of related individuals bearing the same family name. Lines between clusters show the number of times members of one cluster mentioned those in another cluster (first three choices).

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

kinship group. That is, individuals who chose relatives chose those upon whom the group at large likewise placed approval. 476 571

Sociogram II likewise shows us the status of the different kinship clusters as far as the woodcutting activity is concerned. The Pachevi, Stoiovi, and Chalukovi, each consisting of six members, are comparable in size but received 16, 9, and 6 votes respectively. The other clusters, made up of two or three members, are similarly comparable but vary considerably: Voynishki, 1; Kokoliiski, 3; Minkovi, 10; Manevi, 15. The size of the cluster has little to do with the number of votes received; it is rather the popularity of certain individuals within the cluster which determines the voting. 554 602 157

My conclusions regarding the effect of kinship as far as this one group is concerned are: (1) the choices of unwanted individuals included a relative with whom they felt some security; (2) the persons chosen were usually those upon whom the group as a whole set its stamp of approval; and (3) family clusters can be said to have a status in the same sense that individuals do, and are rejected or mentioned favorably through the medium of the individuals comprising those clusters.

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"The . . . purpose of the *sedenka* is to help some woman card her . . . wool." *See page 261.*

[Facing p. 260]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 194? EE1 Bulgaria EE1
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APPENDIX VII

THE FOLK APPROACH IN EXTENSION WORK

A BULGARIAN EXPERIENCE*

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THE INCIDENT. One day in Dragalevtsy, a Bulgarian village of 1,600 people, the mayor's courier went from house to house to inform all expectant mothers of a meeting to be held in the schoolhouse the next afternoon. The public health nurse from Sofia wanted to tell them about prenatal and postnatal care. Attendance, according to the courier, was compulsory. As he made his rounds, comments such as these flowed in his wake: "What does that mayor think he's doing? Making a public spectacle of pregnant women!" "I've already had more babies than that nurse will ever have. She can't tell me anything I don't know." By nightfall the women of the village, after discussing it over the stone fences between the yards, had decided that the expectant mothers should not attend the meeting.

The next afternoon two or three women did appear, women whose families felt under obligation to the mayor and consequently supported all of his programs. The mayor and the nurse were much disappointed, but dared not invoke the compulsory part of the courier's invitation. The nurse went ahead with her demonstration for the faithful few, but even these left the meeting much bewildered and quite disappointed. They told their friends, "We couldn't buy all the stuff she told us to buy, even if we should want to do everything she suggested."

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THE PROBLEM. Incidents similar to this occurred so frequently during my three-year study of that village that I tried to discover what more effective approach could be used to bridge the gap between the scientific and the folk knowledge. The mayor and those assisting him were well-intentioned, but the people never seemed to apply the suggestions that the outside lecturers made. Accordingly, the lecturers became more convinced that the peasants were stupid, and the peasants became more self-satisfied with the ways that they already had. What was supposed to be *extension of the new* really became *extinction of the new* before it had time to take root.

The "uplifters," who frequently used the phrase *izdigane na seloto* or "the raising up of the village," were unnecessarily complicating their task.

* This article appeared in *Journal of Applied Anthropology*, II, No. 4, September, 1943. Used by permission. This also appeared later in *Autonomous Groups Bulletin* as Vol. I, No. 3.

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178 181 Instead of concentrating on the improvement of home-making and the encouragement of hygienic practices, which were their primary aims, they were also trying to change the women's meeting habits, or their ways of getting together. They insisted that the women leave their homes and come to the school for an artificially assembled meeting of a stiff, formal sort where they would be on the "receiving end," without the give-and-take of informal conversation to which they were accustomed.

As I sensed this difficulty I became convinced that the folkways already provided an avenue to the village women: namely, the *sedenka,* or "sitting," which is the name the villagers have given to the women's working groups.

574 476 THE SEDENKA.[1] Allegedly, the main purpose of the *sedenka* is to help some woman card her fluffy, newly-washed wool or to help her spin some of the wool into thread. Actually, it is recreational as well, for the women thoroughly enjoy sharing the gossip, the songs, and the food which accompany such get-togethers. Although these *sedenki* (pl.) seem at times to be hit-or-miss affairs, certain unwritten rules govern their activity. If a woman, for example, wants to have the help of her neighbors in carding her wool there are procedures she must follow.

1. She will select the guests quite carefully, inviting those who owe her work in kind or those to whose houses she wants to be invited when they card their wool. She rejects from the number those who cause ill-feeling, who stir up trouble, or who are at odds with each other. Similarly she rejects those whose houses she does not want to visit in a "return engagement" either because their food is poorly prepared or because they are dirty and slovenly in their housekeeping. At times she is prevailed upon by a close friend or a relative to invite some individual who is not popular enough to receive many invitations but who is anxious for the social intercourse that these occasions provide.

2. She will issue the invitations in the time-honored way. Although she may have seen two friends the evening before at the fountain and learned from them that they definitely plan to attend, she nevertheless goes to their homes before daybreak to call out in the crisp autumn air, "Anka, Anka." The dogs set up a terrific roar, and Anka finally appears at the door. "I'm having a *sedenka* today and I hope you can come." Anka accepts most graciously, while the walking alarm clock moves on to issue the next invitation.

3. She will prepare quantities of special food. There are certain dishes that are *sedenka* favorites. In the fall, one of these is *banitsa,* a soggy pumpkin pie two feet in diameter. A stew of beans or one of meat and vegetables is often popular.

4. She will see that the activities at the *sedenka* flow along normally. There must be enough of the comb-like affairs, long spikes set in a small

[1] [For additional material, see pp. 74-77, category 116--Analyst]

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574 wooden frame, through which the wool is drawn. The women in all parts
476 of the room must be kept supplied with wool. Mealtimes must come at the prescribed intervals, and the good conversationalists must be urged to repeat some of the latest news, while those who consider themselves singers must be encouraged to start a song. And so the day passes. The women have arrived in the morning as soon as they completed their morning tasks, and they stay until midafternoon. At other times, however, a smaller group assembles in the evening for four or five hours of enjoyment and spinning.

521 Needless to say, these *sedenka* groups[1] are powerful agencies in the dissemination of news and in the formation of village opinion. After a day spent in one of these sessions a woman has a supply of "small talk" sufficient to last her for two or three days in conversations with those who did not attend this particular gathering.

000 GOOD EXTENSION PRINCIPLES AND THE SEDENKA. The specialist who uses a *sedenka,* whether especially arranged for her or not, would be following good educational and sociological practice.

1. *She would be bringing people together in a familiar environment:* that is, one of the village homes. There would not be the strangeness of the schoolroom nor the distractions of completely new surroundings. Instead of having to adjust to a new place and a new person (the speaker) the women would play the role of hostesses and expect the speaker to adjust to them.

2. *The people would already be accustomed to meeting with each other.* Any newly-formed group needs an exploratory period in which the bolder individuals try various things on the group to see what meets with favor and what with stony indifference or frank disapproval. In a *sedenka* group, people already know how their remarks and their questions will be received, which is a matter of much importance in a learning situation. Among people who do not know each other well an ill-advised laugh at a sincere question can kill the chances of a lively, helpful, wholehearted discussion. The congeniality of the group is further assured by the fact that the hostess is able to use a selective technique which weeds out the incompatibles. Fortunately, these "incompatibles" are usually compatible in other groups where they have much in common with their associates in these groups. Therefore, every village woman could be reached in some *sedenka* grouping.

3. *The demonstration agent could use the artifacts of the village home to good advantage.* As far as possible the demonstration should be built around what the women already have, for that is what they must use if they follow the speaker's suggestions. The average village home would not spend more than four or five dollars a year on furnishings, utensils, and the like, nor could one expect them to spend more than this out of the meager budget

[1] [cf. pp 74-77, p. 261, category 116 -- Analyst]

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on which they operate. Demonstrations then should be worked out not so much to illustrate the ideal but to show how present practices can be improved with the utensils already at hand. If this is done the village women no longer could say, "Oh, I can't do that, for I don't have all those things the stranger had." 000

4. *Local leadership would be recognized and used.* A great mistake, too often made, is the assumption that the mayor[1], an outside governmental appointee, is the leader of the village in all respects. Every activity has its own local leaders. By skillful questioning the outsider can learn which women are most respected in their particular neighborhoods. Each of these could be asked to call a *sedenka* together for her neighborhood at a time convenient both to the specialist and the women. Before they sponsored any such novelty the leaders must be convinced of the worthwhile nature of the activity; and can then be taught to assume an important part in the demonstration.

5. *The new proposals could be fitted more easily into the fabric of everyday life.* Not only must the women be given the techniques but they must be given an ideology to accompany those techniques. They must have an answer ready for the doubting husband, the curious neighbor, the pooh-poohing mother-in-law. They must see that what they are asked to do bolsters up rather than tears down those social values which they consider essential to their way of life.

To illustrate, we may return again to the matter of postnatal care. Expectant mothers in Dragalevtsy hesitate to prepare layettes for the infants in advance. They feel that such behavior, presuming as it does that the baby will survive, would anger the powers that be; women must expect the worst because the worst so frequently occurs. This is a fundamental fact to be reckoned with in the teaching of infant care. Most public health nurses recognize this difficulty, but many try to eradicate it by telling the women how superstitious and how silly they are. The more positive approach would recognize the limitations and try to do at least these two things: 844 000

a. Insist that clean cloths, soap, and all other available equipment needed at childbirth and in early infancy be prepared and set aside in advance. None of these cloths should require sewing, since all pregnant women are forbidden to sew.

b. Tell the mothers-to-be how they can make simple, hygienic garments as soon as they recover sufficiently from the delivery, for there is no *tabu* against such action then. Once they understand how to make and use such special garments in place of the unsanitary swaddling clothes, some of them

[1] The national government which came into power in May, 1934, sent engineers and lawyers and other educated people into key villages as mayors to supplant the local peasants, who had been elected by their fellow villagers. 622

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000 will prepare them in advance in spite of the *tabu*. A few of the up-to-date mothers-in-law may also prepare these garments in advance, at the same time forbidding their daughters-in-law to sew.

The value of such an approach lies in the avoidance of a sharp break between the old and the new; instead, the two are blended. Social changes occur without the people feeling that such changes threaten their mores. A most important point, then, in fitting the new proposals into the fabric of everyday life is the scrupulous forestalling of a clear-cut issue between the old and the new whenever that is possible. There are times, to be sure, when some champion of the old challenges the new, and the specialist must meet the challenge with everything at his command. However, the specialist must never seek to destroy the old because it is old; nor should he initiate an "either-or" choice for the peasant.

APPLICATION AND EVALUATION. I used the *sedenka* to serve a purpose of my own in an experimental fashion but the Bulgarian extension people to whom I broached the matter were a bit reluctant to use the *sedenka* for at least three reasons:

1. They had their eyes turned to the west and mistakenly thought that what they *imported* was better than what they *already had*. In other words, making use of the local groups would have seemed a step backward rather than a step forward. It just was not the modern way to do things, and they were out to "modernize" the village.

2. They had been "bitten" by the attendance bugaboo. They had to get a big "turn-out" so they could add up impressive figures when they reported the event; their supervisor had to use figures to impress the one above him; and so it ran up the whole hierarchy. Then, too, the workers themselves began to measure their own success in terms of attendance. Of course, if such a measure is used it is ridiculous to get twenty or twenty-five women together in a home when you could get fifty women together in the school. Unfortunately, such individuals are bewitched by the fallacy that exposure means education and the more people exposed the greater the education.

3. A few extension workers realized that they would not be as much the master of a *sedenka* gathering as they would of a number of people arranged in chairs, all ill-at-ease and everybody afraid to speak up. Those who lacked self-confidence in their own training, or in their ability to handle questions did not want to be put in the position of having to say that they did not know the answer to some query. This was partly the fault of their training, as well as a failure to evaluate properly the goals for which they were striving.

One day I asked a woman named Sandra if she would let me come to a *sedenka* at her house. She made all arrangements, invited her friends, and prepared some food. All the women brought their own handwork. Because

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I was investigating at this time the relationships of the Bulgarian family, a Bulgarian woman teacher and I spent about four hours guiding the discussion around the roles of the husband, the wife, the child and the in-laws. Over and over again, I thought of the excellent educational opportunities such an occasion offered. In fact, I had to answer almost as many questions about America as I asked about Bulgaria, and the teacher was asked many questions which would never have been raised in a schoolroom. The topics covered ranged from how men treated their wives in America to what one did for a bad sore in a child's mouth. There were many informal conversations going on much of the time among pairs or trios of the twenty-five women, but when some particular question proved of general interest the conversation would stop and all would listen attentively.

I know that this gathering at Sandra's home was not a fair test of the *sedenka* as an extension aid; however, this experience and experiences with at least twenty-five other *sedenka* groups convinced me of the rich possibilities these groups afford.

For those interested in the problem of finding a way through cultural barriers this particular study can be merely suggestive. What succeeds in Bulgaria will not necessarily succeed elsewhere, but surely some of the principles will apply. Few of us utilize sufficiently the avenues a culture affords; instead we want to travel pathways of our own blazing, often leaving our followers lost far behind. It is much better to start where the people are already, and move with them down familiar paths, pointing out ways the old paths can be improved. Sometimes drastic alterations will be necessary, but these should only be decided upon after the possibilities of the "blended approach" have been carefully considered.

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APPENDIX VIII

BULGARIANS AND SOUTHERN RURAL WHITES IN CONTRAST*

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The Bulgaria of which I speak is three-fourths rural, definitely peasant. The group of Southern whites to which I limit myself in this analogy is made up of the small farmer, whether he be owner, tenant, sharecropper, hillbilly, or cracker.[1] My discussion, centering as it does upon what the political columnists so fondly and not inaccurately term the "little people" of each region, therefore excludes the comparatively well-to-do urban industrial and professional groups of both Bulgaria and the South. In comparing rural Bulgaria and the rural South I was reminded of a question which has been often raised recently: Are we to have an American peasant class?[2] While I cannot answer this question to my own satisfaction I recognize its implications. If we are to have a peasant class there is much we can learn from the agricultural sections of Europe where a stable, organized life has gone on for hundreds of years through the intensive use of all available natural resources in the midst of turbulent political changes, plagues, and famines.

Just as visitors in writing of the South misuse the word "poor white"[3] so we in considering the European scene often misuse the word "peasant," giving it a connotation of reproach as though a peasant were a serf.[4] The

* Read before the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Knoxville, Tennessee, April 5, 1940. Appeared as an article in *Social Forces*, XIX, No. 1, October, 1940. Reprinted by permission.

[1] "The South today, especially the Southeast, is essentially a land of hillbillies and other ruralites, whose chief contact with the commerce and culture of the world is through hick towns (p. 8).

"The South is a land of farms and farmers." . . . To appraise the South is to appraise farmers, whether for the art of living or for the lack of a living" (pp. 10-11). H. C. Nixon, *Forty Acres and Steel Mules* (Chapel Hill, 1938).

[2] " . . . Such are the beginnings of peasantry in the New World—The Collapse of the Black Belt plantation system is a preface to American peasantry." A. F. Raper, *Preface to Peasantry: A Tale of Two Black Belt Counties* (Chapel Hill, 1936), p. 4.

[3] W. T. Couch, Editor, *Culture in the South* (Chapel Hill, 1934). See chapt. 20, The Tradition of "Poor Whites," by A. N. J. Den Hollander. M. R. Mell, "Poor Whites of the South," *Social Forces*, December, 1938, pp. 153-167.

[4] " . . . With this transformation (that is, the peasant becoming an entrepreneur) have come changes in the connotation of the word 'peasant.' He is no longer a rustic of inferior status too ignorant and dull to take advantage of commercial opportunities;

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Bulgarian peasants whom I knew intimately for six years are independent farmers who dwell in their own homes, subsist on their own land[5] and form a folk, in the anthropological sense.

Bulgaria, a Balkan country the size of Ohio with a population of six million, was for five hundred years under Turkish rule, becoming independent in 1878 as a result of a Russo-Turkish War. Bulgaria's reconstruction period therefore covers approximately the same time as ours.[6] The few large landowners in Bulgaria fled to Turkey after the Liberation. This means that the Bulgarian farmers own their land; tenancy is very uncommon; the employment of farm laborers even less common.[7] As the farm population has increased, the already small holdings have had to be further divided, until now the average farm totals 15 acres scattered in 17 strips around the picturesque villages in which the people live.[8] The heart of Bulgarian peasant economy is the agricultural village[9]; the heart of life in the village is the home and the family system. Each farm of 17 acres must support, in addition to all dependents, four or five adults of working age. The fact that women and children

it is increasingly recognized that the really important characteristics peculiar to the peasant are his sentiments and attitudes, the intense attachment to his native soil and family tradition, which, even in the economic sphere, take precedence over the desire for individual advancement and gain. This peasant ethos is common throughout continental Europe." *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* Article on Peasantry by C. von Dietze.

[5] Peasantry, of course, is not synonymous with farm ownership everywhere in Europe, but the go[illegible]ments there (notably in Ireland and Denmark) recognize the importance of a la[illegible] peasantry as shown by recent attempts to lessen tenancy. See *Farm Tenanc[illegible] of President's Committee,* 1937, Section III, Some Tenure Programs of other [illegible]ons.

[6] The crises through which Bulgaria has passed have much in common with those of the South as listed in H. W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill, 1936), pp. 13-14. Nikola Stanev, *Istoria Na Nova Bulgaria, 1878-1928* (History of the New Bulgaria), Sofia, 1929.

[7] Ian C. Mollov and T. E. Bakurdjiev, *Organizatsionnata Struktura Na Zemedelskoto Stopanstvo Vv Sofiiska Okolia* (The Organizational Structure of the Farms in the County of Sofia), Sofia, 1931, pp. 6-7. (95.3 per cent of farmers work their own land, 4.7 per cent rent their land; only 3.2 per cent employ hired labor.)

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 5. For the country as a whole see the *Statesman's Year Book, 1939*: "According to the census of 1934, eighty per cent of the active population were engaged in agriculture, most of them being small proprietors holding from *one to six acres.*" This is understood more clearly when it is remembered that only thirty-nine per cent of the total area is arable and that this is divided into 750,613 farms. (*The New International Yearbook, 1938,* article on Bulgaria.)

[9] H. C. Nixon, *op. cit.* "Farm ownership or a sounder lease policy is not enough to enable Southern hillbillies to live in decency. It is essential to provide by public effort for social and economic co-operation among small farmers, to make possible a better system of farm villages" p. 61.

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work outdoors with the men means an abundant labor supply but also requires close co-operation, planning, and division of labor.[10]

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Peasant economy is based on a self-subsistence principle in which a satisfactory balance between plant and animal life is maintained.[11] Since cash income is low the plane of living is low.[12] That is, the peasant cannot buy from the outside world much in the way of clothing, machinery, conveniences, or recreation. On the other hand, he does eat well according to his own standards. Furthermore, he maintains his self-respect. There is security in land which nothing else affords unless it be a family large enough to work the land one owns. No matter how much one discounts that sort of economy, history has shown it to be the most enduring man has yet devised.

The picture is different in the South.[13] Although our farms average 71 acres they are operated by tenants in 54 per cent of the cases,[14] usually on a cash crop basis.[15] Only in the Appalachian-Ozark area, which by the way is most like the Bulgarian, do we find subsistence-farming as the prevailing principle.[16] There, however, it is blighted by isolation and lacks the co-operative features found in most agricultural villages: a swineherd caring during the day for all pigs in the village, communal pastures, or neighborhood cornhoeing groups. To be sure, there is mutual aid and co-operation in the highlands but these tend to be confined to periods of crisis rather than to the performance of ordinary daily tasks.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 14: "In fact, excessive ruralism has caused an unusual amount of labor to fall to the lot of women in this region of chivalry [the South]."

[11] Oxen, water-buffalo and horses, in the order of importance, are the work animals in Bulgaria. The government is trying to persuade peasants to replace oxen with dual-purpose cows as an economy move.

[12] Ian C. Mollov and H. K. Kondov, *Dobodnostuta Na 57 Zemedelski Stopanstva Vv Bulgaria* (1932-33). (The Incomes of 57 Bulgarian Farms for 1932-33.) This study gives some indication of the level of living possible.

[13] Standards of living are low in the South. See C. C. Taylor, H. W. Wheeler, E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture*, Washington, 1938. Good bibliographies on pp. 8 and 9; description of the Old South, pp. 115-119.

[14] *Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, 1937*, p. 35. Figures cited here are for sixteen South Atlantic and South Central States and the District of Columbia. The percentage would be even higher for Southeastern States alone.

[15] Odum, *op. cit.*, p. 391. On pages 489-491 Odum quotes Rupert B. Vance: "Until recently in this country no critical theory of tenancy has been developed which takes into consideration the fact that while the United States is drifting into tenancy, certain European countries with semi-feudal backgrounds, notably Denmark, Ireland, and France, have made the transitions to peasant proprietorship."

[16] Couch, *op. cit.*, p. 25. "This section [Appalachian-Ozark] is responsible for the fact that the South has a larger number of practically self-sufficing farms than any other important section in the United States." C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson, *Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties*, Washington, 1938.

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The failure of the Southern whites to co-operate for economic ends is tragic. A Southern adaptation of co-operative patterns found successful elsewhere, if generally accepted, would afford a fuller, richer existence for the thousands of families which go their individual, poverty-stricken ways in the mistaken belief that co-operation is incompatible with independence. European peasants are renowned for their independence as well as for their co-operation.[17]

The Southern population is mobile, one out of every three Southern tenant families moving yearly.[18] The Bulgarian population is permanent, as shown in the study I made of the farmers of one Bulgarian village where 91.4 per cent of the male family heads and 96.3 per cent of their fathers had been born in the same village.[19] We would expect this contrast because of the differences in the economic system.

But there is an interesting similarity between Bulgarians and the Southeast in those population characteristics which are dependent upon biological factors. The Southeast is often called the "nursery of the Nation" with a natural increase of 9.5 (birth rate 21.7, death rate 12.2),[20] whereas Bulgaria is one of the leaders of Europe in this respect with a natural increase of 10.5 (birth rate 23.9, death rate 13.4).[21]

Homogeneity is characteristic of Bulgarian people as it is of the Southern white, not only in respect to similarity of racial strain but in respect to religion as well. Most Bulgarians are adherents of the Eastern Orthodox Church; most Southern whites are Protestants.[22]

The Southern whites share the region with a numerous minority; Bulgaria has no significant minority problem, for the Turks who comprised 11 per cent

[17] This co-operation can be expressed on an informal basis as well as through a formal organization. Carl C. Taylor, Head of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, in addressing the American Association of School Administrators in February, 1940, said: "Self-help is no new doctrine in rural areas, and the best approach to the improvement of rural life on all fronts is to utilize the capacities for self-sufficiency and to expand self-help from an individual to a community and co-operative basis. To do otherwise is so completely to urbanize farming and farm life as to lose nationally the unique contributions which country life always has made and always should make to our civilization."

[18] *Report on Economic Conditions of the South,* National Emergency Council, 1938, p. 47.

[19] The Sociology of a Bulgarian Shopski Village, doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1938.

[20] Odum, *op. cit.,* p. 492 (evidently includes both Negro and white rates).

[21] *The New International Yearbook, 1938, article on Bulgaria.* Note the decline since 1926 when the natural increase was 20.1 (birth rate 37, death rate 17) D. Kostov, *Geografia Na Bulgaria i Susednite i Durzhavi* (Geography of Bulgaria and Neighboring States), Plovdiv, 1928.

[22] Odum, *op. cit.,* p. 15.

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565 105 of the population in 1926 have been returning to Turkey at a greatly accelerated pace.

There are striking anthropological contrasts between the Bulgarian peasant and the Southern white. The most marked of these is the peasant's close identification with a folk culture which is characterized by a consciousness of kind, established patterns of habit and thought, artifacts identified with that culture alone, and a strong exercise of social control. There is also uniformity of dress, agricultural method, and social values.

Among the Southern whites the Appalachian-Ozark area alone possesses the characteristics of a folk, for its people are closely knit together, have mountain handicrafts of which they are proud,[33] and, although differing in economic status, tend to conform to cultural patterns handed from the past. On the contrary, the tenant farmer may have his share of superstitions, folk remedies, and traditional attitudes, but he lacks "consciousness of kind" which would identify him with a folk culture.[34]

The four social institutions which I wish to mention briefly but which I shall not compare in detail are the family, education, religion, and government.[35]

596 105 The Bulgarian family is patriarchal, children are valued as economic assets; there is a strong kinship feeling even unto the third and fourth generation. Marriage is still an arrangement between two families under the sole control of the church. Family disorganization in the form of desertion or divorce is practically unknown; illegitimacy rare.

871 105 There is compulsory education to the fourteenth year in Bulgaria. However, the law is seldom invoked because the parents have recognized the economic value of education. That is why Bulgaria is the most literate country in the Balkans, a testimony to the high value the peasants place upon education and the rigid social control at work in the compact villages. If some

[33] W. T. Couch, *op. cit.*, chapter 15—The Handicrafts by Allen H. Eaten; chapter 19—Appalachian America by J. Worley Hatcher; chapter 26—Folk and Folklore by B. A. Botkin.

[34] The folk culture is quite different from a regional or Southern culture such as Odum describes at length in his Chapter IX in *Southern Regions* on Institutions and Folkways. The Bulgarian peasant is primarily identified with the village culture and secondarily with newer national culture in process of development. The Southern white is identified with a regional culture but not with a folk culture.

[35] Because of space limitations I omitted a section dealing with Psychological Comparisons. This would have compared the race prejudice and regional "inferiority complex" of the Southerner with the nationalism and sensitiveness to criticism of the Bulgarian. Bulgaria, defeated in the World War, has its Lost Cause as does the South. Bulgarians, like Southerners, have gained the reputation for conservatism and hospitality. On the other hand, industry is more a Bulgarian than a Southern trait.

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poorer peasant wanted to keep his children home from school he would have to face the withering scorn of his neighbors. I cannot help contrasting this situation with that found in the South where truancy is a major educational problem arising from the mobility of the population, the distance between home and school, and the low place afforded education in the scale of social values. 871 105

Most young Bulgarian men after their eighteenth year are called upon to serve their country as *trudovatsi* (members of the Labor Corps) or as soldiers. The time they spend in the barracks not only widens their social contacts and broadens their outlook but also educates them in the formal sense to the extent that they take advantage of courses offered. In America the Civilians' Conservation Corps is roughly analogous, differing in that it is on a voluntary basis, pays the youth for work done, and is restricted to those young men from families of a low economic level.

The Bulgarian peasant has a dualistic view of the universe. First, there are the forces of good which must be propitiated. The priest is God's intermediary and can intervene with him in the event of a drought, serious illness in the family, or sterility in the wife. The priest christens the baby and sanctifies the marriage tie. In the event of death he performs the liturgy to insure the soul's passage into a heaven thought of in very realistic but not enthusiastic terms. 771 105

There are also the forces of evil whom it pays well to placate. A few old women in every village are the "priestesses of superstition" whose incantations work wonders and drive off the Evil Eye. Peasants do not discuss this white magic when the priest is around, so complete is the dichotomy between the Good and the Bad. Religion as represented by the church consists of form and ceremony rather than a challenge to daily living. Furthermore, the Bulgarian peasant derives little emotional release from an "other worldly" rapture indulged in on Sundays. He is too secure, too stolid, too practical for that. On the contrary, the insecurity of the Southern white is attested to by the increasing numbers adhering to the excitable Pentecostal type of religious expression.*

We hear much in the South today about suffrage reforms, abolition of the poll tax, government paternalism, and the failure of democratic processes. Since the same problems are being faced in Bulgaria a comparison may prove helpful.

Fifty years ago the villages were governed by elders, the influential heads of the larger families. After Bulgaria's Liberation from Turkey in 1878 the 622 105

* John B. Holt, Religious Secession and Class in the Southeast. A paper read before the Section on Sociology of Religion, annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, 1939.

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right to vote was gradually extended to the village men before these men had had the advantages of an adequate school system. They like ignorant people the world around were more influenced by personalities than by principles, thus becoming an easy prey to politicians who played upon their emotions, catered to their prejudices, and took advantage of their credulity. But vote they must or be fined approximately five dollars for staying away from the polls.

With an electorate so inexperienced in the democratic tradition, great confusion arose. For instance, there were sixteen political parties in a nation of six million, making it impossible for any party to get a clear majority. The only way government could go on was by a bloc composed of several parties, but even this was inefficient. Therefore in 1934 Bulgaria had a New Deal, a *coup d' etat* headed by some military men who initiated numerous agrarian reforms. No longer did the peasants vote and thereby control government policies; instead they were told what to do. Gradually those who had engineered this *coup d' etat* were displaced from power by the King, a dictatorship was averted, and two years ago* a semblance of democracy was again restored when the vote was given back to peasant men and mothers. Instead of allowing party affiliations the government organized the electorate on the basis of occupation, following the corporation system in Italy where parliamentary members represent an economic rather than a geographical constituency.

Watching the failure of democracy in Bulgaria has made me gravely concerned about the future of democracy in the South. I am strongly in favor of giving our disenfranchised groups the right to vote, but so many advocates of suffrage reform seem to forget the necessity of training these groups in the meaning and proper use of the ballot. Democracy is not a quantitative process which is better guaranteed by increasing the number of voters; it is a qualitative process which requires increasing understanding of the obligations of citizenship as well as extension of the franchise. Ignorant voters pave the way for demagoguery**; demagoguery creates a situation ripe for the dictator; dictatorships doom democracies.

Since 1934 the Bulgarian political philosophers have been floundering between democratic and dictatorial procedures but the peasant has been handed over to a new type of paternalism which has its analogy in the South. The central government in Sofia is represented in the village by a professional man, usually a lawyer, as mayor. This mayor acts as local justice of the peace; he takes advantage of every public occasion to tell the peasants in a fatherly way what they ought to do and think about matters of national importance.

* Parliamentary elections were held on the four Sundays of March, 1938 (*The New International Year-Book, 1938, Bulgaria*).

** A. F. Raper, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-169.

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The mayor has some influence with the Debt Commissions coming from government banks to relieve the debt burdens of the farmers, he distributes whatever relief is available for needy families, and he has a prominent part in the administration of the school, public health, and village improvements. Because of this he is gradually displacing the priest as the most important personality in the village. In other words, the paternalism of the church is now being supplanted by that of the state. 622 105

We find a similar situation in the South where white farmers are beginning to depend less upon landlords, banks, and advancing merchants, and more upon the grants from governmental units, whether in the form of relief or credit facilities. Plantation or small-town paternalism is yielding to governmental paternalism.

The Bulgarian peasant is not a joiner. He does not use the organizational approach in attacking a problem but prefers to work through informal groups. There are two chief reasons why he avoids membership in the numerous formal groups seeking the villagers' support: first, he is penurious and will pay no membership fee unless he sees some prospect of personal advantage; secondly, he does not understand the purpose or program of the organizations, since most of them originate in the cities and are promoted by the *intelligentsia.* There are no church organizations claiming his support as in the case in most Southern neighborhoods. Living in a village as he does the peasant can visit with friends and neighbors without the necessity of having an organization to provide a rallying place. 575 181

The Southern white thinks vertically; the Bulgarian peasant horizontally —a difference in mental pattern which accounts for the difference in social process.

By "thinking vertically" I mean that traditionally the Southern white is dominated by the attraction of the American ladder of opportunity, although for him it has often proved mythical.[20] That is, success in life is determined by the extent to which one approximates the plane of living enjoyed by those of a higher economic level. Climbing means competition rather than co-operation.[21] Frustration seems to be displacing the traditional, optimistic view among many of the Southern whites. They look up the ladder, but say, "What's the use of starting the climb!" As individuals they are pitted against forces over which they have no control.[22]

[20] H. C. Nixon, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Shows the traditional nature of this mind-set in speaking of the Old South: "Nonslaveowners expected to become small slaveowners, and small slaveowners expected to become large ones." The mythical aspect is shown nowadays by the phrase "once a sharecropper, always a sharecropper."

[21] Odum, *op. cit.*, pp. 585-586, emphasizes the need for county and/or community co-operation.

[22] Perhaps Populism in the late 19th century came as near creating a consciousness of kind among the rural whites as anything else has ever done.

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The Bulgarian peasant in thinking horizontally identifies himself with other agriculturalists and accepts their culture as a heritage of which he is proud. He derives strength as an individual from his consciousness of kind. His attitude was forcibly demonstrated when I tried to get answers to a questionnaire on occupational attitudes. I could not get a single peasant to answer one simple question: If you were not a farmer, what would you most prefer to be? It was inconceivable to them that they should be anything other than farmers. Although the Bulgarian peasant rides frequently in a bus or automobile it never occurs to him to want one of his own. If given an additional sum of money to spend he would buy more of what he already has—land, a new house, or animals. Because he thinks horizontally he co-operates with his fellows. As a matter of course he submits to stern social control for the common good.

I would like to say in conclusion that the lot of the Bulgarian peasant is not an enviable one; his plane of living is low, but the improvement that will take place can occur in the social organization already in existence. The Bulgarian does have security for which he has had to pay the price of class distinction, at least as it exists in the minds of others; whether the disadvantaged groups of the South are becoming typed as a class without gaining security in exchange is a matter for serious consideration. In the South we are faced with the fact of disorganization among our rural population and a consequent reorganization. It has not been my purpose to map the plan this reorganization should follow, but to present a comparison which may help to clarify and stimulate our thinking as we search realistically for a solution.

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A NOTE ON METHODOLOGY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. CHOICE OF A VILLAGE: One of the first problems to be faced in this study was the choice of a village as a unit for investigation. Dragalevtsy was finally chosen on the basis of the following criteria: 121

a. It seemed representative of the villages of the *Shopski* region with respect to culture patterns and plane of living.

That the government authorities, notably the agricultural economists in the Ministry of Agriculture, considered Dragalevtsy representative along this line was shown by the fact that they selected it as one of the twenty-five villages throughout the country for a farm-income study. Another indication of its representative nature was the testimony of people who had moved into Dragalevtsy from other *Shopski* villages; they saw little difference between the culture patterns and plane of living to which they had been accustomed and those in Dragalevtsy. Officials consulted in connection with the choice of village were very quick to state that the *Shopski* region was one of the most conservative parts of the country, a point which has been borne in mind throughout the study.

b. Large enough to contain a significant number of formal groups and institutions.

Dragalevtsy was a medium-sized village, but did have all the institutions and most of the groups found in villages throughout the *Shopski* region.

c. Near enough to the American College to make possible frequent visits throughout the year.

Work at the College precluded the possibility of choosing a village on the other side of Mount Vitosha, even if that had seemed desirable. Because it fulfilled the first two requirements so well, Dragalevtsy was chosen in preference to two villages nearer the College and to others more readily accessible by automobile.

2. BECOMING EN RAPPORT WITH VILLAGERS: After being assured of the co-operation of the mayor and other officials, I cultivated the acquaintance of the peasants for a five-month period before introducing any intimate questionnaire. During this period of "acquaintance," I attended a dinner for 123

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123 Dragalevtsy people at the monastery as the mayor's guest, where, after a warm introduction by him, I spoke briefly to the people in their native language as to my reason for being with them and my desire to know all of them better. On special occasions such as Christmas and name-day celebrations I visited the people in their homes and shared their common meals. I spent a day at a "carding-bee," where thirty women were working. Not only did I visit with the women informally but also took several pictures. These were distributed gratis to the women, after which I had a ready entree into all their homes. In the course of the study, at least 250 photographs were given to the people and proved a source of much delight to them. By the end of the five-month period I was known to the whole village, and in turn could give the family names of a considerable number of men and women. Proof that these methods were successful in gaining the confidence of the people was the fact that during the three years I had only one instance of non-cooperation, that individual being a moody tavern-keeper. Other indications that I did establish a *rapport* with many of the villagers were (a) the peasants' use of *nash chovek* ("one of our very own") when speaking of me to visitors; (b) the message sent the year after my departure to the effect that, if I returned to live in Dragalevtsy, the villagers would give me land for a house.

3. Collection of Data:

124 a. *Personal observation*: Much of the material, especially of a descriptive sort, was obtained by personal observation during the three-year period of study. My quarters were on the Main Square, which was the center of village life. During two Christmas, and one summer, vacations I lived in the village; at other times I went there for the day or the afternoon, making such a trip on the average of once every two weeks.

125 b. *Questionnaires*: At the time of the census at the end of 1934 I prepared a questionnaire on social contact and social mobility for the villagers to fill out along with all the government blanks.[1] Then, I sent to the Central Bureau of Statistics a questionnaire dealing for the most part with population characteristics. A third questionnaire was used as a basis for the study of various village organizations. In addition to these I prepared a list of questions covering the material to be embodied in every chapter. These served as the basis for interviews.

124 c. *Interviews*: I soon learned that no peasants would fill out questionnaires left with them for that purpose. All information had to be obtained through personal interviews, though schedules were useful in guiding the

[1] Such questionnaires were really filled out by village clerks, who read off the questions and wrote in the peasants' answers.

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discussion and in making the interviews standard in character. In every formal interview I had the assistance of a native English-speaking Bulgarian with a village background to ask the questions in a way the peasant could grasp. I took all the notes since I could understand the responses, writing while the assistant was asking the next question. In many cases I made notes only after the end of the interview. In seeking interviewees I followed the practice of going to those whom observation and village opinion pointed out as knowing most about the particular subject. In getting information about organizations[3] I interviewed at least two officers and at least one-half of the members, guiding myself by a membership list obtained for each organization. The survey of family groups included thirty homes chosen with respect to size, economic status, and location in the village. A careful reading of the study has doubtless shown to what a great extent information has been drawn from all elements in the population. 124 [126]

d. *Printed sources and official records*: With the exception of some of the material contained in the earlier chapters nothing especially pertinent to Dragalevtsy could be obtained from printed sources. Any generalizations about other villages or Bulgaria as a whole had to be tried out in the village before they were accepted as applicable. For instance, ethnological works of forty years ago mentioned Dragalevtsy but their evidence could not be accepted as of current significance without an investigation to see if the old conditions still held. Official records in the *Obshtina* and in the Central Bureau of Statistics proved of considerable help in specific sections, though this information was limited in character. 127

e. *Rechecking data*: Any divergent answers were always checked with reliable informants in order to see which answer was more representative of the village as a whole. Personal observation and tentative conclusions were constantly checked with the *intelligentsia* and villagers capable of "sizing up" the situation. 124

[3] The following examples of patterned relationships were studied in detail: Merchants Association, buyer-seller groups, Insurance Association, cornhoeing groups, Agricultural Zadruga, Animal Husbandry (dairy Cooperative), artisan groups, four merchant groups, neighborhoods, threshing ring, spinning and carding groups, woodcutting groups, children's play groups, young people's *sedenki*, women's gossiping groups, men's tavern cliques, *vecherinki*, Younak Sports Association, *Chitalishte*, the teacher group, adult folk school, christening groups, wedding groups, mourning groups, Association for the Orthodox Christianization of Youth, Temperance Association, Village Council, School Board, Church Board, Red Cross Association, Village Court, Union for the Protection of Children, Association of the Medal for Valor.

For fuller discussion of these see the author's Ph.D. dissertation, "The Sociology of a Bulgarian *Shopski* Village," Cornell University, 1938.

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128 4. Organization and Synthesis of Data: Before starting the study I had already delimited the field and had made a tentative outline for each proposed chapter. This was possible because of a previous three-year acquaintance with Bulgarian villages. The original plan was altered to the extent of including an additional chapter, combining others and some shifting of material. The study of the data collected led to definite conclusions in connection with every chapter, although no attempt was made to generalize regarding Bulgarian villages as a whole from the study of a single unit.

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114 The above statement about methodology was written ten years ago and is the basis upon which the research techniques used in this study must be evaluated. Within the past ten years a number of significant refinements in social research have been developed, but these did not appear in time to be applied to the Dragalevtsy study, which was one of the very few comprehensive sociological studies of village life under way in the 1930's. World War II postponed the publication arrangements already agreed upon, but in doing so gave an opportunity for the concluding chapters on social change. The information for these chapters was collected from numerous interviews in Dragalevtsy and in Sofia during November and December, 1945, a period which I spent in Bulgaria in connection with my official duties as Agricultural Attache, with headquarters at the American Embassy, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

* *

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

113 Since most of the publications used in the preparation of this book were in Bulgarian and are also relatively inaccessible to the American reader, no bibliography is included here. Anyone wishing to read more widely on Bulgaria or the Balkans in general is referred to the excellent bibliographies prepared by the Library of Congress in Washington. See especially THE BALKANS: Part I. General and Part III. Bulgaria, both sections published in 1943.

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GLOSSARY OF BULGARIAN WORDS USED MOST FREQUENTLY

agronom—agricultural extension worker
baba—grandmother; old woman; midwife
Bai—prefix of respect
banitsa—native pie, usually pumpkin or white cheese
Chitalishte—a cultural organization with a reading room
decare—unit of land; approximately one-fourth acre
dedo—grandfather
den—day
domakin—master of the house; *domakinya*—mistress of the house
haidutsi—guerrillas; bandits
horo—Bulgarian national folk dance (plural, *hora*)
icon—picture of saint or Virgin Mary
iconostas—household shrine
intelligentsia—educated class; "white collar" people
kaval—native shepherd flute
Koleda—Christmas
kozuh—fleece-lined sheepskin coat
krachma—tavern
leva—Bulgarian monetary unit
mahala—neighborhood, quarter of the village
maistor—master craftsman
Obshtina—small political unit (commune); municipal building
pazar—market
rakiya—plum brandy
rodstvo—blood relationship
sedenka—recreational working-bee (plural, *sedenki*)
Sekretar-Birnik—chief clerk and tax collector of the *Obshtina*
Shopi—those dwelling in the region around Sofia; *Shopski*—the adjective describing the region
smes—wheat and rye mixture
sofra—low, round dining table
stopanin—same as *domakin*
subor—village reunion, "at home"

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104 *sukman*—woman's black jumper dress
surmi—boiled cabbage or grape leaves filled with meat or rice
susedstvo—small neighborhood (one's immediate neighbors)
svatovstvo—in-law relationship
trudova—compulsory labor for the state; *trudovak*—one doing such labor
Tsar—King; *Tsaritsa*—Queen
tsarvuli—pigskin sandals worn by the villagers
vecherinka—public evening entertainment
vodosvet—ceremony at which holy water is sprinkled
zadruga—old joint-family; modern association of farmers

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000 LABOR LAW and relations in the Soviet Union have been the object of thorough and conclusive research in recent years. The accumulated studies[1] have widely augmented the conclusion that free labor relations have no counterpart in the Soviet Union. It could hardly be otherwise, for the very foundations of the Soviet political, economic and social structure exclude the recognition of any independent force other than the Communist Party government. Within the framework of a one-party political system, of a fully nationalized economy and of government-controlled trade unions, labor boards and courts, the search for any "Soviet equivalent" of free labor is doomed to failure. Due to the disappearance of private property and management in industry, the Soviet worker, in each and every phase of his activities, has to face directly the state authority which makes any transgression on his part an offense against the state. This basic situation has transformed Soviet labor law into a branch of penal legislation and has "simplified" the worker-employer relationship to the point where the employer, that is, the state, dictates while the worker must obey. The most outspoken example of the degeneration of labor's status is the Soviet concept of collective labor contracts which, by govern-

[1] The most authoritative and useful publications in English: Salomon M. Schwarz, *Labor in the Soviet Union* (New York: Praeger, 1952); Isaac Deutscher, *Soviet Trade Unions* (London & New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1950); David Rousset, *Coercion of the Worker in the Soviet Union* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1953); United States Department of Labor, *Elements of Soviet Labor Law* (Bull. No. 1026, May, 1951).

[2] From 1933 to 1947 collective bargaining was even formally abandoned, for "labor relations being regulated in all details by governmental mandatory acts, there is no room for any con-

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THIS PEEK AT WORKERS BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN SHOWS THAT COMMUNIST BOSSES HAVE NEVER TOLERATED FREE LABOR UNIONS

000 mens regulation, exclude wage rates and standards of output from any bargaining. It is impossible to determine where, if anywhere, bargaining could take place, when governmental schedules fix every detail on wages and output and when "collective agreements" merely copy the relevant parts of these schedules and of other unilateral acts of the Soviet government.[3]

The essence of what the Soviets call labor law and relations having been sufficiently clarified in our scientific literature, it seems to be a logical step to analyze the corresponding situation in countries outside the Soviet Union but dominated by a Communist government. One of the purposes of such a study would be to ascertain whether Soviet-type Communism could be "different" if applied to countries with different backgrounds, traditions, and—specifically—different labor standards and problems, or whether the Soviet pattern has been followed blindly, without any regard for objective conditions.

tractual agreement concerning labor conditions." (Alexandrov and Genkin, *Soviet Labor Law* (Moscow, 1946), p. 106, in Russian.) But even after 1947, the Soviet equivalent of "collective agreement" is nothing more than a model form prepared by the government with only the purpose of "making concrete the duties of the management, factory committees, workers, technical, engineering, and clerical personnel with a view of fulfilling and overfulfilling of the production plans . . ."—without, that is, any bargaining elements. Quotation from *Legislation Concerning Labor*, Goliakov, ed., (Moscow, 1947), p. 15, in Russian.

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105 The Bulgarian case seems particularly apropos for such a study. Unlike Czarist Russia or the countries of Asia, pre-Communist Bulgaria had developed a relatively free and advanced society. Within the framework of a most liberal and democratic constitution, of a social structure without any noticeable class differences and of a predominantly agricultural economy based on independent small landholdings, Bulgaria had produced a social legislation among the [162] most progressive of our time. Native intelligentsia and labor alike represented only about 20 per cent of the population and were nothing more than recent offspring of the nation's backbone—the peasantry—so that no logical conflict of interests had a chance 466 to develop in Bulgaria. Labor, in particular, 461 had attained, as early as the twenties, the status of free labor with all necessary prerequisites, such as freedom of professional organization, free collective bargaining and impartial settlement of labor disputes, the right to strike, freedom of choosing and changing job, and a firm legal protection, including social security. In fact, by 1924, Bulgaria had incorporated into her domestic legislation all recommendations of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations.[8]

668 In such a harmonious environment, Communism could not and did not have any chance of success. Still, Communist attempts to artificially create a "social problem" and exploit it for their own purposes go way back to the turn of the century, when, in 1903, a small group of Lenin's followers split from the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party and formed a radical-revolutionary nucleus, known later

113 [8] For detailed background information and source material, see author's study *Trade Unions and Labor Legislation in Bulgaria (1878-1953)* (New York: Mid-European Studies Center, 1953).

668 on as the Bulgarian Workers' for Communist Party. Until the creation of the Bolshevik state in Russia, which threw its full support [162] behind the Communist organizations all over the world, the number of Bulgarian Communists, in spite of all efforts, never exceeded 5,000—less than 0.1 per cent of the entire population. Aware that parliamentary means could advance them no further, they resorted, under Moscow's guidance, to the only alternative with some probability of success: the forceful overthrow of the constitutional government. Yet, in 1919, 1923 and 1925, when three desparate attempts to seize power were made, the Bulgarian Communists lacked support by either the Red Army from outside, or infiltrated agents from within the government, so that their failure was complete. The only important result of those Communist experiments was that the Bulgarians and their "working class" were enabled to understand clearly the real intentions of Communism 30 years ago.

The preceding remarks seemed necessary in order to substantiate the conclusion that the pre-Communist Bulgarian reality proved to be an awkward ground for any Communist ac- [162] tivity. Even the Bulgarian workers (about 160,000 before the war) who were the primary Communist target did not find any particular appeal in Communist ideology and promises because there were no relevant reasons for dissatisfaction and many reasons for repudiating the Communist alternative. No risk is taken in assuming that, were it not for Bulgaria's invasion by the Red Army and the simultaneously staged Communist coup d'état, of September, 1944, Communism would never have taken hold in Bulgaria.[4]

[4] It is not well known that the Soviet Union declared war on Bulgaria when the latter had broken with Nazi Germany, had reestablished a democratic government, and was waiting for the armistice's signature with the Western Allies, whose attitude, at the time, is still

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The Communist experiment with Bulgaria is now ten years old. The evidence at hand is deemed more than sufficient for substantiating a case, with particular regard to labor law and relations.

In analyzing our primary source of evidence—Bulgaria's labor legislation—a sequence of important premises should be constantly borne in mind. The Bulgarian Communist Party, which is the one and only element of power, has fully subscribed to the theory and practice of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It has termed its form of government a "people's democracy" which "fulfills the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat."[5] According to Lenin, the dictatorship of the proletariat represents "a power limited by nothing, by no law, directly based on violence."[6] It is, therefore, difficult, if at all possible, to take even Communist legislation at its face value, when it is known that the law is not binding on the highest repository of power—the Communist Party and government. Still, the existing legislation can be safely considered as the expression of a "minimum of violence" (the way toward the maximum being left open) and, as such, will necessarily reflect the guiding principles of Bulgarian labor law and relations.

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Another important premise is the Communist identification of party and government with the "working class" and the establishment of government ownership over capital and means of production. From labor's point of view, this situation means that in practice the workers are employees of a single owner—the Communist government—yet in theory are owners of their place of work and employers of themselves. This obvious nonsense has a definite purpose: to make impossible any "contrast" between capital and labor and, thus, to place the whole labor force under absolute governmental control. That is why "strike" is an unknown term in Communist labor law (you cannot strike against yourself), its equivalent having been identified as a capital

(Footnote 4 continued)
insufficiently clarified. For details, see Michael Padev, *Dimitrov Wastes No Bullets* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1948), Ch. VI; William B. King and Frank O'Brien, *The Balkans* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), pp. 157-159, and author's study cited at footnote 3, pp. 11-14.

[5] Georgi Dimitrov, *Political Report to the 5th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party* (Sofia: 1949), in Bulgarian, p. 123.

[6] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works* (Moscow: 1930), Vol. 9, Second Russian Edition, p. 95, in Russian.

[7] Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria of 1947, full English translation in Andrew Gyorgy, *Governments of Danubian Europe* (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1949), Appendix, pp. 323-339.

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crime against the state and put within the proscription of Communist criminal law. Any transgression on the part of a worker is, therefore, a direct offense against the state authority. It is easily understandable why Communist criminal law has engulfed the great part of matters which usually pertain to labor legislation, and why even the latter is punitive rather than protective in character.

The basic legal documents related to labor law and relations in Communist Bulgaria are the constitution,[7] the Code of Labor[8] and the Statute of the Trade Unions.[9] They, of course, are supplemented by various acts which, according to the Communist doctrine of "normative acts,"[10] can and do supersede previous legislation, no matter what governmental body originated them.

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According to the constitution, labor, besides being "a right," is "a duty and a point of honor for every able-bodied citizen. It is the duty of every citizen to engage in socially useful labor and to work according to his powers and ability."[11] Of course, it is the government which enforces the observance of this constitutional norm and establishes the "social utility" of the work done. In practice, "the duty to work" is exemplified in the complete regimentation of Bulgaria's labor force.

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Two governmental agencies, the Office of Labor Cadres and the Main Board of Labor Reserves, are especially entrusted with the registration, distribution, recruitment and complete control of all available manpower from 14 years of age upward. Their basic tasks are, in Communist language, "to register the available labor force by finding and keeping at hand, through registration, all employed and unemployed workers; to find them appropriate jobs and, with respect to the fulfillment of the Five-Year Economic Plan, to meet the needs of the industrial, constructional, and other enterprises by guaranteeing to them the necessary manpower . . . . Workers who leave their jobs arbitrarily and without excusable

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[8] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year II, No. 91, November 13, 1951, in Bulgarian.

[9] *Ustav na Professionalnite Suyuzi v Narodnata Republica Bulgaria* (Statute of the Trade Unions in the People's Republic Bulgaria), approved by the Third Congress of the Bulgarian trade unions, December, 1951 (Sofia: *Profizdat*, 1952), in Bulgarian.

[10] In Communist jurisprudence, any act of a central governmental authority prevails upon preceding legislation, without distinction of formal superiority. The "doctrine of normative acts" is summarized in United States Department of Labor bulletin cited at footnote 1, pp. 5 and 6.

[11] Art. 73.

464 reasons, [illegible] thereby affect the labor discipline and the fulfillment of the production plans of the enterprises, have to be reported to the Office of Labor Mobilization . . . ."[13] The Board of Labor Reserves, in particular, obtains manpower "in two ways: through organized drafting of manpower from villages and towns—these persons will go directly into production—and through the preparation of skilled labor cadres in the schools for labor reserves."[14]

466 681 It should be clear that the Communist authorities not only decide a youth's profession for good but they also deprive any Bulgarian worker of even an elementary freedom of choice and movement. A Bulgarian citizen must either submit to the governmental labor agencies or be "mobilized" for work by the Office of Labor Mobilization. Further disobedience leads to confinement to "labor-educational work," that is, forced labor camps, under the Law on the People's Militia[14] or to punishments under the Penal Code. The desire for complete control over the labor force is further evidenced by the elimination of any unemployment insurance from Bulgaria's social legislation.

466 [671] But the full captivity of the Bulgarian worker appears even clearer when one considers some of the provisions of the Labor Code as well as some supplementary legislation. Thus, Article 26 of the code officially sanctioned the right of the government to transfer workers and employees "to a different work in the same or another enterprise or in another locality, even without their consent, on order by the respective minister." And Article 2 of the Law for Establishing Stability of the Labor Force in the Enterprises and Offices[14] explicitly prohibited "the arbitrary quitting of the job," under threat of heavy penalties in Article 4, such as imprisonment for up to four months or corrective labor for up to one year, if no greater offense of the Penal Code is envisaged. These acts violate a basic human

[13] Newspaper *Izgrev*, March 8, 1951 (Bulgarian).

[14] *Rabotnicheskо Delo* (Worker's Deed), organ of the Bulgarian Communist Party, May 14, 1952 (Bulgarian). The Board was created by Ordinance No. 199 of the Council of Ministers, in *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year III, No. 45, April 25, 1952.

[14] *Durzhaven Vestnik*, No. 69, March 25, 1948 (Bulgarian). For details on Bulgarian forced labor legislation and practice, cf. Roger N. Baldwin, ed., *A New Slavery* (New York: Oceana Publications, 1953), chapter on Bulgaria based on author's research. See also United Nations, *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour* (Geneva: E/2431, 1953).

185] **The administration [vocational rehabilitation] program provides that during 1955, 70 thousand persons would be rehabilitated, 100 thousand in 1956, and the number would be progressively increased until 1959 some 200 thousand disabled persons would be rehabilitated and returned to useful work.—James P. Mitchell**

466 right of freedom on the job and a legal principle requesting mutual consent for any modification of existing conditions.[28]

The check upon the workers' movement is performed via so-called "personal passports" and "workbooks." The first, issued by the police and the second by the first employer are labelled "official documents" and must be presented on request. According to the provisions of the Labor Code, as well as of the special Decree for Workbooks,[29] every worker is required to present his workbook, in order to be eligible for any kind of job. The book contains the whole employment record and, specifically, "the reason for the discontinuation" of a previous job.[30] It is kept by the employer and is aimed primarily at the prevention of arbitrary quitting.

471 Before discussing the core of labor relations—collective bargaining—it is important to recall the main characteristics of the parties between which the bargaining is supposed to take place. Due to the complete disappearance of private ownership in industry, the one and only owner and employer in Bulgaria is the Communist state. And bargaining with the state, even if duly protected, is always burdensome, especially when such protection is entirely lacking. In fact, Bulgaria's form of government being that of a dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, "a power limited by nothing . . . directly based on violence,"[31] and the sole repository of power being the Communist Party and government, all protective in-

[28] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year IV, No. 14, February 17, 1953.

[29] The Bulgarian Communists themselves seem to have been embarrassed by the shockingly frank language of the Stability Law (cf. author's study cited at footnote 3, p. 20, quoting speech by Vice-President Yugov), so that they repealed it nine months later (*Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year IV, No. 90, November 10, 1953). No change in the actual situation has been reported, however.

[30] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year IV, No. 26, March 31, 1953.

[31] Art. 17, par. 2 of the Labor Code, and Art. 6 (g) of the Decree for Workbooks.

[32] See footnote 6.

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471 stitutions in a democratic society, such as the legislature, courts, labor boards and media of public opinion, are now agencies of the employer.

467 But even the alleged representatives of the workers—the Communist trade unions—are an arm of the same government-employer. Theoretically excluding any possibility of labor conflict, the Communist system has transformed the trade unions from organizations defending the workers' interests into governmental agencies enforcing official economic policy. In fact, ever since the creation of the Communist trade unions in Bulgaria, centralized in the General Workers Professional Union,[20] their main task has been to enact regulations concerning output, punishments against sabotage, labor discipline, higher norms, competitions, and to warn against wage increases, disorders and inefficiency in production.[21] The Statute of the Trade Unions itself entrusts them with "mobilizing all workers and employees in the enterprises and offices for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the production plan, strengthening of labor discipline, and developing of socialist competition."[22]

A clear statement about what Bulgarian trade unions can and cannot do was published in the official union organ *Trud* shortly after the enactment of the Labor Code and the Trade Unions' Statute: "Due to the fact that the people's democratic state is one of the forms of the proletarian dictatorship . . . it is natural that the trade unions, which in the past were an enemy of the bourgeois state and the bourgeois structure, are today one of the main levers of the people's democratic state, first assistant of the Party in strengthening and leading to complete victory the socialist social structure. Therefore, it is now incorrect to speak in defense of the workers' and employees' interests, as it was in the past, and the trade unions do not and cannot have such a task . . . . The basis for the activity of the trade unions in the people's democ-

[20] The General Workers' Professional Union (*Obsht Rabotnicheski Professionalen Suyuz*) is composed of individual trade unions which are organized according to the "production principle," that is, disregarding the workers' profession and taking into account the place of work only. The Statute of the Trade Unions, cited at footnote 9, is a carbon copy of the Soviet statute, the English translation of which is in Isaac Deutscher's work cited at footnote 1.

[21] Cf. Ministry of Information and Arts, *The General Workers Professional Union* (Sofia: 1946), pp. 37-41, in English.

[22] Art. 35(a).

[23] *Trud*, February 22, 1952.

[24] Resolution in Georgi Chankov, *Professionalite Suyuzi i Tekhnite Zadachi v Borbata sa*

467 racy can be . . . . their constantly teaching the working class that the only correct road is the organization of patriotic socialist competitions and the fulfillment of the state economic plans."[23] And the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party[24] added that "the most important role of the trade unions in a proletarian dictatorship is their organizational-economic and educational role—their role as schools of communism."

It seems obvious that trade unions in a democratic country and their Communist counterpart have absolutely nothing in common except their name. In fact, their nature, functions and aims are diametrically opposed to each other. In Bulgaria, they are channels of the Communist government and can be best compared with an economic police force, operating in factories and other places where the economic plans of the government are being implemented.

How, then, is it at all possible to speak about collective bargaining, when the two contracting parties are, in last analysis, representatives of one and the same Communist state authority? Still, the Bulgarian Communists persist in using the term "collective" or "individual labor contract,"[25] although in theory as well as in practice they exclude any conflict-of-interest matters from contractual regulation. Following the Soviet
465 example, even wages and standards of out-
656 put are excluded as subjects of bargaining and reserved for exclusive governmental regulation. Wages in Communist Bulgaria are determined on the basis of "labor norms"—that is, production quotas—prescribed by the government for each category of workers. If a worker is not able to fulfill his norm, he is paid according to the quantity and quality of the finished product. This piece-work system is the antipode of the system of hourly wages and was banished in 1905 as a remnant of Turkish feudalism.[26]
466 Thus, the Bulgarian Government is absolute
656 master in decreeing all important labor

Preustroyavaneto na Sosializma u Nas (Sofia: 1951), p. 88, in Bulgarian.

[25] Cf. Pt. II, Ch. I and II of the Code of Labor.

[26] Indicative of Communist hypocrisy is the fact that, before 1905, the Bulgarian Communists were bitter opponents of the piece-work system, even for shoemakers, denouncing it as "the most detestable exploitation by the hyenas of private capitalism," Ivan Iliev, *Rabotnichesko Syndicalno Dvishenije v Bulgaria* (Sofia: 1927), p. 87, in Bulgarian. Communists everywhere, if out of power, violently oppose piece-work, yet introduce and hail it as "the most progressive achievement of the socialist state," once they take over.

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conditions of the alleged individual or collective "agreements," without any negotiation on the part of the workers. Actually, the "labor contract" represents a model form, prepared in advance by the government, and submitted for signature to the labor arm of the government—the trade union committee—thus legally binding all workers to a document in the formulation of which they have not at all participated.

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The secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chankov, calls the labor contract an "economic-political document . . . a means for the mobilization of the working class for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan" and frankly states that "the job of the trade unions with respect to the collective labor contracts by no means ends with the unions' task to sign the contracts. In fact, it starts only then. The most important aspect of their function is that, after the contracts have been signed, the trade unions exercise uninterrupted control and criticism of the administration of the contracts and mobilize the workers and employees for the contracts' fulfillment." [27]

It is obvious that those "contracts" represent nothing but a legally enforceable document with which the government imposes one-sided obligations upon the Bulgarian workers. The only consideration of the Communists in resorting to them seems to be their desire to give the outside world the impression of free labor relations within the Soviet orbit.

The provisions related to the settlement of labor disputes are also symptomatic in this respect. While using the term "labor disputes," the Bulgarian Communists not only shrink its subject matter to predominantly technical problems on the factory level, but also proclaim the supremacy of the executive over the judiciary in settling the disputes.[28] In practice, the dispute seldom leaves the first stage, the so-called conciliatory commission, composed of the persons who signed the collective agreements and reflecting the identical source of authority—the Communist government. It seldom happens, therefore, that the representatives of the government-employer and of the government-controlled committee are allowed

[27] Work cited at footnote 24, pp. 54-55.

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[28] Cf. Pt. II, Ch. IX of the Code of Labor. Also, supplementary decrees in *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Nos. 38, May 9, 1952, and 47, June 3, 1952. Art. 143 of the Code, in particular, prohibits appeals to conciliation boards and courts for disputes involving disciplinary punishments or dismissal by the trade union or the governmental authori-

468 656 to disagree on the settlement of a labor dispute. If they should, the last word is explicitly reserved for the executive.

The collapse of collective bargaining and the regimentation of the labor force have restricted labor relations to technical questions and have transformed labor law into a means for enforcing governmental policy. The key institution of the Communist system vis-à-vis labor has become the so-called socialist discipline of labor.

466 656 "Socialist labor discipline" represents a system of rules affecting the conduct of the workers in any Communist enterprise, office or organization. Its aim is to increase production and productivity of labor without any particular regard to the real capacities of the national economy and of the labor force, including the individual worker. Within the limits of a governmentally recruited, directed and controlled labor force, "socialist labor discipline" embraces all regulations enacted by the Communist administration of every establishment which fix the specific obligations of the workers. In short, it is the regime under which the worker must perform his daily work, to which he is assigned and which he cannot leave.

It has been said that labor remuneration in Communist Bulgaria is based on the piece-work system. Accordingly, the primary requirement of the administration is that the worker fulfills his daily norm in order to get his full wage. But since norms are established by the State Institute for Labor Norms on the basis of the capacity of 5 to 10 per cent of the most productive workers, the remaining 90 to 95 per cent are driven to catch up by the rigorous labor discipline.[29]

466 671 The only possible way to reach the norm is to work more. That is why Article 43 of the Labor Code announces a "nonfixed working day" and Article 46(a) to (f) allows overtime work for a variety of purposes, in spite of general provisions to the contrary in Articles 39 and 43. The Decree for Overtime Work[30] dispels possible doubts by stating, in its Article 11, that "workers and employees cannot refuse . . . to perform overtime work. If they think that the imposed overtime work is unlawful, they

ties. In such cases the worker or employee may only appeal to higher administrative authorities.

[29] Cf. Leland Stowe, *Conquest by Terror* (New York: Random House, 1952), p. 135. While norms are constantly revised and increased, wages remain almost the same, so that, in 1951 alone, there was an automatic wage reduction of up to 25 per cent (p. 136).

[30] Text of decree in *Trud*, May 1, 1952.

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should report to the committee without discontinuing their work." The decree declares two hours overtime is "lawful," so that the working day in Bulgaria usually consists of ten hours, six days a week, and neither the recesses nor even the time when the workers are paid are included in the working time.[31] Furthermore, "it is an archaic damaging tradition for some workers to be absent from work during religious holidays."[32] And Article 79 of the Labor Code regulates the labor remuneration in cases of work on Sundays and the seven official holidays in a year, thus rendering any day of the year a potential, and usually an actual, working day. A Communist source itself admitted that Bulgarian enterprises "regularly use overtime work and deprive the workers of their week ends."[33]

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Usually, overtime work does not help to fulfill or overfulfill the norm either. But even if it does, the quest for more production and productivity of labor never stops. The principal means for extracting a maximum effort from the workers are the so-called socialist competitions or emulations. They represent officially staged contests between individual workers or among plants to "overfulfill" the established norms. The cruelty of this system lies in the fact that as "competitions" are labelled "voluntary," no worker can claim overtime pay. Furthermore, competitions lead inexorably to the establishment of higher quotas and automatically lower the piece rates of even the general wage level.

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"Socialist competition has become a law of the socialist society and has turned into one of the most important methods for Communist education of the working people, an instrument for making them participate in the governmental build-up and the process of production," the Soviet Encyclopedia frankly states.[34] That Communist Bulgaria follows the identical path is plainly evident from the words of the president of the Bulgarian trade unions, Prakhov, who, in 1951, proclaimed "socialist competitions" as "a permanent system for building socialism" and gave the number of participants at "about 70 per cent" of all Bulgarian workers.[35]

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Within the framework of this almost suicidal drive for ever-increasing daily per-

[31] Art. 49, par. 3, and Art. 71 of the Code of Labor.
[32] *Trud*, December 27, 1951.
[33] *Trud*, October 10, 1951.
[34] *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Encyclopediya*, 2d Ed., Vol. 14; *Disciplina Trudoj*, in Russian.

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[204] After metal type for printing has been "set" on a machine like the one whose keyboard is shown on the cover, the type is "locked up" in "chases" on a "stone," which means that it is fastened into a rectangular frame on a table. When the letter-press method is used, the type then goes directly to a press.

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formance, the "socialist labor discipline" represents the most immediate threat facing the worker on the job. Its most important features are absenteeism and inefficiency. Thus, a Bulgarian worker violates the labor discipline and may incur disciplinary or court punishment when he is absent from work, when he is late for work, when he leaves work prematurely, or when he is not efficient enough during his working day.[28] The disciplinary punishment imposed by the administration of the enterprise may range from a warning, reprimand, severe reprimand or transfer, to a lower-paid job in the same or a different enterprise, or dismissal.[29] With the exhaustion of the disciplinary punishments the way is open for criminal prosecution, either under the new Penal Code or under the Law of the People's Militia.[30]

Immediate dismissal is imposed when the worker is "negligent toward his obligations" or "comes to work in evidently drunken condition" and also when he is "absent from work without valid reasons for more than half of a working day as well as late for more than

[28] *Trud*, December 17, 1951.
[29] Cf. Art. 129 of the Labor Code.
[30] Cf. Art. 130 of the Labor Code.
[30] Penal Code in *Izvestiya na Narodnoto Sobranie*, No. 13, February 13, 1951. Law on the People's Militia, cited at footnote 14.

[467] **The Soviet trade unions generally supervise the carrying out of the plans for the construction of dwellings and communal buildings and take part in the distribution of new buildings to the workers, and in this connection their proposals have a decisive importance.—Leonid Nikolaevich Solovyov, Secretary, All-Union Central Council of Trades Unions, USSR.**

466 681 half an hour more than twice a month."[38] It should be understood that the minimum consequence of a dismissal is labor mobilization.

[461] The following remarks of an authority on Soviet labor have full validity for Communist Bulgaria as well: "The fear of being late became a nightmare to workers, many of whom had no watches or clocks, and sent them speeding to work in frantic haste. The same fear made them gulp their lunch as quickly as possible."[39] It sounds unbelievable that such a casual infraction as tardiness can ultimately lead to imprisonment or forced labor.

465 As to inefficiency, the recently enacted Decree for Payment of Dead Time and Rejects in Industry, Construction and Transport[41] supplemented the disciplinary punishments of the Labor Code by introducing financial liability for stoppage and defective output. The most unusual feature represents the fact that a worker is deprived of up to 30 per cent of his wage even if he is not responsible for the stoppage or defective output.[42]

This Communist anomaly is even more clear in the provisions regulating the financial responsibility for damages caused to the enterprise. Guided by the principle that "socialist property" is more precious than

[38] Grounds for dismissal in Art. 33 of the Labor Code.

[39] Work by Schwarz, cited at footnote 1, p. 105.

[41] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, No. 32, April 21, 1953.

[42] Art. 2 and 7 of the Decree for Payment of Dead Time and Rejects.

[43] Cf. Arts. 1 and 51 of the Penal Code of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic (*Ugolovnij Kodex RSFSR*, in Russian). Also, Arts. 1 and 31 of the Bulgarian Penal Code of 1951.

[44] Art. 98 of the Labor Code.

[45] Cf. Art. 2 of the Penal Code.

[46] Art. 206, par. 2 of the Labor Code.

66.1 461 [47] This complete disregard for tradition and objective conditions has so much disorganized the national economy and antagonized the

465 human life and that the "social harm" of an offense is all that matters,[a] Communist legislation makes a worker "responsible for an amount higher than the actually caused damages,"[b] besides, of course, his liability under criminal law.

It is evident that all these financial liability provisions not only reduce the already very low wages of the Bulgarian workers but also violate internationally accepted legal principles—such as the exclusion of liability exceeding actual damage or of liability without guilt or negligence. This is not surprising if one bears in mind that the Bulgarian Penal Code also recognizes the application of the principle of analogy in criminal law,[c] and the Labor Code proclaims the principle that "acts of indictment have the force of proof until the contrary is proven"[d]—that is, one is presumed guilty unless he proves his innocence.

177 46 466 185 Analysis of labor and relations in Communist Bulgaria leads to the conclusion that the Bulgarian labor pattern is a carbon copy of the Soviet original. Neither democratic traditions nor social harmony have been taken into consideration. In their blind imitation, the Bulgarian Communists are trying to change the [illegible]ry basis of Bulgarian economy—from agriculture to heavy industry—as if they were mightier than the very nature which deprived the country of the elements required for such a transformation. Their only guiding light is the Soviet example, no matter how detrimental its application on Bulgarian soil might be.[e]

000 The Bulgarian case—most suitable to test Communism in export—has brutally refuted any illusion that Communism can be "different" if applied in more advanced societies. The tragic paradox of the Communist experiment with the Bulgarian workers is that the alleged primary beneficiaries of the new "socialist order" have, instead, received the harshest possible deal. [The End]

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661 461 population that purges of scapegoats and acts of dispair have been a permanent feature in Bulgaria as well. The workers, in particular, have defied pointed guns during the recent open unrest in Plovdiv, the second largest Bulgarian city, and in many other cities (Pleven, Pernik, Haskovo, Gorna Dzhumaja). In order to prevent the worst, the government, under Moscow's guidance, has announced a so-called new course, consisting of promises to raise the living standard and to relax the socialist labor discipline. The implementation of these promises is still to come. They clearly imply, however, that the Communist experiment has not succeeded in either converting the Bulgarian workers to Communism or breaking their spirit of resistance. (For details, see work cited at footnote 29, Ch. VIII-X.)

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EASTERN EUROPEAN LAW

B U L G A R I A

CHURCHES AND RELIGION

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Churches and Religion

Introduction

795 The vast majority of the Bulgarian Nation belongs to the Eastern Orthodox Christian Church, or Greek Catholic Church, which is also the church of the Russians, Greeks, Serbians, Romanians, as well as the Armenians, Syrians, and other Near Eastern nationalities. Second in number is the Moslem religious minority, with the Jewish, Roman Catholic, and Protestant denominations representing only minute fractions of the total population.

Unlike the Roman Catholic Church, the Eastern Orthodox Church has no central international authority. It consists of several rather loosely-connected national churches which have emerged at one time or another from the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople. It has been the persistent tendency of the various national churches to emancipate themselves as separate entities and cooperate with the respective national
659 states. In the case of Bulgaria, all efforts of the State, from the establishment of the Princedom in 1878 to the Communist seizure of power in 1944, have centered upon the creation of a national church independent of foreign primates and symbolic of national unity. Therefore, Bulgarian legislation, until 1949, was concerned primarily with the nation's Eastern Orthodox Church.

The Act on Religious Denominations put into effect by

659 the Communist Government in 1949, sought to establish a uniform regime for all religious denominations in the country. Nevertheless, some of its provisions, especially Section 3, recognize the historic role of the Bulgarian Church and attempt to use the established tradition for the purposes of the communist policy.

Thus, the present status of the Church in Bulgaria cannot be properly evaluated without a survey of its past.

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I. Christianity in Bulgaria, 865 -1870

A sizable Bulgarian Kingdom came into being in 680 A.D. in the area between the Danube and the Black Sea bordering on the Balkan territories of Byzantium.

Seeking international recognition, one of its kings, Boris I, agreed in 865 A.D. to the conversion of his people to Christianity under the auspices of the Byzantine emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople, Byzantine missionaries and priests were swiftly dispatched to Bulgaria to evangelize the country. Five years later, the Patriarch conceded, on insistent Bulgarian demands, the right of the Bulgarian King to have a Bulgarian archbishop with authority to crown kings and ordain bishops, retaining, nevertheless, supremacy over the new ecclesiastic hierarchy.

The extension of the Patriarch's authority to Bulgaria was disliked in Rome, and contacts were soon established between Boris and Pope Nicolaus I. However, the territorial proximity of Byzantium prevailed as a factor and Boris' original orientation

175 797 648 toward the East stayed. It became solidly rooted when in the ensuing years he patterned the organization of his State after Byzantium and introduced to Bulgaria adaptations of Byzantine law, such as the "Statute of Trial of Men", the "Nomocanon", etc.

[793] The new church strongly tended to emancipate itself from the primacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople and rid itself of Byzantine clergy. A fortunate chance presented itself when an alphabet was devised to suit the peculiarities of the Slavic tongues. A wave of Slav awakening hit Bulgaria during the reign of Boris' son, Simeon I, and soon scriptures and prayer books, in Bulgarian, displaced the media of Byzantine influence. The process was so rapid and his military victories so promising that Simeon proclaimed the archbishop of Preslav a patriarch independent of the Patriarch of Constantinople and himself Czar of the Bulgarians and the Greeks. Seven bishoprics were established, of which those of Preslav and Ochrida (Macedonia) became important centers of enlightenment.

Bulgaria turned again toward Rome in the 13th century. Desirous of international recognition which had been lost during the Byzantine domination of Bulgaria (1018 - 1186), the Bulgarian King Kaloyan contacted the Pope with an offer to accept the Pope's primacy over the Bulgarian church in exchange for an imperial crown. In 1204, a Catholic cardinal arrived at the Bulgarian capital Tirnovo to hand a crown to Kaloyan on behalf of the Pope and ordain a Bulgarian prelate. This Western orientation caused by the Crusades and dictated by political expediency was rather 000 short-lived. In 1232, Kaloyan's successor, Ivan Asen, denounced

175 In 1232 Kaloyan's successor, Ivan Asen, denounced
795 the union and severed all ties with the Roman Catholic Church.

During the nearly five centuries of Turkish rule (1393-1878) supreme authority over religious matters in the Bulgarian lands was vested in the Patriarch of Constantinople who was recognized very early (15th century) by the Turks as the religious head of all Christians in their empire. A Bulgarian Archbishopric at Ochrida was nevertheless allowed to function untill 1766 when the Greek Patriarch finally prevailed over the Turks to have this last vestige of Bulgarian past abolished.

[656] According to the general principle of the Ottoman law the non-Mohamedan communities enjoyed the jurisdiction not only in the religious matters but also in domestic relations and inheritance. Thus, all the disputes arising in this field among the Bulgarians were in fact judged in the last analysis by the dignitaries of the Patriarch of Constantinople who were predominantly Greek.

After the collapse of the State, the Bulgarian clergy was either banished or eliminated, thus opening a spiritual vacuum which was swiftly filled by the Patriarch's hierarchy, leaving only remote monasteries intact. From those very monasteries were to spring three centuries later (1762) the strong currents of a national Renaissance which finally culminated in religious and cultural emancipation of the Bulgarian nation from the Greek Patriarchate and Political liberation from the Ottoman Empire.

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II. Establishment of a Bulgarian Exarchate and Relations with the Patriarchate of Constantinople

A. Under the Turkish Rule, 1870-1878

With the approval of the Moslem Sultans, the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople maintained a complete religious, and in many instances, cultural control over the areas inhabited by the Bulgarian people. A detailed apparatus was set up manned by appointees of the Patriarch exclusively. Treated as being the spoils of the office, the population was exposed to corruption and threat of Hellenization. Reaction was sporadic until 1762 when an obscure Bulgarian monk, Father Paisiy, published his History of the Bulgarian People and roving the country to let the people copy his book, aroused national pride and consciousness. From then on, the ideas of a separate Bulgarian political and cultural entity gave birth to a movement for national awakening and emancipation. Wisely, it first concentrated on the issue of Greek religious authority over Bulgarian lands versus a national Bulgarian church within the Turkish Empire. The issue came to a climax in the events of 1870-1872.

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In 1870, the Turkish Government finally intervened in the religious dispute between the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Bulgarian population under its jurisdiction and issued an Imperial Decree (Firman) which recognized the validity of the Bulgarians' claim to an independent ecclesiastical authority and provided for the establishment of an autonomous Bulgarian Exarchate. In designating the area of jurisdiction of the new

656 795 175 Church, the Firman enumerated some of the Bulgarian-populated regions and provided for the holding of a plebiscite to determine the preference of the rest of the Bulgarian lands:

> If the population of any other places besides those enumerated above, and professing the Orthodox faith, should wish unanimously or at least by a two-thirds majority to be subject to the Bulgarian Exarchate, and if subsequent investigation should prove this to be so, their desire should be gratified (Article 10).*

795 In the following year, an all-Bulgarian church council convened at Constantinople to lay the foundations of a national Bulgarian church. The council met with stubborn opposition on the part of the Patriarchate which, claiming the status of an ecumenical church, refused to consent to the proposed creation of a church on the principle of nationality. The formula of the Ottoman Government in the Firman of 1870 whereby the Exarchate, though autonomous, was to recognize the primacy of the Patriarchate, would have avoided all the conflict if it had not been for the issue of the Exarch's residence. Supported by the Ottoman government, the Bulgarian council took the stand that the residence of the Exarch must be in Constantinople, capital of the Ottoman Empire and seat of the Patriarchate. The Patriarchate opposed the Exarch's having a seat in the same locality as the Patriarch himself.

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* The full text of this important document is in Stoyan Pretic, The Aspirations of Bulgaria (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton and Co., 1915), appendix.

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The conflict was aggravated when the Patriarchate refused to recognize the Statute of Exarchate drafted by the Bulgarian Church Council. One of the objectionable points was the new method of filling the positions in the hierarchy of the Bulgarian Church. All prelates in the Bulgarian lands were hitherto appointed by the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Under the Statute of the Exarchate the Bishops were to be elected by the diocesans, and the Exarch, by the highest dignitaries of the Church with the participation of representatives of the layman.

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The refusal of the Patriarchate to recognize the Exarchate and its Statute provoked a schism, or split, between the Patriarchate and the Bulgarian Church. This split, between the Patriarchate and the Bulgarian Church. This split lasted until 1945 when a reconciliation was negotiated and achieved.

In spite of he fierce opposition of the Greek clergy and the Patriarchate in Constantinople, the Bulgarian regions (Danube province with the capital in Rushtchuk, and Nishava province with the capital in Nish), as well as most of Macedonia and Thrace, voted to submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Exarchate. An Exarch was elected by the Bulgarian Church Council, and with the consent of the sublime Porte established his seat in Constantinople.

This unique plebiscite, which emancipated the Bulgarian nation from Greek ecclesiastic domination, became

795 the symbol of the religious and cultural unity of the Bulgarian nation and constituted the prelude to its political liberation in 1878.

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B. From the Creation of Princedom to the Balkan Wars, 1878-1913

Under the treaty of Berlin which settled the issues raised by the Russo-Turkish War in 1877-1878, the provinces of the Turkish Empire with predominant Bulgarian population were not included in one body politic. Two regions were incorporated into Romania (Dobrudja) and Serbia (Morava region).*

Moreover, two large Bulgarian provinces, Thrace and Macedonia, remained within the Ottoman Empire. The rest assigned to the Bulgarians and at first formed two political entities: Princedom of Bulgaria, including the regions between the Danube River and the Balkan range (present Northern Bulgaria) and was placed under the nominal soveroignty of the Turkish Sultan. In the region south of the Balkans (present Southern Bulgaria) an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire - Eastern

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* Dobrudja was given to Romania in compensation for the loss of Bessarabia annexed by Russia. The regions east of Morava River with the city of Nish were given to Serbia. This met the aspiration of Austria-Hungary to divert Serbian attention from the Slavs in Bosnia and Herzegovina occupied by Austro-Hungarian Empire and annexed in 1908.

175 Rumelia - was formed but it joined, in 1885, the Princedom of
131 Bulgaria and severed all ties with Turkey.

Thus, in fact, there were two Bulgarian churches:
795 that of the Princedom of Bulgaria, no longer under the authority of the Ottoman Empire, and that of Turkey, which lay outside the jurisdiction of the new Pricedom. A reorganization of the Exarchate was imperative but not easy to achieve. There was at first a provisional, more or less arbitrary, ecclesiastical organization. This situation lasted until 1882; a compromise was then reached and in 1883, the Sobranie (National Assembly or legislature) of the Princedom prepared a draft of a statute for the Exarchate for the territory of the Princedom. The final wording of the Statute was not completed until 1895.

Under this statute the Church was administered by both the Exarch in Constantinople and the Holy Synod, or Council, established in Sofia. All matters involving the Bulgarian Church in the Princedom were submitted to the Exarch through the Holy Synod or decided by the Synod itself. The Exarch administered directly the affairs of the Bulgarian churches in the provinces remaining in the Ottoman Empire, including Macedonia and Thrace. However, the hope was never given up by the Bulgarian churchmen and people that one day Macedonia and Thrace would join Bulgaria and thus the reunion of the Exarch with the Synod would be made possible.

These hopes were not fulfilled as is explained infra. The statute was amended several times but the amendments were of minor importance and dealt only with current, purely administrative problems.

000 administrative, problems.

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C. From the Balkan Wars to the Communist Seizure of Power, 1913-1944

As a result of the Balkan War in 1913, Macedonia and Thrace were detached from the Ottoman Empire but only a small area was included into Bulgaria. The greatest part of the two regions was incorporated into Serbia and Greece. Both Serbia and Greece had their national Eastern Orthodox Churches and refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Exarch over the Bulgarian parishes and dioceses within these countries. The Bulgarian bishops loyal to the Exarch were expelled and the Bulgarian parishes added to the dioceses of the Serbian or the Greek national churches. The Bulgarian Exarch in Constantinople, deprived of his jurisdiction over these regions, went to Sofia and died there in 1913. The Bulgarian Exarchate, however, continued to be conceived by the Bulgarian churchmen and people as an ecclesiastic organization designed to embrace all Bulgarian dioceses and parishes both in Bulgaria proper and in Macedonia and Thrace. There no longer existed any hope either for the incorporation of these provinces into Bulgaria or for the extension of the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Exarchate over them. The election of an Exarch was continuously postponed because it was felt that any election of a new Exarch without the participation of the representatives of the Bulgarian parishes under foreign rule would run against the idea of the unity of the Bulgarian people and the Bulgarian Church.

175 The Exarch's office continued to be maintained in Constantinople while the churches in Bulgaria were administered by the Holy Synod in Sofia.

World War I failed to yield the above-mentioned Macedonia and Thracian territories to Bulgaria; what is more, it sanctioned the loss to Romania of Southern Dodrudja (retroceded to Bulgaria in 1940).

In 1921, a Bulgarian National Church Council convened in Sofia in order to revise the Statute of the Exarchate. The Council established the procedure for the election of the new Exarch by the Bulgarians in Bulgaria alone without the participation of the Bulgarians in Thrace and Macedonia that the elections were continuously postponed. They were held at last in 1945 under the Fatherland Front government (infra).

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III. Status of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church within Bulgaria until 1944

A. Relationship between State and Church

The basic principles regulating the status of the Bulgarian Church are stated in Article 39 of the Constitution of 1879;

Article 39

The princedom of Bulgaria, which constitutes an integral part of the Bulgarian ecclesiastical area, shall be under the religious administration of the Holy Synod, the supreme spiritual authority of the Bulgarian Church, wherever that authority may be located. Through the latter, the

Princedom preserves its link with the Ecumenical Eastern Church in all matters concerning the dogmas of the faith. 659 642

The opening phrase suggests that the Bulgarian Church is something of a higher authority than the State authority of the Princedom of Bulgaria. However, this has never been observed and the Bulgarian State has always striven to control the Church. There existed, however, an apparent linkage and close cooperation between the Church and State.

In the broad sense of the term the Church was a state institution and its officials, agents of the public authority.* 659 642 793 The budget of the Church was part of that of the State, viz., of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Denominations, which represented the state in all religious matters. All bishops, priests and administrative employees in the various parishes and dioceses received from the government modest salaries which supplemented their income from fees received for religious rites and services performed by them. Aside from that, the churches, and especially the monasteries, disposed for their subsistence, of valuable properties, such as fields, forests, or buildings, either bought by them or willed to them by parishioners. All that netted a sizable income.

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* Ivan Altinov, Divrece in Bulgaria: Brakorazvodnite Conflicti v Bulgaria (Sofia, 1929), p. 9.

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These revenues, even though they were affected to some extent by the land reforms of the Agrarian Government of Alexander Stamboliiski, not only met all needs not fully covered by the State Budget, but enabled the Church to erect quite monumental buildings. The most remarkable of those were the Palace of the Holy Synod, the two seminaries in Plovdiv and Sofia, the Divinity Academy (which was accepted by the University of Sofia as a theological faculty) and last but not least, the Archiepiscopal Palace in Sofia, of which Archbishop Stefan, later elected Exarch of the Bulgarian Church, had said that it was "a small Versailles".

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The Church did not take part in the management of State affairs, since it officially did not mix in politics; but it always supported the State, always willing to bless the latter's public functions with religious ceremonies. National holidays were celebrated with a Te Deum at which the local bishop officiated, together with the prescribed number of priests. All consecrations were prrformed before the eyes of the people by representatives of the Church, bishops or priests --as the occasion required.

Customarily the National Assembly upon its official opening began its work by attending a religious ceremony (blessing of the water) at which the Archbishop of Sofia swore in the deputies. In general, oaths of ministers of state, deputies, officials, soldiers, and witnesses in court were always administered by clergymen. It may be said that nothing

659 ever occurred, not even military parades, without the blessing and prominent presence of the representatives of the Church.

Thus, a close cooperation was established between the State and the Church, and the Bulgarian people considered it quite important, even though Bulgarians were not very religious. The Bulgarian people saw in the church a national institution for which they had fought bitterly before they had obtained statehood, and which was a source of encouragement in good and of solace in bad days. These were not two separate concepts but actually two parts of one and the same national concept. Given this union it is not at all astonishing that some prelates temporarily left their religious duties and assumed political or diplomatic functions, as it was the case, immediately after the liberation of Bulgaria, of Clement, the Bishop of Stara Zagora, who in 1879-80 was Prime Minister for several months and later headed the Bulgarian delegations frequently sent to St. Petersburg before the Russian Tzar. In later times and during World War II, two bishops, Stefan of Sofia (a Russophile) and Paisii of Vratza (a germanophile), became notorious by their endeavors to play a part in politics and aspire to the position of Prime Minister.

B. Ecclesiastic Courts, Marriage and Divorce*

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692 Not being separated from the State, the Bulgarian Church performed, up to the advent of the communist regime, certain public functions. Religious celebration was required for the validity of a marriage, vital statistics were kept by the clergy and even the legal questions of marriage and divorce

795 were under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastic courts. The par-
692 ticipation of laymen in these courts rendered them national and democratic in character.

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* The matter is treated in Part VI of the Statute of the Exarchate, completed only in 1897 and passed by the National Assembly the same year (Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 85, April 22, 1897).

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The ecclesiastic courts applied church law. An ecclesiastic court was attached to each diocese (there are ten of these in Bulgaria), nominally presided over by the bishop who was usually represented by his assistant, the vicar. These ecclesiastical courts were of two kinds:

1. Disciplinary courts whose function it was to try delinquent priests. They consisted of bishop and two priests from the diocese. At present they continue to function, though improperly.

2. Courts whose function it was to settle legal questions, arising from marital relations, and to grant divorces. They consisted of the vicar and two diocesan councilmen who were secular members of the Diocesan Council functioning at the see of the bishop; this Council annually elected two of its members to serve as Diocesan judges.

The decisions of these courts could be appealed to the Holy Synod, which had a special section for divorce cases, and which, sitting in full session, acted as a court of the last resort. The Holy Synod, also had the sole right to try delinquent bishops whenever called upon to do so. In such cases the trial was conducted before a court composed of the president and two members of the Holy Synod, especially designated for that purpose.

Before giving consideration to a request for divorce, the diocesan court always attempted to reconcile the parties. Even after the cases had been taken up by the court, if the

evidence was not sufficient, the court could order a temporary separation of the parties with the recommendation that they themselves explore all possibilities of reconciliation. Only after all such possibilities had been exhausted did the court grant the divorce. 698

C. Religious Instruction and Training of Priests

Religious instruction in public schools and theological training of priests were conducted in a manner different from that used in many other countries. The Bulgarian Church did not operate any denominational schools open to all. For a period of time it had no special schools for training of the priests, and, finally, religion was not always taught at public schools by clerics. Special schools for the training of future priests became definitely established only after the Exarchate came into being and in some respect were under the supervision of the State. 793 874

After the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate and especially after the Bulgarian State was restored, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church took measures to raise the cultural standard of its hierarchy. Until then its higher dignitaries had been instructed first at the Greek Theological Academy on the island of Halki (one of the Princely Isles off Constantinople in the Marmara Sea) and later (after 1878), in Moscow, the corresponding centers in Switzerland, Germany, and Austria-Hungary (mainly at Czernowitz in Bukovina). To carry out its

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training program the Church founded two theological schools, one in Samokov (1883) which later (1903) was moved to Sofia for the Princedom of Bulgaria and one in Constantinople for the Bulgarian inhabitants of Thrace and Macedonia which, after the Balkan Wars, was moved to Plovdiv. Later, in 1917, a Theological Academy was opened at Sofia and soon (1921) transformed into a Theological College at the University of Sofia, making it possible for the graduates of the theological schools to receive higher theological education and qualify for episcopal posts.

It must be emphasized, however, that both the theological schools and the theological college, which were subsidized by the State, were administered by the Holy Synod only in purely religious matters; their curricula were under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Education. The theological schools gave their students not only a theological education but also, a general one as well, which made them equivalent to secondary schoolds, Hence, those graduates of the theological schools who did not wish to pursue an ecclesiastical career could select another field of study at the University. Thus, ex-theological students were to be found in all professions. Some became politicians and Statesmen, as, for instance, was the case of the distinguished leader of the Peasant Union, Dimitr Guitchoff presently imprisoned by the communist regime. This was possible only because the ecclesiastical education was as broad as public education in public schools.

000 public schools.

793 A certain amount of religious instruction was given in the primary and secondary schools, religious history being included in the curriculum. However, these subjects were not taught by clerics but by the laymen, in most cases graduates of the theological schools. Clerics served as instructors in the secondary schools only in the first years after the establishment of the Bulgarian State when the demand for educators exceeded the available number of teachers.

IV. Status of the Bulgarian Church Developments Since 1944

A. General Survey

[178] 659 The seizure of power on September 9, 1944, by the Communist-dominated Fatherland Front coalition signalized important changes in the position of religion and the religious denominations. Ideologically, the dominant Bulgarian Communist Party was committed to a negation of all religion as the "opium for the masses". Practically, its policy toward religion and the Orthodox Church in particular was determined by more realistic considerations.

The communists could only desire to destroy the relationship established between the State and the Church. Likewise, they could not but desire to reduce and if possible, to destroy the great freedom which the Constitution of 1879 granted to the minority denominations allowing them to "be

659 governed by their ecclesiastical authorities under the supreme supervision of the minister of state." (Article 42).

659 798 However, the communists did not attack the Church but on the one hand, they proceeded very cautiously in religious matters not wanting to offend openly the feelings of the people; on the other, under a new policy toward religion inaugurated by the U.S.S.R. they did not undertake to destroy the Church but use it for their purposes. The general line established by the Russian Communist Party in 1942 called for a truce with and the utilization of religion for the sake of political expediency. A lesser factor for this attitude was the necessity to operate within a political coalition in which there existed strong forces of moderation.

Thus, in its policy toward religion the Fatherland Front government declined at first to adopt a clear-cut formula and proceeded with individual measures primarily dealing with the Orthodox Church. The regime governing the status of the Orthodox Church until 1944 was tacitly suspended.

The communists did not proclaim immediately the complete separation of the Church and State, which they had originally planned. This could have provoked great discontent not only because of the national and moral prestige enjoyed by the Bulgarian Church, but also because of the deprivation of priests and bishops of the financial aid which they received under the State budget. Thus, the communists confined themselves to the elimination of the instruction of religion, which until

659 then had been conducted in all schools, to the removal of the
798 presence of church officials at the taking of the oath and to the introduction of civil marriage, which became obligatory, instead of the religious one, which hitherto was required
[671] (Articles 1 and 2 of the Decree having force of Law concerning Marriage, Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 108, May 12, 1945).

Although there was no formal declaration of the separation of Church and State, representatives of the church no longer appeared at public functions and the part which the church played in public life was mutely but radically reduced.

659 Nevertheless, the government continued to subsidize the church by allotting funds to it in the State budget. Moreover, in a purely political move, it amended the Statute
[671] of the Exarchate with a special Decree-Law (Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 11, January 15, 1945) and authorized the election of an Exarch. Apparently the government preferred to deal in the future with one man - the Exarch - instead of a Synod. Again the Bulgarians were always strongly in favor of having a single prelate at the head of their national church.

793 In January 1945 Archbishop Stefan of Sofia was elected Exarch of the Orthodox Church of Bulgaria. The new Exarch was an arden Russophile, but not a bolshevik or communist sympathizer. Immediately after the election he journeyed to Moscow to pay a visit to the Moscow Patriarch, Alexis, which demonstrated a recognition of the primacy of the Moscow Patriarchate, and sent a delegation to the Patriarchate of Constantinople to negotiate for the removal

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of the schism which separated the Bulgarian Church from the Constantinople Patriarchate since 1871 (see supra, I). Presumably, the Soviet authorities expected the Russian Orthodox Church to restore the Russian religious influence throughout the Orthodox world. To carry out this mission the Patriarch of Moscow announced a journey to the Holy places and the adjoining countries in the Near East. The Bulgarian Exarch was expected to visit the Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople to demonstrate the lifting of the schism and meet the Russian Patriarch there for a demonstration of the latter's primacy over the Orthodox world. An affirmation of the Russian religious protectorate over the Eastern Orthodox nations in the Orient was planned as the preliminary step to the expansion of soviet political influence in that area.

This plan for concerted action, however, failed in its implications because the Turkish Government became highly alarmed by the announcement of Patriarch Alexis' journey. Under its influence the Patriarchate of Constantinople asked the Patriarch of Moscow to postpone his visit. The Bulgarian Exarch for his part achieved the removal of the schism by the Patriarchate of Constantinople whose jurisdiction had already been reduced to a few dioceses in and around the former Ottoman capital. The reconciliation between the two churches took place on February 23, 1945, and in October of the same year Exarch Stefan paid a visit to the Patriarch of Constantinople to inaugurate the reconciliation between the two churches.

However, as a result of a rather complex political development (see Appendix A) the Holy Synod deposed on the

793 communist initiative the Exarch in 1948. He was banished to a remote villa in the province town of Karlovo. At the present time the Bulgarian Church is again administered by the Holy Synod.

659, 642 The general principles of the communist policy toward religion were finally embodied in the so-called "Dimitrov Constitution" passed on December 4, 1947. Its Article 78 states:

> Freedom of conscience and religion, as well as freedom of performance of religious rituals is guaranteed to all citizens.
>
> The Church is separated from the State.
>
> A special law shall determine the legal status, the question of material support, and the right of internal autonomy and self-government of the various religious communities.
>
> The misuse of church and religion for political purposes and the creation of political organizations on a religious basis is forbidden.

There is no mention of the status and functions of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. All questions pertaining to this Church, as well as to the minority denominations in the country, were left in abeyance until February 1949, when a general law on religious denominations was passed on the strength of the cited constitutional provision (<u>infra</u>, B). This law did, among other things, mention the Bulgarian Church. This law is analyzed and translated in the next Section B.

B. The General Law of 1949

1. Summary and Analysis

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The Communist Government promulgated, on March 1, 1949, a general law on the religious denominations in the country (Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 48, March 1, 1949). The full text of the law is given infra, (2). This law was promulgated while the trial of the Protestant pastors was in progress. Although it recognizes that the "Bulgarian Orthodox Church is the traditional religion of the Bulgarian people associated with its history" and suggest that "it may become the people's democratic church" (Section 3), the law introduces a uniform regime for all denominations, the over-all detailed control of which is vested in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. While it restates the constitutional provisions for freedom of conscience and religion and separation of church and state, the law recognizes only the exercise of "religious rituals" (Section 2) and makes no mention of activities for the propagation of the faith. To exist, a denomination requires recognition by the government granted through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Section 6) subject to arbitrary withdrawal. Recognition by the government of a denomination carries with it the status of a legal entity for its church.

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The governing bodies of the denominations are responsible before the government (Section 9) and must be composed of Bulgarian nationals (Section 10). Clergymen who "act against the democratic institutions of the state" may be

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removed from office upon the request of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Section 12).

In financial matters, the annual budgets of the denominations must be submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; "when necessary, the state may subsidize them (the denominations)" (Section 13). All financial, hierarchical or personal relations with institutions abroad must be conducted through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Section 22 and 24).

The denominations are permitted to open schools for the training of ministers subject to control by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Section 14) but cannot maintain hospitals, orphanages and the like (Section 21). All messages, circular letters and publications issued by the denominations are subject to previous approval by the same Ministry which may stop such publications (Section 15).

An important feature of the new regime of denominational control is the registration of the governing bodies with the public authorities (Section 16). Furthermore, religious institutions established abroad cannot have subdivisions in the country; all such subdivisions are to be closed within one month from the promulgation of the law (Section 23). Within the same period the denominations must submit lists of their ministers to the Minister of Foreign Affairs which may request the dismissal of any one found objectionable (Section 31).

659 Thus, in a veiled but easily enforceable form, the law of 1949 established a complete control over religion by the state. By means of the various supervisory devices the authorities have the legal power to suppress, restrict, harrass or use the religious denominations, including the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, as their policies may require.

671 2. Translation of the Law

Law Concerning Religious Denominations
(Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 48, March 1, 1949)

Section 1

The freedom of conscience and religion shall be guaranteed to every citizen of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Section 2

The religious denominations, as religious communities, shall be separated from the State.

They may freely exercise their religious rituals within the limits set by the Constitution and the laws of the country.

Section 3

The Bulgarian Orthodox Church is the traditional religion of the Bulgarian people associated with its history and has such form, contents and spirit that it may become the people's democratic church.

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Section 4

Nobody may be prosecuted or restricted in his civil or political rights, nor may he be relieved of the execution of his obligations imposed upon him by the laws of the country because he belongs to one or another denomination or for being registered as having no denomination. This rule applies to all the ministers of various denominations.

Section 5

The denominations may, in their organizational structure, ritual and services, be guided by their canons, dogmas and provisions of their statutes if these do not contradict the laws, public order, and good morals.

Section 6

A denomination shall be considered recognized and shall obtain the status of a legal entity from the date when its statute is approved by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. From that date on the status of legal entities shall be obtained also by the local subdivisions of the religious denominations.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs may withdraw a granted recognition indicating his reasons if the activities of a denomination violate laws, public order or good morals.

Section 7

The denominations may build and open for their needs prayer houses and exercise in them, publicly, religious, rituals

671 and services.

Religious services and processions in the open air shall be subject to the general laws and administrative regulations.

Section 8

The denominations may convoke, for the whole country or for individual regions, councils, conferences, general meetings and the like which shall be subject to the general laws and administrative regulations.

Section 9

Every denomination shall have a leadership responsible to the state.

The statute of every denomination shall determine the management and representative agencies and the method by which they are elected or appointed.

The ministers of denominations which maintain canonical regulations with foreign countries may not exercise their office without prior approval granted by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Section 10

Only persons who are Bulgarian nationals and who are honest, reliable and were not deprived of their rights by a final judgment of a court, may be ministers of denominations and officers of any denomination.

Section 11

The denominations may, in accordance with their canons and dogmas, establish disciplinary councils for their ministers

671 and other officers of the church. The organization and the rules of procedure shall be established in the statute concerning the particular religious denomination.

The imposition of a disciplinary penalty shall be invalid if it is contrary to the laws, public order or good morals.

Section 12

Clergymen and other officials who violate laws, the public order or good morals or act against the democratic institutions of the state may, in addition to other applicable penalties, be provisionally suspended or removed from office upon the request of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Suspension or removal from office shall be immediately carried out by the respective leadership of the religious denomination upon receiving the request from the Minister of Foreign Affairs. If a clergyman is not removed by the responsible leadership, he shall be removed by an administrative order.

Section 13

The religious denominations may collect revenues and make expenditures under budgets prepared in accordance with their statues. When necessary, the State may subsidize them.

The religious denominations must submit their budgets to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The financial activities of the religious denominations shall be subject to control by the governmental financial agencies.

Section 14

671 Each religious denomination may establish, with the permission of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, secondary or higher religious schools for the training of ministers of religion.

The organization and the curriculum of the educational institutions shall be governed by a special regulation, approved by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The sending of young men to religious institutions abroad must be authorized by the Minister of Foreign Affairs,

Section 15

All agencies of the religious denominations shall be required to submit to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in advance, their messages, their circular letters and all material of public importance issued by them.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs may stop the circulation or the carrying out of all messages, circular letters and other papers and publications contrary to the laws, public order, and good morals.

Section 16

The central directive agencies of the religious denominations must register with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the directing organs of local subdivisions with the local People's Soviets, submitting a complete roster of their members.

Section 17

The Bulgarian language shall be used as the official

671 language in the relations between the religious denominations and the public authorities, as well as in the records of the religious denominations. In their relations with the faithful and in their services, another language may be used.

Section 18

Any references to the supreme government authority and its agencies may be made by the religious denominations in their various religious services and festivals only by using the wording approved by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Section 19

The religious denominat ons shall inform the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of their names, symbols, and the seals which they use.

Section 20

The formation of societies with moral purposes of a religious character, as well as the publication of material for religious education, shall be subject to the general laws and administrative directives.

The education and the organization of youth shall be carried on under the care of the government and shall not be within the province of the religious denominations and their ministers of religion.

Section 21

The denominations may not establish hospitals, orphanages, and similar institutions.

The existing institutions of that kind shall pass under

671 the control of the Ministry of Public Health or the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, and their property shall become government property. The owners of the property shall receive a fair indemnity, to be determined by a commission appointed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and composed of a representative of the Ministry of Finances, and a representative of the People's Soviet in whose district the property is located.

An appeal from the decisions of the commission may be taken to the regional court whose decision shall be final.

Section 22

The religious denominations may maintain relations with religious denominations, departments, organizations, or official persons abroad only with the authorization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Section 23

The religious denominations or their subdivisions (orders, congregations, missions, and the like), established abroad, may not establish subdivisions (orders, missions, congregations, and the like) within the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Such subdivisions as now exist shall be closed within a month from the date on which the present law takes effect.

All property of the subdivisions to be closed under the preceding paragraph shall become government property with the payment of a fair indemnity, which shall be determined as established in Section 21 of the present law.

Section 24

671 The religious denominations may recive financial assistance and gifts from abroad only with the authorization of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Section 25

Religious denominations which have property abroad shall be represented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in all transactions involving that property. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs shall also protect the religious interests of Bulgarian citizens abroad.

Section 26

Any preaching of hatred on religious grounds by work, print, or other means shall be punished by imprisonment and a fine up to 10,000 leva.

Section 27

Whoever by force or threat, interferes with the religious practices of citizens or recognized denominations which are not prejudical to the laws, public order, or good morals shall be punished by imprisonment for a period up to one year.

Whoever forces anyone to participate in the religious practices of a denomination shall be subject to the same punishment.

Section 28

Whoever forms political organizations on a religious

671 basis and whoever by word, print, or any other means uses the church and religion for propaganda against the public authority and its undertakings shall be punished by imprisonment unless his act is subject to a more severe punishment.

Section 29

Any violation of the present law shall be punished, in addition to any punishment under any other law, by a fine up to 10,000 leva, which shall be imposed by a decision of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. An appeal from his decision may be taken under Chapter 5, volume VI, of the Code of Criminal Procedure.

Section 30

All questions connected with the financial upkeep, as well as with the internal organization and management of the various religious denominations, insofar as they are not settled by the present law, shall be regulated in detail for each denomination by special statutes. These statutes shall be prepared by the heads of the various denominations in accordance with the laws of the Republic and shall be submitted, for approval, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs within three months from the day on which the present law takes effect.

If the statute submitted for approval contains provisions contrary to the laws of the land, the public order or good morals, the Minister of Foreign Affairs may demand their omission. If the religious denomination fails to comply with that demand, the Minister of Foreign Affairs may refuse

671 to confirm the statute.

Section 31

Within a month from the date on which the present law takes effect, the central directive agency of each denomination must submit to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs rosters of their ministers and religious representatives; these may retain their positions if the Minister of Foreign Affairs raises no objection.

Objections may be raised against those ministers who do not fulfill the qualifications established by the present law.

Section 32

The present law repeals all legislation which contradicts it.

The carrying out of the present Ukase shall be entrusted to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

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V. Minority Denominations

There are four minority denominations in Bulgaria: Mohammedan, Jewish, Protestant and Catholic. Each has its religious communities, which are administered by a Central Authority established in Sofia, with the exception of the Protestants who are subdivided into several groups (Methodists, Baptist, Episcopal, Etc.), each with its own Administrative Authority.

A. Mohammedan Minority

Of the minority denominations the Mohammedan has been and is the most numerous. It numbers more than 600,000

795 faithful and is politically important because of its ties with Turkey. It must be noted, however, that since the Balkan War the Turkish population in Bulgaria has continously been emigrating to Turkey.

167 175 The emigration of the Moslem population from Bulgaria to Turkey began with the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. Most of the Turks living in the cities left Bulgaria immediately. They were slowly followed by the peasant element. The Turkish Government did not encourage this emigration. Under Sultan Abdul Hamid's rule the Turkish authorities were always suspicious of Moslem immigrants from the newly-liberated countries where they had lived under much moreliberal conditions and had learned to value freedom and rights - two things which were not allowed in the Turkish Empire. There was another for this attitude. Turkey was greatly interest in keeping abroad a large and compact Moslem minority. They remained under the religious rule of the Cheikh-ul-Islam of Constantinople and could be of invaluable assistance in a Bulgarian-Turkish conflict, as they could not fail to respond to the appeal of their religious leader. But with the gradual stabilization of the situation the religious fanaticism of these Moslems weakened, and the passive character of the Turkish race led them to become loyal subjects of the Bulgarian State.

The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 caused the disappearance of Turkey from Europe. World War I, following a year later, brought about the dismembermcht of the Ottoman Empire whose

ruins the Kemalist Republic was established in the Anatolian Highland which is the only truly Turkish region and cradle of the power of the Osmanli Turks. The wars produced a new trend of emigration among the Moslems in all Balkan States. This trend was particularly strong among the Turks in Macedonia and especially those civilians or military who had led the fight against the powerful Macedonian Revolutionary organization. As Mustafa Kemal's campanions in arms, they were given prominent positions in the People's Republican Party founded by him. Mustafa Kemal, having been the Turkish military attache to Sofia before becoming Turkey's liberator, enjoyed great prestige among the Moslem population in Bulgaria. His influence caused a flood of Turkish immigrants to turn to the newly-established Republic. As those immigrants were more civilized and educated than the backward Anatolian peasants, they rapidly took into their hands the rein of business, playing an increasingly important part in the economic and political life of Turkey. Even today, the market of Ankara is dominated by the immigrants from Bulgaria, and one can often hear the Bulgarian language spoken in the shops and stores of the capital.

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The immigration would have been much greater if Ataturk had not enforced his great social, political and cultural reforms which shocked the Moslem world at first and which the Moslems of the Balkan States refused to follow. These reforms had to do with the liquidation of the Caliphate, and consequently of the religious law (Sheriat), in civic matters, the abandonment of the fez (cap) for men and feredje

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(viel) for women, and the change from the Arabic to the Latin alphabet. 178 167 175

These fundamental reforms provoked a schism at first, and for a long time Mustafa Kemal and his followers were considered infidels by other Moslems. The Bulgarian Government, keenly aware of the potential menace presented by the compact and numerous Turkish minority, was only too happy to exploit this schism, which caused the Turks in Bulgaria to turn away from Ankara and Constantinople. 175 563

Bulgaria refused to exert any pressure on the Moslem minority to force it to organize its social and religious life along the lines advocated by the Kemalists. The Moslems were left entirely free to keep the Sheriat and the Arabic alphabet. Nothing was changed in the Turkish clergy and schools in Bulgaria. This was all the easier to effect because the separation of the Church and State, which is the core of the Kemalist reforms, had long been realized in Bulgaria by the very fact of the establishment of the Christian Bulgarian State side by side with an ethnically foreign Moslem minority. 659 175 563 795 793

Left entirely to itself, this minority, whose nationality and religion have always been scrupulously respected, organized itself on the basis of the Sheriat, which governed every phase of its civic and religious life, particularly in matrimonial matters - marriage and divorce (i. e., repudiation of the wife by the husband), as well as in the matters of inheritance.

This organization, which developed side by side with

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the Bulgarian State, was maintained by the Bulgarian authorities by means of the institution of the muftis, whose network covered all the Turkish-inhabited regions and which was centered at Sofia in the person of a Great Mufti, elected by the regional muftis. The Great Mufti was assisted by a Council elected by all the Moslems in the country. Thus, the Turkish minority not only enjoyed equal political rights with other citizens, but also was provided with a system of self-government concerning all matters regulated by the Sheriat. Such was the privileged position of the great Moslem community, which was able to support a considerable number of mosques (no less than two thousand) and schools (more than one thousand) and to publish several newspapers in its own language.

The Kemalists were extremely dissatisfied with this state of affairs. It frustrated the expansion of their reforms beyond the frontiers of Turkey. The Government in Sofia, however, took a firm stand and refused to change anything in the direction desired by Ankara. What was more, the Turks in Bulgaria, being a compact and a large group, were a source of votes for the politicians, who did much to raise their primitive standard of living. Great projects were carried out [312] by the Bulgarian State over several years whose purpose it was to provide drinking water and irrigation for the arid region of Doliorman (Northeastern Bulgaria) predominantly populated by Turks.

B. Jewish Minority

The Jews in Bulgaria numbered about 50,000 and came originally from Spain. Until the last war they lived in absolute liberty and enjoyed all the rights of Bulgarian citizens. The Jewish colony maintained about 30 synagogues, of which seven are in Sofia, three in Plovdiv, two in Pleven, one in Vidin, one in Vratza, etc., and a consistory composed of prominent men, the most notable of whom was the great Rabbi Dr. Ehrenpreiss (actually residing in Stockholm). For more than fifteen years Dr. Ehrenpreiss made a center of his residence from which Hebrew culture was propagated not only in the Balkans but in Eastern Europe as well. [162] 563 795

The Jews not only were not persecuted, but also enjoyed the sympathy of the local population. This explains the fact that, although not numerous, they controlled the greater part of Bulgarian commerce, both domestic and foreign. The relations between Bulgarians and Jews were excellent, and sometimes went even as far as inter-marriage. The wife of the last Bulgarian Minister to the United States, Dr. Hevorah, who is of Jewish descent, is a Bulgarian.

This harmony was not disturbed even after Hitler's seizure of power in Germany when, under the influence of the new regime in the Reich, national-socialist and fascist groups were also organized in Bulgaria. These groups endeavored, among other things, to incite anti-Jewish feelings among the 798 563

local population. The most active of those groups in that respect was the nationalistic organization "National Defence", under the leadership of a reserve general. Now and then the members of that organization staged a raid on some Jewish shops in Sofia where there lived no less than 20,000 Jews. But these sorties usually provoked by some discourteous act of the Jewish merchants, or of his employees, towards their Bulgarian customers, were ostracized by the government. 798 563

The situation changed abruptly at the beginning of World War II when the victories of the German Army in France made Hitler the virtual master of Europe. Bulgaria could not but take into account this change, the more so since her government was obviously inclined toward Germany. King Boris, whose power knew no limit, appointed then to the Ministry of Interior an attorney, none too intelligent, but an ardent Germanophile, who began to apply the national-socialist principles in the country and especially the theory of the purity of the race, which was claimed to be endanged in Bulgaria too. The national-socialists were shocked by the great liberty which the Jews enjoyed in Bulgaria, and openly began to talk of its suppression. Under German pressure, the Bulgarian government began to restrict its Jewish citizens. In December 1940 it sponsored in the legislature and the latter voted a law on the "Defence of the Nation", which deprived the Jewish citizens of their liberty and made them a lower class of citizens. The Jews were deprived of the right to serve in 656 798 563

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government or public institutions and in the army; the right to own landed property and movie theaters, and the right to publish newspapers or to participate in their publication. The Jews were forbidden to marry Bulgarians or hire Bulgarian maids and the Jewish children were denied admission to Bulgarian schools. Jewish participation in commerce and industry was made proportional to the Jewish population. This was very difficult to establish and resulted, therefore, in numerous abuses. Provision was made for the forcible evacuation of the Jewish population from the capital to the country, so as to remove it from the sight of the Germans, who were preparing to enter Bulgaria. Jewish youngmen, who were forbidden to fulfill their military service together with their Bulgarian fellow citizens, were sent to serve in the labor detachments organized after the first world war when the subsequent peace treaty prohibited universal military training in Bulgaria, and the Bulgarians replaced it with the so-called labor service for the utilization of the conscripts for various public works, mainly road construction. This organization was maintained after the creation of a regular army and still exists. The fact that the Jews were drafted into the labor service did not indicate discrimination. Discrimination consisted of the creation of separate units for the Jews, which, of course, were treated more severely than the others.

Nobody was pleased by this law, inspired by the desire to disprove the reproaches which the Germans were making to the

government, and King Boris, after signing the law, preferred to suspend its application for six months with the hope that events would allow him to abandon it as an unnecessary measure against public opinion. The government confined itself to the mere registration of all Jewish property, movable and immovable. However, when the German Army entered Bulgaria in March 1941, and in April, crushed and occupied Yugoslavia and Greece, anti-Jewish legislation could no longer be deferred. Since King Boris disliked to sign outright discriminatory laws, a law was passed which authorized the Council of Ministers to issue decrees designed to settle the Jewish and related questions. Another law assessed a levy of 20 percent on all property of the Jews. A third law took away from the Jews the concessional pharmacies by obliging them to liquidate their business. (In Bulgaria pharmacies are opened only with a concession from the authorities which give these concessions under strict conditions, and for strictly limited sections of the community under state control.)

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Acting on the authority of the powers given him by the legislature, the Council of Ministers established a special Commissariat for Jewish Affairs, which was given extensive powers, and which was placed under the direction of one of the most embittered persons in the country, acting in close cooperation with the German Legation in Sofia. It was this Commissariat which introduced the regime of limitations for the Jews who were required to sell all apartments and houses not used as personal residences; i.e., those which were rented, as well as the stock piles of various articles which they had

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hoarded at the beginning of the war. The Jews were required to entrust the Bulgarian National Bank with all their valuables, stocks, bonds, and insurance policies, and to liquidate their participation in various commercial and industrial enterprises. Property owned by Bulgarian Jews living abroad was simply seized. In the field of liberal professions, only 53 Jews were admitted to free practice, of which 21 were attorneys, 21 physicians, 7 dentists, 3 chemists, and 1 architect; most of them were allowed to practice because they were either decorated war veterans or converts to Christianity. Special identification cards were issued to Jews, and in order to distinguish them from Bulgarians, they were forced to wear on the lapels of their coats a yellow star of David (foreign Jews and war veterans were to wear red circles). Jewish radio and telephone receivers were often abused by the pro-German part of the population; but they never lost the sympathy of the people who knew that all of this was due to the Germans.

In Macedonia, which was occupied by Bulgarian troops but under German rule, the situation was slightly different. There were not many Jews there; they were assembled in one place, not in a concentration camp, as such a thing did not exist, but in a little town from where the Germans, one night in 1942, deported them without even informing the Bulgarian authorities, and transported them to Poland in closed freight cars.

The Germans could not treat the Bulgarian Jews in the

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same way; but they were determined to deport them with the consent of the government. To this effect they recived the cooperation of the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs and signed with the latter a formal agreement, which was ratified by the Council of Ministers, and according to which the government agreed to hand over to the German Government a certain number of Bulgarian Jews. This agreement was published by the press after a change in the government took place, but at the time it was kept strictly secret. The Jews, however, learned that they were to be sent to ~~the German~~ concentration camps and frenziedly began to look for protection. A spontaneous outburst of protests arose among the Bulgarian population, which had been badly rattled by the passage through the country of the freight trains loaded with the Macedonian Jews on its way to Romania. By the sickening scenes of the conditions of their transportation, the impression made by this action was shocking, and when it was learned that the same fate was reserved for the Bulgarian Jews, the whole country rose in a wave of protests which was expressed in thousands of letters addressed to the Court, imploring insistingly, and some even menacingly, the Head of the State to prevent this shame. The frothing created was such that the King saw himself obliged to emerge from his passiveness and to warn the Germans discreetly, but firmly, that he was not responsible for the order and the peace in the country if they continued this action. The Germans understood the warning and forsook the deportation of the Jews from Bulgaria. Instead, they

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deported the Jews en masse from Sofia forcibly to two main Jewish centers in the country, namely, the towns of Pleven and Vratza. There the Jews lived unmolested until the Coup d'Etat of September 9, 1944, when the new government immediately restored them to their former status. Thus, the Bulgarian Jews, although they suffered material and moral damages, were saved from destruction, contrary to what happened in some of the other countries occupied by Germany.

The new government repealed all anti-Jewish legislation; all the seized or sequestered property was returned to the Jewish owners. A special decree-law was promulgated for "the settlement of the consequences of the revocation of anti-Jewish legislation affecting private property." The Jews were given full satisfaction. This was at the beginning. No laws or decrees were disclosed which would discriminate against the Jews or restrict the exercise of Jewish faith. However, the general program of nationalization of industry and commerce affected strongly the source of livelihood of many Jews in Bulgaria. Once the government had nationalized all the commerce and all the industry of the country, most of the Jews were deprived of the exercise of their trade. Since 1947, they have been emigrating en masse to Palestine. According to a letter from Israel, published in the organ of the Bulgarian National Committee "Free and Independent Bulgaria" of October 28, 1949, there already are 40,000 Bulgarian Jews in Israel, and there are only about 8,000 Jews left in Bulgaria, which are awaiting their turn to leave, with the exception of 2,000 to 3,000 at the most who are

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tied to the Communist Party and the present government. It is, therefore, not to be expected that they will leave Bulgaria. It must be noted, however, that by means of this organized emigration to the State of Israel, the Russians, who are the masters in Bulgaria, have succeeded in sending there a rather large number of communists and they played an important part in that country in favor of a pro-soviet orientation.

C. Roman Catholic Church

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The Roman Catholic Church was one of the most influential although Roman Catholics were not numerous in Bulgaria. Indeed, Catholicism penetrated Bulgaria as early as the XVII century. It did not come directly from Rome, but through the intermediary of the then powerful Austrian monarchy, which sought to expand into Southeastern Europe and which, in order to realize the goals of that policy, was promising the Bulgarian people to liberate them from the Turkish rule at a time when Russia had not yet entered the International arena.

The pioneers of that denomination were then Bulgarian merchants with connections abroad who often visited the Dalmatian port Dubrovnik (Raguza), an important cultural center at the time. There they were won to the idea of the liberation of Bulgaria with the help of Catholic Austria, an idea encouraged by the Vatican authorities, and they frequented Vienna and Rome for political conferences. Such merchants came mostly from the small but rich town Tchiprovtsi, in the present region of Vratsa,

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in northwestern Bulgaria. Consequently, Catholicism spread in the region and town of Plovdiv, in southern Bulgaria. These are the two main Catholic centers in Bulgaria to which Sofia must be added not because it has a large Catholic population, but because the old King Ferdinand was Catholic and favored Catholicism. There were, therefore, two Catholic Churches in Sofia. Also, the Catholic Bishop, religious head of all, though no numerous, Bulgarian Catholics, had his seat there where the Pope likewise maintained an Apostolic Nuncio as his representative to the Bulgarian Government and the Bulgarian court.

Another Catholic current penetrated the Bulgarian provinces during the second half of the XIX century, this time via Constantinople. This was at the time when the Bulgarian nation was engaged in the fight for its religious emancipation. The country had already been convinced that liberation was going to come only from Russia, but Russian diplomacy at first refused to support the demand for the creation of an autonomous Bulgarian Church. It threatened to cause a schism in the Orthodox world because of the uncompromising attitude of the Constantinople Patriarchate, which insisted on its ecumenical. Jurisdiction as opposed to the national principle in religious affairs. In view of this situation a certain number of Bulgarians reacted to that opposition by soliciting the protection of the Vatican in the hope that this protection would help to draw the attention of Europe and induce it to take an interest in the fate of the Bulgarian people and also expedite their religious and political liberation.

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Thus, in 1859, the inhabitants of the Macedonian towns of Doiran and of Kukush (Kilkish), north of Salonika, now in Yugoslav and Greek lands, respectively, left the Patriarchate to form a Bulgarian Uniate Church which registered some gains in Macedonia and Thrace, particularly in Adrianople, between 1860 - 1870, before the Bulgarian Exarchate was established. In these two regions the Vatican appointed bishops for the dioceses which were established there, and toward the end of that decade, a young Bulgarian patriot, Dragan Tzankoff, who later was to play a considerable part in the political life of the Principedom of Bulgaria at the head of the liberal party, began serious negotiations with the Vatican for the incorporation of the entire Bulgarian nation into the Roman Church as a Uniate Church. A Uniate Archbishopric was established, but proved to be of short life. The Turkish government authorized lather the establishment of the Exarchate as the Bulgarian National Church.

The Bulgarian Uniates, like the Uniates in the Ukraine and in Byelorussia, constituted a special branch of Catholics. They preserved the dogmas and rituals and other religious rules of the Eastern Church, but accepted the supreme authority of the Pope, praying for him during the Mass and mentioning him as the supreme church authority instead of the Patriarch, and later, the Exarch.

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The Uniate movement was centered around Salonika and directed from Constantinople. It rendered great services to the Bulgarian population in Macedonia and Thrace under the

795 Ottoman Empire. Its influence was greatest in the vilayet
797 (province) of Salonika. A great cathedral was erected in that city in 1878 to replace the little chapel which had until then served the small Catholic community. The same soon took place in Adrianople. The Uniate communities of these two cities, with the authorization of the Turkish authorities and the material support of the Vatican, founded primary and secondary schools for their children. These schools helped considerably the Bulgarian population, exposed immediately after the Russo-Turkish War of 1878 to the double persecutions by the Greek clergy, who were trying to detach it from the Exarchate. The Catholic educational institutions educated a great number of indigent children who later made powerful contributions to the cultural progress of the Bulgarian Nation.

Several religious missions came to these regions from Rome, and, once established, did some beneficial work. Two of them particularly distinguished themselves. One was the Order of St. Vincent of Paul of the Brothers and Sisters of Charity, which acquired the estate of Zeitinlik, two kilometers from the Vardar Gate of Salonika, on the road to Serres and where they erected the vast buildings of the "Bulgarian Catholic School of St. Cyril and Methodius", circled by a great wall; the other was the school of the two italian clerics, Brother Guiseppe Aloati and Sister Christne Aloati, of Turin, who, in 1892, bought a large farm, near the village of Palortzi, in the region of Ghevgheli, in Macedonia, actually located on the Greek-Yugoslav border on which they founded an orphanage with a convent school for nurses and one for home economics, and

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where many Bulgarian children of Southern Macedonia found asylum, especially after the great insurrection of August 1903. After the Balkan War, which Bulgaria fought for the liberation of her national territories of Macedonia and Thrace from Turkish rule, but which ended disastrously for her, these two important centers of education for the Bulgarian youths were suppressed, the school buildings and their grounds having been seized by the Greek and Serbian authorities, which likewise forced all other Bulgarian schools under their jurisdiction to be closed. This brutal occupation was resented by the local population, and many disgraceful scenes took place, such as the suppression of the school in Palortzi. The order stated that instructions be changed from the Bulgarian to the Serbian language; Father and Sister Aloati declared that when they established the school, they had found nothing but Bulgarian children in that region and that, for this reason, they could not fail in their duty to teach these children in their own Bulgarian language. This courageous declaration was unanimously supported by the students, who declared that they were Bulgarians and that they had no desire to learn the Serbian language. The order to change the language which was repeated several times was not carried out. One day a detachment of Serbian police invaded the grounds of the school with the official notice that either the curriculum was going to be Serbianized, or the school was to be evacuated immediately. The teachers and students remained firm in their attitude and preferred

exile to renunciation of the Bulgarian character of the school. With their few belongings that they managed to salvage, they sought refuge in Bulgaria. 795 797 563

The Uniate movement did not expand after the establishment of the Exarchate in 1871 and the creation of a Bulgarian State in 1879. The towns of Adrianople and Kukash were devastated and almost destroyed by the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913. Turkey and Greece soon thereafter expelled most of the Bulgarian population of these regions. The Uniates among them were dispersed throughout Bulgaria and disappeared as an organized religious community. 795 175

Between the two world wars a powerful Catholic action was begun by Italy in the Balkans and particularly in Bulgaria. This action was carried out by a special religious organization called "Pro Oriente". It did not, however, pursue religious aims but pure Italian propaganda and there is beyond the scope of this report.

The foreign denominations, however, have even enjoyed the greatest freedom in Bulgaria, this freedom being consecrated by the Constitution itself (see supra) and were under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which also took care of the ecclesiastic affairs of the Bulgarian Church. The Constitution of 1879 had created in this Ministry a bureau in charge of the denominations. 656

The need for a special law for the foreign denominations was not even felt under the pre-war regime. Such a law was not 671

promulgated until 1949. Sections 5, 7-15, 17, 18, 20-24, 28, 30, and 31 of this law especially affect the Roman Catholic Church. 671

D. Prostestant Church

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The activities of the Protestant Churches are described in more detail in Appendix B. No law was disclosed which would specifically regulate the position of the Protestant Church in Bulgaria. The activity of this church was primarily educational, that is, the Protestants opened and conducted several private schools in Bulgaria. They did not come under some special denominational churches which were treated like any other private schools. For this reason such activities are being reported in a separate appendix to this digest, which is primarily designed to give a picture of the legal status of the church.

APPENDIX A

to Chapter IV

Elections of the Exarch in Detail

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The eledtion of the Exarch was performed by a body consisting of both the representatives of the clergymen and the laymen parishioners. The mandates of some of these representatives of the clergymen and the laymen parishioners. The mandates of some of these representatives elected before expired in some dioceses but they were extended by government decree because the Diet (Sobranie, Decree having Force of Law [671] for the Extension of the Mandates of the Lay and the Ecclesiastic Electors within each Diocese under Article 59 of the Statute of the Exarchate, Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 9, January 12, 1945). Since, furthermore, the Statute required the participation of the President and of the Vice-Presidents of the Diet which had been dissolved, the Council of Ministers passed a resolution replacing these two delegates with three representatives of the Fatherland Front coalition, because of the impossibility of holding legislative elections (Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 9, January 12, 1945).

Needless to say, the representatives of the Fatherland Front played the most important part in the election.

The Communists had no use for an Exarch. They agreed to the election only under pressure from the other members of the coalition and under the expressed condition that the latter would, on their part, agree to the immediate introduction of

793 civil marriage asoobligatory, regardless of the Church's stand. That step was taken four months later.

There had always been three candidates to the Exarch's Tiara: Archbishop Stefan of Sofia, who had served as Archimandrite under the late Exarch Joseph, whose name and memory are worshipped in all Bulgarian lands; Archbishop Paissy of Vratza, who almost had himself elected during the war with the support of the Germans; and Archbishop Antim of Vidin, who, for a great number of years, had presided over the sessions of the Holy Synod, whose president, the Exarch, is ex officio.

Owing to the international situation of the country at the time under full soviet occupation, it could not be a question of electing Paissy and his candidacy was tacitly eliminated. There remined the choice between Antim and Stefan. The former had his longtime presidency of the Synod to his credit, while the latter enjoyed a certain priority under a general recommendation incorporated in the statute of the Exarchate in 1921. This recommendation stated that the new Exarch had to be the Archbishop of Sofia from which one may conclude that the Archbishop of Sofia would be the new Exarch. This was designed to facilitate the election of Mgr. Stefan as the candidate of the government at the time against Mgr. Antim, who, politically related to the radical party, was considered as a leftwinger and consequently as inacceptable to the dictatorship.

But during the war, Mgr. Stefan, being an ardent Russophile, took a stand in favor of the allies and later, of the U.S.S.R.. This immediately brought him in close comtact with the opposition, especially with the group Zveno and the Military League whose anti-governmental activities was encouraged by him. This also brought him closer to the soviets whose anti-religious policy he had criticized before the war. When the Patriarchate was restored in Russia, in 1943, he no longer had any reservation toward Moscow. When, in the fall of 1944, the coalition of the Fatherland Front was being formed, Mgr. Stefan adhered to it quite openly and in this quality was kept informed of all preparations for the Coup d'Etate of September 9, 1944, when Mgr. Antim remained loyal to the end to the national government and kept himself out of any active participation in politics.

Thus, Stefan was nominated by the Fatherland Front with the tacit consent of the Communists, who had little confidence in him. But on the one hand, they were not at all interested in the internal affairs of the Church and on the other hand, did not feel strong enough as yet to dictate to their partners concerning such matters. In January 1945, the Archbishop of Sofia was elected Exarch of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church.

The new Exarch was a political, rather than a religious figure. He demonstrated it the day of his election in the address which he made during the service at which he officiated,

assisted by the other Archbishops, in the renovated old church of St. Sophia, dating back to Byzantine times. He presented himself as the choice of the Fatherland Front, which he defended and to whom he swore fealty, so to speak, before a numerous and well-selected audience from which the government was conspicuously absent. The communists had insisted on that latter point, not trusting the new Exarch's Anglo-Saxon sympathies. Stefan, who was a staunch anti-bolshevik before the war, had many ties in the Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastic world and had been very active in the international organization, "Peace through Faith". Such activities could not but arouse the suspicion of the Bulgarian members of the Comintern. Furthermore, there is the prelate's political past. In 1934, he, in order to improve his position, supported the anti-royalist coup carried out by the group Zveno and the Military League. Then, when the King succeeded in liquidating the rebels and in establishing his own dictatorship, Mgr. Stefan went over to the Head of the State and thus acquired an omnipotent position with the Bulgarian Church. During the entire duration of the Royal dictatorship, he did not cease to uphold the cause of the Russian refugees in Bulgaria against the Moscow Government, attacking the latter in numerous articles, approved and even inspired by the Council of Ministers. Finally, the events of the second world war caused a general desertion of the sovereign; Mgr. Stefan, who hated him, abandoned him to seek the support of King Boris' sworn enemies, the group Zveno and the Military League. These elements had begun to prepare a new rebellion

long before the King's death, which occured in 1943. With such a past, he could hardly hope to gain the confidence of the communists. But, thinking himself a great politician, he hoped to be able to manouver with the communists as he had done with his sovereign, from whom he had once hoped to be called upon to preside over the destinies of the nation.

However, after his election, he did take two intelligent and timely steps. On the one hand, the Patriarchate of Constantinople having renewed the advances which it had been making for some years toward the removal of the schism separating it from the Bulgarian Church, and these advances being favorably regarded by the Russian Patriarchate and by the Soviet Government, he interceded before the Fatherland Front in favor of and succeeded in obtaining the appointment of a delegation which would engage the necessary negotiations. As chariman of the delegation, he appointed a Macedonian prelate, the Archbishop of Nevrokop, Mgr. Boris (later assassinated by a communist priest of his diocese), who was to be assisted by Mgr. Andreij, Bishop of the Bulgarians in America, who was then temporarily in charge of the ghost of an Exarchate which Bulgaria was maintaining in Constantinople. And on the other hadn, without waiting for the results of the negotiations, he went to Moscow to pay his respects to the Russian Patriarch Alexis and to place himself at the latter's disposal. This was in accordance with the international mission which the Politbureau has assigned to the Russian Orthodox Church, namely, the restoration of the former Russian influence, both religious and political, in the Middle and Near East. The lifting of the Greek-Bulgarian schism was a part of this program. In keeping with his

ambitious nature, Mgr. Stefan wanted to play an important part in that scheme. That is why he offered his services to Alexis, whom he charmed and in whose person, moreover, he wanted to have a champion among the communists. Nevertheless, in doing so, he was also following the tradition established during the long period of the schism when the Russian Church had always supported the Bulgarian Church, for which the Bulgarians were quite thankful. 793

Alexis was soon to visit the Holy Land, and Stefan, who would have to pay a visit to the Patriarch in Constantinople after the lifting of the schism, suggested that that visit coincide with that of his big brother, on the latter's return from the Holy Land, in such fashion that the two would meet in Constantinople as guests of the Ecumenical Patriarch and affirm a soviet moral protectorate over the Eastern Orthodox Christians in the Orient, which was to facilitate the expansion of soviet political influence. 795

This scheme failed. The Turkish Government was highly disturbed by the announcement of Alexis' journey; and the Constantinople Patriarchate, fearing the consequences of the projected visit, asked the Moscow Patriarch to postpone it.

This was all taking place while the political group, known as the E.A.M. in Greece, which was communist dominated, still had hopes of seizing power through peaceful means, with the active support of the U.S.S.R., of course.

The negotiations with the Greek Patriarchate, which 000

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The negotiations with the Greek Patriarchate, which although still called "Ecumenical", actually was reduced to a few dioceses in and around Constantinople, were carried on rather smoothly. The reconciliation of the two rival churches had been in preparation for a long time by the march of the events. The rivalry itself had no foundation any more. The defeat of the Greek expeditionary forces at the hands of Kemal Ataturk in their attempt at restoring the Byzantine Empire of the old days had had, as a consequence, the disappearance of Greek religious supremacy in the Orthodox world. As to the Bulgarians, the loss of Thrace and Macedonia had left them little to dispute about with the Patriarchate of Phanar. Moreover, the Greek-Bulgarian ecclesiastic quarrel was far less of a dogmatic nature than that of a political nature, and one may even say, a purely administrative one.

In effect, the canons of the Orthodox faith forbade the presence of two religious leaders of the same denomination in one town. It is on the basis of that rule that the Patriarchate had opposed, in 1871, the establishment of the See of the Bulgarian Exarch in Constantinople. However, at that time all Bulgarian lands were still under Ottoman rule, and there was no other place the Exarchate could go and still be in direct contact with the Turkish Government as its capital. Since that period, things have changed radically, and now there is no need for the presence of the Bulgarian Exarch in Constantinople. Furthermore, the Patriarchate was willing to recognize the complete independence of the Bulgarian Church, which it

was ready to proclaim autocephalous under an Exarch or a Patriarch, as the Bulgarians would have it. 795 798

On such a basis, an agreement was soon reached, and on February 23, 1945, a protocol was signed by the Patriarch and the Bulgarian delegates, and ratified by the Holy Synods of the two churches. The schism separating the Bulgarian Church from the Patriarchate since 1871 was eliminated.

This result was greatly facilitated by the favorable attitude of Patriarch Benjamine himself. Sensing the end of his days was drawing nearer, he was determined to carry out the task of reconciliation and pacification before his death. He came from the southern part of Macedonia (incorporated into Greece in 1913), and there are good reasons to consider him as a Bulgarian. He had not lost his national feeling and wanted to express that feeling by taking the intiative of the rapprochement between the Greeks and the Bulgarians. His moral strength is all the more outstanding in view of his weak physical condition. The Apostolic Nuncio in Constantinople has said of him and his ideal: "that old man rises above the contingencies of everyday life in the pursuit of a great ideal in the service of God and of Humanity."

The protocol of February 23 was to recive a solemn confirmation by a visit of Exarch Stefan to Patriarch Benjamin. that visit was delayed by events until the second half of October 1945. In the meantime, the Patriarch suffered two heart attacks, and the composition of the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate had 795 798 648

been altered by one of the periodical re-shufflings, which had removed precisely the most zealous supporters of the reconciliation. The Patriarch had enough strength to impose the continued adherence to the decisions which had been made, but the atmosphere was not at all the same. Stefan's visit to Alexis and the fact that he arrived in Constantinople (Istanbul) as it were directly from Moscow, were widely exploited to cause alarm and suspicion in the old Ottoman capital where a Russian-Bulgarian maneuver aimed at gaining moral control of the city was always feared. These fears were tacitly shared by the Turkish Government, and consequently, there were many obstacles to be removed. Nevertheless, Mgr. Stefan's visit was very successful in the outcome. 795 798 648

Sofia tried to exploit that success and to widen the work of reconciliation to the peoples themselves, and not only to the churches. On October 30, 1945, Exarch Stefan handed to the Patriarch a short memorandum, in which the Bulgarian Government was asking the Patriarch to intercede before the Regent of Greece, Mgr. Damaskinos, in favor of the normalization of Greek-Bulgarian relations. Bulgaria decalred her readiness to repair all damages effectively caused by Bulgarian occupation authorities, taking into consideration, however, the public utility projects which the Bulgarians had undertaken in Greece. Bulgaria asserted that she had no purpose other than to establish friendly conditions of cooperation between the two countries. 648

To that Mgr. Damaskinos, then head of the Greek State, gave an evasive reply. He approved the lifting of the schism

but refused to let himself be drawn into political matters by his religious superior. Besides, the latter died three months later, and his healthy influence on Greek-Bulgarian political reconciliation ceased. The U.S.S.R. supported this reconciliation very energetically, as the E.A.M., the Greek equivalent of the Bulgarian Fatherland Front, still thought it had a good chance of seizing power by peaceful means after its rebellion in the fall of 1944 had been bloodily and decisively repressed. The maneuver, if it had been successful, would probably have been ~~of~~ profit to the E.A.M.. But it would also have helped Greece and prevented the bloodshed of the three following years. In any event its failure caused the Soviet Government and the Bulgarian Communists to scrap the ecclesiastic policy which they had drawn up in 1944, and the central figure in which had been Mgr. Stefan. The latter immediately lost all the value which he had held for the communists which would enable him to maintain some independence of action as Head of the Bulgarian Church. Now the communists no longer had any use for him and still had all the old reasons to distrust him because of his autoritarian attitude. 648

In effect, his election to the Exarchate and his visit to Istanbul had inflated his ego to a point where he began to believe that he had become a great factor in the life of the country, and he wanted to play a part proportionate to that importance. But, since it was the Fatherland Front who had elected him, he was confronted with overgrowing demands from the 793

government, which intended to make the church its tool, both in and out of the country, when it was rapidly becoming the center of opposition, especially after the suppression of the political opposition in the Sobranie. To these demands, Mgr. Stefan had to give satisfaction, albeit half-heartedly, and in so doing, he provoked the ire of both the clergy and the people. On the other hand, to complicate things further, he took a dim view of the activities of the Holy Synod, and wanted to decide everything alone. 793

Thus, while he was in Istanbul, he informed Patriarch Benjamin of his intention to proclaim himself Patriarch in 1917 and invited him to send delegates to attend the ceremonies which he planned. In this he acted without consulting either the government of the Synod, and, quite naturally, both protested when he returned to Bulgaria and declared that they disagreed with him, and that they considered the transformation of the Exarchate into a Patriarchate an untimely step. The conflict which opposed him to the government on the one hand, and to the Holy Synod on the other hand, went from bad to worse, especially after the separation of Church and State had been decreed officially by the adoption of the new Constitution at the end of 1947. Mgr. Stefan thus literally found himself between the hammer and the anvil. Moreover, because of his personally aggressive attitude towards the other prelates, which made him attempt to dictate to his friends and to crush his opponents, the two forces finally joined against him. On 793 795

September 6, 1948, following an incident with the communists, he saw himself placed in the position where he had to hand in his resignation to the Holy Synod which accepted it unanimously with the support of the government, which did nothing to prepare for the election of a new Exarch. The Holy Synod, taking full charge again of the Church, did more than accept the resignation of Mgr. Stefan. By applying the last amendment of the Statute of the Exarchat (Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 108, May 12, 1945) which definitely linked the office of the Exarch with that of the Archbishop Primate of Sofia, it deprived him of his diocese, reserved for the new Exarch, and relegated him as a virtual prisoner to the surroundings of the small provincial town of Karlovo, where the government permitted him to establish himself in a castle which had once been the property of the late King Boris. His health, by the way, was particularly precarious.

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The decision of the Holy Synod really amounts to a deposition of the Exarch, rather than as an acceptance of his resignation. It was the revenge of the Synod, whom Mgr. Stefan had systematically ignored in his ambition to arrive at a personal and arbitrary rule over the Church, contrary to the very spirit of the Statute of the Exarchate, which had established the Bulgarian Church on an essentially democratic and national basis.

APPENDIX B

to Chapter V

Activities of the Protestant Churches in Bulgaria

(Report prepared by Mrs. M. G. Markham from "The Story of the American Board" by William E. Strong. 1910; "Valorous Ventures" by Mary Isham, Methodist Women's Board and Personal Experiences.)

Protestantism came into Bulgaria through Boston. It came at the time when Bulgaria was still a part of European Turkey. It was brought in by American missionaries who received their inspiration and religious fervor during the time of the religious revival in America, following shortly after the Revolutionary War in the United States of America.

So, in 1810, there was organized in Boston, Massachusetts, the A.B.C.F.M., or the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, for the purpose of sending missionaries to carry the gospel to the world.

From the beginning the Board had its eye on the Holy Land. It seemed intolerable to its founders that Christianity's birthplace should be forever in the grip of Islam, or left to the lifeless form of Christianity then found in Palestine.

The first attempts at missionary work in Turkey were not directed especially toward the Mohammedans nor to the Oriental Christians, but to the Jews when in 1819 the first two workers were sent to work in Turkey. At first they settled in Smyrna.

They were sent with the purpose of surveying the field

to see what could be done. They felt the field was a great challenge, for at that time the Turkish Empire was vast and covered almost every land named in Bible history. It extended also into Europe--into Greece and the Balkan Provinces.

They found there were 40,000,000 people crowded together and yet seperated by irreconciliable differences of race and religion and embittered by years of controversy and warfare.

Except in coastal cities there were scarcely any educated men; the women were uniformly illiterate. There was no literature, apparently no desire for it, under the oppressive hand of the sultancaliph at Constantinople.

The early missionaries in Turkey worked with great endurance, persistence and devotion, suffering much from the primitive conditions in the country. They made careful investigations and did a great deal of exploring before planting their mission stations.

In 1830 some American Board missionaries set up a station at Constantinople for the Spanish Jews. They definitely stated then that they came as helpers, not as antagonists, of the Armenians and church. They hoped to "redeem that church to a more vital religion".

In 1840 a small boarding school for boys and young men started in Bebek - Constantinople - by Cyrus Hamlin. This school later developed into a theological school to train preachers. In 1862 circumstances made great changes in the

school. By this time the missionaries felt their theological training school should be more available for Asiatic Turkey and away from a big city. Therefore, the theological school was moved into Asia Minor. About the same time, in 1863, a Mr. Christopher R. Robert of New York, was urging Dr. Hamlin to found a Christian college to furnish higher education for all races in the Turkish Empire. So in 1863 the Robert College was founded, which was to educate and train future Bulgarians. 797

In 1845 a girls' boarding school was started by the missionaries in Constantinople with two pupils. This later became the well-known and important "American College for Girls at Constantinople", in 1872.

Many Armenians became attracted to the new form of Christianity and after some time the Orthodox Armenians began severe persecution of their "evangelicals" and finally resorted to excommunication. This treatment caused the organization of the first Protestant Church on July 1, 1846, in Constantinople. 795

The American Board began its work in European Turkey in 1858. For some time attention had been turned to this part of the Empire as a strategic missionary field. 797

Dr. Hamilin of the school at Bebek, on a visit to England in 1856, enlisted the substantial aid of friends there, notably the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Turkish Missions Aid Society in the needy and important lands which Turkey held in Europe.

It was felt that in this middle ground between East

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and West, where 4,000,000 Moslems were in close contact with western civilization and where also various Christian sects touched western Christianity, there was a field not to be passed over in any effort to carry the gospel into Asia.

Moreover, "the Bulgarians, the leading race in the Balkans, ambitious, progressive, and liberty-loving, made a particular appeal to the sympathies of the civilized world". (The Story of the American Board by William B. Strong).

In 1857 Dr. Hamlin, with a representative of the Turkish Missions Aid Society, made a tour of investigation into European Turkey and brought back a glowing report. They found "a people poor and ignorant indeed, yet thrifty and eager for learning".

By an understanding with the Methodist Episcopal Church North, of America, the American Board - Congregationalist - took its share of the land to be cultivated, the region south of the Balkans, placing its first missionaries at Adrianople.

Plovdiv was made the second station.

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The missionaries were brave, enthusiastic, gifted men and women. Their school for girls in Stara Zagora and the school for young men at Plovdiv prospered and encouraged the missionaries. But there were discouraging experiences too; influential parents at Stara Zagora withdrew their daughters when they understood the Protestant character of the school, and in 1867 a mob attacked the school and would have carried off the scholars but for the coolness and vigor of Mr. Morse in withstanding them.

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Here an appeal to the new law of religious liberty in Turkey, together with the help of friendly officials brought good results even from persecution. 797 798

One of the best-known contributions of the Prostestants to Bulgaria began as a little mission school for young men in 1860. It was called "The Collegiate and Theological Institute" and started with four pupils. It was shifted to several locations ans was closed temporarily during troublesome times, but was finally reestablished in 1871 at Samokov. The mission school for girls was also moved to Samokov that same year. 797

Samokov was chosenans a more promising town at that time. The climate was much better than in the hot district around Plovdiv. There were still no railroads in the country, and Sofia was an insignificant little place. There were prospering iron mines at Samokov and the place seemed one that would grow in the future.

Both boarding schools increased in attendance and in influence.

On June 30, 1871, the initial annual meeting of the European Turkey Mission was held at Stara Zagora. To this meeting the scholarly Dr. Riggs of Constantinople brought the first bound volume of theBulgarian Bible. At this meeting the "European Turkey Mission" was organized. It was the first mission of the Board that, from the beginning, had the Bible in the language which the people could understand.

In 1871 the first evangelical church in Macedonis was organized at Bansko 795

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organized at Bansko.

In 1875 the Bulgarian Evangelical Society, a native agency, was organized. This Society has been an important part of the Protestant work in Bulgaria. It was run by Bulgarians, distributed religious literature and tracts, Sunday school literature; it helped the native churches, and in recent times had taken over the publishing and editing of the Bulgarian religious weekly, "The Zornitsa", which was started missionaries in Constantinople, in 1871, where there was a Bulgarian printing press belinging to the Missions.

These were fearful times when Bulgaria became a separate principality through insurrection and war. The mission work suffered. The horrible massacres of the revolution and the ravages of the Russo-Turkish War spread terror and tumult through the land. Regular mission work was suspended in the most part; people hid in the mountains; missionary families left for Constantinople; Stara Zagora was destroyed; Samokov was threatened. Turkish officers and neighbors protected the missionaries and saved Samokov.

After the calamity, the missionaries became very efficient ministers of relief. As always in such times, they collected and distributed funds and relief in large quantities.

In spite of the troublesome times there was an era of advance in the European Turkey Mission after the first 15 years of its life.

During the decade 1877-87 the missionary advance

among the Bulgarians was rapid, judged by such tokens as increase in numbers, contributions of native Christians, the appearance of able native Christians, and the development of the Bulgarian Evangelical Society. 797

There were obstacles for the mission work too, because the Bulgarians hesitated in coming out for the new church. They felt it was disloyal to accept anything which discredited their state church; also there was much irreligion appearing with the new political freedom.

With all of this, though, many people who were educated in the mission schools and at Robert College and the Women's College at Constantinople admit their indebtedness to those schools.

With all of this, though, many people who were educated in the mission schools and at Robert College and the Women's College at Constantinople admit their indebtedness to these schools. 000

When a new church building was dedicated in Sofia, the capital, in 1888, one of the large audience was Prince Ferdinand, who on leaving presented the church with 500 francs as a token of good will. 797

During this period there was some hindrance to the work, especially in Macedonia, by the feuds between the races which resulted in frequent outbreaks.

In 1896 when war broke out between the Turks and the Greeks, Salonika and Monastir (Bitolia) were the centers of

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activity and the mission work was again disturbed.

This was a period when the religious literature was very much in demand in Macedonia. There was much unrest among the people, great eagerness for liberty and comparative seclusion from the world, so that the mountain people were especially attracted to the religious tracts.

On September 3, 1901, in the mountains of Macedonia, near the Bulgarian border, a comitadji band fell upon a group of Christian workers and carried off for ransom Miss Ellen Stone and Mrs. Tsilka, the wife of a Bulgarinn preacher. The story of this event is well known. After 172 days in captivity in the mountains near Bansko, the two women and the baby, born in captivity, were set free upon payment of a ransom of $68,200. The comitadji band turned out to revolutionary leaders.

There were turbulent times in Macedonia, but the missionaries remained at their posts and their little schools, churches, and their pastoral visiting continued in spite of all difficulties.

The missionaries were unable to distribute much relief to those about them during this period.

In 1898 the publishing department was transferred from Constantinople to Samokov. A special missionary was appointed to have charge of this work and the "Zornitsa", which had been suspended for a short time because of the lack of funds was resumed. It was thought better that this work should be done on Bulgarian soil.

After World War I this missionary, with a committee of scholars, revised the Bulgarian Bible.

Later on, a new Hymn book was published for the use of the schools and churches.

The schools at Samokov had grown and in the early 1900's they were feeling the need for new equipment. New buildings were put up for them, as well as for church meeting houses in the villages.

There was a call for better-trained preachers, so the staff was increased in the schools, and some young men were sent abroad to study.

It was during this time that the well-known kindergarten work of Miss Clarke was started in Sofia. It was pioneering work, but she trained many of Bulgaria's kindergarten teachers.

During the time of the Balkan Wars the Protestant work in Bulgaria was well established. The churches in the villages were active and attracted much interest. There were churches in Sofia and Plovdiv and were well attended. The two schools in Samokov were filled to capacity and were working toward government recognition with a better program besides the religious training they offered.

The pastors in the churches were better trained, and the churches were working toward self support. Bible women were active, holding meetings with the women and helping with child training.

During the Balkan Wars much relief work was taken

797 carried on among the refugees. The feeling of suspicion that had often been apparent was fast disappearing. Queen Eleonora, second wife of King Ferdinand, was a close friend of the Samokov missionaries and, with their help, persuaded the American Red Cross to send two trained women to conduct a school for nurses. This school was interrupted by the coming of the Germans to Sofia during World War I, but after the war the two American nurses opened their school in Sofia at the Red Cross Hospital, and thus began a splendid work which has given Bulgaria some excellent nurses. These young women are now working all over the country, doing fine welfare work among the villages, and carrying on public health work in the cities. The Protestants can well claim credit for this achievement, for at the time the work was started the nursing profession was looked down upon by the Bulgarians. It was only through the persistence of the director of the Girls' School in Samokov that she persuaded some of her graduates to enroll in the nursing school. It was a time of hard decision for these girls who had no encouragement from their families and friends and plenty of discouragement. They became a nucleus of a worthy work which has helped the people of Bulgaria boundlessly.

Perhaps the most important contribution to Bulgarian life and culture has come from the schools.

In 1874 the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist-Episcopal Church sent out some women workers. They began their work among the women and taught the little children in the

homes. Work was slow again because of the Russo-Turkish War. 797

In 1880 the missionaries felt a need for a school for girls, and a small one was started. In 1882 the Mission Board--Methodist--built a small building. There was very much persecution but the missionaries persisted and new American workers were sent out. Several primary schools were opened in Sistoff, Rustchuk, and Ochanie, with the Bible women teaching. The people grew more friendly and the Christians - Prostestants - were no longer stoned in the streets.

Sonn funds for two new buildings were granted by the Board in America and the school was recognized by the Bulgarian Government on June 3, 1927.

By this time the school was giving the regular gymnasium course and in addition had added a domestic science department.

A feature started by the missionaries at Lovetch was the Daily Vacation Bible School. In 1926 they had 575 pupils in attendance.

The Lovetch school has been a vital factor in preparing many of the Christian women in Bulgaria.

One should mention also that there were throughout Northern Bulgarian and in Sofia well-established Methodist Churches. Their pastors have been trained abroad in many instances. Although the membership in the churches is not large, there are good attendances at the meetings, and the reputation of the "Protestants" or "Evangelisti" is of the highest

797 for integrity and high standards of conduct.

At different times the Methodists have had publications in Bulgarian also. In recent years the trend has been to unite the work in north and south Bulgaria. So that both sections meet together in annual conferences. both are responsible for the publications, that is, they were until the present Communist Government stopped all such work, The school at Lovetch is also closed, and the last principal, the late Miss Mellony Turner, was expelled by the communists in 1948.

A direct outgrowth of the Protestant work in Bulgaria was the American Grade School in Sofia. It began in 1923 to fill a need for the children finishing the kindergarten organized by Miss Clarke some years before. She had hoped to have a full course of American schools for children in Bulgaria. Mrs. Woodruff began the grade school which did excellent work and continued with overflowing attendance until it was closed by the Nazis in 1942. The school has not been able as yet to reopen.

Another contribution of the Protestants was the village and folk school for girls and boys in Pordim in 1929. This school was founded by Dr. and Mrs. Edward Haskell with the purpose to train the village youth for practical living. The girls especially were trained for better housekeeping, child care, etc. This school is now under government control.

The best known Protestant school in Bulgaria is what is now called the "American College", near Sofia. It is the

the outgrowth of the little school that went to Samokov soon after mission work began in Bulgaria.

Eventually both the boys' and thr girls' schools in the compound at Samokov outgrew their plant. The boys had some practical work along with the regular gymnasium course which had been recognized by the government in 1922. There was a printing plant and a carpenter shop in connection with the boys' school.

After World War I when the work took on new vigor, the missionaries began to feel the need for enlarging the scope of their work and of providing wider opportunities for their students. The funds of the Mission Board were not suffiecient for such work, so when the invitation came for the schools to join the Near East Colleges Foundation, it was decided to take part in that. It meant putting the schools under a swparate Board with the other colleges of the Near East. It also meant moving the schools to Sofia, which was now a big city and the capital. A fine new plant was built outside Sofia on a fine plot of land. The school began moving over to Sofia in 1927 and continued to work there until it also was closed by the Nazis in 1942. It has not been reopened by the Americans, and the Communists are at present using the buildings for a Police School.

In mentioning the contribution of the Protestants, we should not forget the temperance work which was started by the Clarkes. There were Temperance Leagues in all the church

797 communities, and they worked only for the good of the communities.

The organizations of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A.

797 575 were started independently of the Protestant or mission people. But those starting both organizations were people who had been closely connected the the Protestant work in Bulgaria. The purpose of organizing these was to make them serve all Bulgarians, especially the Orthodox Christians as well. The Y.M.C.A. was started by the husband of a graduate of the Lovetch School, who was not a Protestant himself, and a friend of his, a banker who was a Methodist. They were able to have an American secretary sent out, and the Y.M.C.A. did an excellent work for the Bulgarian youths. It held evening classes and had fine summer camps in the mountains and on the Black Sea.

The Y.W.C.A. was started by a graduate who was the daughter of a graduate from the Women's College at Constantinople, a Bulgarian. She was ably assisted by several young women who were graduates also of the Constantinople School. The Y.W.C.A. was a vigorous and successful undertaking, reaching many young women and girls in Bulgaria. It conducted many classes and had a summer camp for industrial girls at Zemen all through the summer. It also carried on a good work for the factory girls around Sofia.

Both the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. have been closed since the arrival of the Nazis in 1942. The Communists also do not allow them to continue their work.

B15

The Protestants had started an orphanage or two and these were being carried on in a Christian manner. It is not known whether or not they are still in operation. 797

It is appropriate in these notes to mention the recent trials of early 1949 when 15 Protestant pastors were brought before the courts in Sofia and condemned by the Communists for treason. Much attention was given to these trials by the outside world. The trials were a part of the general persecution of religion and religious workers by the present Communists. 798

These Bulgarian pastors were on the whole humble people, representing small religious groups. They were trying in every way to conform to the new regulations of the Communists, so they were not dangerous to the regime. All they wanted was to be able to work quietly among their people. Several of them even went so far as to serve the Communists and try to show that the Communist regime was really a democratic one. Strange to say, these men suffered most in the trials and the sentences.

Aside from being representatives of religious groups, these men were also attached to American groups of the same name in America, so that fact worked against them too. The Communists want to convince their countries that religion and America are enemies of Communism.

At present in Bulgaria anyone who has at any time been connected with America, American schools, or organizations starting from America, is under surveillance and does not consider himself outside danger.

000 consider himself outside danger.

795 The principal sects of Protestants now working in Bulgaria are the Congregationalists, the Methodists, the Baptists, and the Pentecostalists.

These are all native Bulgarian, as their foreign representatives have been sent out.

In numbers, the membership in the churches is small. However, there is much interest at present in the "hotter" denominations, no doubt as a direct result of the present war tension in the country. The work of the churches is limited to meetings in their church buildings. These meetings are "supervised" always by someone from the Communist Party, but attendance is especially large. The pastors officiating are chosen carefully with the idea of conforming with the government, yet they are allowed to preach sermons.

None of the schools started by the Protestant work are functioning at present in Bulgaria, except that at Pordim which is run by the government.

There is evidence that, in spite of the terror exercised by the Communists in Bulgaria, the Protestants will continue to have their churches. Many Protestants will remain loyal to their beliefs and will suffer quietly, as all good Bulgarians are now doing, hoping for the day of a real liberation that will bring freedom to the conscience again.

000 Prepared by: Nicolas Antonoff
In Collaboration with Marin Pundoff
Edited by: Vladimir Gsovski and assisted by Marin Pundoff
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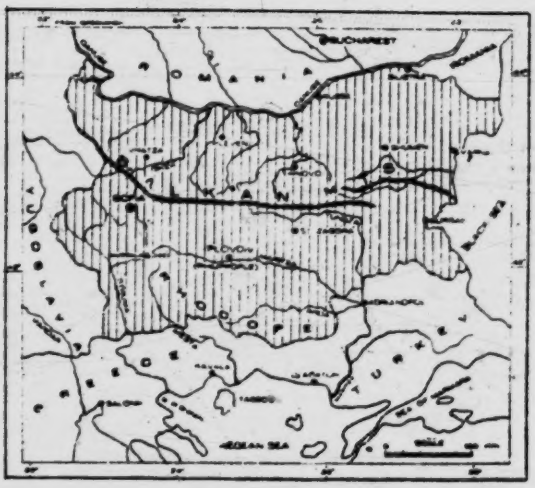
Geographic Commitee

BULGARIA
IS NOT
THE LAND OF ROSES
ONLY



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Bulgaria is not the Land of Roses only

„And be not afraid of them, that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul".

(Matthew, 10. 28)

000 **1. Introduction.** Bulgarian history in the Balkans begins from 679. Its course and development runs through several periods of greatness and glory, as well as through periods of decline and darkness.

Here is what noted foreign scholars (cf. §§ 7 and 8) write about Bulgaria and Bulgarian culture as we have it during the time of the First Bulgarian Kingdom (679—1018): „The greatest honor due to the Bulgarian people by right is not only for the language and education they gave to the Slavic world, but to the fact that Bulgaria was the cradle of Slavic culture" (Prof. Derjavin); „The old Bulgarian literature may positively be placed on the same level with the Greek and Latin literatures and above all other European literatures" (Prof. Jaghich); „The Bulgarian merchants brought down the Danube valley along with their goods the first seeds of the Reformation. Their doctrines, carried over to Bohemia, cleared the path for John Huss and Jerome of Prague" (Sim. de Sismondi).

The Bulgarian nation and its language, which had made an enormous progress during the centuries, in spite of the dark 500 years of Turkish political yoke and Greek spiritual opression, were not accorded a fair deal. When the Bulgarians demanded their human elementary right to pray and officiate in their own language, a high clergyman of the Greek Orthodox Church wrote in his epistles of 1903 to his flock, who were still under Turkish political and Greek religious

p. 3

000 oppression, the following: „The chanter Christo in your village has sung from Easter until to-day in the Bulgarian language! You are bound to use no other language but the Greek, because this is the language which has been sanctified by the apostles and by our saintly fathers and it is the language in which you should glorify the holy and grand name of our Saviour. The Bulgarian language is not recognized by the Church; on the contrary, it is forbidden and rejected by the Holy Synod and by the Great Church of Christ!" Such was the outrage exercised unscrupulously by the spiritual leaders over the helpless Bulgarian population in the Turkish provinces of the Balkans and it was sanctioned by the Turkish authorities 386 years after Luther's Resolutions and 214 years after the publication of the Act of Tolerance in England.

What an awful gap between spiritual grandeur and dark oppression! What a big contrast between the free rise of Bulgarian culture in the Middle Ages and the violence exercised over conscience and soul in the beginning of the twentieth century by „representatives of the Christian faith" foreign to the Bulgarian nation! During this intervening period the foreign civilized world had forgotten that Bulgarian people and Bulgarian speech ever existed.

This unknown land of Bulgaria had to be discovered again in Europe. The rage of the Turkish regular and irregular forces over the unhappy population in the famous Valley of Roses broke out in the year 1876 and the waters of the river Maritza were mixed with the blood of this population; but the voice of the great englishman William Gladstone was heard and the forgotten people of Bulgaria regained their membership in the family of nations.

Regent Damaskinos, another high Greek clergyman, raises his voice against powerless Bulgaria to-day, after she had offered a great share of her blood in the most difficult moments of her history for the liberation of South Eastern Europe from the German oppressor, the common enemy, who was pursued by her forces far beyond the frontiers of his own country. This high clergyman, who represents the Greek nation of to-day and bears the cross of Christ on his chest, would have the Bulgarian nation crucified on this cross and by shouting „Crucify him" he wishes to appeal to those on whom the future world order depends, but who in their turn endeavor

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to build the new life in the Balkans for lasting peace with patience and wisdom.

How thoughtful, on the other hand, are the words of the British Prime Minister Clement Attlee, spoken at the congress of the Labor Party in Blackpool (Reuter, August 12, 1945): „The settlement of the European questions is not an easy matter and it is hard for us Englishmen to understand the feelings of the peoples who had been long under Hitlerite oppression... We need patience above all when we consider these questions that have to be solved only by good will... Looking back at the frightful destructions of this war and turning our eyes towards the unknown posibilities a future war might bring in that respect, we should have a sense of appreciation about certain things which the nations scramble and the governments fight for... The Labor Government pays its best attention to all these questions. Rash actions will not do for their solutions and for the difficulties that have to be surmounted. We have to do with the future of millions of people..." Consequently, it might be commendable for Regent Damaskinos to be more prudently reserved and refrain from betraying the instincts of the Byzantine period of Emperor Basil II who was called by the Byzantine historians „Slayer of Bulgarians" and who, according to the same historians, gave orders to have the eyes of 15,000 brave soldiers of the Bulgarian King Samuel cut out (1014).

2. Why was this Book Written? The Bulgarian nation, like all small nations established in a region under great political pressure of big nations, has had a very interesting, but a very tempestuous history. It has seldom gone through a period of lasting peace. Nevertheless, it has reached in various epochs of its history the biggest possible achievements both in spiritual and material grandeur. The Greek nation, situated far from the big land routes of this stormy corner of Europe, which is the passage to the two neighbouring continents of Asia and Africa, alone, among all other Balkan nations, enjoyed a relatively quiet development favoured by the enchantment which Ancient Hellas had over Western Europe. The foundations

000 of the Ottoman Empire in Europe were deeply rooted in Bulgaria, which was in closest proximity to its capital, the ancient Byzantium, noted for its geographical situation. Serbia and Greece were situated on the outskirts of this Empire. They were in touch with advanced European nations and were able to snap out of Turkish dominion because of the bigger centrifugal force along the periphery of the Empire. The loss of Bulgaria, on the contrary, meant for the Turks the beginning of the decline of Turkish authority in Europe.

We may then, without false modesty, express amazement at the relatively enormous achievements of Bulgaria under these circumstances. Bulgaria is a small country, lacking particular natural resources and yet, in her short free life of 67 years, she was able to reach accomplishments in the various aspects of her life, that could only be compared to achievements in countries much older than she. Let us sketch the above statements with a few data.

121 There is no claim to present in this book the vast information which might be necessary to acquaint an objective and willing reader with Bulgarian affairs. We would be pleased if we succeed in presenting a picture sufficiently characteristic of the main features of Bulgaria's past and present, and to cast a ray ot light on the facts that might be helpful to those on whom will depend the future of the Balkan Peninsula and its security from further catastrophies.

000 **3. Bulgaria is not Only the Country of Roses.** People who have a casual interest in small countries are usually satisfied with the fact that Bulgaria is the land of roses. It is true that there are roses in Bulgaria and that the Rose Valley is wonderful in May, and that the attar of roses produced there has been distributed all over the world since olden times to give sweetness and beauty to the life of elegance and splendor. But is Bulgaria only the land of roses and nothing else? No matter how poetic this description of our country appears to be, for the purposes of our study we will emphasize the point that Bulgaria is not the land of roses only. Bulgaria has not been filled only with the scent of delicate and fine roses. The bigger part of the thirteen centuries of her existence has been traced rather by the marks of their thorns than by the scent of their petals. It is hard to understand the Bulgarians, wifhout

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appreciating the spirit of their history and without getting down to the meaning of Bulgaria's geographical and political situation. There is a need of deeper comprehension of the present day problems of the nations. Casual evaluations in common phrases like „the Roses of Bulgaria," „the Serenades of Italy or „the Bullfights of Spain" should give room to a more solid and comprehensive acquaintance with the actual value attributed to nations.

4. Bulgaria should be Discovered again for the World. It may seem strange, but we feel that Bulgaria should be discovered again for Europe. A German professor wrote a book[1]) in 1942, which was widely spread in Bulgaria and in which we read the following statement about our country: „In the North the soil is poor, but south of the Balkan range are grown rice, cotton, sugar cane, tobacco and many roses for the production and distribution of attar of roses; coal, gold, salt, petrol, silver, iron are found in sufficient quantities for exploitation, but not one of them has been consistently made use of..." The granary of Bulgaria, our Danube plane, with its fields of wheat, corn, barley, oats, rape seed, sugar beets, vineyards etc., this, mind you, is the poor soil of Bulgaria! Gold, petrol, silver in sufficient quantities for exploitation, this certainly must be a rich country! And, above all, many roses and quantities of attar of roses! About the history of the Bulgarian nation this author says the following: „The country south of Rumania beyond the Danube is inhabited by Bulgarians, originally a Turkish people, who came to those lands around the year 680 and spread and mixed with the Slavic settlers there. In 900 they became a great power in the whole Balkan Peninsula... in 1000 they were defeated by the Byzantine emperors. They obtained their liberty in 1200 and in 1400 fell under Turkish dominion which weighed heavily on them for a long time. Their national consciouseness reappeared as late as the 19th century, when they were already divided as Bulgarians and Turks and were able to regain with Russian help their national independence in 1878...".

The well-known four volume Lexicon of Brockhaus gives

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[1]) Prof. Otto Geissler, Die Länder und Völker der Erde, ein historisch-geographischer Abriss; Leipzig, 1942.

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114 this information about the Bulgarians: „... The Western Bulgarians are divided in generic groups of Shopi, Rouptsi, Marvatsi, Barzatsi, Miatsi, Ketskari, Ouloufi, Poulivakovtsi and Kekovtsi... They live in mud huts in one or two storeyed houses made of mud, and in villages. They are mostly farmers and bee-masters...“ These are 6 lines out of a total of 24 lines of information given in the Lexicon.

So many authors would see a fly and miss an elephant. They would see roses in the field of hardships, and would tell the world of non-existing Rouptsi, Ketskari, Kekovtsi and other tribes, but would overlook the present development of new Bulgaria and as to the old one, they would hardly betray an inkling of understanding. This negligent attitude towards the human element is the differential of a nefarious policy which has caused the world frightful misfortunes.

On the other hand, we have before us an American text book[1]), „Our World To-day“, which in 2200 words gives a true and adequate picture of our small country. It is written with a sympathetic understanding which any interested reader would like to find in a short treatise on other countries, great or small. We are told of roses and of attar of roses in this book, but these features of the picture are retouched with grace and refinement. The practical understanding of a superior race emphasizes rather the features of gardening, tobacco planting, sugar-beet cultivation, grapes, the wheat fields of Danube Bulgaria etc. It tells no fairy tales of gold, silver, petrol and sugar cane in Bulgaria. These distant authors seem to know that such miracles do not occur in our country and that the country is not only „the land of Roses“. They mark with simple words our cultural progress, our budding and, in some respects, advanced industry, our sugar factories and good roads, water power, village and national life, our Danube River navigation etc.

I. A Glance in the past

101 131 **5. Geographic Features.** Bulgaria occupies a central position in the Balkan Peninsula (Fig. 1). The location of her capital is particularly characteristic. Bulgaria is a

[1]) Stull and Hatch, Our World To-day, a text book in the New Geography; New York, Allyn and Bacon, 1939.

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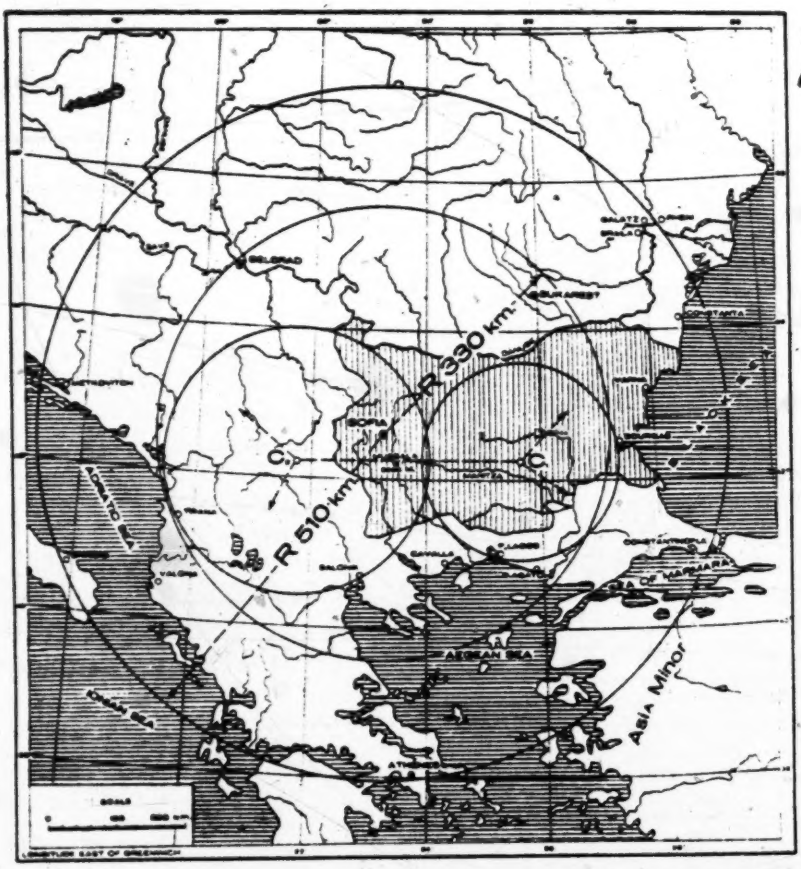

Fig. I. The Central Situation of Sofia, the Capital of Bulgaria, in the Balkan Reninsula. The point C_1 is at equal distance from the Danube, the Black sea and the Aegean sea; $C\ C_2$ is the equidistant line between the Danube and the Aegean sea.

bridgeland between Europe and Asia, the Danube and the Aegean Sea, the Black Sea and the Adriatic Sea. This singular position of Bulgaria has determined her part in history and has shaped the character of her alert and sturdy people who have lived under constant threat of foreign attack. What races have failed to pass their armies through this land and how fateful for all Europe have been the battles waged in it! The living space of a nation is the main factor which characterizes its past and determines its future. Where do we have a better evidence of this, than in the present state of the Balkans?

133 High mountains like Vitosha, Rila, Pirin and the Rhodo-
pe, with peaks as high as 9597 feet (Moussala, being the
487 highest mountain peak in the Balkans), are the source of
Balkan's most important rivers flowing in all directions (Fig. 2).
They are Isker, Maritza, Mesta, Struma and the main affluents of
the Vardar and Morava rivers, totaling about 1450 miles in
487 length. These mountains do not only point the way the rivers
should flow, but they determine also the direction of Balkan
roads. In spite of its consideratble elevation, this mountainous

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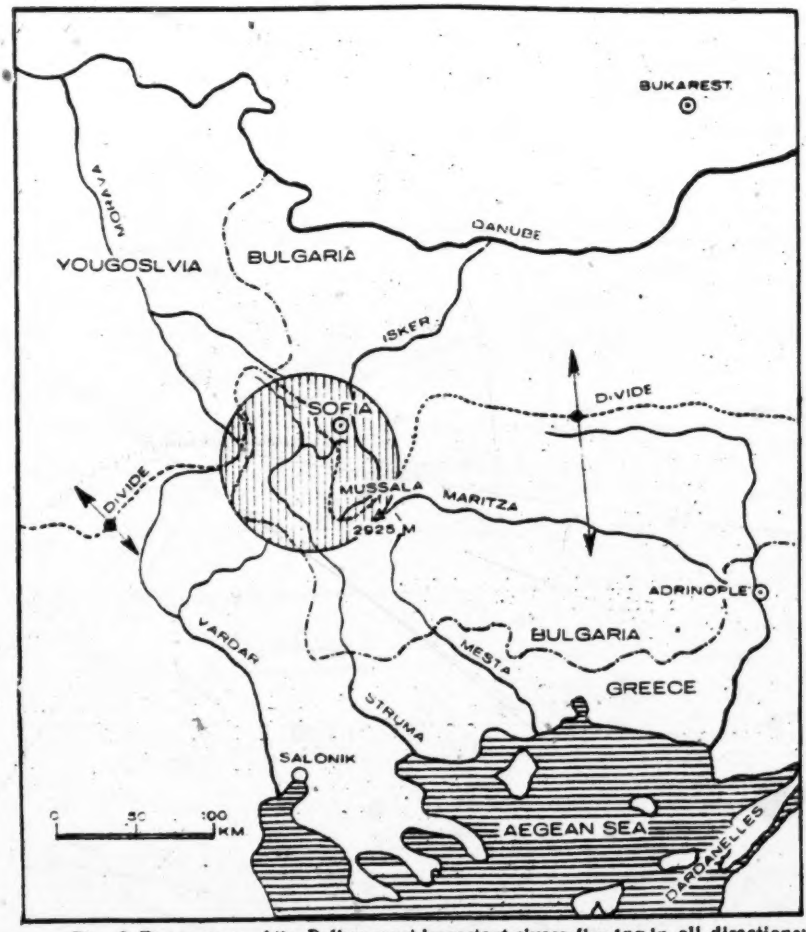

Fig. 2. The sources of the Balkan most important rivers flowing in all directions: the watershed between the Danube and the Aegean Sea; 43% of Bulgaria's territory is an Aegean Country.

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region, called by analogy „The Roof of the Balkans", is endowed with an amazing accessibility which makes it a cross-road of paramount importance (Fig. 3). Sofia is the turntable of Balkan traffic and, because of its possibilifies and location, it has always been a very important centre of communication. It had the same significance in Roman times when Bulgaria was the Roman province of Lower Moesia. Figure 4 indicates the routes of those times. These are the most important roads known to ancient authors.[1]) The great importance of the Bulgarian lands in Roman times is evident from the fact that the roads to Byzantium, Asia and the Danube passed through them. This was the cause for the establishment and the rise of many thriving and important „Roman" cities like Marcianopolis, the capital of the province of Lower Moesia (Moesia Inferior); Oescus or Esco, the seat of a Roman legion and a fortified bridgehead against the troublesome Dacians pushing their way from Transylvania to the River Danube; Nikopolis ad Istrum, which was a lavishly embelished military city and a fortified post, guarding the Balkan passes; Serdica, i. e. Sofia, was at that time an important communication centre in charge of the roads leading to the Danube, to Upper Moesia, to the Adriatic and Aegean Seas, to Constantinople (Byzantium) and to Asia. The marked density of the road network in Dobroudja around the estuary of the Danube is also significant.

5. Bulgaria — an Aegean Country. Many people are accustomed to consider Bulgaria as a Danube country or rather as a Black Sea country. This is because Bulgaria, unfortunately, has always been forcibly kept without an outlet to the Aegean Sea. This is a wrong attitude both geographically and politically. 43% of the territorial waters of Bulgaria empty in the Aegean Sea, 42% flow into the Danube and only 15% in the Black Sea. Consequently, Bulgaria is an Aegean country. This point should be emphasized particularly, and should be observed by all who seek to understand Balkan politics. Although the Greeks have possession of this sea at present, the Bulgarians lived with it for centuries past. They planted their culture in all the lands around the sea, inhabited by the Slavs.

[1]) K. Miller, Itineraria Romana, Römische Reisewege; 1916, Stuttgart.

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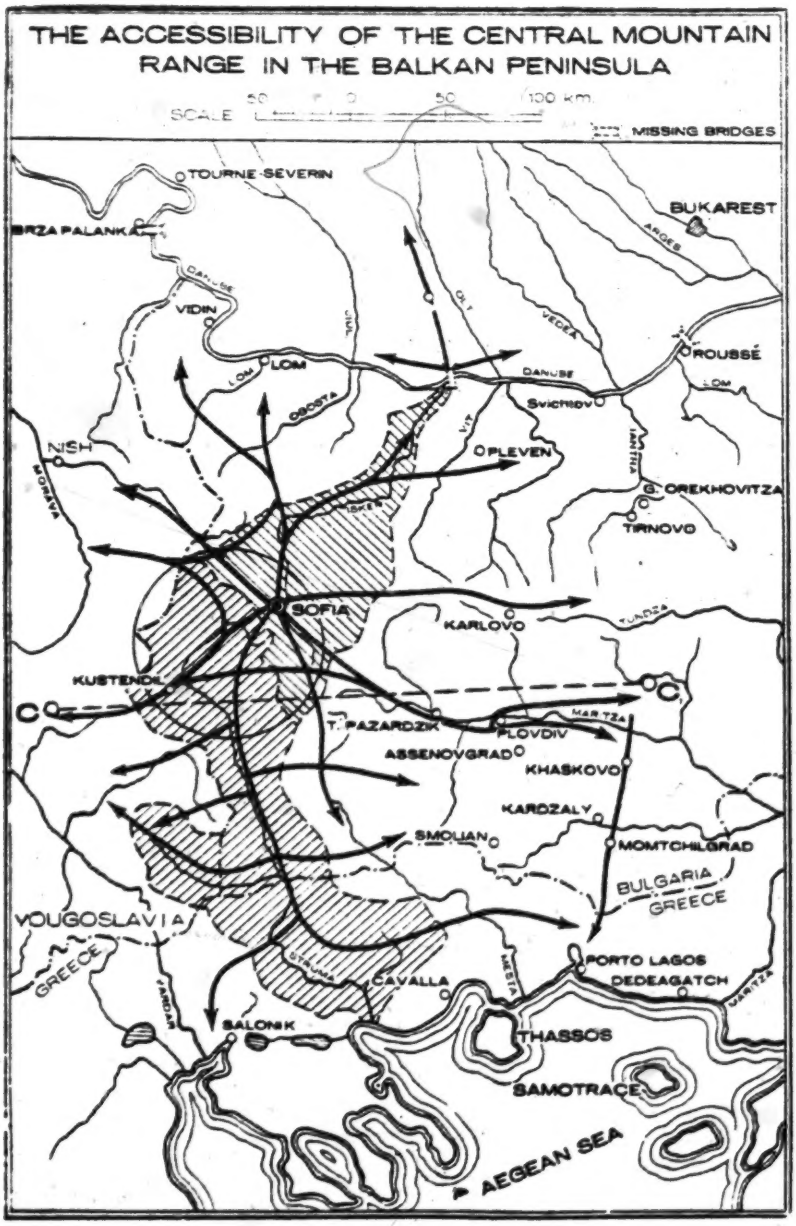

Fig. 3.

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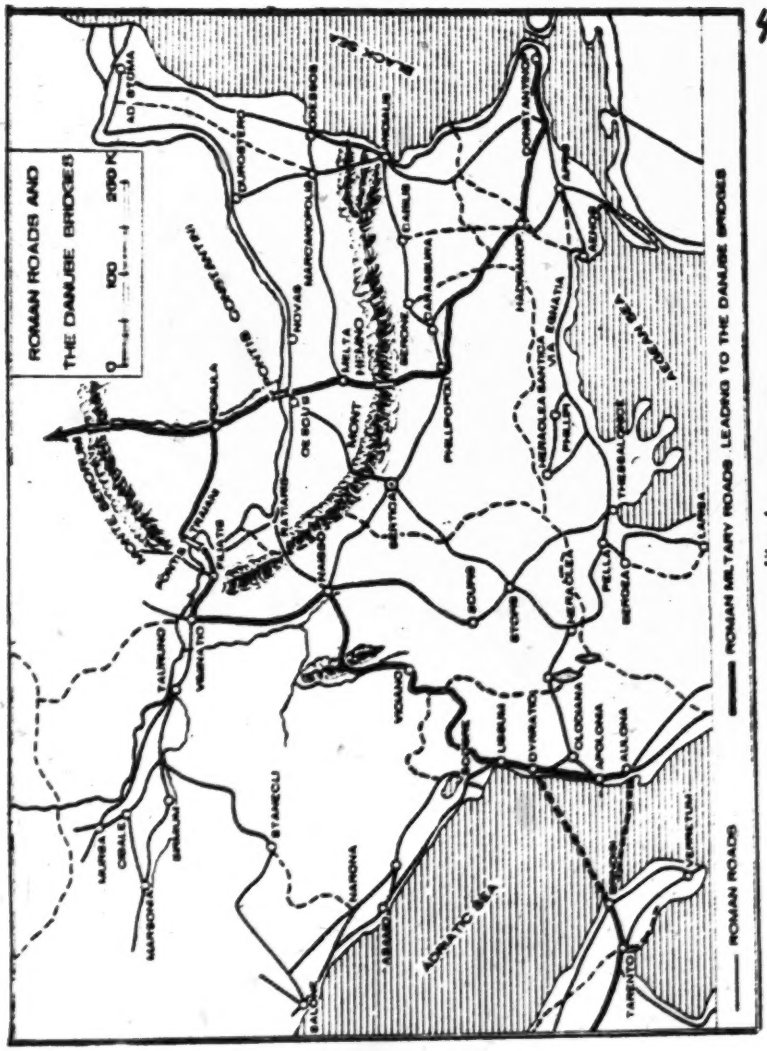

Fig. 4.

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7. Sketch of Bulgarian History. We present in appendixes I, A-E,[1] a graphic synopsis of the history of Bulgaria. Although in a very concise form, this is a practical way of comparing the different historical epochs.

The Bulgarian State, established in the Balkan Peninsula in 679, precedes the formation of the United Kingdom of the

7 [See pp 105(A)-109(B) --Analyst]

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175 Franks (678) and the English Kingdom (Kingdom of Essex—802 United Kingdom of England with King Egbert—828), while Rurik organized the Moscow principality even later, in 862.

After the unification of the Slavs in the initial stage of Bulgarian statehood, followed the period of united legislation (802—814) which amalgamated the invaders with the conquered local inhabitants. Then came the period of spiritual enlightenment (852—889), during which Christianity was accepted (866) and, in this manner, the complete assimilation 795 of the mixed population was attained. The Bulgarian church 175 was entirely independent from the very outset, both of Rome, and of any of the Eastern churches. This important fact has run like a red streak through the entire history of Bulgaria for 1080 years, from 865 up to 1945, and has helped the formation of the Bulgarian State and its resistance against all encroachments. The church movement has always been one of the paramount problems in the history of the Bulgarians and, in this respect, they differ from other Slavic nations. The Bulgarian church is closely connected with the experience and the life of the nation. It is entirely independent and its actions are determined only by the will of the Bulgarian people. This fact should be appreciated by those who seek to understand the history of Bulgaria.

538 **8. Literature and Cultural Achievements.** The conversion of the Bulgarians to Christianity (866) and their need for church instruction and prayer books gave rise to literary production, which is the beginning of literature for the whole Slavic world. The entire Bulgarian nation celebrates the day of its enlightenment on May 24. This is the holiday commemorating the life of the saintly brothers of Cyril and Methodius of Salonica who made our alphabeth and prepared our eclesiastical books. This is what the noted Russian historian and academician, N. Derjavin, said in 1914, when he was a professor in the Leningrad (Petrograd) university:[1])

„In this way Bulgaria gave the Slavic people their language, upon which the present Slavic culture grew and developed. It was destined to be the first in giving life to the feeling of tribal self-consciousness among the Slavs and to serve,

[1]) N. Derjavin; The Bulgarian-Serb Relations and the Macedonian Question; Petrograd (i. e. Leningrad), 1914; (in Russian).

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not only as the language of their prayers, but as the means for uniting them in one cultural, national and, in some instances, political entity. But the great honor of the Bulgarian people is not because they gave the Slavs their language, it is due to the fact that Bulgaria, in spite of her trials and sufferings, was the cradle of Slavic culture and education. It was here, in Bulgaria, that at the end of the ninth century, after the death of St. Methodius, the pious Tzar Boris (852—889) of Bulgaria received his disciples and collaborators headed by St. Clement, Naum and others who were expelled from Moravia in a very cruel manner. This first enormous and variegated Slavic culture developed subsequently, during the illustrious reign of Tzar Simeon (893—927), the son of King Boris the First, owing to the immediate help and participation of the disciples and collaborators of the saintly brothers. This culture was the first to transfer on Slavic ground all the achievements of Byzantine civilization and served as the kernel, which later was taken over by the Serbs and the Russians as the foundation of their own national culture... This very rich cultural inheritance left by Bulgaria to her neighbours was enormous. But to-day we only have en approximate idea about it on information obtained indirectly from the comparatively few monuments preserved by Serbs and Russians outside of Bulgaria. The largest part of this literary treasure was burned in Bulgaria, because Bulgarian writings and anything that savoured of Bulgarian, in general, was subjected to an equal cruelty by Turks and Greeks as well..."

Another celebrated Slavist, a Croatian, professor Jagitch [1]) says: „The ancient Bulgarian writers, like bishop Constantine, presbyter Gregorii, Exarch Ioan, Blackfriar (Chernorizets) Khrabar, Theodore and prince Simeon [2]) himself, who sponsored all their spiritual activity, belonged to the young generation, whom the educators of the Bulgarian people directed to advance further on the road indicated by them. Owing to their efforts and writings, the old Bulgarian literary activity reached

[1]) V. Jagitch, History of Serbo-Croatian Literature, 1867, in Serbo-Croatian language; Russian translation, Kazan, 1871, p. 82; Jagitch was Professor at the Universities of Odessa, Berlin, St. Petersburg (Leningrad) and Vienna; he was member of the Austrian Senate.

[2]) Afterwards Tzar Simeon the Great, (893—927).

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538 such glorious development that, so far as the wealth of ecclesiastical literary production was concerned, it was able to compete bravely with the choicest Greek and Latin literatures of the time and to excel all other European literatures in that respect."

Prof. Ernest Denis[1]) states the following on the same subject: „The Bulgarian literature reached its golden age under the reign of Simeon and its historic importance was considerable. There was no other western literature in that distant period which contained such enormous quantity of biblical, liturgical and theological works borrowed from the Greeks. They translated the heroic and legendary narratives which were spread all over Europe in the Middle Ages... The Bulgarians were the first to use the old Slavic language and their works, distributed among all the orthodox Slavs, contributed to the establishment of national literature".

In the same work, St. Novakovitch and A Malet[2]) say: „Persecuted in all the countries dominated by Rome the learned Slavs, from 886 on, took refuge in Bulgarla which was the only country capable of protecting them. They formed there a veritable seminary of letters at the begining of the tenth century".

795 **9. Bogomilism.** In two hundred and fifty years (679 — 927), since the coming of the Bulgarians to the Balkan Peninsula, they had already become well nigh the real masters of the Peninsula. Simeon had acquired the title „Tzar of All Bulgarians and Greeks". After his death in 927, however, the Bulgarian State failed to retain the height of its power. The decline was due partly to the rise of the boyars, (nobility) feudal claims. But it was caused also by the appearance of Bogomilism and by the drawn and weary battles. The Bogomils maintained that the church, ikons, ecclesiastical hierarchy, kings, wars, wealth and even human flesh were the works of Satan. Many think that Bogomilism was a contribution by the Bulgarian Slavs to human civilizat on. A. N. Vsevolski[3]) says: „Through the influence of Bogomilism, the

[1]) In Ernest Lavisse et Alfred Rambaud; Histoire générale du 4-lème siècle à nos jours; 1893. Vol. I, p. 733.

[2]) Ibid Vol. III. p. 903

[3]) Slavianskia Skazania, pp. 146—147; cf. D. Misheff, Rectifications of History, Sofia, 1922, p. 13.

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Slav people introduced in the European civilization, before Huss, their manner of thinking which left lasting traces in all the literature of the Middle Ages". 795

Ernest Denis says[1]): „The dualist doctrine invaded from Bulgaria not only the Slav countries of the Balkan Peninsula, but also Italy and Southern France. The Cathares and Albigenses were n frequent relations with the Southern Slavs. For a long time the Bogomil doctrines were preached by some of the nobility, by kings and even by bishops in some provinces of the peninsula. They dominated Bosnia, in spite of all the efforts of the Popes and the Hungarian kings".

Ed. Gibbon says:[2]) „The Bulgarians spread their branches over the face of Europe, united in common hatred of idolatry and of Rome, they were bound by a form of episcopal and presbyterian government; their various sects were distinguished by some fainter or darker shades of theology; but they generally agreed on two principles: the contempt for the old testament and the denial of the body of Christ, either on the cross or in the Eucharist. A confession of simple worship and blameless manners is extorted from their enemies; and so high was their standard of perfection, that the increasing congregations were divided into two classes of disciples, those who practised and those who aspired..."

Simonde de Sismondi[3]) makes the following statement: „Along with their goods, the Bulgarian merchants brought down the valley of the Danube the first seeds of the Reformation. Their doctrine, carried into Bohemia, cleared the road for John Huss and Jerome of Prague".

10. Military Power. We prefer to dwell on the cultural activity of the Bulgarians rather than on their military achievements, although that these achievements were quite significant because the Bulgarian armies reached the walls of Constantinople several times. Bulgarians exercised always great pressure on the Byzantine Empire. Bulgarian history is nothing less than a ceaseless struggle for Slavic supremacy against Byzantine authority. 175

[1]) Opus cit. vol. I. p. 733—734.

[2]) Ed. Gibbon, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; vol. IV, p. 87; New York, American Publ. Corp.

[3]) Histoire des Republiques Italiennes, vol II, pp. 100—101.

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175 „The Byzantine Empire and the Bulgarian Kingdom are fundamentally different in character. Byzantium was a typically theocratic state with a preponderant Greek element. It may in no way, therefore, be called a national state in the contemporaneous sense of the word. On the contrary, the old Bulgarian Kingdom was a typical national state. Its power and distinction consisted in this ethnic community of the Slav-Bulgarians, who appeared as a progressive factor in the South East."[1]).

Let us put on record here one fact of consequence for the history of Europe, as it is related to us by H. G. Wells[2]): „Then occured a very important scene. On Christmas Day in the year 800, as Charles was rising from prayer in the church of St. Peter, the Pope, who had everything in readiness, clapped a crown upon his head and hailed him Caesar and Augustus. There was a great popular applaus... At first Byzantium was unwilling to recognize the imperial title of Charlemagne. But in 811 a great disaster fell upon the Byzantine Empire. The pagan Bulgarians under their Prince Krum (802—815), defeated and destroyed the armies of the Emperor Nicephorus.... The great part of the Balkan Peninsula was conquered by these people. (The Bulgarian and the English nations thus became established as political unities almost simultaneously). After this misfortune Byzantium did not dispute this revival of the Empire in the West, and in 812 Charlemagne was formally recognized by Byzantine envoys as Emperor and Augustus...".

The military might of the Bulgarians was on the rise. Gibbon[3]) writes for the reign of Tzar Simeon the following: "The nobles of Bulgaria were educated in the schools and palace of Constantinople, and Simeon, a youth of the royal line, was instructed in the rhetoric of Demosthenes and the logic of Aristotle. He relinquished the profession of a monk for that of a king and warrior; and in his reign of more than forty years Bulgaria assumed a rank among the civilized powers of the earth... He formed the siege of Constantinople (924); and, in a personal conference with the Emperor, Simeon imposed the condition of peace. They met with the most jealous precau

[1]. Prof. Vs. Nikolaev, Vatican University; The Origin of the Assenides etc. Sofia, 1944, p. 82. (in Bulgarian with an abriviation in French).

[2]) Outline of History, vol. II. p. 652, edition New York, 1940/41

[3]) Ed. Gibbon, op. cit. vol. IV. p. 93.

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tion: the royal galley was drawn close to an artificial and well fortified platform; and the majesty of the purple was emulated by the pomp of the Bulgarians... The reconciliation was sealed by a domestic alliance; the freedom of trade was granted or restored; the first honors of the court were secured to the friends of Bulgaria, above the ambassadors of enemies or strangers; and her princes were dignified with the high and invidious title Basileus, or Emperor..." 175

11. Tzar Samuel, 971--1014. The struggle which developed between Bulgaria and Byzantium in the last period was frightful and sanguinary. The Byzantines suffered several defeats under Emperor Basil II (980—1025). Samuel was crowned Tzar of the Bulgarians in 997.

„This man", says the French historian Shlumberger, „was the noblest incarnation of the struggle for independence in the 10th century. He was a gifted ruler who could measure up to Emperor Basil, the greatest Byzantine Military Commander of that century. But Samuel was not only a noted military leader, strategist and organizer, he was a wise, cautious and farsighted administrator also".

12. Characteristic cruelty, 1014. The fury of Emperor Basil II against anything Bulgarian was so great, that after a battle at the mountain of Belasitsa, according to the report of the Byzantine historians, he ordered that both eyes of about 15.000 captured Bulgarians should be cut out and, for each group of 100 of them, a one-eyed captive should be left as a guide. In this manner, he sent them back to Tzar Samuel who could not stand the sight of this calamity and died of sorrow the same year. At the termination of this war of 1014, Emperor Basil was given the title of „Slayer of Bulgarians" (Voulgaroctonos). This title did not contribute much to the prestige of the Empire in the Balkans, because it ruled over foreign peoples and bore the deadly wound inflicted by the struggles of the tough Slavic people, who were gradually driving it out of the central part of the peninsula.

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175 **13. Decline. The Turks conquer Bulgaria, 1241—1393.** The period 1241—1393 is marked by the Tartar intervention in the affairs of the Balkan Peninsula, and with the restoration of the Byzantine Empire in Constantinople (1261). The bickering among the Balkan states, their ambitions and misunderstandings helped the cause of the Turks who had already invaded the Peninsula. (Rodosto was captured in 1354). Tirnovo and the Kingdom of Tirnovo fell in 1393 and although Salonica was captured in 1430, the initial date of the Turkish subjection of Bulgaria is considered the year 1393. This subjection lasted until 1878 or 485 years! The Turkish yoke over Macedonia and Thrace lasted until 1912, or 519 years. The year 1453 marked the fall of Constantinople and this put an end to the Byzantine Empire for ever.

The disasters which fell upon the Christian states in the Balkans blocked the way of the western nations and their trade with the East. The Black Sea became a closed sea. The sources of Christian science, literature and art of the East were destroyed. Their transfer to Western Christian Europe took place and this heralded the coming of the Renaisance. The up to date sources of light and culture were covered with darkness which lasted for five centuries. The most numerous and compact Bulgarian population in the heart of the European Turkish dominions suffered the longest subjection allotted to the Balkan peoples.

14. Bulgaria under Turkish Yoke, 1393—1878. It is not possible to show the state of the Bulgarian lands during this period of 500 years in this brief presentation of Bulgarian history. The graphic synopsis in Appendixes I, A—E gives us an approximate idea of it. This gruesome past did not crush the spirit of the Bulgarian nation, but it destroyed many monuments of its spiritual and material culture. It stopped the natural development of the keenest and most powerful nation in the Balkan Peninsula during the Middle Ages. If the Bulgarian nation was not obliterated from the pages of history during these 500 years, it was because of the fact that the conquered people had a much higher civilization than the conquerors.

The Turkish rule was unbearable for the Bulgarian people, but this political tyranny was not the only calamity that

[See pp. 105(A)–109(B) -- Analyst]

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befell them, There was another oppression, far more consequential in its scope, which tapped the resources of its spiritual culture amassed from the brilliant past. Such was the spiritual slavery imposed by tha Greek church. 175

15. Church and Spiritual Slavery. The struggle between the Bulgarian nation and the Greek church continued under the Turkish dominion. 798 175

These two contestants were caught in a deadly grapple. The Bulgarians claimed their proper rights but the Greeks opposed them on all points and saw to it that they were kept back on the land to till the soil for them behind the sea. The battle now was waged for churches, for bishops, for reading the gospels in Bulgarian and not in Greek, for schools, teachers, books and libraries! The Turks gave the Greek Patriarchate in Constantinople complete freedom of action over the spiritual life of the subjected Christian „rayahs". The Greeks never dreamt of such unlimited ecclesiastical authority even in the brilliant periods of the Byzantine empire. Never was the principle „divide and rule" applied more effectively, than by the Turks during the time of their domination. Bulgarian libraries were burned. The Patriarchate library in Tirnovo, for instance, was burned in 1628 and this was an irreparable loss for the Bulgarian nation. Such was the fate of many monasterial and church libraries and their priceless manuscripts. In 1823 old manuscripts were destroyed by fire in Tserovina, near Sofia; the same thing happened at Titcha, county of Shumen, in 1840, in Stara-Zagora and in the St. Zograph Bulgarian monastery of Athos. What little was left, in form and essence of the Bulgarian Patriarchate at Ochrid, was lost and wasted with the closing of the Patriarchate in 1867. This church struggle lasted since the second half of the 16th century until to-day. For nearly 400 years the Bulgarian people fought for their rights to establish their national language in the church service and prayers, to have their own clergymen and their own national church was to depend exclusively on the will of the people. How many nations could boast of such history and what other church has played such significant part in the preservation of its people?

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175 **16. Backwardness in Spiritual Matters.** The Greek church was guided by an extremely backward spirit which was totally opposed to the advanced ideas and aspirations of the Bulgarian nation. It should not be surprising to us that the Greek monks of St. Athos considered books of no consequence because scholars brought corruption to the world by them. The Greek church and spiritual centre of Constantinople, Phanar[1]), was in no way on a higher intellectual plane in that respect. Here is what the noted historian Jacob Philipp Falmerayer[2]) writes about it: „There came here[3]), as a director, the noted resident of Corfu, Eugene Bulgari (1716—1806). This was during the first years of the reign of Empress Catherine II. He found only seven students in the spacious halls. This man was a perfect master in the Greek language and had occupied himself with philosophical and historical studies in an European manner. The educational institution advanced very quickly. The fame of the teacher, the spirit of the times and the beautiful location of the school attracted many young men from all parts of Turkey, Russ a and Italy to the Vatopaed Academy. Eugene had gathered around himself about 200 students residing in 170 cells when he was at the peak of his glory... What were the most beautiful abodes of European muses compared to the superb academy in the forest of this holy mountain! But just as in the case of the Andros school of Kairi[4]), so here people began to think that Eugene Bulgari and his institute were sowing the seeds of dangerous innovations, anarchistic unrest and a spiritual emancipation which threatened to upset the Greek Ecclesiastical Orient. The monks, however, had no idea, at the time when the academy was established, that such a change would take place. They felt now that the old religious practices at the Holy Mountain would not thrive along with philosophy and free mental gymnastics. They were wor-

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[1]) Phanar is the residence of the Greek Patriarchate in Constantinople.

[2]) Jacob Philipp Falmerayer, Der heilige Berg Athos; aus den Fragmenten aus dem Orient, 1845, Reclam Universal Bibliotek No. 5048, p. 103; Cf. Meyer's Volksbibliothek für Lander-, Völker- u. Naturkunde; Hildburghausen u. New-York, 1853—56. vol. 27, p. 60.

[3]) In the Athos monastery of Vatopaedi in a new building which was built for a theolcgical academy; ibid p. 102.

[4]) Greek theolcgian and educator. Many noted Bulgarians studied in the school established by him, like Ilarion Makariopolski, Dobrovolski, Tehomacoff etc.

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ried about the faith of the heavenly light of Tabor, of the pilgrim caravans, of the spiritual credit and the annual ceremonies of sacrifice and devotion, as well as of the rigidity of their own discipline. Bulgari and his school were destined to perish. At first, they started with insinuations and innuendoes against the learned master, by undermining his authority. They cast suspicion on the morals of teacher and students and gave unfavourable reports to the Greek church authorities in Constantinople. They found no peace in their mind until this man volunteered with his resignation. Disgusted, he left and, after a short stay at Phanar, he betook himself to Russia where a brilliant future was awaiting him... The enchantment of the environment left with the retirement of the director. The students were scattered, the life of the Academy declined and it was closed finally by rescript of the Oecumenical Patriarch on the ground that it was „objectionable to religion and morality". Happy over their victory, the monks tore down the roof of the building and knocked out its doors with the intention of removing all hopes for the return of the run away enemy. Rich mountain bushes project to day (1841—our note) from the gaping doorways and, instead of the smiling youthful faces over the window sills, evergreen weeds and creaping wild shrubs are hanging.".

Does not this sound like a story of the Middle Ages? And yet this event took place just 175 years ago and not in the dark period of the Middle Ages,

17. A Small Illustration, 1837. Mr. Misheff, member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences relates the following story[1]), which we would use here as an illustration:

„The central localities had to struggle long against the encroachments and hostile resistance of the Greek clergy. In 1837 Hadji Valko Chaluckoff made up his mind to open a Bulgarian school in Plovdiv (Philippopol) and invited Neophit of Rila to be its schoolmaster. Before realizing his project, he advised the Greek bishop of his intention. The latter, after hearing from him about it, said: „Chorbadji (Squire), you know well that I have nothing to say against your enterprise

[1]) D. Misheff, The Bulgarians in the Past. Lausanne, 1916, pp. 297—298.

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175 personally, but in view of the strict orders which we have from our Patriarchate to watch closely every effort on the part of the Bulgarians to start schools, especially in the cities, I am duty bound to bring your intention of opening such an institution to the knowledge of the Patriarchate. I am sure that the Patriarchate would not manifest its opposition right away, nor will it take immediate steps to close it, but in the long run it will find a plausible cause to discredit you before the Government, with the result that you would be exiled and your school closed. If you, therefore, care to guard your own nterests, you better desist from your undertaking".

After thinking it over, the Bulgarian notables decided to open a school in Koprivshtitsa instead. In 1840 the Bulgarians in Plovdiv made an effort to start a school of their own, or at least to have the Bulgarian language taught in the existing common schools which vere opened for all pupils. The Greek bishop Charysantos not only objected to having „the barbarous and dissonant" Slav-Bulgarian language (as he described it) studied in the schools, but protested immediately to the Ottoman authorities against the wishes of the Bulgarian notables, whom he accused being prompted by revolutionary ideas and, therefore, acted as enemies of the state"

This „episode" is contemporaneous to the times of Dickens, Lamenais, Hebbel, Gogol and to the period of the first railroads in Europe.

18. The Renaissance of the Bulgarian Nation, 1762. On the subject of Bulgarian renaissance, we will quote the words of Prof. Shishmanoff*): „By a fatal coincidence, unfortunately, Western European Renaissance began just when the Balkan peoples, battered completely, fell under the brutal aud merciles dominion of the conqueror... To evaluate the full tragedy of our national misfortune, suffice ft to state, that the period of Western European Renaissance is the period of the greatest discoveries: the discovery of the New and Ancient Worlds, the discovery of America of one hand and of Hellas and Rome on the other. This is the age of Coper-

*) Prof. Iv. D. Shishmanoff. Western Enropean and Bulgarian Renaissance; Bulgarian Historical Library, year I, p. 166. (in Bulgarian).

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nicus and Galileo who opened for us the celestial world. We 175
have at ths time the invention of the art of printing which helped the spread of ideas by books. Here is the age of most gifted masters of speech, beauty and marble, like Petrarch and Boccacio, Ariosto and Tasso, Camoens and Servantes, of Rabelais and Montaigne, of Shakespeare, Michel-Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Rafael and Tician. This is the period of great philosophers like Bacon, Giordano Bruno etc. etc... Bulgaria was unable to benefit by all these miracles of rich material, intellectual, spiritual and esthetic culture... At this same time, our half illiterate monks the only representatives of our intellectual life in this remote dark age, contemporaries of Ariosto and Tasso, of Shakespeare and Servantes, of Rafael and Tician, devoted their lives to the painstaking and tedious work of copying the lives of saints or of painting ikons, which betryed the complete conventionality and frigidity of Byzantine art!"

But neither the Turkish political, nor the Greek ecclesia- 175
stical slavery were in a position to suppress the spirit of the 814
Bulgarian nation. It was encouraged by the enlightened 186
groups of artizans, merchants and clergymen. A bright spark flashed all of a sudden in this dark period. This spark was the Slavic Bulgarian history of a Bulgarian monk of Macedonian origin called Paissi Hilendarski[1]). This was a hand written manuscript of 1762, which told the Bulgarian people of their glorious past, of their Kings and Patriarchs. The manuscript was called by the common people „The Book of Kings" and was copied and distributed widely in the Bulgarian lands. The plea of this Bulgarian monk to his people was „Oh Bulgarians, get to know your origin and your language". This was a forward call for the hard struggle to obtain schools and churches, enlightement, civilization and freedom of conscience: a struggle against anything that was Greek. The hatred, accumulated for centuries past — already 1083 years old — broke out with new force. This was the Bulgarian Renaissance.

„The Bulgarian Renaissance, as a process of develop- 178
ment, has something in common with the Renaissance of 186
Westren Europe:

[1]) A monk of the Hilendar Monastery, Mont Alhos.

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„1. The Renaissance in both cases is not a casual or sudden change, but it passes trough a period of transition and preparation. The transitory period is the Middle Ages. The only difference is that the Middle Ages ended for Europe in the beginning of the 14th century, while in Bulgaria it lasted until the end of the 18th century.

„2. In both cases the carriers and promoters of the Renaissance ideas were men of public and economic affairs.

„3. Both in Italy an in Bulgaria, the leader of the movement appeared to be a prominent person: Petrarch in Italy and Paissi in Bulgaria.

„4. What particularly brings our Bulgarian Renaissance close to the Western European is the new conception of things national, of the national spirit and the reversion of language and literature to their original sources to this conception".[1])

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19. Bulgarian Exarchate. National Bulgarian Church, 1872. We find the idea of the church at the bottom of Bulgarian national thought.

The conception of a national church is the fundamental thought that runs through Bulgarian history up to the present times.

The well known Romanian historian prof. N. Yorga stresses particularly the specific significance of the Bulgarian church in the political life of the Bulgarians:[2]) „The Bulgarian tradition, however, continued to live in the church, and this church represented the culture, the city life, the old and only intrinsic opposition in this same imperial conception against Hellenism, which conquered Byzantium".

The Bulgarians had accumulated in their hearts a profound animosity against the Greeks. Anything that was Greek was a synonym of oppression for them. Their ideal for freedom and independence was snugly preserved in their lofty mountains. The struggle for it began with new force and vigor. It was now a struggle for education, cultural advancement, free-

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[1]) Shishmanoff, opus cit. p. 191.

[2]) N. Yorga; Histoire des Roumains et de la Roumanie Orientale vol. III, p. 112, Bukarest 1937; Cif. Prof. Nicolaeff, op. cit. p. 127.

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dom of conscience and a struggle for free national church and school.

So, 100 years after the appearance of the history ot Paissi (1760 — 1860), the Bulgarian settlement in Constantinople, denied the Greek Patriarchate in a solemn religious service and presented a petition to the Turkish Government for an independent Bulgarian National Church. This was a church revolutionary act. It puzzled and confused the Turkish Government, because it came from the most numerous Christian population in the Balkan Peninsula and from a people who had such an advanced national consciousness, that they felt already the approach of their political liberation, which actually took place 18 years later.

The Turks tried to frighten the Bulgarian nation by the ostrich methods of their policy of half measures. The Government exiled the Bulgarian bishops and refused to acknowledge the approaching danger for the Ottoman Empire. All these methods were of no avail. The Bulgarian nation was firmly convinced in the justice of its demands and rights and the danger for the Turkish Government had become so imminent, that it could not help but surrender its position, and on February 28, 1872 the Sultan issued a proclamation and authorized the establishment of an Independent Bulgarian Nationai Church as the Bulgarian Exarchate, manned and managed by an ecclesiastical staff of its own, comming from the people.

20. Schisme. The Greek Anathema, 1872. This enormous Bulgarian success forced the helpless Greek Patriarch to take rash steps. On May 13, 1872 he proclamed the schism of the Bulgarian church and cast anathema on the Bulgarians. History has never registered a more ridiculous anathema. This actually turned to be a blessing for the success of the Bulgarian national cause, because it led to the attainment of their political liberty. The reconciliation of the two churches was brought about finally in 1945.

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21. The Turkish Rule of That Time. Turkey was in a sad and pityful state at the end of the 19th century. The Turkish rule. clinging to its practices of the Middle Ages and having no intention of

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175 reforming the excercise of its authority, had become an unbearable oppression for the Bulgarians, which were the most persecuted of all Balkan nations. A sample of Turkish administration, though not one of the most characteristic for that time, is found in the repport of the British correspondent Robert J. More:[1])

Revenue and expenses for the district of Philippopolis:

Revenue for 1874-75

		In Turkish Lires 1874	1875
Army exemption tax		151,410	169,303
Tithes and contribution farmed out		249,868	461,335
Tithes collected by the Government		154,300	115,405
Different		1,725	1,839
Duty of vine, tobacco, and stamps		23,516	50,604
	LT.	580,820	798,487

Expenses for 1874-75

Expenses for internal administration		6,882	6,791
„ „ financial department		16,839	15,455
„ „ courts and juges' salaries		3,391	3,349
„ „ public education		1,011	1,048
„ „ public buildings		1,021	—
	LT.	29,144	26,643

„From this synopsis it will be seen that, whilst the revenue of 1875 increased to the extent of about LT. 200,000, the administrative expenses of the district decreased by nearly LT. 3,000. But as the Bulgarian Christian male population in the sandjak of Philippopolis is 204,000; whilst that of the Mohammedan is only 140,000, it follows that the greatly preponderating amount of taxes is paid by the former, in addition to which must be taken into consideration the relative degree of industry of the two races. Whilst only LT. 1000 is expended on education, and this exclusively on Turkish primary schools, not a

[1]) Robert Jaspar More, Under the Balkans; notes of a visit to the Districts of Philippopolis in 1876, London, 1877. p. 20. R. J. More investigated with other European correspondents Turkish atrocities in South Bulgaria during 1876. Philippopolis or Plovdiv is the capital of South Bulgaria.

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farthing is spend on Bulgarian education. Again, whilst LT. 26,500 is paid in governmental salaries, only LT. 200 is received, collectively, by the ten Bulgarian representatives who are members of the department of justice". More says further about the Turkish unwillingness to help Bulgarian education the following (p. 25 and 26): 175

„The rapid spread of the educational movement in Bulgaria, from the admirable elementary education of the free village schools, to the training of the sons of landed proprietors and the commercial classes at Robert College[1]), carries conviction that there will be no lack elements for local self-government in Roumelia[2]), if only the moral and material resources of the country are allowed free development. It seems a pity that, whilst the Russians were helping this movement, the English were denying the qualification of the Bulgarian to govern themselves... No printing is allowed in this place (Plovdiv); and the only newspapers taken in at any public place of ressort are in Greek language..." in spite of the fact, that, according to More the distribution of the population of the Sandjak (of Philippopolis = Plovdiv) was as follows:

Bulgarians	200,335	or	57,6 %
Turks	127,260	„	36,7 %
Gypsies	13,892	„	4,0 %
Greeks	*4,000*	„	*1,1* %
Jews	2,059	„	0,6 %
Armenians	477	„	0,1 %
Total	347,723	or	100,0 %

The high officials in Turkey at that time were in a large degree illiterates.

22. Insurrection and Atrocities, 1595-1876. On top of the cultural and economic inconsistencies of the Ottoman Empire, the political situation had deteriorated to such an extent, that unrest and revolt set in among

[1]) Robert College, founded in Constantinople by the Americans Dr. Cyrus Hamlin and the New-York business man Mr. Christopher Robert in 1863. Many noted Bulgarians and Bulgarian statesmen studied and are graduated from this college.

[2]) At present South Bulgaria.

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175 the Bulgarians about the end of the 16th century. The Bulgarians, who were situated in the heart of the empire, were subjected to an impossible treatment. The first insurrection took place in 1596 and others followed in 1688. More recent insurrections were those of the Morava districts at Nish and the vicinity in 1841, then at Vidin in 1850, at Tirnovo in 1854 and, especially, the insurrections of 1867 to 1868. The Central Revolutionary Committee abroad was formed in 1869. It took in the foremost revolutionary leaders at the time. Finally the revolt of the Sredna Gora region, the „Kingdom of Roses", broke out in 1876. This revolt was suppressed and drowned in streams of blood. The atrocities committed by the regular and irregular Turkish forces excited the whole civilized world. The European newspapers dispatched some of their ablest correspondents on the spot and public opinion was fully informed, for the first time, about the enslaved Bulgarians and about the actual situation in Turkey. The roses of Bulgaria were tinted profusely with the blood of the Bulgarians. Many foreigners that know Bulgaria as „the Land of Roses" have hardly heard of the tragedy which these roses witnessed in silence.

23. The Conference of Ambassadors of Constantinople, 1876-1877.

Even the diplomatic representatives in Constantinople, who were not distinguished with any marked sympathies for the suffering Bulgarians, were compelled to undertake an investigation of the Turkish rule in these enslaved lands. This investigation brought out some very incriminating evidence against the authority of the Turks. The Ambassadors' Conference (1876-77) recommended some reforms for Turkey, along with the establishment of an autonomous district for the Bulgarians. The Turkish Government rejected the proposals of the ambassadors and the War of Liberation broke out in 1877.

24. Russo-Turkish War, 1877-1878.

The noted English writer H. G. Wells, writes in his interesting book „Outline of History": [1])

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[1]) H. G. Wells, Outline of History, vol. III, p. 1013-14; New-York 1910/41.

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„A fresh upthrust of what we have here called the natural map against the diplomatic arrangements of the treaty of Vienna began in 1875, when the Christian races in the Balkan, and particulary the Bulgarians became restless and insurgent. The Turks adopted violent repressive measures, and embarked upon massacres of the Bulgarians on an enormous scale. Thereupon Russia intervened (1877), and after a year of costly warfare obliged the Turks to sign the treaty of San Stefano, which was, on the whole, a sensible treaty, breaking up the artifical Turkish Empire, and to a large extend establishing the natural map. But it had became the tradition of British policy to thwart „the designs of Russia" — heaven knows why! — whenever Russia appeared to have a design, and the British foreign office, under the premiership of Lord Beaconsfield, intervened with a threat of war if a considerable restauration of the Turks' facilities for exaction, persecution and massacres was not made. For a time war seemed very probable. In consequence of the British opposition, a conference was assembled in 1878 at Berlin to revise the treaty of San Stefano, chiefly in the interests of Turkish and Austrian monarchies and Lord Beaconsfield returned triumphantly from the Berlin Conference, with what the British were given to understand at the time was „Peace with Honour." This treaty of Berlin was the second main factor... in bringing about the great war of 1914-18."

Let us hear two more authors on the subject of the causes of the Russo-Turkish war of 1878, the Peace Treaty of San Stefano and the Congress of Berlin. One of them is John Richard Green[1]) in his popular book „A Short History of the English People."

„Reports of atrocities commited by bashi-bozouks in Bulgaria began to reach England and Lord Derby, the foreign minister, trough the British ambassador at the Port, demanded from the Sultan immediate and adequate reparation. By this time indignation in England had reached its high pitch, but it was roused to flame by Gladstone's pamphlet „The Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East" which was circulated far and wide. This tract is populary remembered for its demand that the British governement,

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[1]) In fact this chapter of Green's history is written by R. P. Farley, who continued this classic work.

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175 „which has been working in one direction, shall in the other, and shall applay all his vigour to concur with the other states of Europe in obtaining the extinction of the Turkish executive power in Bulgaria. Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner, namely, by carrying off themselves. Their zapties and their mudirs, their bimbashis and their youzbashis, their kaimakams and their pashas, one and all, bag and baggage shall, I hope, clear out of the province they have desolated and profaned"... By the treaty of San Stefano... Bulgaria was to be constituted an autonomous Principality with a Christian Governement and a national militia, to extend from the Danube to the Aegean, and nearly as far south as Adrinople and Salonica. Great Britain insisted that Treaty should be submitted to an European Congress, which was held at the Berlin on June 8 and was attended by Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury. Why these distinguished men should have taken the trouble to cross to Berlin is not obvious to the plain intelligence, seeing that Lord Salisbury had already (on May 30) signed a secret convention with count Shouvaloff, and a secret treaty had also been concluded with the Porte... By the Treaty of Berlin, which was signed an July 13, the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano were confirmed with certain vital exceptions. Bulgaria was to consist of a narrow tract of land between the Danube and the Balkans and to have autonomy under the suzerenity of Turkey. The area to the south of Bulgaria, Eastern Rumelia, was to be restored to the Sultan... This Treaty was the cause of friction and misunderstanding with Russia... and it is highly questionable if the policy of keeping the Turks in Europe has been justified by results."

The other author is the great French writer André Maurois who has wide connections among the British public. In his wellknovn book „La vie de Disraeli" [1]), he gives the following characteristic features, which agree well with the impression left to us by the quotations from H. G. Wells and Green: „Lord Beaconsfield remains calm. He considers the treaty (of San Stefano) unacceptable. He advises Shouvaloff that he will not attend the Congress unless a direct Anglo-

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[1]) Edition Hachette, 1927.

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Russian understanding is reached on the important points (p. 221). Feeble old men, relaxed on the cushions of their sleepers which were converging on Berlin from Brussels and Petersburg, Beaconsfield and Gortchakoff were moved by the same sentiment... All the states were arriving with secret conventions at this Conference where a treaty was supposed to be discused in a liberal manner... Neither Gortchakoff nor Beaconsfield were geographers. Gortchakoff liked, as he used to say, to deal with the main and important points, i. e. he built phrazes, but placed in front of a map he was unable to find even Batum (p. 229). 175

„Beaconsfield found Bismark very changed, but he observed in him the tone he liked, simple and real, a little bit chagrinned, with crude sincerity and things awful spoken in a sweet voice ringing out of this huge body. Bismark told him that he intended to attend the Congress beating the drum. He found it necessary, however, to devote the first days, while the dispositions were still favourable, to the great questions which might become the cause of war. They were to begin, therefore, with Bulgaria... And so everything was O. K... Apart from Bismark and himself (Beaconsfield) there were no other grand characters... Bismark went on with the abruptness of a military. Al- of a sudden, the division of Bulgaria in two see parate parts along the line of the Balkan rang was adopted without discussions... (p. 225/6)."

We feel it would be interesting to quote the following passage also which suggests the original thought of the German invasion of the Balkans:

„Beaconsfield, on his part, divined the far flung aspirations of the chancellor: standing in front of a huge map of the world, they were discussing the prospects of colonisation and Bismark, considering that it would be politically expedient, took the part of an opponent, while Beaconsfield's index finger roamed over the Balkan provinces. „Do you not think, said he, that here is a fine place for colonisation?" Bismark looked at him and said nothing. (p. 228)."

This is the sad story, so well presented by distinguished European writers. Lord Beaconsfield returned triumphantly from Berlin with what the British were to believe „Peace and Honour".

125 **25. This Situation Resulted in Wars, 1885 — 1914.** War followed war. A fratricidal war between Bulgaria and Serbia was provoked in 1885/6 by the Serbs. They took advantage of a bloodless revolution in Bulgaria, that united the free North (Danube) Bulgaria with the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia (South Bulgaria) which was still under Turkish suzerainty. By this act the Bulgarian nation ammended one of the arbitrary arrangements of the Berlin Treaty.

Necessity, however, imposed on Bulgaria and Serbia to forget their past troubles and misunderstandings and made them attempt a rapprochement for the solution of the remaining unsolved Balkan problem — the liberation of the rest of the unredeemed Slavs from the Turkish yoke. This policy did not only bring together these two main factors for peace and order in the Balkans, but it brought about the union of all Balkan states: Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro and Greece, against the oppressor of Balkan liberty and progress — Turkey (1911). Events accelerated the inevitable war. Uprisals broke out in Albania during 1911. There was unrest among the Albanians in the neighbouring districts also. The Young Turks perpetrated many cruelties and murders arousing Western Europe. The Balkan Commitee in London protested with a manifesto. The British bishops headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury addressed a writen protest to the Sultan and the Turkish Parliament (January 25, 1912). This protest drew attention to the suppression of all political liberties, to the terrible attrocities etc. and in conclusion said that there was nothing worse than the life in Macedonia. The butcheries in Kotchane (Macedonia) and Berat (Albania) followed. The united Balkan states required, both through the good offices of the Great Powers and directly from Turkey, the application of article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin, which provided the introduction of reforms that Turkey took upon herself to apply 66 years ago! War broke out on October 18, 1912 and ended with the full defeat of Turkey but at the same time with a scramble among the allies, who were unable to agree on the division of the Turkish Balkan dominions! Bulgaria claimed the biggest share proportionate to her military significance in the war and to her largest losses in men and materials. Instead she was mislead to enter in the war against her former allies, and the Balkan problems vere solved in a manner which established the cause

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for new wars. Nevertheless, Bulgaria obtained an 175
outlet on the Aegean Sea and this was recognized as a reasonable act by all Balkan peoples (1913).

The events in Europe that brought about the First World 721
War found Bulgaria on the side of Germany. The violation of essential Bulgarian rights after the Balkan wars and the outrage exercised by the former allies (1912) of Bulgaria over the Bulgarian population, left under the foreign domination, had much to do in leading Bulgaria to take this fatal decision, which was absolutely opposed to the highest interests of the Bulgarian nation. The Carnegie Foundation made an investigation (1914) to establish the truth about cruelties practiced by both sides over the peaceful population and their abuse of the international rules for carrying on war. We may safely say that Bulgaria came out with honor as a result of this investigation, while the same could not be said about the Greek army, as we will point out this further in our study.

The World War of 1914-1918 ended for Bulgaria with 728
the Treaty of Neuilly. Bulgaria was punished in an unprecedented manner. The biggest punishment, however, was depriving her from the outlet on the Aegean Sea, which all Balkan peoples unanimously recognized as her reasonable right in spite of their inimical attitude.

26. The Peace Treaty of Neuilly, 1919. If we consider the Peace Treaty of Berlin as a fatal step for the peace in Europe, then the Treaty of Versailles - Neuilly was the unpardonable repetition of the same fault for the Balkans. It was a peace arrangement fostered by statesmen who were blinded by revenge. Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Balfour, Sonino and Orlando were the authors of a peace of „politicians". Dillon[1]) speaks of them as follows: „They were novices in international affairs. Geography, ethnology, psychology and political history were forbidden books for them. What they lacked might have been supplied, to a large degree, by a selection of counsellors more widely informed than they. They chose, however, the help of mediocrities. Since the heads of the main governments, by implication, pretended to be the authorized representatives of the human

[1]) Dillon, The Peace Conference; cif. H. G. Wells, opus cit. vol. III, p. 1114.

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728 race, invested with unlimited power, it should be pointed out, that this claimed ordination was seriously opposed by the public press. Almost all popular newspapers criticized the dictatorship of this band of prime ministers". H. G. Wells points out very properly how the Peace Conference was reduced from a Council of Ten to a Council of Four (Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Orlando) and how it gradually turned from a conference of free and open discussion for the future welfare of all, to an old fashioned diplomatic conspiracy. Was not the Berlin Conference of 1878 this kind of „old fashioned diplomatic conspiracy?" History was repeating itself for the Balkan Slavs. The ground was being prepared for future wars.

There could hardly be a better description of the situation after Versailles 1918, than the one given us by an enlightened and farsighted writer like H. G. Wells: [1])

„When we consider the transitoriness of the settlements effected by the diplomatists, we are impressed at once by the feebleness of their diplomacy and the realization of the strong intractable forces that defeated their manœvres and arrangements. We are still more impressed by the uninstructed ineffectivness of the new international idealism imported into European interchanges by President Wilson. His Fourten Points were left by these treaties like a row of ruined and tattered houses in a bombarded village. Some had gone altogheter; other were twisted out of recognition. The first attempt to produce a world law passed away like a burst of laughter in a tavern".

000 **27. What a Frech Author says about the Bulgarians.** A Frenchman, Cyprien Robert, writes in his book 1844: Les Slaves de Turquie Serbes, Monténégrins, Bosniaques, Albanais et Bulgares; leurs ressources, leurs tendances et leurs progrès politiques; Paris, 1844, vol. I. p. 228: [2])

„A subjected and unfortunate nation lives at the outskirts of Europe. Its name is hardly known to the world of to-day, but its people are worthy of our attention. They are the Bulgarians, who have preserved their old habits, their burning faith, their noble character, even during the time of their worse

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[1]) H. G. Wells; op. cit. vol. III, p. 1124.

[2]) German translation — Die Slaven in der Türkei, Stuttgart, 1851; 2-nd edition; vol. 2, p. 191.

slavery, and after a glorious past, it looks as if they are des-000
tined to play an important part in the future... They number 4.500.000 people. The continental depth of their country corresponds more or less to the length of their sea coast. The Bulgarians tend to penetrate further south in Thrace, which is a desert country abandoned by the Turks to shepherds, who managed to colonize it day after day. They expand in the direction of Greece down to the heart of the Greek provinces, whose inhabitants leave the valleys and the mountains to the new comers in order to segregate in the cities and along the sea coast. We notice here the full force of the opposite tendencies of the two races. While the Slav tends to colonize and settle on the land, the Greek makes use of the sea and establishes his cities and business centres along the sea coast. Had these two opposite forces acted together, they would have worked wonders for the regeneration of the East.

„The geographer, who overlooks the significance of the movement and displacement of races, continued to put the border of Bulgaria at the line separating it from Thrace, Macedonia and Albania, three provinces abounding with Bulgarians... A short strip of the Archipelago coast belongs entirely to Bulgarian families... The Bulgarians in Salonica are so numerous that the double Slav and Greek domination of the city could hardly be denied. If the Slav element were excluded from it, a sanguinary reaction would set in on the peninsula. The Bulgarians occupy very important localities in Thrace also, and at Injik, a small factory town near Constantinople, they form the basis of the population. If we turn our attention to the lands of East Albania, we will notice that the native language of whole provinces is Bulgarian. Such natives we find as far down as Livadia and meet them even in Morea. The colonizing and penetrating capacity of this people is due to their flexible and industrious character. Prefering country life, the Slavs left the cities willingly to the Greeks, and, in this manner, they formed the most numerous race in the Ottoman Empire, not excluding even the Greeks... Numerous are the reason for the annual increase of the Bulgarian population. The Turkish population, on the other hand, is on the decline everywhere. The great desire of the Bulgarian to increase his race, coupled with the purity of his habits, protects him against many diseases, which cause great mortality..."

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000 **28. Western Thrace.** Western Thrace is an Aegean Sea province surrounded on both sides by the lower courses of the rivers Maritza and Mesta and on the north by the watershed between the river Arda and the Aegean Sea (Fig. 5). This inclosure slopes towards the said sea and has a sea coast line of about 85 miles or 135 kilometers. Its surface is about half the size of Albania and the USA state of Connecticut is 1,33 times larger than it.

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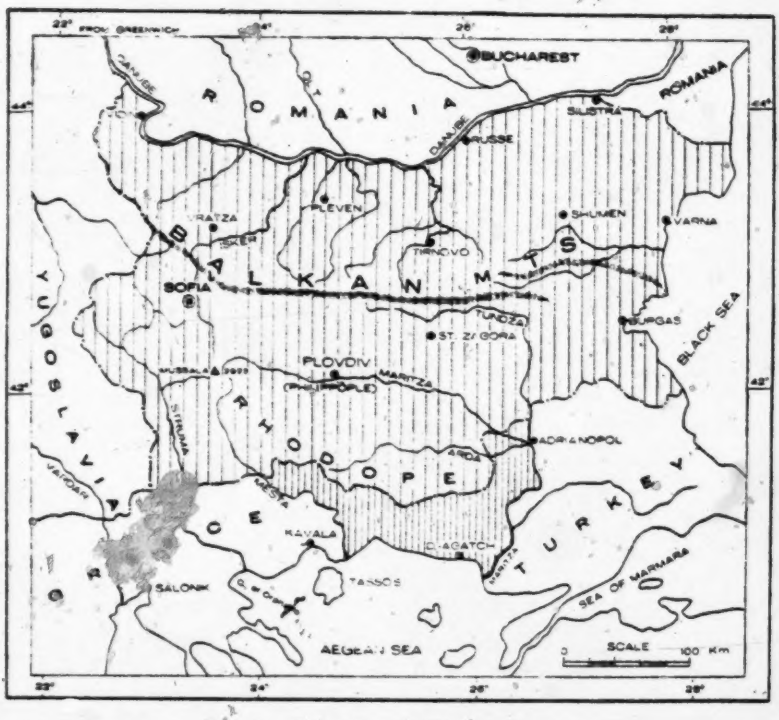

Fig. 5. Bulgaria and Western Thrace.

000 Travellers, who studied the ethnographic limits of the Bulgarian people during the 18th and 19th century speak of the Bulgarian character of Western Thrace.

728 The border between Bulgaria and Western Thrace, or the territorial outlet of Bulgaria to the Aegean Sea, has a history of its own. The San Stefano Treaty gave an Aegean Sea outlet to Bulgaria on the gulf of Salonica, by the estuary of the Vardar River, and also from the gulf of Or-

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phano to Kavala near Burughiol beyond the mouth of Mesta River. The Berlin Treaty deprived Bulgaria of this outlet. The London Treaty of 1913, at the end of the Balkan War, gave Bulgaria again a territorial outlet to this sea and established the Eastern frontier of Turkey at the line Enos—Midia. 728

The Bucarest Peace Conference granted Bulgaria an outlet between the estuaries of Mesta and Maritsa rivers, which included the natural sea port of this region, Dédé-Agach. This port was the terminal at the end of the Maritsa valley, along which run the roads to the Aegean Sea. The lower course of Maritsa became the border line between Bulgaria and Turkey, according to an understanding which took place between the two states in 1915. It provided the cession of a strip of land around Adrianopol to Turkey, which included the railroad station of that city, Kara-Agach, at the railroad line from the Bulgarian frontier to Dédé-Agach.

The Great War of 1914—1918 ended with the peace of Neuilly (1918) for Bulgaria. It brought countless sanctions of revenge to the Bulgarian people. One of them was found in article 48, which provided: „Bulgaria renounces in favour of the Principal Associated and Allied Powers all her rights and titles over the territory of Thrace which formerly belonged to the Bulgarian monarchy and which, being outside of the new frontiers of Bulgaria, are not allocated to any one as yet. Bulgaria binds herself to recognise the decisions of the Principal Associated and Allied Powers with regards to these territories. The Principal Allied and Associated Powers bind themselves to guarantee the freedom of economic outlets for Bulgaria to the Aegean Sea. The conditions of this guarantee will be determined later."

This was a deception, because it had already been decided to give these territories to Greece, and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers renounced later the guaranteed outlet also. At the Conference of San Remo (19—26 April, 1920), which was a continuation of the Paris Peace Conference and in which Bulgaria did not take part, it was decided, at the suggesttion of Lloyd George assisted by Venizelos, that Greece should obtain both Western and Eastern Thrace as far as the line of Tchataldja. General Charpy, governor-general of Western Thrace from 1918 until 1920, started the withdrawal of his forces,

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Fig. 6. The Aegean Coast passes from hand to hand, like a play ball for 67 years!

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upon which the Greeks occupied this territory. Article 1 of the Peace Treaty of Sèvres, signed August 10, 1920, stipulated the following: „The Principal Allied and Associated Powers declare that they transfer to Greece all rights and titles they have over the territories of Thrace, by virtue of article 48 of the Peace Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria." Article 4 undermined the guarantee given to Bulgaria for an economic outlet to the Aegean Sea, by substituting for it the stipulation „freedom of transit is recognized over the territory and ports of Greece". Bulgaria was not a party to these negotiations and decisions and the Sèvres Treaty was ratified by none of the participants in this conference. Consequently, Bulgaria claimed properly that the question about her territorial outlet was open still by dint of right. The subject was taken up again at Lausanne (Aprill 23 — June 24, 1924), in connection with peace negotiations between Turkey and Greece. These negot ations ended by returning to Turkey Eastern Thrace up to Maritsa. Turkey received also that strip of land around the railroad station Kara-Agach in such a queer arrangement, that the railroad from the Bulgarian frontier to Dédé-Agach runs at the present time first through Greek territory, then through Turkish and again through Greek territory.

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This is then the famous „freedom of transit" over Greek territory!

29. Fooling with a Sea Coast. The Aegean Sea coast passed from hand to hand like a play ball for 67 years. It was a foul game played against the interests of the Balkan peoples and Eastern Europe in general. Here is a graphic representation of the different stages of this game (Fig. 6).

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30. The Aegean Sea Locked by the Greeks! The Balkan Peninsula is surrounded by three seas: The Adriatic and Ionian sea, this is the sea of Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece and Italy; the Black sea, the sea of Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey and USSR; and the Aegean sea, which is the most accessible sea in South Eastern Europe. Greece wishes to have it locked for herself (Fig. 7)). Could there be any serious defence for such a policy from the

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stand point of essential economic interests and ethnographic rights? The argument would not hold good in either of these two instances and the answer would be decidedly in the negative. The extensive economy of the region, the suffering of the Rhodope population and the forcible expatriation of the Slavic, respectively Bulgarian, population justify a negative reply to the question.

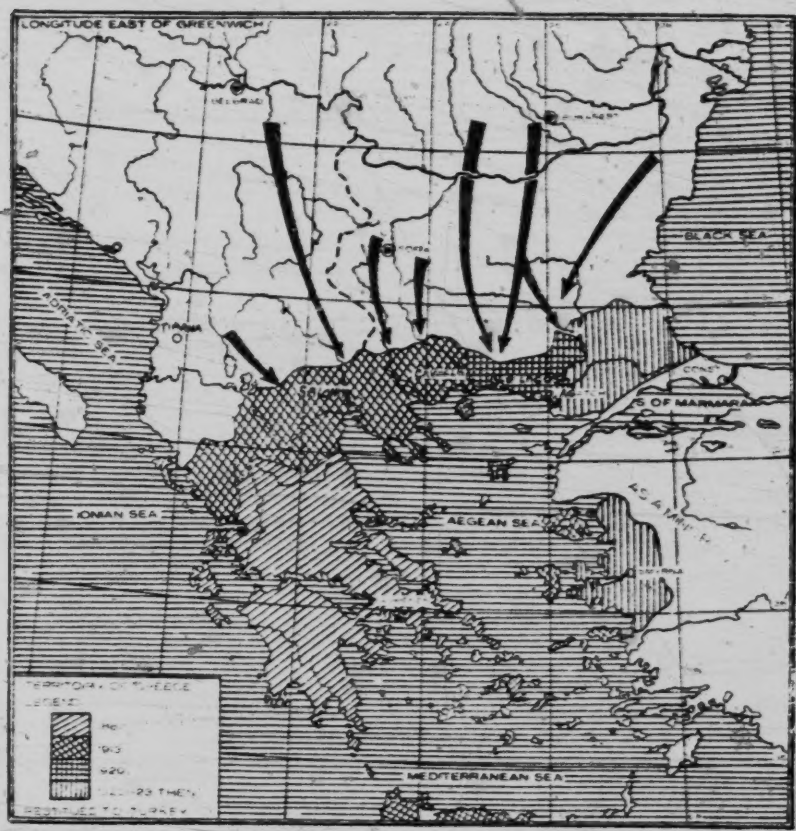

Fig. 7. Greece wishes to have locked for herself the Aegean Sea.

31. Opinions on the Bulgarian Outlet to the Aegean Sea.

There are many points of view on the subject, but we will quote only some of them. The French politician Georges Desbon says: „The representatives at San Remo broke one tradition. They overlooked

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earlier events. They thought that the specialists on Eastern European problems were ignorant; that the members of the Ambassadors' Conference in Constantinople of 1877 were simple minded and naive; and that the authors of the Treaty of San Stefano, London and Bucarest were common idlers". Francesco Nitti, the president of the San Remo Conference says: „It seemed as if the Agreement recognized the need of a sea only to the victors and to countries which were friendly to the allied Nations. Bulgaria was deprived of an outlet to the Aegean Sea, which, obviously, she did not feel any need of, according to the principles embodied in the Agreement". [1])

32. Ancient Hellenic Colonisation. One of the most interesting chapters of the history of the Balkan Peninsula, which we would barely touch upon in this study, is about the ancient Greece spreading around the coast of the Mediterranean sea and blocking the roads leading from the interrior to the estuaries of the most important South European rivers. [2])

The decline of agriculture in old Hellas and the unproductive soil forced the Greeks to look for new regions to colonize, where they could find the necessary supply of agricultural products. This is the beginning of Greek colonization. It started very early, but for our purpose, we will dwell mostly on the so called third colonization period which extends from the eighth until the fifth century B. C. (Fig. 8). The starting points of this colonization were the towns of Asia Minor, which were also the original Hellenic colonies. Commercial offices were established at first, and gradually these business centers turned into supply depots and colonies. Such settlements we find along the Black Sea and the Thracian sea coast. Most of them had as their metropolitan center the rich city of Asia Minor called Miletus, The big colonies were situated at the mouths of the big rivers, where the roads from the interrior lands of the „barbarians" terminated. Being clever merchants and cunning people, the Hellens managed to drain

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[1]) Francesco Nitti; Europe Without Peace.

[2]) L. Bochkov; Quelques Notes sur les Communications dans les Balkans; Principales lignes ferroviaires. Ponts sur le Danube, Issue à la mer Egée; Sofia, 1945, edit. Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and Arts, p. 26.

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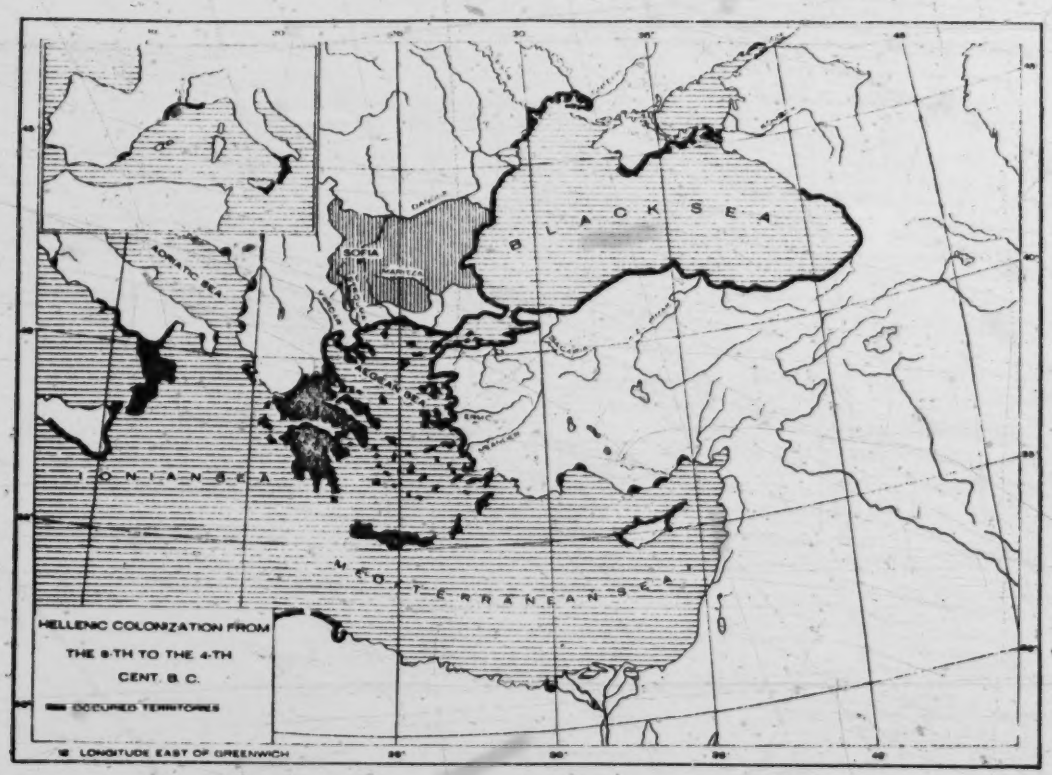

Fig. 8.

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the vital resources of the neighbouring agricultural and cattle-raising Thracians and Scythians. They paid low prices for the products of their hard labour and offered their „industrial" goods in exchange. The Greeks monopolized both the sea coast trade and the sea transport. The densely populated Hellas satisfied her food supply needs by purchases from the Pontic (Black Sea) regions at the very early period. It is belived that half of the purchases of Attica, amounting to 800,000 medimnes or 42.000 hectolitres in the 4th century B. C., came from the Pontic. The native production of the Greeks was insufficient because of the sterility of the soil and because their agricultural methods, even at that time, were far more primitive than the methods of the „barbarians". The low priced grain supply from the Pontic districts, however, revolutionized the economic structure of the country. The crash in the wheat prices caused the cessation of agricultural and food production. The people left the land in order to settle in the cities and devoted themselves to the production of high-priced comodities, like wine, olive oil etc., which required less labour. Big city centres, city-states like the Italian of the Middles Ages, were established. These city-states fought among each other bitterly. This is the significant part that wheat, which came from our lands, played in Ancient Hellas. The Hellens clung fast to the sea and, wherever it was possible, they occupied strips of land along the coast because they did not meet any resistance on the part of the good natured and peaceful local inhabitants. The Greeks have always been, as they are also to-day, sea-faring people, who have no inclination to penetrate deep into the interrior of the hinterland of the sea coast. Contrary to their Roman successors, they kept the sea routes jealously and fought bitterly against any force that would interfere with them. This is the reason and significance of their wars with the Persians (469-465) and of their struggles to dominate the exit and the key of the Black Sea — Byzantium (474-472). After their Persian wars, the Greek cities of Asia Minor were unable to maintain the past glory and influence, but the Greek colonies along the Black Sea coast, like Odessus (Varna), Tomi (Constanza), Dionisopolis (Balchik), Apolonia (Sozopol) and others, retained their commercial significance and continued to thrive.

The Hellens dominated, as purely Hellenic lands, European Hellas and the islands of the Archipelago. In the other

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000 parts of the peninsula and the Mediterranean region, they kept their own by numerous narrow strips of land along the sea coast or by isolated colonies and settlements, mainly around the mouths of the rivers or the exits of the valleys. They left the backland to the local population of Thracians, Illyrians, Macedonians, Slavs etc. Hellenic civilization was unable to supercede the firmly established older culture of these ancient peoples, which was connected with their hard life and labour on the land. This explains why the Hellens did nothing for the land routes and for the economic life of the local „barbarian" peoples. They only drained their resources and gave nothing of value and significance in exchange. After the fall of Hellas and the advent of the Romans to the Balkan Peninsula, a good general imperial administration and a large network of roads were established both here and in Hellas. This road network left traces all over „Roman" Europe up to the 18th century. With us the traces of these roads continued to be conspicuous until a much later time, because, in many sections, the old Turkish roads followed the old Roman roads. The Roman influence has been larger in our lands than the Hellenic influence, which was almost nil. In Bulgaria were established Roman cities like Nikopolis ad Istrum (Nikup), Marcianopolis (Devna), Oescus (Ghighen), Melta (Lovetch), Ratiaria (Archar) etc.

In the long run, the Greeks were gradually pushed away from the sea coasts, because the local population wanted to get rid of these „suckers" colonizers. But Bulgaria, being under Turkish subjection, was unable to clear her coasts from this invasion. Along with the Greek coastal settlements or colonies, we find, simultaneously, a back land population which was unfriendly to them, except in most recent times and at such places, where it was driven by force to leave its homeland. This violence over the local inhabitants continues until the present day. Considerable Slav population is forced out of the coastal regions to the interior of neighbouring countries. But the Greeks could have a claim on the coastal strips of land of the Balkan rivers Vardar, Struma, Maritsa and Mesta, as much as they might be given the right to claim, for example, Alicante in Spain, Marseilles in France, Messina in Italiy, or Rostov on the Don in the USSR.

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In his celebrated and authoritative book[1]) Professor A. Philippsohn says: „The Greeks are the sole masters only of European Greece. In Macedonia, Thrace and Western Asia Minor they hold just a narrow strip of land along the sea coast since old times. Behind this strip of land, the Western Balkan Peninsula was inhabited in ancient times by Illyrians

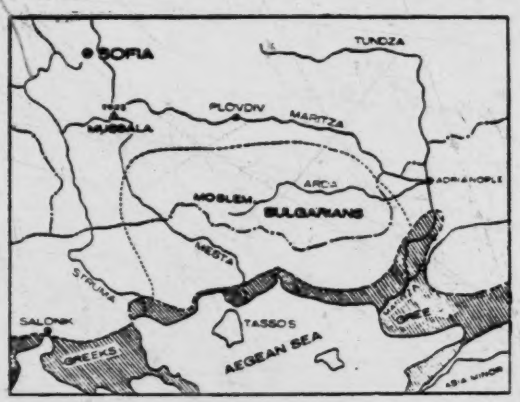

Fig. 9. Map by Ptof. A. Philippsohn in his Book of the Mediterranean Region.

and the Eastern part of it — by Thracians. In between, near the Greeks, were the Macedonians... The Byzantine Empire carried a desperate struggle for ten centuries to defend Hellenism against the enemy invader from the North, from the West in general and from the Francs in particular. The Franks were repulsed, but to the enemies of the North and East the Greeks lost all the Hellenized lands. Hellenism was limited to its proper confines around the Aegean Sea, where it succeeded in assimilating the infiltrated foreign elements... The biggest part of the Balkan-Peninsula, however, was occupied in the North by the Slavs". These words are illustrated in the map above, borrowed from the book of professor Philippsohn. (Fig. 9).

Let us quote, among others, the opinion of the American missionary in Constantinople, Dr. Hamlin,[2]) who, accom-

[1]) A. Philippsohn, Das Mittelmeer Gebiet, Leipzig, 1914; 3rd edition, p. 187—189. This work is dedicated to the celebrated geographer Ferdinand von Richthoffen.

[2]) Dr Cyrus Hamlin, the Founder of Robert College in Constantinople; s. Footnote p. 29.

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000 panied by a representative of the American-Turkish Aid Society, undertook a trip during 1857 in South Bulgaria or, as it was called at that time, Roumelia. They passed through Rodosto and then through Andrinople on their way to Plovdiv (Philippople). Hamlin thought than the Bulgarians were found mostly north of the Balkan mountains. He was greatly surprised to discover that half of the inhabitants of Adriano-
[181] ple were Bulgarians. He said about them: „The spontaneous, modest, kind and respectful behavior of the population can not but attract the attention even of the most casual observer. We were not the object of any ridicule, base curiosity or rough language on the part of either young or old people. We can not say, however, the same about the Greek and Turkish villages". The Bulgarians said to Hamlin: „We have no literature, no schools and, we might even say, we have no language".

Human culture is founded always on the labour spent for the cultivation of land. During the Hellenic civilization, those who worked the land were called barbarians and, instead of benefiting by it, they were robbed by this civilization. Present Balkan culture, however, suffers from the manifestation of actual barbarism, by blocking the outlets to friendly seas for those who work and labour on the land.

162 **33. The Population of Thrace.** The bigger part of the population of Thrace is Bulgarian. Let us use a few important data:

1. The Bulgarian census of 1919 was carried under very unfavourable conditions. Many Bulgarian Moslems were shown under the clasification of Turks and the Bulgarian population had been reduced, after the Turks had exterminated it, during the so called famous „republic of Giumurdjina".

Bulgarian Christians	87.941	
Bulgarian Moslems	17.369	
Bulgarians total	105,310	47.0 %
Turks	79.539	35.4 %
Greeks	28.647	12.75%
[illegible]ers	10.922	4.85%
Total	224.418	

7 [Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, American missionary in Constantinople, who visited South Bulgaria in 1857--Analyst]

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2. The census made by General Charpy, Governor general of Western Thrace from 1918 until 1920, respectively by the Allied occupational forces in Western Thrace, in March 1920. This census was incomplete, because it was made when the Bulgarians were fleeing from their native places and the Greeks were bringing in their „refugees" instead. 162

Bulgarian Christians	69.154
Bulgarian Moslems	11.739
Bulgarians total	80.839
Turks	73.220
Greeks	51.706
Others	6.803
Total	212.622

In spite of the unfriendly attitude and behaviour of the French chief in command of the East, Franchêt d'Eperey, towards anything that was Bulgarian, the sympathies were still with the Bulgarians. This is what Paul Roussel, the Allied Financial Director of the region, brought to the knowledge of Franchêt d'Eperey: „Two peoples contend the future of this country, if we leave aside the Turks, who are to return to the land of their origin... There is nothing left, of what we admire of their past, in the present-day Greeks... There is no doubt that the future belongs to this youthful and sturdy people, the Bulgarians, who are gifted with the rare capacity for work, honesty and saving." 563

34. The Spirit of the Bulgarian population and the Terror Exercised over it. The terror exercised over the Bulgarian population in Western Thrace after the Balkan War, during 1913 and 1914, was in no way less cruel than the one applied in Macedonia. Thousands of schemes were engineered to expel this population from its native lands. Numerous documents show us how bold and enlightened the spirit of this population was in the time of the Turkish domination, however. The Bulgarian peasant population around the city of Drama wanted to have their own Bulgarian bishop and they sent away the Greek bishop of Drama in 1872. The Greek bishop in Drama reported to the Patriarchate;

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 [Western Thrace]

563 „The Bulgarians are simply wild in the region north of Drama... In all that region the language of the people is Bulgarian and this helps greatly the plans of the Bulgarians. Whole districts, belonging to the Drama eparchate and some communities, seceded to join the exarchate.[1]) But the Lord of truth and justice is more powerful than people, armament, fire and death."

So spoke this pastor and went on to say how he betrayed Bulgarian rebels of the same region to the Turkish authorities: „The soldiers put on fire the house in which the bandits were found and all were going to perish, had they not escaped by the roof of the house... With daggers in their hands and firing at the royal soldiers... they fled to the mountains. Here are the results: in the village of Volak[2]) (I do not know how that was allowed) the church services were done formerly in turns, one day in Greek and one day in Slavic, by ours and by schismatics. Immediately after that, I forbade these alternating services and now we officiate only in Greek. Half of the school was in the hands of Bulgarians, but now it is completely in the possession of the Orthodox (the Greeks). But what is most pleasing (says this naive Greek bishop) now is that all of them bow to the Patriarch and so our God is established firmly in the whole district", and ends his letter „and may the Lord, who comforts the meek, comfort and relieve us, Amen". The same Drama bishop writes: „We were greatly surprised and grieved when we learned to-day that in the holy church of your village[2]) the chanter Christo sang from Easter until to-day in Bulgarian, regardless of the fact that the whole village had accepted orthodoxy, in accordance with the sacred and divine instructions and orders of our confession. These things are forbidden and we command you to discontinue from to-day on this confused and arbitrary behaviour of the chanter or otherwise we will punish him severely even with the help of the state authorities. May the Lord's mercy be with you!" Let us quote the contents also of a letter addressed to a village by the Greek vicar in Drama. It is a gem of Greek Church impertinence and characterizes the whole period of church bar-

[1]) The Bulgarian National Church.

[2]) Volak, a purely Bulgarian village.

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barism. „We warned you in our recent letters, by order of our respected bishop, that you were to employ only the Greek language in the holy church of your village, as this is the language sanctified by the apostles and our holy fathers, and the language in which the holy and grand name of our Saviour should be glorified. Our letters and our recommendations, however, seem to have been disregarded by some of your people, who dare use the Bulgarian language in the church services. We are duty bound to give you strict instructions and to require that you should not allow any more like profanation of the holy service and liturgy. The Bulgarian language is not recognized by the church, on the contrary, it is forbidden and rejected by the Holy Synod and by the Great Christian Church..." (November 10, 1903). 563

A country Greek woman teacher wrote to the bishop: „Yesterday I sent the country guard of Pleven[1]) to fetch the three boys who refused to come by order of their parents. The same negative answer was received from Egri-Déré. I am left with only two girls and am at sea as to what to do. I don't doubt that you at least would send me two comforting words." (September 19, 1911.[2])

We found it appropriate to draw attention to the above letters and information, which, though coming from only one of the Bulgarian districts (that of Drama), would be sufficiently instructive of the methods which all Greek church authorities applied throughout the Bulgarian lands.

35. A Comparison Between Bulgarian and Greek Schools, 1904. The noted French writer, Victor Berard,[3]) who is a friend of the Greeks, reports the following: „It would be sufficient to compare the Bulgarian schools in Macedonia to the other schools there, in order to notice the difference immediately. The Greeks, who 563 871

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[1]) A purely Bulgarian village in the county of Drama.

[2]) Georgieff & Shishkoff, La Macédoine Orientale du Sud. II. Recherches et documents, 1918; Philippople.

[3]) Victor Berard, Pro Macedonia, Paris, 1904, p. 40; cf. D. Misheff Die Wahrheit über Makedonien, Bern, 1918, pp. 37-38.

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[Western Thrace]

563 have applied our old methods in training the students of their secondary schools in that literature and non-partizan culture, 871 which gave France the „honest" men of the 18th century, have filled to-day the Greek museum with babblers and politicians, physicians, deputies, ministers and lawyers. The curriculum of the Bulgarian gymnasias (high schools) in Macedonia is entirely different. The Bulgarian high schools give the Macedonians useful knowledge in the letters and sciences. They train them to know the present day world and to take account of actualities. They make them citizens of the 20th century, who are able to take care of themselves and to do justice and service to their own country.

„One single visit to a Bulgarian and to a Greek school will bring out the difference. In the first school the student handles a test tube, in the other he breaks his head over Demosthenes and the fallen warriors of the Marathon battlefield.

563 „The Greeks despise the Macedonian Bulgarian students in the same manner, like our gentlemen „classics" in our liceums used to despise the modern workers at one time. The Greek considers the Macedonian still as a slave and this awful contempt will continue to embarass the future of the Hellens for a long time.

„The Greeks assume an eternal monopoly on the culture and ideas of the East. They consider themselves the [illegible] fighters for civilization and success and imagine themse[illegible] be the only support of Europe against Asia. They see B[illegible]garia as she was 25 years ago: the competitor of the Cossack and the carrier of ignorance and barbarism. Obsessed by this imaginary right of monopoly, they entertain most delightful hopes... and when friends of theirs (among whom I have the right to consider myself) advise them to take note of Bulgarian culture and of the idea of Macedonia, they should not shrug their shoulders or raise offensive objections. If you talk to an Athenian about Bulgarians (and this I know from personal experience) without applying the contemptuous adjectives of „rough" and „wild", he would think that you were either a „Bulgarophile" or that you were bribed."

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[Western Thrace]

36. Greek Atrocities Committed against the Bulgarians during 1920-1940. The Bulgarian population began to flee, as soon as the Greek occupation took effect in 1920.[1]) This exodus was justified because of the application of the Greek methods of imprisonment, beating,

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Fig. 10. After the occupation of Western Thrace by Greece in 1920, the Bulgarian population, which constituted the majority of the inhabitants of the District, was subjected to an outrageous persecution, banishment and forced expatriation. The above map, borrowed from E. von Seidlitz'sche Geographie, II. p. 757, shows the artificial increase of the population of Western Thrace during 1920—1928 due to this fatal displacement of population. This displacement, however, did not push forward the economic life of this country. On the contrary the economic situation there became extensive, because the Greeks are generally neither agricultural nor cattle raising people like the Bulgarians who are the basic population of the province. D = Dedeagatch, K = Kavalla, Ko = Gjumurdjina, Dr = Drama, Sal. = Salonica.

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[1]) After the Peace Conference of San Remo, 19-26. IV. 1920.

563 167 banishment and economic spoliation against the Bulgarians. It brought them misery, sickness and death. This is a long story and space prevents us to tell it even in brief on this occasion (Fig. 10).

Bulgarians were exiled to the islands of Crete, Milos, Citera, Mitilene and Chios and to some parts of the Greek main land. Nearly 25,000 Bulgarians were banished in this manner. Many of them died of hunger and distress — particularly old people and children. Two hundred persons died in the village of Domus-Déré. Those who were lucky to return alive found their villages ruined and pillaged. Colonel Korf and Major Deroover, who were delegates in the mixed Bulgarian-Greek Commission on expatriations, reported: „Those who were sent to exile formed lines, which continued for weeks, during the months of February and March of 1923. The expatriation from each village was effected without delay. The unprepared villagers started on their jorney without any personal effects, abandoning their property and their crops. About 15,000 to 20,000 families were thus exiled to the islands and Thesally. To save themselves from exile many took refuge in Bulgaria... Banished Bulgarians, who managed to survive, were brought back from the islands and from Thesally in the fall of 1923. Their condition was destitute and lamentable. They pleaded that Bulgaria should open her frontiers and accept them on her territory, because they found their homes empty and were dying of hunger and cold."

727 563 **37. Modern Greek Cruelties.** Basil II Vulgaroctonos or the „Slayer of Bulgarians", in 1014, bored the eyes of 15,000 Bulgarian captives and left, for each group of 100, one single eyed guard to lead them. Greek cruelty towards anything that savours of Bulgarian, has not diminished since that time. Because of the generally milder and more humane attitude of the world of to-day, Greek cruelty should appear to have been softened a bit; but this really is a delusion, because, on the contrary, the Greeks manifest now a days the same inclinations.

The investigation made by a commission of the Carnegie Endowment after the mutual accusations of cruelties after the Balkan War, 1912-1913, has furnished us with an abundant evidence of Greek cruelty, which explains the Bulgarian depopulation of Western Thrace. We find the following in the intro-

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duction to the repport of this investigations whose acting Director was Nicolas Murrey Butler:[1]) 727 563

„The circumstances which attended the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 were of such character as to fix upon them the attention of the civilized world. The conflicting reports as to what actually occured before and during these wars, together with the persistent rumors often supported by specific and detailed statements as to violations of the laws of war by the several combatants, made it important that an impartial and exhaustive examination should be made of this entire episode in contemporary history... It was with this motive and for this purpose that the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace constituted in July, 1913, an International Commission of Inquiry to study the recent Balkan Wars and to visit the actual scenes where fighting has taken place and the territory which has been devasted...[2])

We give the following extract from the repport:

„(p. 103). The Commission regrets that the attitude of the Greek governement toward its work has prevented it from obtaining any official answer to the charges which emerge from this evidence. The broad fact that the whole of this Bulgarian region, for a distance of about one hundred miles, was devasted and nearly (p. 104) every village burned, admits of non denial... No verdict which is based on the evidence collected by the Commission could be more severe than that which Greek soldiers have pronounced upon themselves. It happened that on the eve of the armistice (July 27) the Bulgarians captured the baggage of the Nineteenth Greek infantry regiment at Dobrinishte (Razlog). It included its post-bags...

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[1]) Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars; publ. by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Intercourse and Education; publication No 4; Washington D. C., 1914.

[2]) The Presidence of this International Commission was entrusted to Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, Senator of France, who had represented his country at the First and Second Hague Conference of 1899 and 1907; *Members of the Commission: Austria — Dr. Josef Redlich*, Prof. of Public Law, University of Vienna; Germany — Dr. Walter Schückling, Prof. of Law at the University of Marburg; Great Britain — Francis W. Hirst, Esq., Editor of The Economist an Dr. H. N. Brailsford, journalist; Russia — Prof. Paul Milioukoff, Member of the Douma; United States — Dr. Samuel T. Dutton, Prof. in Teachers' College, Columbia University,

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The soldiers' letters reguire no commentary. Some of the writers boast of the cruelties practiced by the Greek army. Others deplore them. The statements in fact (see Appendix C, No 51) are simple, brutal, and direct, and always to the same effect. These soldiers all state that they everywhere burned the Bulgarian villages. Two boast of the massacre of prisoners of war. One remarks that all the girls they met were violated. Most of the letters dwell on the slaughter of incombatants, including women and children. These few extracts, each from a separate letter, may suffice to convey their general terror:

„By order of the King we are setting fire to all the Bulgarian villages because the Bulgarians burned the beautiful town of Serres, Nigrita, and several Greek villages.[1])

„We have shown ourselves far more cruel than the Bulgarians... Here we are burning the villages and killing the Bulgarians, both women and children... We took only a few (prisoners), and these we killed, for such are the orders we have received.., We have to burn the villages — such is the order — slaughter the young people and spare only the old people and the children... What is done to the Bulgarians is indescriptible; also to the Bulgarian peasants. It was a butchery. There is not a Bulgarian town or village but is burned... We massacre all the Bulgarians wo fall into our hands and burn the villages... Of the 1200 prisoners we took at Nigrita, only forty-one remain in the prisons, and everywhere we have been we have not left a single root of this race... We picked out their eyes (five Bulgarian prisoners) while they were stil alive... The Greek army sets fire to all the villages where there are Bulgarians and massacres all it meets. ... God knows where this will end."

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[1]) Cf. ibid. p. 94: „The cases against the Bulgarians which remains after critical examination of the evidence relating to Dexato, Serres and Demir-Hissar is sufficiently grave. In each case the Bulgarians acted under provocation and in each case the accusation is grossly exagerated, but their repricals were non the less laxles and unmeasured. It is fair, however, to point out that these three cases, even on the worst view which may be taken by them, are far from supporting the general statements of some Greek writers, that the Bulgarians in their withdrawl from southern Macedonia and western Thrace, followed a general policy of devastation and massacre. They held five considerable Greeco-Turkish towns in this area and many smaller place — Drama, Kavala, Xanthi, Gumurdjina and Dedeagatch. In none of these did the Bulgarians burn and massacre, through some facts of violence occured."

„These letters relieve us of the task of summing up the evidence. From Kukush to the Bulgarian frontier the Greek army devasted the villages, violated the women, and slaughtered the noncombatant men. The order to carry out reprisals was evidently obeyed. We repeat, however, that these reprisals began before the Bulgarian provocation. A list of Bulgarian villages burned by the Greek army which will be found in Apendix C (No 52) convey some measure of this ruthless devastation. At Serres Bulgarians destroyed 4000 (p. 106) houses in the conflagration which followed the fighting in the streets. The ruin of this considerable town has impressed the imagination of the civilized world. Systematically and in cold blood the Greeks burned one hundred and sixty Bulgarian villages and destroyed at least 16.000 Bulgarian homes. The figures need no commentary."

A large part of the population fled to Bulgaria. Considerable part of them were butchered or drowned in the sea like Bostandjieff, the Secretary of the Salonica municipality and the Vicar of the Bulgarian Archbishorpric at Salonica, the Archimandrite Eulogius. The latter was a highly educated man, having studied at an eclesiastical high school in Austria-Hungary and then in Paris[1]). — The Archimandrite Eulogius lived his last on June 18/July 1.[1])

A witness described the scene of the murder of Reverend Father Eulogius in the following words:[2])

„We were a number of soldiers on board the steamer Catherine. I happened to stand a little apart. The Greek soldiers ordered our people to go down into the hold. When I found myself alone I was afraid of being thrown out of the ship and held my breath. At this moment the Vicar of our Archibishopric, the Rev. Father Eulogius, was brought up and two Greek soldiers having hastily robbed him transfixed him with their bayonets and threw him into the sea. I saw his long black hair floating for some time on the water, and then everything disappeared."

Considerable part of the Bulgarian population was butchered or drowned like Bostandjieff or Rev. Father Eulogius.

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[1]) Ibid. p. 189.
[2]) Ibid. p. 191.

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or interned on the island of Thrakiri and died there in martyrdom.

The town of Kukush (Kikis) and 30 villages of this country were among the inhabitated localities which were rased to the ground. The three villages of Negovan, Ravna and Bogoroditza in the vicinity of Salonica were also burned.

The fact that the main streets of all Macedonian and Thracian towns are named after Basil II, the Slayer of Bulgarians, shows how little the Greek has advanced in the last quarter of a century. There was a street even in Salonica, which was named after King Constantine Voulgaroctonos (Slayer of Bulgarians), who ordered the butchery of Bulgarians in 1914 and the burning of their villages.

38. The Greek „Voulgarophaghi", 1913.

We read in the report of the Carnegie Investigation Commission the following [1]);

„The Greek army went into the war, its mind inflamed with anger and contempt. A gaudily colored print, which we saw in the streets of Salonica and Pireaus, eagerly bought by the Greek soldiers returning to their homes, reveals the depth of the brutality to which this race hatred had sunk them. It shows a Greek evzone (highlander) holding a living Bulgarian soldier with both hands, while he gnaws the face of his victim with his teeth, like some beast of prey. It is entitled the Bulgarophagos (Bulgar-Eater), and is adorned with the following verses:

„The sea of fire which boils in my brest
And calls for vengeance with the savage waves of my soul,
Will be quenched when the monsters of Sofia are still.
And the life blood extinguishes my hate.

„Another popular battle picture shows a Greek soldier gouging out the eyes of a living Bulgarian. A third shows as an episode of a battle scene the exploit of the Bulgar eater."

„As an evidence of the feeling which animated the Greek army these things have their importance. They mean, in plain words, that Greek soldiers wished to believe that they and their comrades perpetrated bestial crueltics. A print seller

[1]) Ibid. p. 95-96.

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who issued such pictures in a western country would be held guilty of a gross libel on its army." (Fig. 11). 727 563

Fig. 11. This picture is borowed from the Report of the International Commission (Carnegie Endowment) pp. 96-98 and shows the Greek „Bulgarophaghi" or „Eaters of Bulgarians", as they themselves have given the picture. Bulgarian villages in flames are seen in the background. (1913).

But let us stop at that. The records of the injustices and cruelties, committed for ages against the Bulgarians, are enormous and voluminous.. So that we should not think of Bulgaria, like many a casual sentimentalist do, as only the land of the sweet scent of roses. Bulgaria is the land of great trials and tribulations which need be known to anyone who has 000

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000 the desire to appreciate this small and suffering country and to develop a respect for her, which she certainly deserves.

39. Bulgaria is the Land of Peace and Labour. The present state of Bulgaria's development is not due to the wealth of any natural resources, as this is the case with other countries more fortunate than she in that respect. She owes her advancement to the hard labour of her population. Hardly any traveller has crossed over her territory and failed to observe sympathetically the distinguishing traits
181 of Bulgaria. Here is how Cyprien Robert, describes the Bulgarians:[1])

„The martial abilities, their wealth and commercial experience made the Bulgarian people so dreadful in the beginning of the Middle Ages; to-day, however, the Bulgarian nation is the least prone and given to luxury as well as the most peace loving among European nations. All who know the present day Bulgarian praise him for his peace virtues. The Bulgarian is ready to render you a favor, he is industrious and has the peculiar ability to act with caution. But once, having made up his mind he goes on to do things with an amazing perseverence supported by an athletic force, which enables him to resist the greatest danger without boasting and with composure. Though the most oppressed of all the other people on the peninsula, the Bulgarians have not succumbed to humiliation and distress. As in all times, the look of the Bulgarian to-day is proud, his robust stature is high and handsome. His honesty is above and beyond reproach. You could safely entrust him with any amount of money and you may be sure that it would be delivered to its destination. People blame him that he trembles at the sight of the Turks. The Bulgarian does not tremble, but when he realizes that all resistance is futile, as a reasonable person, he knows how to submit".

186 Another traveller at the time of the Bulgarian insurrection of 1877, James Baker,[2]) writes the following: „... A peculiar trait of the history of Bulgaria was the great current of national feeling, which obsessed and continues to dominate

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[1]) Cyprien Robert, op. cit. p. 240, a. al.

[2]) J. Baker, Die Türken in Europa; autoris. deutsche Ausgabe. 2-e Auflage. Stuttgart. 1879. p. 24.

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the consciousness of this people. We do not hear of Bulgarian uprisals against their sovereigns, on the contrary, they always appear as a united nation fighting for its independence. This force of united behavior and of national consciousness makes a remarkable impression on any traveller, who visits the Bulgarians to-day. Each of them would come forward, willingly and in earnest, to offer himself as a sacrifice to the welfare of the nation. This is an attitude fraught with great potentialities and possibilities, provided it is guided properly". 186

Henry C. Barkley,[1]) a British civil engineer, was in Turkish time in charge of the construction of the railroad Tcherna Voda—Constanza (ca 1860) and had an ample opportunity to observe Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks and others at work. He writes: „Amongst the natives proper, far the best and most intelligent workmen were the Bulgars, and with proper education and good example they were capable of doing anything. Unfortunately, at present the only education for the Bulgar is found in the offices and shops of the Levantine merchants in Constantinople and other large towns, where commercial morality is so corrupt that they have no option but to turn out rogues... There are no schools, except those attached to the Greek church, where, I believe, such folly as teaching honesty is unthought of. For this reason the better people are to be avoided as much as possible, but there will be found a great deal of sterling good among the village peasants that only require development. They are steady, quiet, hardworking set of people, patient and unresisting under the Turkish yoke, but at the same time not cringling or servile like their brother-Christians, the Greeks and Armenians. And I have no doubt that were the Turks banished out of Bulgaria, the Bulgars would soon convert into one of the finest and most prosperous countries in Eastern Europe. As much as possible we employed these men on the line, and after years some of them became fitters, cleaners, locomotive drivers, and in fact filled all the places of skilled workmen and it is wonderful to think how they excelled, when one bears in mind how few had been their advantages. 181

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[1]) Henry C. Barkley, civil engineer, Between the Danube and the Black Sea or five years in Bulgaria, London, 1876, pp. 174—176.

000 „We had large gangs of Turks but they are never really good workmen, owing to their utter inability to stick long to one thing. As the poaching loafer of a country village often becomes quite a hero in such an emergency as a fire or an inundation, so is the Turk good at a pinch, but for steady continuous work give me the Bulgar. Rare indeed was it to find a Greek or Armenian on the line with a pick in his hand, and never if the foreman were worth his salt. The Greek may just earn his bread as servant or office-boy, or by keeping a drinking shop, but never by hard, steady labour..."

175 **40. A Synopsis of the History of Bulgaria (Appendixes I, A-E).**[2/1] Many history books attribute greater significance to the martial exploits of the Bulgarian kings, rather than to their civilizing activity. This fact has in a way worked against a proper understanding of the real meaning and spirit of Bulgarian history. The Bulgarian people are bold and forceful in their national consciousness, but their importance goes much further and by the measure of this significance they should be compared to other Balkan peoples. We observe a sequence in the development of Bulgarian history, which is not at all accidental. A bold and united tribe invaded the Balkan Peninsula (679). Its military life was well organized. Taking advantage of the division and instability of the fluid Slavic tribes, who had invaded the peninsula before them, they set to win them to the acceptance of the idea of a uniformed and powerful state and to remove the foreign Byzantine and Greek element from the peninsula, in order to turn it into an attractive and satisfactory living space for them. Asparuch (645 — 702) is the conqueror and founder of this state. Krum (802 — 814) is the legislator who ushered in the second period of assimilation. Boris (866 — 889) is the christener of the people. The introduction of Christianity is the third period of assimilation. In the time of Boris and Simeon (866 — 927) we have the third element of assimilation,—the writings which are the beginning of Slavic church literature and culture. This factor gave birth to the Bulgarian national church and the Bulgarian nation owes to it its preservation during the most arduous times of its existence
000 later. This sequence in the development of the Bulgarian nation reveals to us the spirit of Bulgarian history. The centuries

2/1 [See pp. 105(A)-109(B)--Analyst]

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long struggle against Byzantium is not merely a military race and competition. The Bulgarians proved themselves endowed of more vital potentialities, both in their warfare and in their cultural advancement.

Much hatred and blood, however, was wasted on this peninsula. The only way to attain coordinated action among the peninsular people should be by recognising the rights of the Bulgarians, who are the most numerous among them. This has been proved in the past and it will be the sign of the future.

Bulgaria is not simply a land of roses, as she is presented to us by casual observers. Bulgaria is the land of great suffering and hard labour. We will have a real respect and sympathy for her hardships and her hard toil, if we take the trouble to understand and know her in the proper light and manner.

II. A Glance at the Present.

41. What Distinguishes Present Day Bulgaria. The title of this book raises the question, what are the other features that distinguish Bulgaria at present, if she is not only a country of roses. We have answered this question to a large extent in our study so far. The reader will remember that besides being the land of roses, Bulgaria was the cradle of Slav literature and civilization. Her tempestuous history manifested a remarkable sequence in that she became the main cause for the dissolution of the Byzantine Empire, due to ceaseless wars she waged against the peoples who were foreign to that part of the European continent. Bulgaria is the country of industrious people, who are attached to the land and work forward to spiritual enlightenment and cultural advancement. The Bulgarian people were the first nation in Europe to organize in an independent and uniform state. They were first to accept Christianity and as a symbol of their aspiration for independence they founded their own national church manned and managed by their own folk. Such and many others are the features that justify our title of the book. But one may say that present conditions in the world

000 require something more from Bulgaria. Just as Greece can not rely on the past glory of ancient Hellas, so Bulgaria will have to make a showing of her present day accomplishments in spiritual and material culture. The consideration of this extensive subject does not lend itself to the limited space of our treatise and per force our study will appear incomplete and concise.

131 **42. Some Geography.** May we remind the reader again of the peculiar position which Bulgaria occupies in the Balkan Peninsula. This fact, of itself, is explanatory of much that pertains to the subject. Most of the territorial waters of Bulgaria flow to the Aegean Sea (43%), the rest of the water supply empties in the Black Sea (15%), and in the Danube (42%). Bulgaria belongs to the Aegean part of the peninsula and is separated from the Aegean Sea by an artifical narrow strip of coast land. A large section of Bulgarian territory, the region of the Rhodope mountains, slopes towards this sea. Its Bulgarian population there is subjected to starvation because of the frequent and sudden periodical obstructions interfering with this natural outlet to the free sea. This Bulgarian slice of land changed hands four times since 1878 (Fig. 6).[1] The frontage of Bulgaria towards the south sea is so outrageously blocked, that it constitutes the main bone of contention and trouble for the peace in the Balkans.

The Western part of Bulgaria, including her capital, is the geographical focus of the peninsula aud the main dividing line of its road communications (Fig. 1, 2 and 3).[2]

Unfortunately, Bulgaria is the crossroad to the neighbouring continents, Asia and Africa. This fact itself has had much to do with the formation of Bulgarian character, it has determined Bulgaria's history. Recent historical events of the First and Second World Wars are a good evidence of this fact. The invading Barbarians and later the Crusaders passed over the roads through Bulgaria: Bulgaria is the bridgeland between the Danube aud the Aegean Sea. She is squeezed between these two great water routes and is helpless in overcoming the enormous pressure of communications from the northern and southern part of eastern Europe. This is due to two main reasons: first, because of lack of bridges over the Danube (Fig. 3),[3] this

1 [See cat 116, p 40--Analyst]
2 [See cat 116, pp 9, 10, 12--Analyst]
3 [See cat. 116, p 12--Analyst]

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

most important river in Europe and second, because of the 131
policy of the Great Powers which blocked the routes of this large hinterland of the Aegean Sea to its sea ports.

All who seek to understand the position of Bulgaria 133
should remember that from the central point of the peninsula,

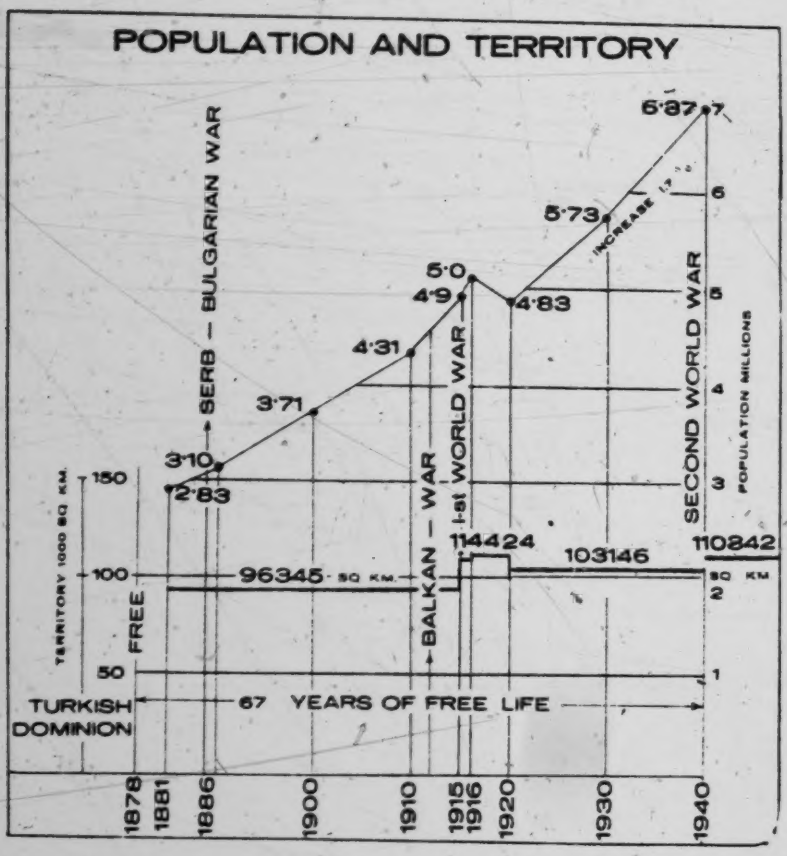

Fig. 12.

around the highest mountain peak of Moussala 2925 m. = 9597 133
feet), spring the main Balkan rivers flowing in all directions (like Maritsa, Mesta. Strouma, Iskar), and in close proximity — the main affluents of the Vardar and Morava rivers (Fig. 2).1

The country's diversity of soil and climate afford conditions for an intensive economic life and production. The levels

1 [See p. 10 -- Analyst]

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

133 of elevation given for the territory before 1940 (103.146 sq. km.[1]) are:

500 m. above sea level	64.5 %
500 to 1000 m. above sea level	22.9 %
1000 and more above sea level	12.6 %

The distribution of elevations is favorable for agriculture, cattle-raising and forestry. The well-watered vast planes sloping properly assure an intensive cultivation of valuable food and industrial cultures. The plane of Plovdiv is 4.470 sq. kilometers and has an elevation of 200 meters above sea level, the plane of Stara-Zagora is 1583 sq. km. at an elevation of 160 meters above sea level and the Sofia plateau is 550 m. above sea level with a surface of 1185 sq. km. Then we have the huge and fertile Danube plane which runs along the whole course of the river.

162

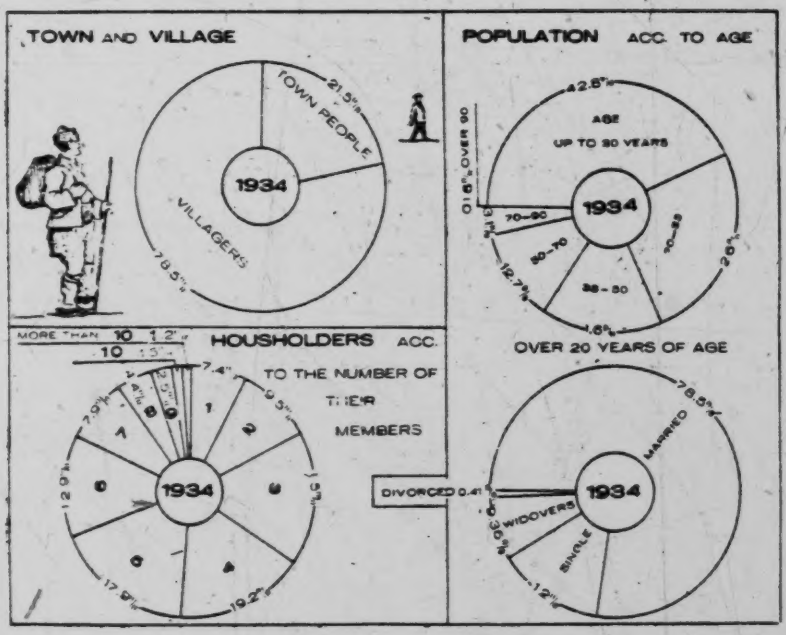

Fig. 13.

[1]) 1 sq. mile = 2.59 sq. km.

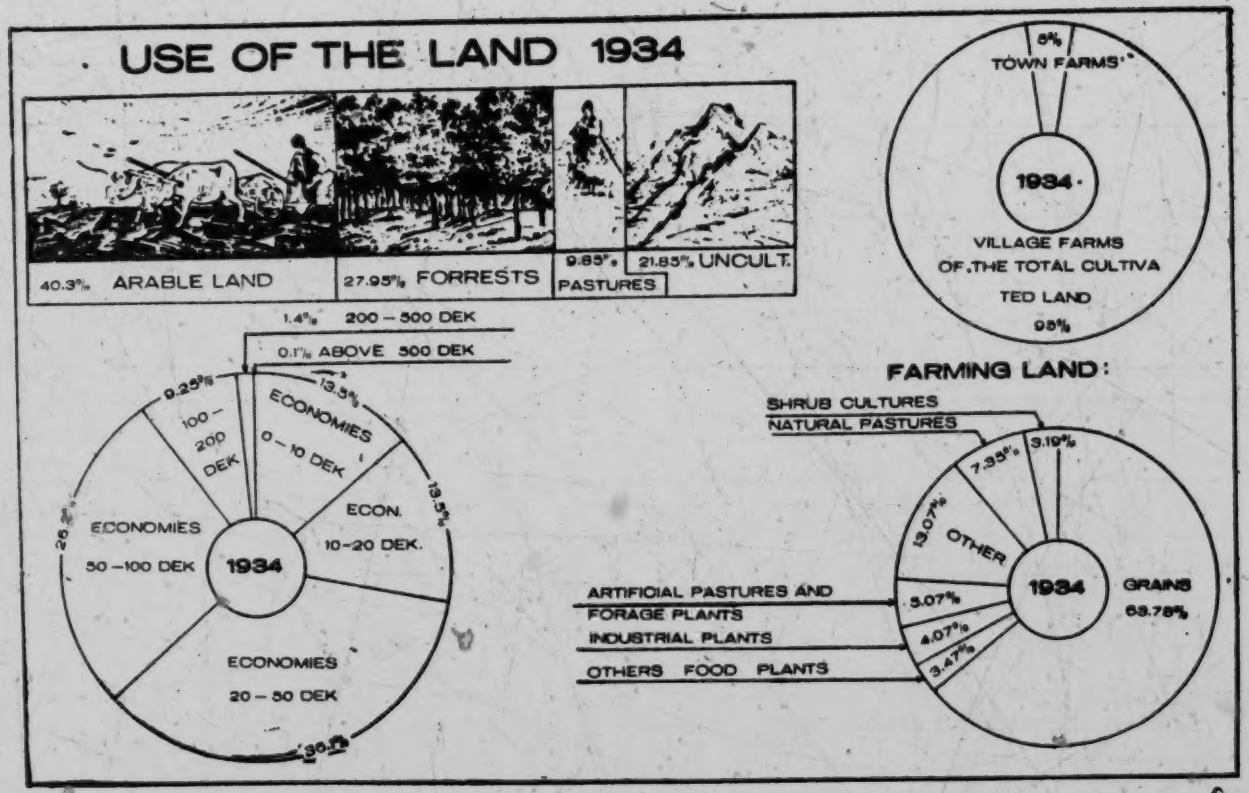
USE OF THE LAND 1934
40.3% ARABLE LAND
27.95% FORRESTS
9.85% PASTURES
21.85% UNCULT.
8% TOWN FARMS
1934
VILLAGE FARMS OF THE TOTAL CULTIVATED LAND 95%
1.4% 200 – 500 DEK
0.1% ABOVE 500 DEK
9.25% 100 – 200 DEK
13.5% ECONOMIES 0 – 10 DEK
13.5% ECON. 10-20 DEK.
26.2% ECONOMIES 50 –100 DEK
1934
ECONOMIES 20 – 50 DEK
30.2%
FARMING LAND:
SHRUB CULTURES
NATURAL PASTURES
7.35%
3.19%
13.07% OTHER
ARTIFICIAL PASTURES AND FORAGE PLANTS
INDUSTRIAL PLANTS
OTHERS FOOD PLANTS
5.07%
4.07%
3.47%
1934
GRAINS 63.78%

Fig. 14.

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

131 Bulgaria extends on the parallel 5° 42′ 20″ (average latitude 43° North), on the meridian 2° 58′ 58″ (average longitude 25° East), is nearly as large as Hungary and the State of Ohio, USA, and has to-day a territory of 110.842 sq. km. = 42.800 sq. mi.) and a population (1940) of 6.307.000 inhabitants (estimated 1945 — 6,9 millions).

162

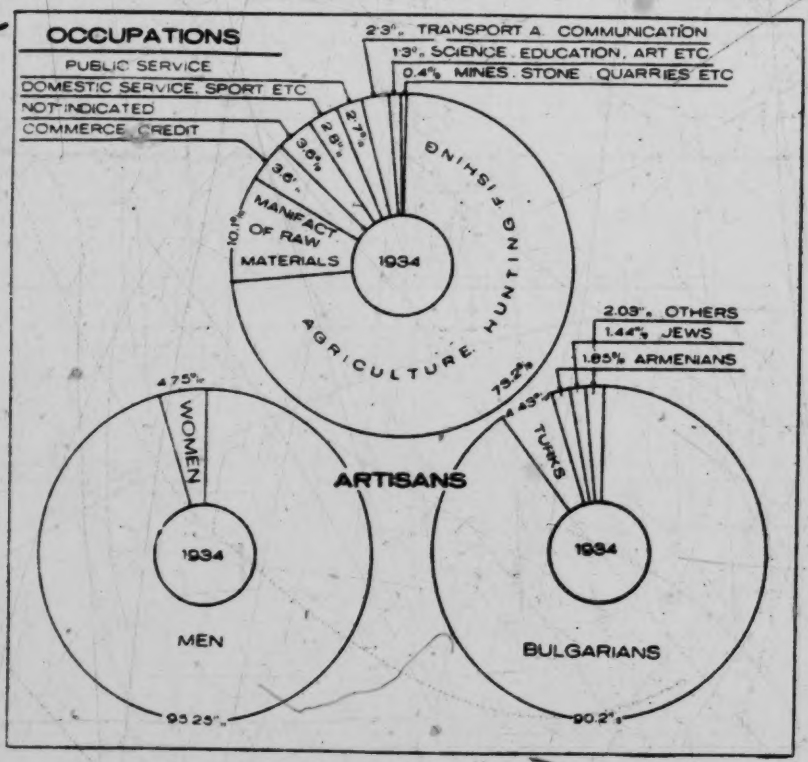

Fig. 15.

43. Bulgaria is a Peasant Country. 78.5% of the inhabitants of Bulgaria live in rural communities and 21.5% live in cities. No essential change has taken place in this structure of Bulgaria's population in recent times:

	1880	*1935*
City population	19.3%	21,48%
Village population	80.7%	79.52%

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

These figures show how strongly the people are attached to the cultivation of the land. The background of Bulgarian culture was and still is agricultural labour. 162

44. Bulgaria is a Land of small Ownerships. This is the Background of her Democracy.

Let us show the variety of occupations in Bulgaria. The occupations of 1.284.993 households [1]) in Bulgaria are distributed as follows:

	Households		%
Agriculture	838.899	or	65.2
Manufacture of materials	160.000	„	12.4
Commerce and credit	61.518	„	4.8
Public work and service	38.762	„	3.0
Transport and communications	36.682	„	2.9
Science and education	20.114	„	1.7

The distribution of land property will be shown in the figures below. The total of private properties being 42.810.815 dekars equal to 100%, the distribution is as follows: 423

Husbandries up to 10 decares [2])	1.3 %
„ from 10 to 20 decares	4.0 %
„ „ 20 „ 30 „	6.6 %
„ „ 30 „ 50 „	18.1 %
„ „ 50 „ 100 „	36.9 %
„ „ 100 „ 150 „	17.0 %
„ „ 150 „ 200 „	7.3 %
„ „ 200 „ 300 „	5.2 %
„ „ 300 „ 500 „	2.0 %
„ „ 500 and more	1.6 %

Since at present Bulgaria could not rely on more guaranteed sources of income for her economy, than those which are connected with her agriculture; along with the efforts laid for the improvement of crafts and industries, the Government takes special care for the agriculture of the country, as the main support of the state and the main background of the democracy of her agrarian population. 241 311

How is land worked in Bulgaria? The private and public land for exploitation being 43.684.381 decares equal to 100%, its distriburion is as follows:

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[1]) This information is based on statistics for 1934, which is the last census year.

[2]) One decare = 0.247 acres. One acre = 4.047 decares.

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

241
311

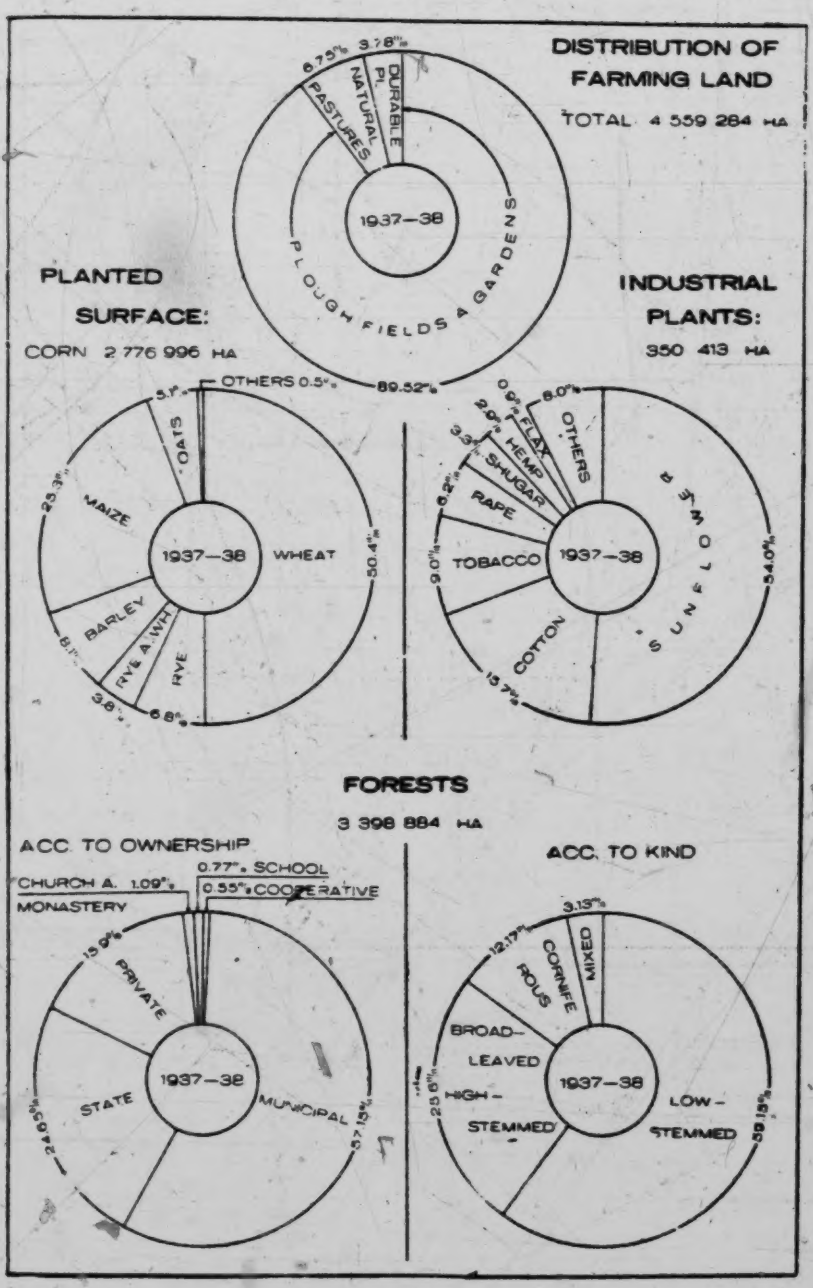


Fig. 16.

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

a. Land for cultivation		89.10 %
plough fields	79.40 %	
vegetable gardens	0.45 %	
vineyards	2.48 %	
vine nurseries	0.008 %	
orchards	0.52 %	
mulberry orchards	0.01 %	
rose fields	0.02 %	
meadows	6.02 %	
b. Land — not cultivated		10.90 %
pastures	1.72 %	
forests	8.49 %	
deserted land	0.69 %	
other	0.06 %	

241
311

45. Agricultural Production. The distribution of the total country's production is given in percentage values, as follows: 241

	1907-1911	*1930-1934*
grain	62.18 %	58.05 %
industrial plants	1.80	9.68
beans, peas etc.	2.26	2.25
potatoes	0.27	0.96
vegetables	1.87	1.78
forage plants	18.58	15.89
vineyards	10.30	8.45
orchards	1.03	1.40
rose fields	0.69	—
mulberry orchards	0.07	0.13

The above figures show how Bulgarian agriculture turned to more accessible marketing and higher priced products. This situation continues at the present time. The change is evident also from the following figures showing the movement of the country's export after 1911 (vidi Fig. 17 and 18):

ANNUAL AVERAGE

	1907-1911	*1937*	*1938*	*1939*
	amounts in metric tons			
grain	539.404	329.476	172.935	176.635
leaf tobacco	2.051	22.798	33.553	34.761
oleaginous seeds	4.222	64.854	—	43.699
miscellaneous (remnants)	118	45.151	38.961	30.965
fresh vegetables	97	7.359	6.842	8.012
dried vegetables	432	1.192	—	4.364
fresh fruit	1.188	39.890	77.196	72.133
canned fruit	300	7.500	23.296	50.746
wine	8	31	87	19.710

241
439

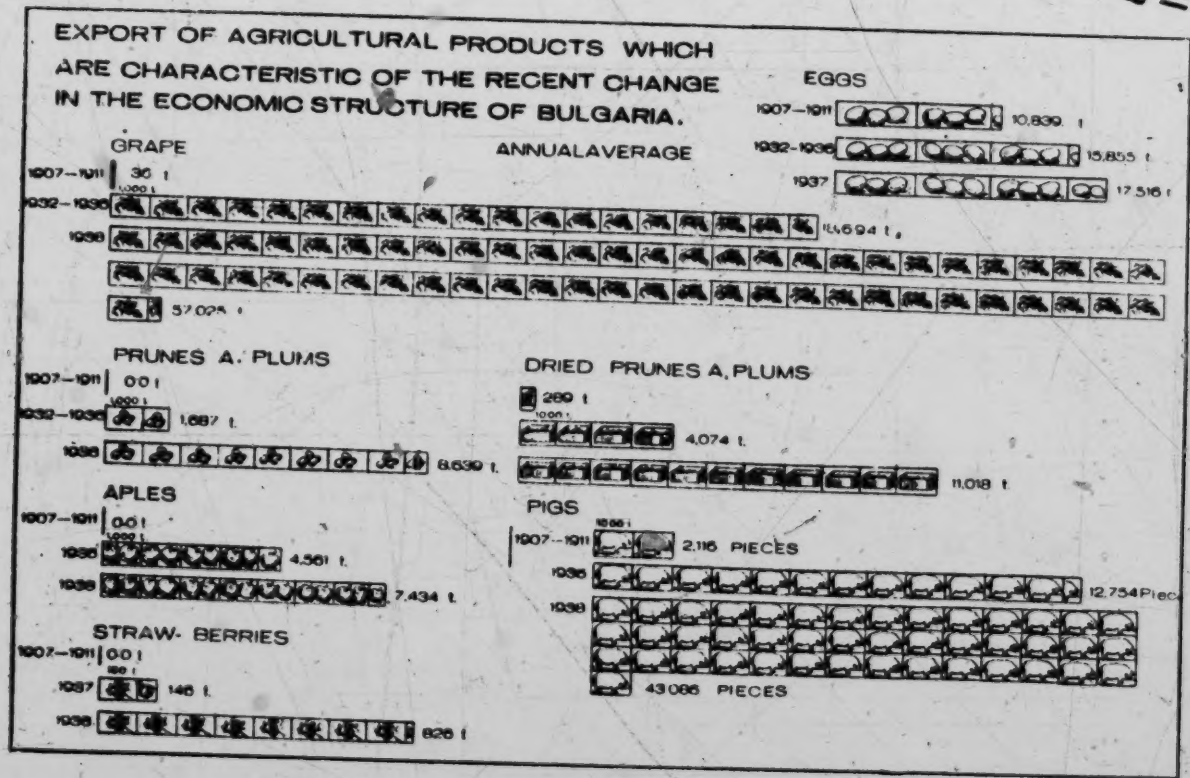


Fig. 17.

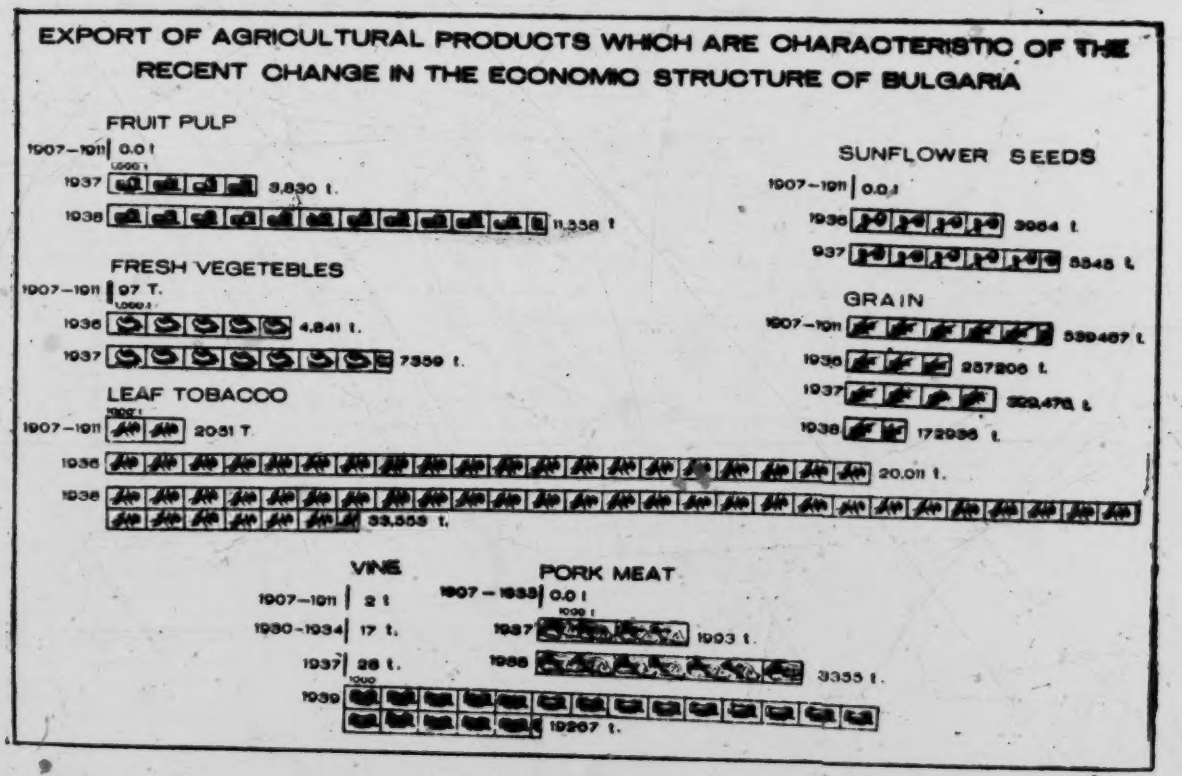


Fig. 18.

2441
439

231 The development of cocoon production is remarkable

	in thousands leva
1938	99.391
1939	109.140
1940	135.134

Domestic animals (big)

horses	531.519
mules	36.648
donkeys	180.695
cattle of the bovine genus	1.497.624
black buffaloes	374.977
Total	2.621.463

This represents 2.04 heads per household. The Government endeavors to increase and improve the breed.

Domestic animals (small)

sheep	8.839.492	
goats	913.088	
swine	901.976	
Total	10.654.556	or 8.3 heads per household.

235

Domestic Fowl

hens and rousters	11.813.579	
geese and ganders	303.616	
turkeys	333.860	
ducks	321.685	
Total	12.772.740	or 9.95 per ordinary household.

439 The increasing fowl and eggs export is an indication of the country's improved poultry farming:

Exported live hens:

	Number	*1000 leva*
1936	293.204	10.426
1937	798.694	27,602
1938	883.378	29.836

Exported dressed domestic fowl:

	Metr. tons	*1000 leva*
1930	872	38.265
1932	2.248	84.248
1934	2.934	86.288
1936	4.367	145.129
1937	5.385	168.762

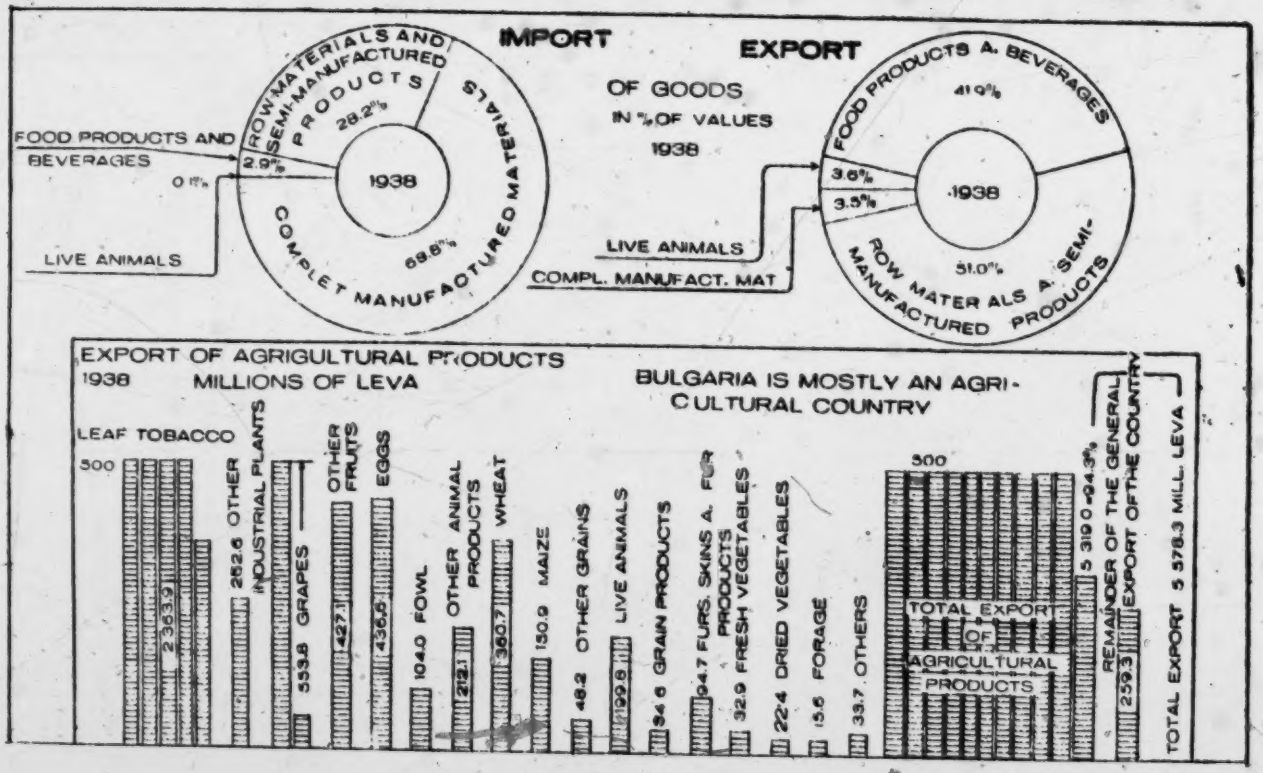

IMPORT
EXPORT
OF GOODS
IN % OF VALUES
1938
FOOD PRODUCTS AND BEVERAGES
2.9%
0.1%
LIVE ANIMALS
ROW MATERIALS AND SEMI-MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS
28.2%
1938
68.8%
COMPLET MANUFACTURED MATERIALS
FOOD PRODUCTS A. BEVERAGES
41.9%
3.6%
3.5%
1938
51.0%
ROW MATER ALS A. SEMI-MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS
LIVE ANIMALS
COMPL. MANUFACT. MAT
EXPORT OF AGRIGULTURAL PRODUCTS
1938 MILLIONS OF LEVA
BULGARIA IS MOSTLY AN AGRI-CULTURAL COUNTRY
LEAF TOBACCO
500
2363.9
262.6 OTHER INDUSTRIAL PLANTS
553.8 GRAPES
427.1 OTHER FRUITS
436.6 EGGS
104.0 FOWL
212.1 OTHER ANIMAL PRODUCTS
380.7 WHEAT
130.9 MAIZE
48.2 OTHER GRAINS
199.8 LIVE ANIMALS
34.6 GRAIN PRODUCTS
94.7 FURS, SKINS A. FUR PRODUCTS
32.9 FRESH VEGETABLES
22.4 DRIED VEGETABLES
15.6 FORAGE
33.7 OTHERS
500
TOTAL EXPORT OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS
5 319.0 = 94.3%
REMAINDER OF THE GENERAL EXPORT OF THE COUNTRY
259.3
TOTAL EXPORT 5 578.3 MILL. LEVA

Fig. 19.

439

S. Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

439

Exported Eggs:

	Metr. tons	*1000 leva*
1934	14.534	341.388
1935	17.490	465.559
1936	17.516	430.106
1937	15.180	436.623
1940	19.593	807.957

[232] The country has a veterinary staff of 660 doctors and 175 assistants, 90% of which are government employees.

46. Export of Agricultural Products in 1938.

	1000 leva
grain	525.146
of which 69% wheat and 29% corn;	
grain products	34.587
92% of which are bran;	
industrial plants	2.626.510
of which 90% leaf to acco, 4.1% oleaginous seeds and 2.4% rose oil;	
forage	15.601
white beans, broad beans, lentils, peas and potatoes	22.435
of which 83% beans;	
vegetables	32.942
of which 83% fresh vegetables;	
fruit	980.867
of which 56.4% grapes, 27.3% canned fruit;	
beverages (131.105.000 leva for 1939!)	950
live stock	199.554
animal products	752.700
of which 58% eggs, 13.8% dressed fowl;	
hides and skins	94.739
miscellaneous	32.884
Total	5.318.915, which

makes 95.4% of the total (5.578.341.000 leva) export of the country (Fig 19).

47. Foreign Trade Development. The rapid increase of the country's foreign trade or rather in the value of the export per capita, is as follows (Fig. 20):

Year	*Millions of inhabitants*	*Foreign trade in mill. gold leva*	*Per capita gold leva*	*Index*
1880	2.82	42.24	14.9	100
1890	3.23	155.60	48.2	323
1912	4.43	369.52	83.4	560
1939	6.25	595.25	95.3	640

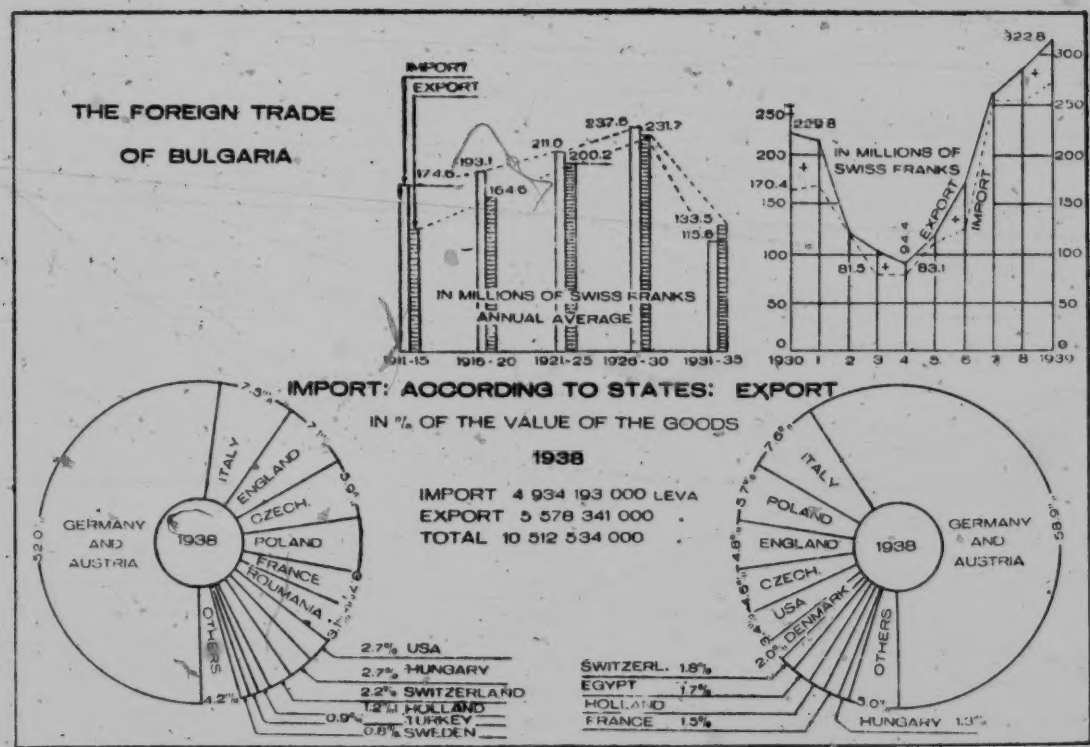

THE FOREIGN TRADE
OF BULGARIA
IMPORT
EXPORT
174.6
193.1
164.6
211.0
200.2
237.6
231.7
133.5
115.6
IN MILLIONS OF SWISS FRANKS
ANNUAL AVERAGE
1911-15
1916-20
1921-25
1926-30
1931-35
229.8
170.4
81.5
94.4
83.1
322.8
IN MILLIONS OF
SWISS FRANKS
EXPORT
IMPORT
1930
1939
IMPORT: ACCORDING TO STATES: EXPORT
IN % OF THE VALUE OF THE GOODS
1938
IMPORT 4 934 193 000 LEVA
EXPORT 5 578 341 000 .
TOTAL 10 512 534 000 .
GERMANY AND AUSTRIA
52.0
ITALY
ENGLAND
CZECH.
POLAND
FRANCE
ROUMANIA
OTHERS
4.2%
2.7% USA
2.7% HUNGARY
2.2% SWITZERLAND
1.2% HOLLAND
0.9% TURKEY
0.8% SWEDEN
SWITZERL. 1.8%
EGYPT 1.7%
HOLLAND
FRANCE 1.5%
HUNGARY 1.3%
5.0%
USA
DENMARK

Fig. 20.

439

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

433 **48. Industry.** Naturally, the industry of Bulgaria is still in its budding state. Its development, however is not artificial, but is determined by the vital needs of the country. Here are some figures (production and solded goods in millions of leva):

	1937	*1938*	*1939*
Mines:			
Number of men-days	2,165.230	2.564.321	2.805.502
Production	495.107	573.086	648.318
Manifacture of raw materials:			
Number of men-days	21.885.257	22.188.657	21.862.592
Goods sold	10.400.032	11.045.943	11.197.577
of which:			
Ceramics:			
Numer of men-days	1.218.806	1.317.019	1.440.678
Produstion	391.138	414.820	490.986
Textile production:			
Number of men-days	7.664.945	7.612.326	7.993.641
Producfion	2.987.025	2.985.340	3.318.399
Food production:			
Number of men-days	8.936.974	8.689.685	7.754.672
Production	4.439.485	4.878.315	5.127.181
Electricity.			
Number of men-days	353.469	390.423	424.853
Production	405.863	430.259	477.760
Furs, hides, skin industry:			
Number of men-days	313.336	320.908	347.673
Production	351.124	296.552	351.138

Coal mining for 1939:

State mines	metr. tons	1.731.000
Private mines	" "	492.000

Distributton of coal:

For domestic purposes (heating)	35 %
" industrial "	33 %
" the railroads	32 %

466 **49. Labour Force of Bulgaria.** The wealth of Bulgaria is the labour of her people. Bulgaria was the first country in Europe to introduce labour conscription. Now it is adopted in almost all European countries. Compulsory labour has much to do with the technical advancement of Bulgaria in recent years:

Year	*Labour conscripts*
1929	16.320
1938	24.309

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

871

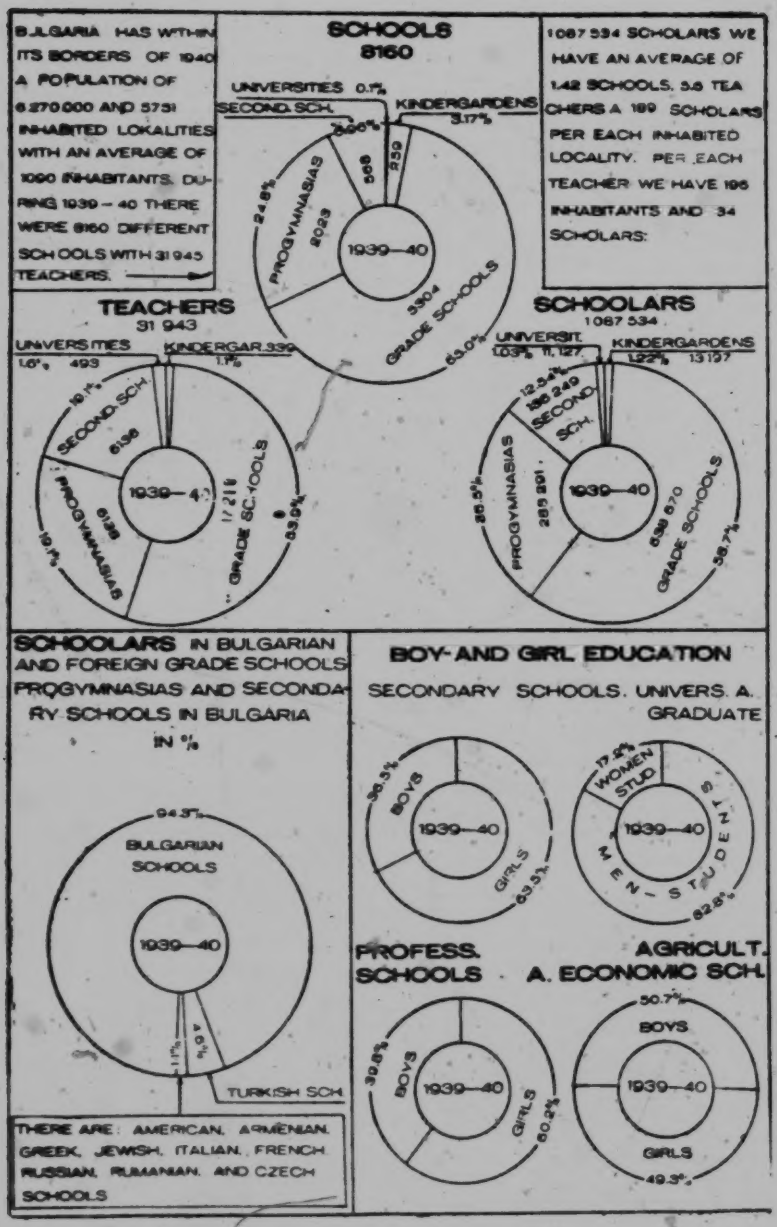


Fig. 21.

S: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

466 We will take as an example the year 1939. During this year the followind work was accomplished:

ground work for new roads	435.5 km.
stone laying for new roads	249.7 "
extensions and repairs	213.5 "
rectifications or modifications of river beds	13.4 "
retain walls	8.1 "
repair of retain walls	1.4 "

total number of men-days 1.230.808.

Compulsory labour was responsible for building most of the difficult railroad lines during recent years and especially

871

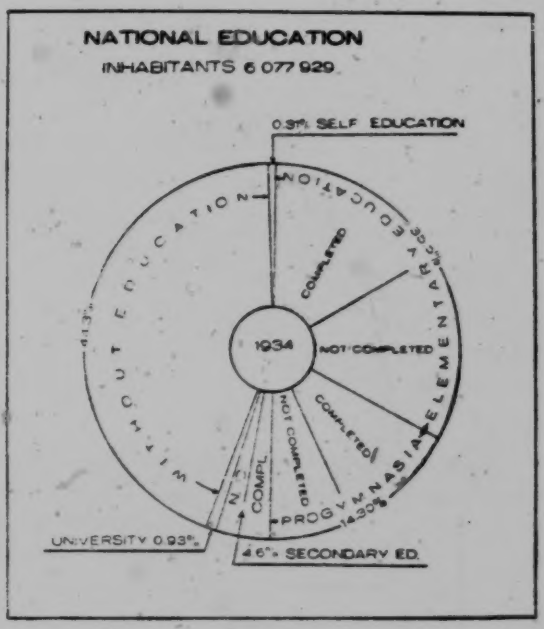


Fig. 22.

466 during the war period. The largest part, for example, of the construction of the railroad running along the Strouma valley in the direction of Western Thrace or Salonica, as well as the railroad line which goes to Macedonia, through difficult ground work and numerous tunnels with artificial equipment, have been accomplished by the labour of draftees.

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

212
871

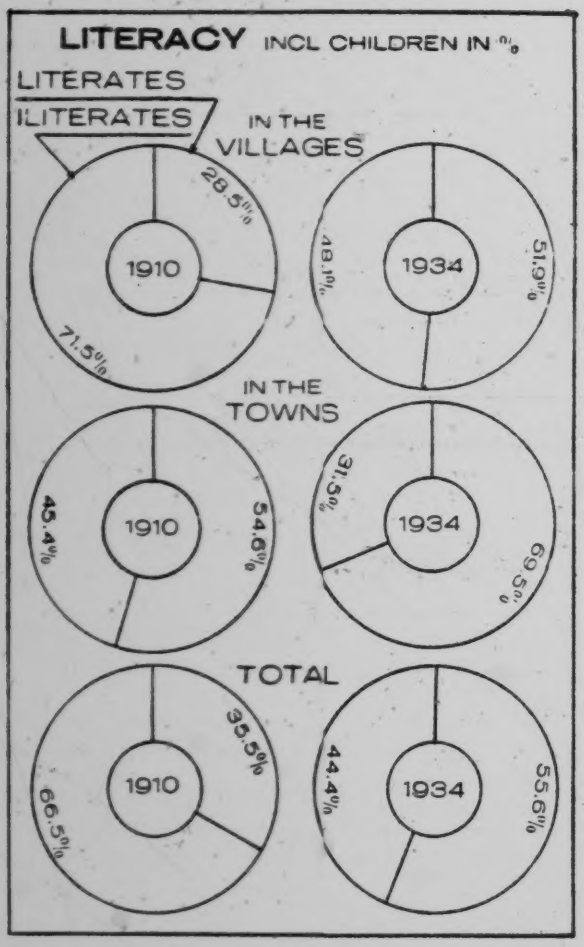


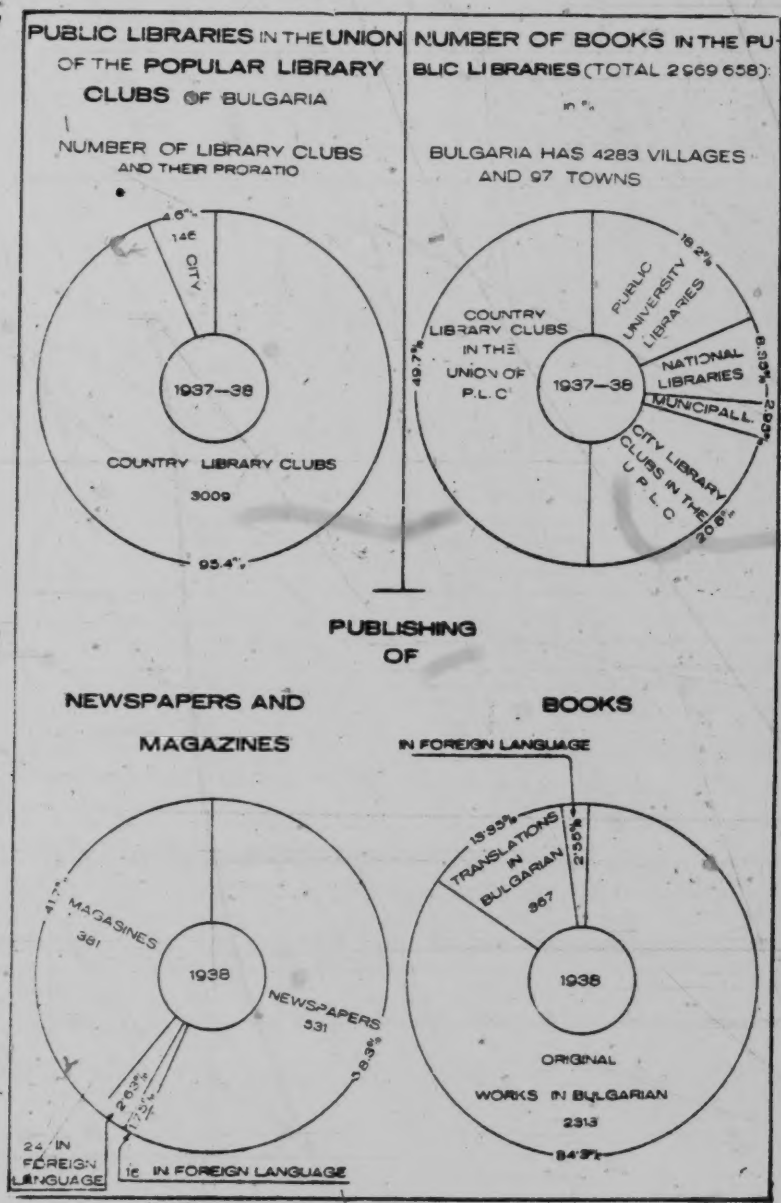
Fig. 23

50. Literacy and Education. If we exclude children under 7 the average percentage would be 68.4 for those who could read and write in Bulgaria. 81% were city residents and 64.8% peasants. If we include all children, then the average for those who could read and write would be as follows:

	1910	*1934*
	%	%
For the rural population	28.5	51.9
For the city population	54.6	69.5
General	33.5	55.6

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

217



214

Fig. 24.

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Particular features of public instruction in schools are given in the drawings (fig. 21-23). Bulgaria could properly boast of a vast system of instruction dating from the time of Turkish political and Greek spiritual dominion and oppression. This national system of public instruction penetrated down to the lowest strata of the population and helped the Bulgarian people to preserve their existence for centuries past. 871

51. Bulgarian Reading Rooms. The Bulgarian reading rooms (libraries) are a national institution for education, which were started during the Turkish domination (1393-1878), when the people guarded and developed their enlightenment with their own means. The national reading rooms to-day are organized in a National Union of Reading Rooms, supported by the State. Supplementing the information given in the drawings (Fig. 24) we will give the following data: 217

The books in the reading rooms are distributed, according to their topics and subject matter, in the following manner for 1938:

	Village reading rooms		*City reading rooms*	
	Number of books	*%*	*Number of books*	*%*
Art and literature	679.885	47.7	269.898	45.3
General works	210,330	14.8	88.987	14.9
Medecine, agriculture, household economy	124,606	8.8	32,704	5.5
History, geography, biography	114,333	8.0	51,501	8.6
Social science	100.415	7.0	60,154	10.1
Mathematics, natural history	32,677	2.3	20,053	3.3
Religion	32,644	2.3	13,401	2.2
Philosophy	30,613	2.2	19,128	3.2
Others	98,705	6.9	40,998	6.9
Total	1,424,208	100.0	596,824	100.0

We have not included in the above statement the books in the municipal libraries, in the large national libraries, supported by the state, as well as in the libraries of the universities and other learned institutions.

52. Cooperative Activity iu Bulgaria We may safely say that Bulgaria is a country of cooperative organizations. This tendency in the economic life of the country is inherited too from the long submission to Turkish authority (1393-1878), which was devoid of any 474

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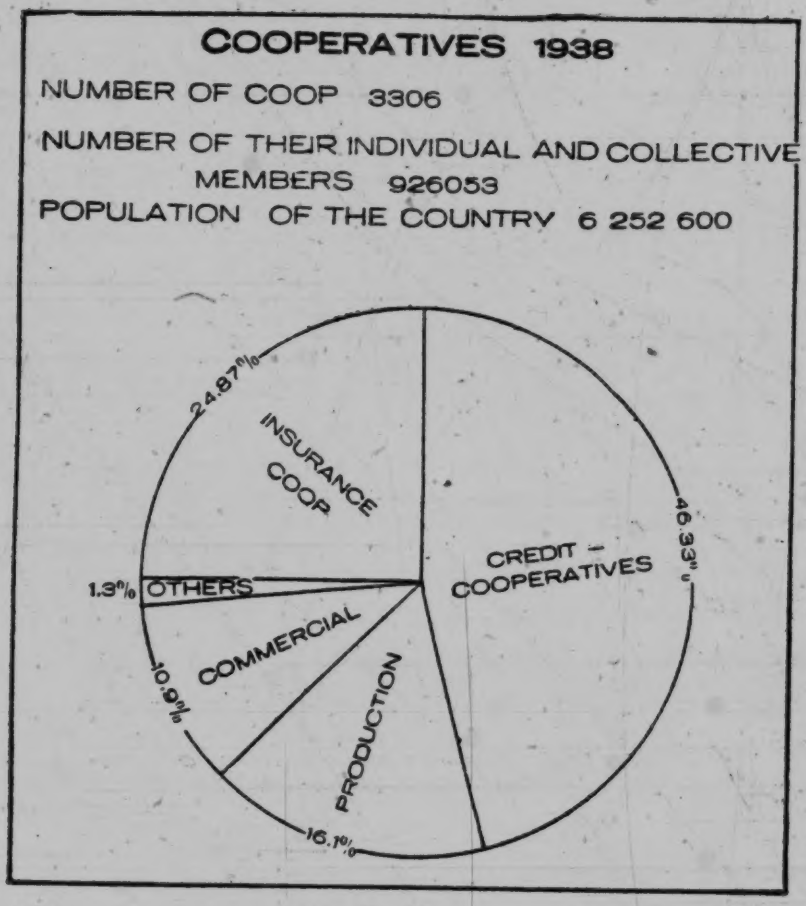

Fig. 25.

feeling of public responsibility. As a reaction to this colourless authoritative attitude developed an inclination towards a wide spread economic organization with public participation, control and responsibility. Here are some general figures regarding Bulgaria's cooperative activity for 1939 (Fig. 25).

	Cooperative societies	
Type of cooperatives	*Number*	*Membership*
Productive	735	200,223
Commercial	278	114,713
Credit	2,386	572,983
Insurance	9	151,747
Public works	30	16,929
Union central offices	64	9,534
Total	3,502	966,149

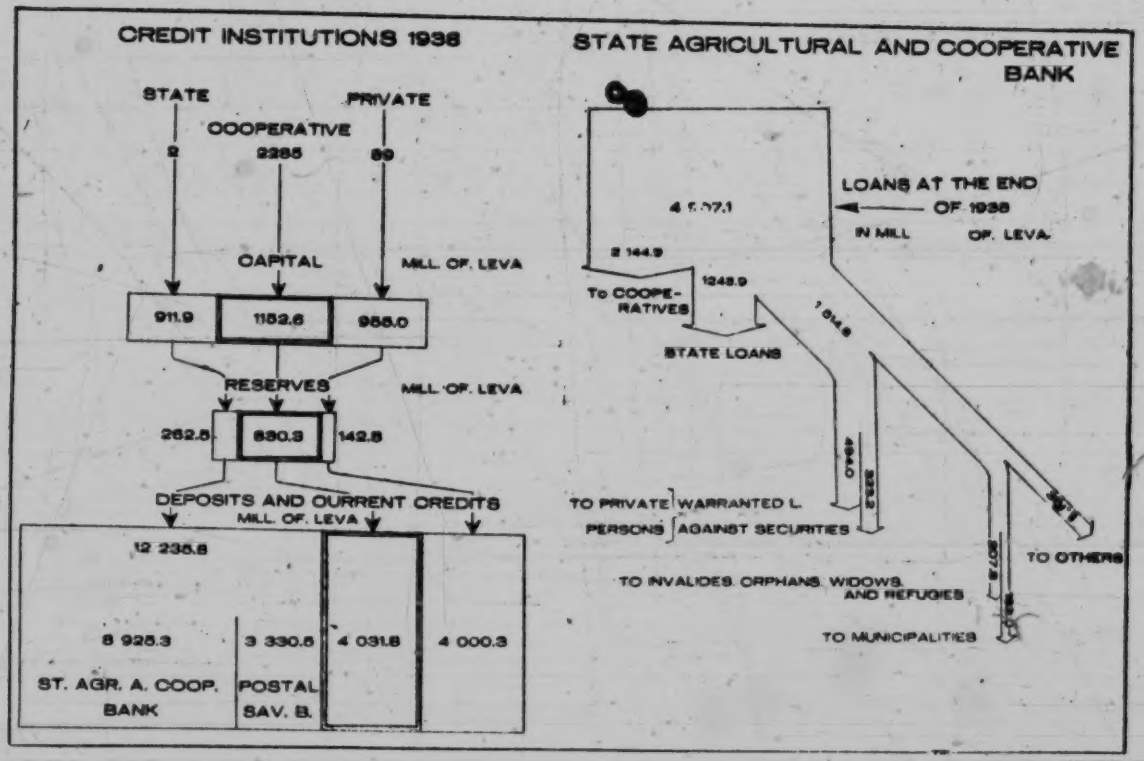

Fig. 26.

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8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

474 With a population of 6.25 millions we have 275 inhabitants per cooperative society, or 1 out of 6.5 inhabitants is a member of a cooperative society. The members of cooperatives make 15.5% of the total population.

745 **53. Public Insurance.** The income from public insurance for 1938 is 281.4 millions leva. The disbursements for accident, sickness, maternity cases, invalidity, old age and unemployment amount to 155.967.000 leva.

496 **54. Bulgarian Railroads.** (Appendix II) At the time of her liberation (1878) Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia (South Bulgaria) received from the Ottoman Empire 542 km. = 336 miles of privately owned railroads. With a territory of 103.000 sq. km. = 39.400 sq. miles and a population of 2.8 millions inhabitants at that time, Bulgaria obtained 5.26 km. railroads per 1000 sq. km. territory and 193 km. per 1 million inhabitants. The average railroad intensity of Europe at that time was respectively 24.5 and 600 km. so that Bulgaria was 4.65 resp. 3.1 times less favorable than Europe in that respect. Bulgaria possesses to day (Dec. 31, 1944) 3,760 km. = 740 miles of railroad lines; this makes 33.6 km. per 1000 sq. km. of territory and 522 km. per 1 million inhabitants.[1]) Consequently Bulgaria, having increased her railroad network 6.95 times, has increased her network intensity 7.1 times in relation to this territory and 2.7 times in relation to her population (the growth of the population is very rapid). Bulgaria is well nigh to catch up with Europe so far as the average density of the railroad network is concerned. We should not fail to underline this fact, because between 1878 and 1945 the growth of Bulgaria's railroad network for the duration of this 67 years has been at the rate 48 km. of railroads per year. At an average cost of 6.4 millions leva per kilometer for railroads, rolling stock, inventory and other equipment, according to prices of 1941, this would represent an expenditure of about 310 millions leva a year, which is quite a significant amount for the limited financial resources of Bulgaria.

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131 [1]) 1945 Bulgaria has a territory of 110.842 sq. km. = 42.800 sq.
161 miles and a population of 6.9 millions. In Fig. 12 read 110.842 instead of 110.342 sq miles.

[See pp. 110(A)-110(B) -- Analyst]

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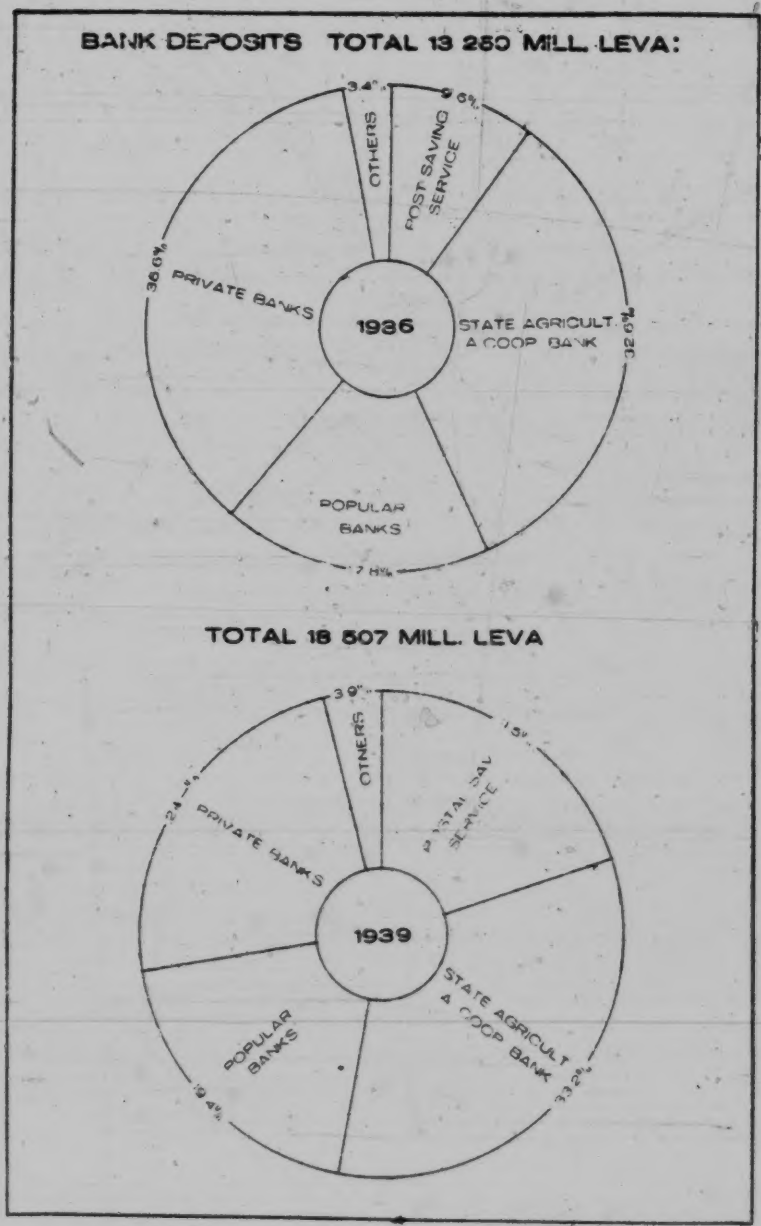

Fig. 27.

496 Of course, the railroad situation in Bulgaria leaves much to be desired and one of the most important and most expensive railroads waits the realization of its construction. A comparison elaborated in 1926 will give a good idea of the eagerness of this small country for railroads. The increase in the number of passengers and the passenger-kilometers covered in travel for a period of 15 years (1911-1926) was 165% for the first and 158% for the second, having at the same time an increase in the length of the railroad network. Suppose we had eliminated this last fact and took into consideration the covered passenger-kilometers per 1 kilometer of opperated railroad, then we would obtain an increase in the intensity of passenger traffic reaching up to 104%, or doubled. This figure is both significant and interesting, because we do not find in the other European railroad administration. Obviously, this situation shows that Bulgaria has not reached a point of saturation in railroad activity.

497 Let us give a comparative idea in regard to passenger traffic:

	Number of passenger in millions			*Passenger-km covered in millions*		
States	*1913*	*1926*	*Increase in %*	*1913*	*1926*	*Increase in %*
France	583	784	34.4	20,637	28,194	36.6
Germany	1,743	1.819	4.35	40,474	42,922	6.1
Belgium	203	225	10.8	4,878	6,184	26.7
Italy	94	115	22.3	—	—	—
Danemark	34	43	26.5	969	1,098	11.7
Bulgaria	3,5 (1911)	9.2	19.2	234 (1911)	605.7	158

Note. Under Bulgaria, the comparison is for 1911 and 1926/7, because if we take the very weak traffic in 1913, the comparison would appear most favorable for her.

The same remarkable increase we observe in the freight traffic also and the comparison for it is as follows:

	Freight in million tons			*Freight covered in million tons — km*		
	1913	*1926*	*Increase + Decrease — in %*	*1913*	*1926*	*Increase + Decrease — in %*
France	243	293.6	+20.8	28,973	41,7.4	+44.3
Germany	450	376.0	—16.4	60,479	58,421	— 3.38
Belgium	61.5	83.0	+30.0	5,290	8,273	+56.4
Italy	41.4	65.2	+57.6	—	—	—
Denmark	9.3	9,4	—	601	633	+ 5.3
Bulgaria	2.04	3,15	+54.5	270.4	497.8	+84.4

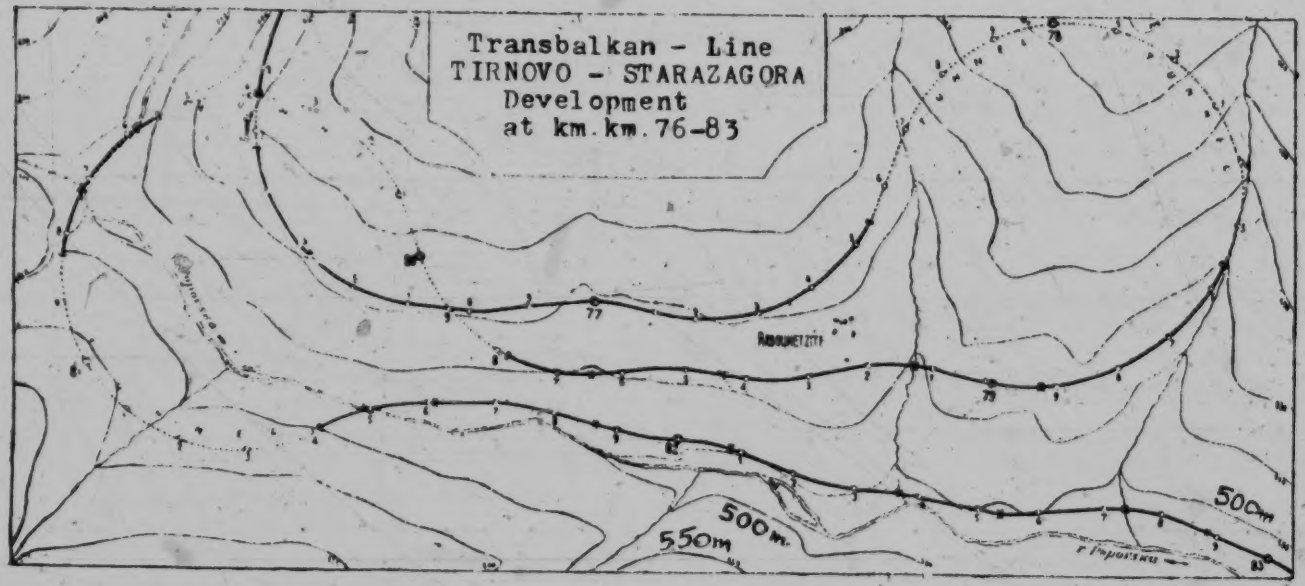
Transbalkan - Line
TIRNOVO - STARAZAGORA
Development
at km.km.76-83
77
78
79
500m
550m
500m

Fig. 28.

496

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

496 [499] The technical skill of Bulgaria in railroad construction stands at a very high level. It does justice and honor to the country's efforts. The railroads are studied and built by Bulgarian railroad engineers and railroad building companies or by the State. As interesting examples of railroad construction, we might point the Trans-Balkan railroad (Fig. 28), as well as the outstanding interesting development of the Rhodope railroad, which runs from the Maritsa valley to the valley of Mesta and the Southern Bulgarian border (Fig. 29).

Unfortunately, Bulgarian railway lines stop short of the Aegean coast at a very close distance to it (Appendix II). The major line from Roussé on the Danube to south of Momchilgrad, which is 414 kilometers long, stopped 30 kilometers short of the Greek frontier and 30 kilometers from there to the Aegean Sea.

How do Bulgarian railways stand as compared to the railways in her neighbouring countries?

States	*Years*	*Railroads kilometers*	*Territory sq. km.*	*Railways per 1000. km. of territory km.*
Bulgaria	1937	3.105	103	34.—
Greece	1935/6	2.650	130	20.4
Yougoslavia	1935	9.471	248	38.2
Romania	1936	11.216	295	38.2

Romania had 4.357 kilometers of railways until 1918. Then she added the Austro-Hungarian railways to make them 11.678 kilometers. In this way, she increased the density of her railway network and acquired the advantage of a modern system of communications. Similarly, Yugoslavia acquired the biggest part of her railroads as a result of the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Serbia had only 1.600 kilometers of railroads for a territory of 48.303 sq. km., or 43 km. of railroads per a 1000 sq. km. of territory until 1914. It is evident, therefore, that, compared to the other Balkan countries, Bulgaria has relied on her own efforts and has exerted herself most of all of them for the development of her railway communications.

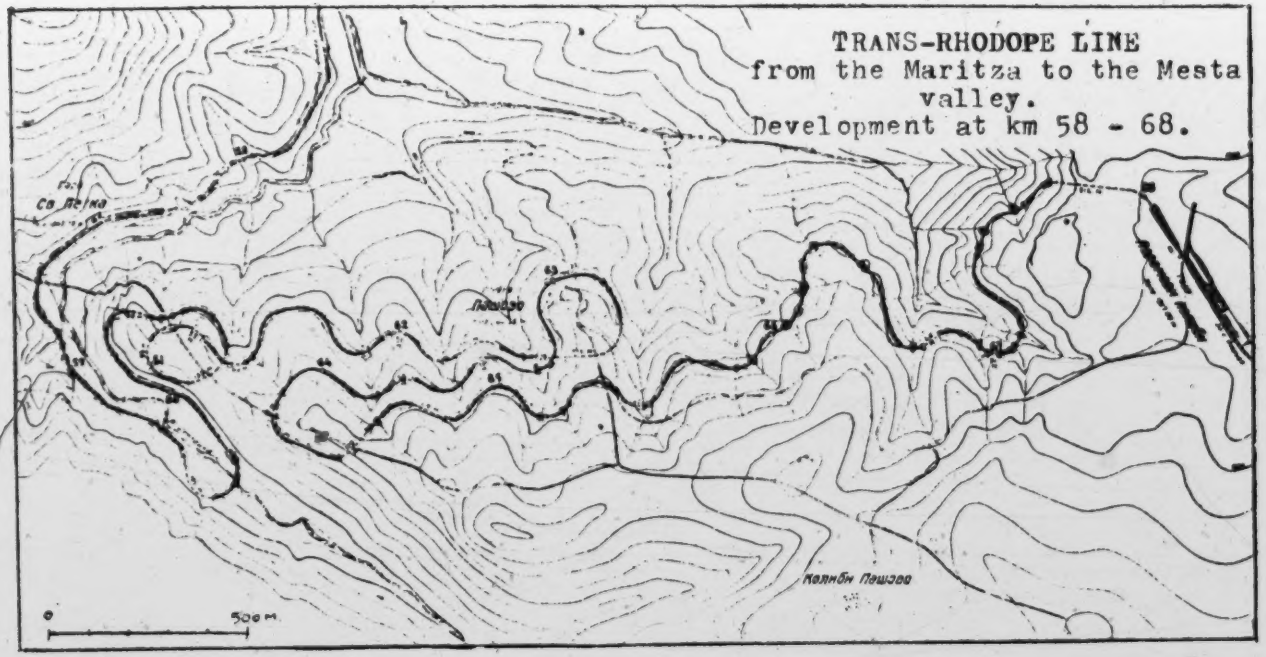
TRANS-RHODOPE LINE
from the Maritza to the Mesta
valley.
Development at km 58 - 68.
Св. Петка
Колибн Пашово
0
500 m

Fig. 29.

496

491 **55. Other Means of Communication.** The development of road construction is in no way less interesting. After the war of 1877/78 Bulgaria inherited from the Ottoman empire 3,727 km. of delapidated roads. She has to-day 33.000 km. of roads, completed or in process of completion, which makes a ninefold increase. Bulgaria had no regular automobile lines until 1920. Now she owns 18.000 km. of such lines or 16.4 km. per 100 sq. km. of territory, over which 10.000.000 passengers are carried annually. If we keep in mind, that the annual passenger traffic over the Bulgarian railroads is about 16.000.000 passenger, we would appreciate the significance of these authomobile lines for the country and the development that might be anticipated for the Bulgarian road system both in size and in quality. The advance estimate for 1970 is that Bulgaria may have 60.000 km. of roads which will probably be the point of saturation.

496 Bulgaria has to take long strides in the development of her communications system. Such effort would be beyond her possibilities in size and resources, but she can not afford to lag behind the general European standard. The student, prompted by good will in seeing and comprehending things according to their proper light, will not fail to realize the laudable endeavors and exertions of our poor, industrious and patient people. The railroads in Bulgaria are built and managed by the State and, consequently, their exploitation goes only to benefit the entire national economy. While financial soundness of the railways is not overlooked, the benefit that they will bring to the national economy is foremost in the mind of the legislator. Bulgaria owes her advancement and her reputation for such advancement to her railroads. The same scruples and views the Government has in regard to the exploitation of automobile roads also. Despite the fact that this exploitations is fostered at the present time on the basis of private concessions, the tendency for the state is to take over entirely their exploitation, because of the constantly growing public interest in them.

205 As another mark of the advanced instruction and enlightenment of our people, we will take as a practical example the movement of mail for 1939 and compare it to the other neighbouring countries in the Balkan peninsula.

205

States:	Population in millions	Private mail in thousands of letters	Letters per each inhabitant annually
Bulgaria	6.29	192,460	30.55
Greece	7.11	134,516	17.55
Romania	19.85	462,327	23.30
Yugoslavia	15.70	392,006	25.—

We should remember, with regard to the last two countries, the acquisition of the Austro-Hungarian territory in 1918 with a population much higher in culture than the culture of the native inhabitants. Bulgaria has one Post-Office for each group of 1930 persons, and Greece has one for each group of 4,000.

56. An Important Balkan Problem of Communications.[1]) Bulgaria is the bridge land between two important water routes: The Danube and the Aegean Sea. (Fig. 1 to 5). A huge traffic is liable to rise from the natural hinterland of the Aegean Sea, had this hinterland, extending north of the Danube as far as the Baltic Sea, had a natural outlet southwards to the Aegean. The whole mass of this traffic moves down to the south and stops at the Bulgarian-Greek frontier which, at one point, is only twenty one kilometers from the sea. The major railway starting at Roussé, the extension of which was planned when Bulgaria had dominion of the Aegean coast (1913 — 1918), runs through Stara-Zagora and stops at Momchilgrad at a distance of 64 kilometers from the sea after a course of 415 kilometers.

487 496

The Rhodope mountains are divided in two parts and a small part is left on Greek territory. The other huge part, with a mountainous population, is separated from the sea coast and the planes of Western Thrace which were the markets of this population and the winter pasture of the numerous cattle and sheep. The Rhodope population were the artisans of this district: masons, tailors and even fishermen. The Inter-Allied Comission, which administered under Governor-General Charpy (1918—1920) Western Thrace, taken from Bulgaria, until its transfer by virtue of the Peace Treaty of Sèvres (August 10, 1920), established that the inhabitants of Aegean Thrace were pre-

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1) Cf. i. Boshkoff, Quelques Notes sur les Communications dans les Balkans, Sofia, 1945.

[See category 116, pp. 9, 10, 12, 13, 38 -- Analyst]

000 dominantly Bulgarian and that the Greek population in 1920 was only 20,5% of the total population of this region. Despite the forcible expatriation of the Slavic element at that time and the settlement of Greeks of Asia Minor (Fig. 10), this province was on the decline, its economy was extensive and the main ports Cavalla and Dede-Agatch (Alexandrople) anemic and of purely local significance. The mountain population, which was severed from the region that were the sources of its nourishment and life, sank into misery and destitution. It was condemned to starvation, tuberculosis and enormous child mortality. Here we have the tragedy of the Rodope region.

In spite of the favorable conditions for an intensive traffic on the Thracian Sea Coast, which is the natural outlet for the lands around and beyond the Danube, this coast is separated from its natural hinterland and is in a failing condition, in so far as traffic and economic soundness are concerned. Let us give some characteristic comparative idea about communications in Thrace and in Bulgaria. The density of road and railroad network in Aegean Thrace was for 1930 about 10.9 km. per 100 sq. km. of territory, while in Bulgaria it was 34.1 km., or 3.13 times larger. If we consider in Thrace only the normal lines of the Compagnie Orientale (a private company), we will obtain the following comparative results:

[491] 497

Train movement, i. e. average number of trains in both directions passing through one point daily, we have for CO 3.81 trains, which does not make even two couples of trains daily, while for the Bulgarian State Railways we have 11.25 trains, or 3.03 times larger than for the CO;

Intensity of general movement, i. e. the number of axle-km. per one killometer operating lines: for the B. St. Rws 3.58 times larger:

Intensity of passenger traffic, i. e. passenger — km. per one kilometer operating lines: for the B. St. Rws 6.7 times larger;

Intensity of freight traffic, i. e. ton—km. per one kilometer operating lines: for the B. St. Rws 8.44 times larger than for the CO Rws.

And generaly the intensity of all the Greek lines is considerably smaller than the intensity of the Bulg. St. Rws. The movement on the lines of CO tends to decrease. There was a general fall in the CO lines of 11.8% from 1927 to

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

1930, while on the B. St. Lines for the same period we have an increase of 20.5%. 497

The Greek Railways had an increase of only 255 kilometers or 9.6% for the period 1914 to 1940, while Bulgaria increased its railway network with 1.025 kilometers or 48.7% after the two national catastrophies (1913 and 1918). Since 000 1920, for a period of 25 years, Greece has played with the pet idea of building the railroad extension Drama—Kavala, 31 kilometers long, in order to link this sea port with the railroad network. This good intention did not grow up to maturity and the work on this line is left undone until to-day.

Greece suffers of marine hypertrophy. The Greeks control an enormous sea coast line, which they are in no position to make the best use off. Here is how the relation between the sea coast line of the countries and their entire 133 frontier line stands: 80.7% of the entire frontier line of Greece is sea coast line, for Albania the relation is 38.8%, for Yugoslavia — 34.1% and for Bulgaria — 17.5%.

For 1 km. of sea coast we have

Territory: For Greece 22, for Albania 62.2, for Yugoslavia 155 and for Bulgaria 277.5 sq. km.;

Population: for Greece 1060, for Albania 2340, for [161] Yugoslavia 9900 and for Bulgaria 15.000 inhabitants.

57. Construction Work. It is hard to give a satisfactory pic- 000 ture in this brief study about Bulgaria's accomplishement during the last period of her present free existence. Whatever her achievements might be, they would hardly impress a sophisticated reader, who would wish to measure her with the standards of his advanced country, whose present generation probably owes its spiritual and material progress to the advantages of free life and activity of preceding generations. Our picture, however, would not be complete if we said nothing about the technical developments of Bulgaria or about the work of Bulgarian engineers and architects.

Notwithstanding its limited means, the country spared 653 nothing for its public works. About the beginning of the Second World War, Bulgaria was spending on the average about one billion leva annually for government and municipal building operations. This expenditure grew constantly: in 1936 — 457.600.000, in 1937 — 505.600.000, in 1938 — 534.100.000,

653 in 1939 — 655.600.000, in 1940 — 826.500.000 and in 1941 — 1.130.000.000. These amounts were spent for hospitals, sanatoriums, establishements for economic and agricultural activity, veterinary hospitals, medical centres, public baths, libraries, churches etc.

In the beginning of the Second World War Bulgaria had 4.289 inhabited localities, 2.535 or 59% of which were under public planning and regulation; while out of 384 inhabited localities in the territory of South Dobroudja, annexed to Bulgaria in 1940, only 8 of them enjoyed public plan and regulation. Only 15 out of 2.000 inhabited localities in the provisionally annexed territories of Macedonia, Morava region and Thrace had plans approved for regulation and improvement!

312 If we throw a glance on the water supply situation we would obtain the following picture for Bulgaria:

in the cities:	complete water supply	87.4%
	partial " "	20.2%
	no " "	2.4%
in the villages:	full " "	21.0%
	partial " "	18.1%
	no " "	60.9%

On the other hand, in the annexed part of Dobroudja and the provisionally annexed territories the picture is:

for the cities:	full water supply	0.0%
	partial " "	60.0%
	no " "	40.0%
for the villages:	full " "	0.0%
	partial " "	[illegible].7%
	no " "	94.3%

During the 20 years before the war, Bulgaria laid 4.608 klms. of metalic pipes for water supply and in the new territories, provisionally administered by Bulgaria, a total of 220 klms. of water supply pipes were laid.

We feel that Bulgaria has reason to be proud of the above accomplishment in that respect.

377 There has been a great progress made in the electrification of the country in recent times, but the subject is too large to cover in this brief study. According to the electrification plan of the entire country, in addition to the present big power plants by the coal mines of Pernic, Rakovski, the Rila River and the Vatcha River by Plovdiv, huge power and transmission plants are projected to carry electric energy to

the remotest corners of the land at a very cheap rate, ranging from 0.5 to 1.0 leva per kilowatt hour. This plan is being revised now and it is anticipated that the enlarged project would absorb an expenditure of 20 billion leva. The consumption of electric energy then would be distributed as follows: 377

For inhabited localities	28.3 %
For agriculture, including irrigation but without azotic fertilizers	13.—%
For transportation	8.9 %
For industries	45.4 %
and for other purposes	4.3 %
	100.—%

What has been said before about motor-car communications and roads may be supplemented by the following figures; for the 10 year period from 1932 to 1941 Bulgaria has built 4.568 km. of new roads, 15.736 km of levelling and new road bedding, 17.565 km. of new bridges and drainage works. This meant a total expenditure of 4,150,540,490 leva or about 550,000,000 leva per year. For the same period we have 615 km. of new railway lines at an expenditure of 1,620,000,000 leva. 653 499

We will not dwell on the question of dams and irrigation, but will only mention the completed big dam on the river Iskar in the Rila Mountain, with a capacity of 15.000.000 cubic meters of water which is 50 meters high and will note that Bulgaria has spent, during the most trying period of life (1939 — 1941). for: 312

drainage works	42.750.490.—	leva
stream corrections	22.521.837.—	leva
irrigation	9 469.815.—	leva or a
total of	74.742.142.—	leva.

This was not the end of Bulgaria's efforts. Bulgaria was anxious to take care of the countries which were provisionally under her administration during the last war. Here is some information taken from a controversy on the subject.

A Greek paper discussing the subject of homes and other buildings built by the Bulgarian authorities in the Aegean Coast Region, writes among other things the following: 653

„If we overlook the public bath at Xanthi built by them for the pleasure and enjoyment of their brothers the Germans,

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

653 the Bnlgarians did not leave us any structure of significance. It is true that in some places between Xanthi and Kavala they built some peasant houses to please the taste of the Bulgarians but not beautiful at all. These houses, however, were built at the expense of Greek economy, with Greek lumber from the Rhodopes, Pirin and the island of Tassos, with Greek labour and with materials from the old houses of our peasants, who were thrown out on the roads because their homes were ruined...."

In reply to this clearly unfavourable and superficial statement the following objection could be raised:

From the first part of May 1941, when the Aegean zone went actually under Bulgarian administrative control, until 9 September 1944, when the Greek authorities took over the district, intensive creative work was carried on in the Aegean zone. This was made possible despite the handicaps of the war situation and the lack of any connections with the old districts of Bulgaria and in spite of shattered roads, demolished bridges and lack of materials. The work went on at a rate which baffled all possible expectations. Not only the amazing speed, but also the ambition put in the work, by the Bulgarian population of local residents and newcomers, made a very deep impression on the foreign Greek, Turkish and Armenian population. They applied themselves on the job as people who took pains in building and managing their own homes and properties.

Model homes, establishments for economic and agricultural activities, new railroads, highways bridges, mines, salt works, fountains, aqueducts, slaughter houses, electrical plants and instalations, public baths, drainage works on the ramifications of the Mesta river, hygienic and city improvements and planning, maitenance of railroads, highways and bridges — all this is the constructive and useful work of the Bulgarian State in the Aegean zone. This work, not to mention the millions spent by private business and initiative for the restorations of abandoned Greek homes, was actually beyond the normal capacity of the Government. What was left over and what was accomplished by the Bulgarian Government and nationals in the Aegean area, for less than three years and a half of occupation, exceeds hundredfold the Greek achievements during 20 years of peacetime activity.

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Even in 1941, the Aegean area presented a vast desert plain where one saw, like an oasis in the desert, here and there a patch of land sown mainly with tobacco and maize insufficient to satisfy the very minimum needs of the district. It looked as if the roller of war had run over it and done away with everything in its path. This was a convincing evidence for the Bulgarians that carelessness and negligence were the attitude of the central Greek authority towards the district. 653

If we exclude Xanthi, Dedeagatch and Kavala, where after the European war some small refugee homes were built, nowhere else in the Aegean zone will we find any trace of constructive work to demonstrate the care and concern of the Greek Government. The improvement work in the Ser and Demirhissar districts is an exception and an encroachment upon the „harmony of desorder and dull carelessness" in this zone. Even this constructive work, though forced upon the Greeks by foreign suggestion and initiative, has no economic justification, but is prompted by military considerations. Dispite the drainage improvements in the said two districts, the Bulgarian authorities found them as desert plains.

The sturdy Bulgarian arms and tenacity worked and developed these desert areas and turned them into fertile plough fields and gardens, which not only benefited the foreign and Bulgarian population, but afforded pleasure to the eye. The Giumurdjina, Sarashaban, Drama and Ser plains were turned under the Bulgarian administration into a picture land fraught with bounty and beauty which pleased the eye.

The Aegean zone visitor of 1912-1913 would be confounded to find that houses, burned and destroyed way back in the Balkan Wars, were left untouched by human hand until this very day and not one single stone or brick had been placed back in their original places.

Now, this is what one should call „dull carelessness". This is what leaves the visitor with the impression that the Greeks did not regard the Aegean zone as their own land, but as a land taken over by conquest and, for the time being, left to the grace and consideration of a step mother.

Bulgaria administered the region of the Aegean Sea from 1941 to 1944, for three years and a half. Notwithstanding the lack of materials and proper roads for transportation, the Bulgarian Government spent 640,000,000 leva from her appropriations for building, repairs etc. All along the road of Demir

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

653 Hissar—Ser—Drama—Kavala—Sara Shaban, the Government built 240 model peasant homes amounting to 173,000,000 leva. Other 12 homes were not completed. They cost 4,000,000 leva. Besides these homes the Government built 152 new buildings to be used for economic and agricultural needs at an expense of 209,000,000 leva. For the repair of various buildings a total of 63,000,000 leva was spent. The lumber was altogether new and was supplied from Nevrokop (Bulgaria). All other materials were brought from the old parts of the country with the exception of bricks, which were made on the spot and paid by the Bulgarian contractors at a fair and proper price. The master builders were Bulgarians and the common labour was hired from the local Greeks, who were paid the current wages.

We must add to these expenses the expenditure for work in the following enterprises:

The building of new railway lines	194,000,000	leva
tracing of new lines and maintenance	192,000,000	"
building of roads etc.	253,000,000	"
mines and brine-pits	597,000,000	"
fountains, acqueducts, slaughter houses	61,000,000	"
miscellaneous	140,000,000	"
or a total of over	2,000,000,000	leva,

if we do not include the expenses for new buildings, repairs and improvements, without the current expenses for their maintenance. It will not be an exaggeration if we state that Bulgaria, in this short and war period, did in that respect far more than what Greece had done for 20 years of administration over Thrace. Apart from the worker homes in Kavala and some more significant structures here and there, built with American help, Thrace received from the Greek Government the care of a step-mother.

We must note furthermore, that even private individuals, Bulgarian settlers, spent much of their means to repair the homes that were given them. A large percent should be taken also from the declared amount of 17,000,000,000 leva representing the abandoned property in the Aegean Sea Region.

We must also remember that the above mentioned figures represent the amounts in government appropriations. If we transfer these figures to the present day rate of exchange of the lev, the amounts should be at least doubled.

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

58. Conclusion. In spite of all that has been mentioned above in our study, we know that there would be a lot of people who would not appreciate things as they find them. They would not recognize the share of the small and weak nations in the common cause for the advancement of the world. The far advanced Western European culture betrays the weakness of the strong, there is a hidden lookdown of the big on the small. We, the small, endeavor to keep up with the big, because present day life demands it from us. What Bulgaria represents to-day in material accomplishments, she owes it to her industrious and active population, rather than to any inheritance from forefathers and preceding generations. 000

We have limited ourselves so far to the preceding information. The reader will, however, find, other interesting facts in the graphic tables inserted in the text. We feel that we have offered an interested and willing reader, in a general and popular manner, the most important features that one would like to know about our country.

This book was written for those who would be willing to know the objective truth about Bulgaria. Mutual respect and understanding are born from the objective study of things. We would have accomplished much, if the information offered our kind readers has helped them to respect our people and if we have added to the general interest in our roses an interest in the other qualities of our land and in the long suffering of the people, who look eagerly forward to a lasting period of peaceful and cultural development. /21

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SYNOPTIC HISTORY of BULGARIA

THE RULERS

FIRST BULGARIAN KINGDOM 339 Years

The Bulgarians coming from North East subjected and united the Slavs in the lands, which later were called BULGARIA, and founded the BULGARIAN KINGDOM

KHAN ASPARUKH passes the Danube and settles in the Balkan Peninsula.

KHAN ASPARUK

THE FOUNDER

The History of Bulgaria during THE FIRST (679–1018) and THE SECOND Bulgarian Kingdom (1186–1393) is a continuous struggle against the Byzantine Empire to rid the Balkan Peninsula of Byzantine authority which was foreign to the local population.

TERVEL

SEVAR

KORMISOSH

The Bulgarians threatened Constantinople. → 755

SEVERAL KHANS

KARDAM

Unifying the Nation and strengthening the Kingdom. Victories and acquisitions. Legislation. Attempt to unify Slavs in Macedonia and Thrace.

Krum defeated the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus. 811

KRUM THE LEGISLAT

OMORTAG

Krum reached Constantinople.

MALAMIR

PRESSIAM

Long rule of a wise ruler. Development of Bulgarian letters.

Free trade exchange.

Period of peaceful endeavours. Unifying the Nation through common religion.

THE BULGARIANS CHRISTIANIZED 86

KING BORIS I THE CHRISTENE

THE APOSTAT

VLADIMIR

Development of Bulgarian letters. No Slavic people had yet their own literature except the Bulgarians. Successful conquests. GOLDEN AGE.

SIMEON THREATENED CONSTANTINOPLE. 922 924

TZAR SIMEON

GOLDEN AGE

(Continued)

105 (A)
[Left-hand side]

175

RULERS

643
650

PARUKH

679 — 678 — The Franks are reunited by Pepin and Martel

UNDER

700
702

VEL

718
724

/AR

739

ISOSH

756

ERAL

768 — Charlemagne. King of the Franks

ANS

777

DAM

800 — 800 — Charlemagne. Emperor of the Roman Empire
802

UM

BISLATOR

814 — 812 — Charlemagne. Recognized by the Byzantines because Emperor Nicephorus was defeated by the Bulgarians
Death of Charlemagne

RTAG

828 — Egbert I. King of England

831
836

AMIR

SSIAM

852

D 866

862 — Foundation of the Russian State by Rurik
866

ORIS I

ISTENER

889

IMIR

893
900

904 — Russian Fleet threatened Constantinople

MEON

910 — Kingdom of Germany. King Henry I.

EN AGE

927

nued)

105 (B)
[Right-hand side]

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BULGARIA – HISTORY (CONTINUATION)

FIRST BULGAR KINGDOM

St. John of Rila (876–946). Founder of the Rila Monastery

TZAR PETER I

Russian Invasion

East Bulgaria under Byzantine Rule — 971 — 968

Samuel Leader of West Bulgaria Macedonia

Samuel, Tzar of Bulgaria — 997

TZAR SAMUEL

UNDER BYZANTINE RULE 168 years

BULGARIA UNDER BYZANTINE DOMINION

The Byzantine Empire preserved to some degree the organization of the Bulgarian Kingdom. It kept Bulgarian Patriarchate in Ochrid as an Archbishopric

BULGARIAN INSURRECTIC

The Governor of Bulgaria was the LOCUM TENENS OF THE EMPEROR with the Title DUX BULGARIAE

BULGARIAN INSURRECTIC

The Byzantine Empire beginn to disintegrate about the XII century. Feudalism and Anarchy.

The Bogomil Movement helped the dissolution of the Kingdom. It was a Religion and Social Teaching which was continued by the Albigenses in Western Europe

2nd BULG KINGDOM

BULGARIAN INSURRECTION

The Weak Byzantine (Greek) rule was easily overturned by a Bulgarian Insurrection in Tirnovo, the New Capital of Bulgaria. The Byzantine Empire was so weakly organized that the Crusaders conquered it and made of it a Latin Empire, with Constantinople as Capital

TZAR ASSEN

TZAR KALOYA

TZAR BORIL

(Continued)

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APPENDIX I-B

ETER I	927	
		941 — A Russian fleet threatened Constantinople
		962 — Otto I, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire
	971	
	980	
		988 — THE RUSSIANS CHRISTIANIZED
AMUEL	1000	The Vikings in North America
	1014	
	1018	
AN		
ECTION	1041	1042 — EDWARD THE CONFESSOR in England
		1050 — The Turks conquered the Moslem Empire
RIAN		
ECTION	1073	1066 — Norman invasion in England. William the Conqueror
		1071 — The Turks besieged the Byzantines by Manzikert. Armenia
	1100	1097 — The FIRST CRUSADE. Godefrey of Bouillon
		1147 — The SECOND CRUSADE
		1150 The Oxford and Cambridge Universities
	1169	1169 — Serbia United in a State
	1185	
SSEN I		1189 — The 3-rd CRUSADE. Richard Coeur de Lion
	1195	
LOYAN	1200	
		1204 — The 4-th CRUSADE. Constantinople Captured
	1207	
BORIL		
	1218	1218 — The 5-th CRUSADE
nued)		

106(B)
[Right-hand side]

8. Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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BULGARIA—HISTORY (Continuation)

SECOND BULGARIAN KINGDOM 207 YEARS

GENERAL DECADENCE

Tartar invasion

Tartar invasion

Turkish invasion in the Balkan Peninsula

KINGDOM OF VIDIN
KINGDOM OF VELBUDZ
KINGDOM OF TIRNOVO
ETC.

DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM

TZAR IVAN-ASSEN I

KALOMAN

MICHAEL-ASSE

TZAR CONSTAN

TZAR GEORGE TERTE

TZAR THEODO SVETOSLAV

SEVERAL TZAR

TZAR IVAN-ALEXANDF

TZAR IVAN SHISHMA

UNDER TURKISH RULE 485 YEARS

THE FALL OF TIRNOVO, THE CAPITAL OF BULGARIA

An allied army under King Sigismund of Hunga defeated at Nicopol by the Turks

The Turkish invasion was detrimental to all the Christians, but particularly t the Bulgarians because of their central position in the Balkan Peninsula. Th Greeks lost their independance, but preserved their Church and, therefore their civil rights. The privilege and the rights of the Constantinople Gree Patriarchate reached dimensions which were not even dreamed of durin the Byzartine Empire.

THE TURKS CONQUER CONSTANTINOF

We may qualify the Turkish rule like this: Unheard of and complete lawles sness and injustice towards the Bulgarian population, which like the rest c the Christians, was already called „rayah", which means „subjected". Unpa laborers of the rich and authoritative Turkish landowners, especially when th decay of the Ottoman Empire set in after the year 1571.

(Continued)

107(A)
[Left-hand side]

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APPENDIX I-C

1218	1218	The 5-th Crusade
R SEN II	1228	The 6-th Crusade
1241	1241	Mongol invasion in Hungary Poland and Russia
MAN 1246	1248	The 7-th Crusade
ASSEN 1257	1261	The Greeks Recaptured Constantinople from the Latins.
STANTIN	1271	Marco Polo starts to Mongolia and China
1277	1275	Habsburgs Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire
1280		
ERTER I 1292		
1300		
ODORE SLAV		
1321		
TZARS 1331	1331	Stefan-Dushan King of Serbia
R ANDRE		
1355	1355	GALIPOLI (Dardanelles). FIRST TURKISH POSSESSION IN EUROPE
1371		
R SHMAN	1389	The Turks Defeated the Serbs at Kossovo
1393		
1396		
Hungary		
larly to ule. The erefore, Greek during	1429	Jean D'Arc
TINOPLE 1453	1453	The Fall of Constantinople created favorable conditions for Western Europe. The Renaissance. The Light was removed from the conquered Eastern Regions and Dankness took its place.
lawles- rest of Unpaid then the		
	1492	COLUMBUS DISCOVERIES
	1497	Vasco de Gama
1500	1501	(1501) Americo Vespucci
d)	1513	Discovery of the Pacific Ocean
	1517	Luther

Leonardo da Vinci — Erasmus — Dürer — Cranach — Copernicus — Ariosto — M. Angelo — Titian — Rafael — Zwingli — Rabelais — Holbein — etc

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BULGARIA—HISTORY (CONTINUATION)

UNDER TURKISH RULE 485 YEARS

"THE GREEK YOKE" in Turkish times: This is the authority of the Constantinople Patriarch over the Bulgarian population in Religious matters. The last traces of the Bulgarian Church, libraries, science and culture are destroyed. The Greek Bishops were worse than the Turkish Pashas. This is the "Spiritual Yoke" of the Bulgarian people.

Selim I becomes Sultan and Ca

Hungary under Turkish Dominic

The Turks at Vienna

John the Terrible, Tzar of Russ

Victory over the Turkish Fleet at
panto.

AUSTRIAN-TURKISH WAI

THE BEGINNING OF THE DECLINE of the Turkish Kingdom 1683

The Turks besiege Vienna; then withdraw

Austrian-Turkish Wars

INSURRECTION IN BULGARIA at Chiprovtzi

The Austrians under Eugene of Savoy annihilate the Turks at Zenta; Peace of Karlova

The Renaissance of the Bulgarian nation: The monk Paissi writes a history of the Bulgarian people, its political and cultural past. This book is copied and recopied and passed from hand to hand. It stirred the national consciousnes of the Bulgarians. The people call this book "The Book of Kings".

Irregular Turkis
bands commite
cruelties and vio
lence over th
Bulgarian popu
lation

The Closing of the Ochrid Patriarchate which functioned as a remainder of the old Bulgarian Patriarchate since 1020

Russian-Turkish Wars

Russian-Turkish War

(CONTINUED

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APPENDIX I-D

ION)	1492	1492	THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA
	1500	1497	Vasco de Gama
		1501	Amerigo Vispucci
		1509	Henry VIII, King of England
and Calif	1512	1512	
		1517	MARTIN LUTHER IN WITTENBERG
		1519	Karl V, Emperor
Dominion	1526		
	1529	1530	Henry VIII broke with the Pope and became head of the Anglican Church
of Russia	1533		
		1539	Establishment of the Jesuit Order
		1551	The Augsburg Religious Peace
		1556	Philip II, King of Spain
		1558	Elisabeth, Queen of England
		1564	Galileo and Shakespeare born
leet at Le-	1571	1572	The Night of Bartholomew in France
		1588	The Annihilation of the Spanish Armada
	1600	1598	The Edict of Nantes
		1613	The Beginning of the Reign of the Romanovs in Russia
		1618	The Beginning of the Thirty Years War
		1639	Japan closed to Europeans
	1646	1642	Frederick William, the Great Elector
		1648	Civil War in England — Cromwell
			Peace of Westphalia
SH WAR	1664	1661	Louis XIV, Absolute Monarch
	1683	1682	Peter the Great, Tzar of Russia
ovtzi	1688	1687	Personal Union in Austria — Hungary
sce	1697		
f Karlovatz	1700	1701	The Mercantile Period
			Kingdom of Prussia — Frederick I
r Turkish committed s and vio- over the an popu-			
		1735	Freedom of the Press in the U S A
		1740	Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria
		1741	Frederick II the Great King of Prussia
		1749	1741 Elisabeth, Empress of Russia
		1756	1749–1832 Wolfgang von Goethe
			Beginning of the Seven Years War
	1762	1763	Catherine the Great, Empress of Russia
	1767	1766	The Encyclopedians in France
	1774		
	1780	1776	Declaration of the Independence of the U S A
	1787		George Washington, President
TINUED)	1789	1789	THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

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BULGARIA—HISTORY (CONTINUA

485 YEARS UNDER TURKSH RULE

THE BULGARIAN PATRIARCHATE LIBRARY IN TIRNOVO WAS BURNT in 1828. About the same time all Bulgarian church and monastery libraries were destroyed

SPIRITUAL SLAVERY: Having applied to the Greek Bishop for the opening of a Bulgarian school in Plovdiv, the Bishop answered the Bulgarian notables: „In view of the strict order which we have from our Patriarch to have a close watch over every effort on the part of the Bulgarians in opening schools, you will be exiled and your school closed. If you only care, then, for your own interest, you better desist from your undertaking"

The First Printed Bulg

Serbia gets

Greece gets

The First Bulgarian readi

STRUGGLES FOR BUL(NATIONAL CHURCH

Occupation of Rumania by Rus

THE BULGARIANS REJECT THE GREEK CHURCH AND ESTABLISH THEIR NATIONAL CHURCH

Crim Unit

INSURRECTION AND CRES IN BULGARIA

Russo-Turkish War

Treaties of Peace of San Stephano and Berlin — only one part of BULGARIA IS LIBERATED

NORTH BULGARIA AND EASTERN RUMELIA REUNITED

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Bulgaria Kingdom

Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece defeated Turkey

War of Serbia and Greece against Bulgaria

First World War 1914—1918

Bulgaria enters the World War

Treaty of Peace of Neuilly

Treaty of Peace of Sèvres

Bulgaria enters the Second World War

September 9 — ANTIFASCIST REVOLUTION

Beging of 1

THIRD BULGARIAN KINGDOM

Prince ALEXANDER I
1887

KING
1908
TZAR

FERDINAND I
1887 – 1919
1919

TZAR BORIS III
1943

TZAR SIMEON II

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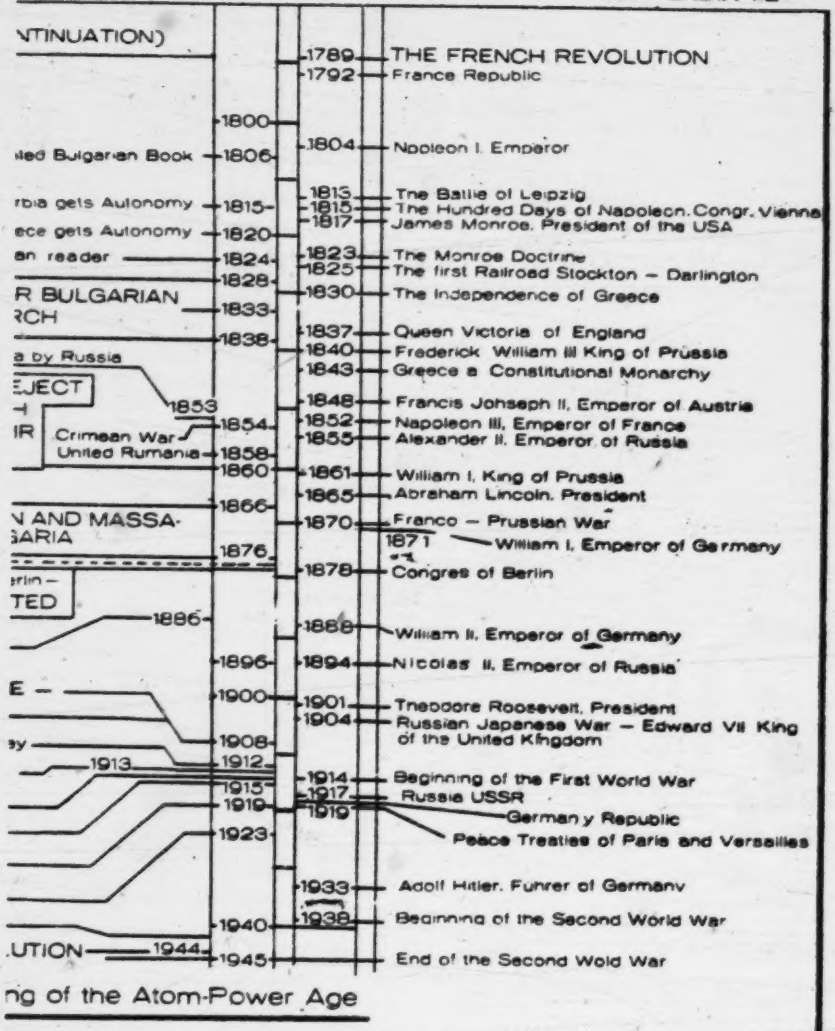
APPENDIX I-E



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8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

APPENDIX II. — Scale in kilometers.

496

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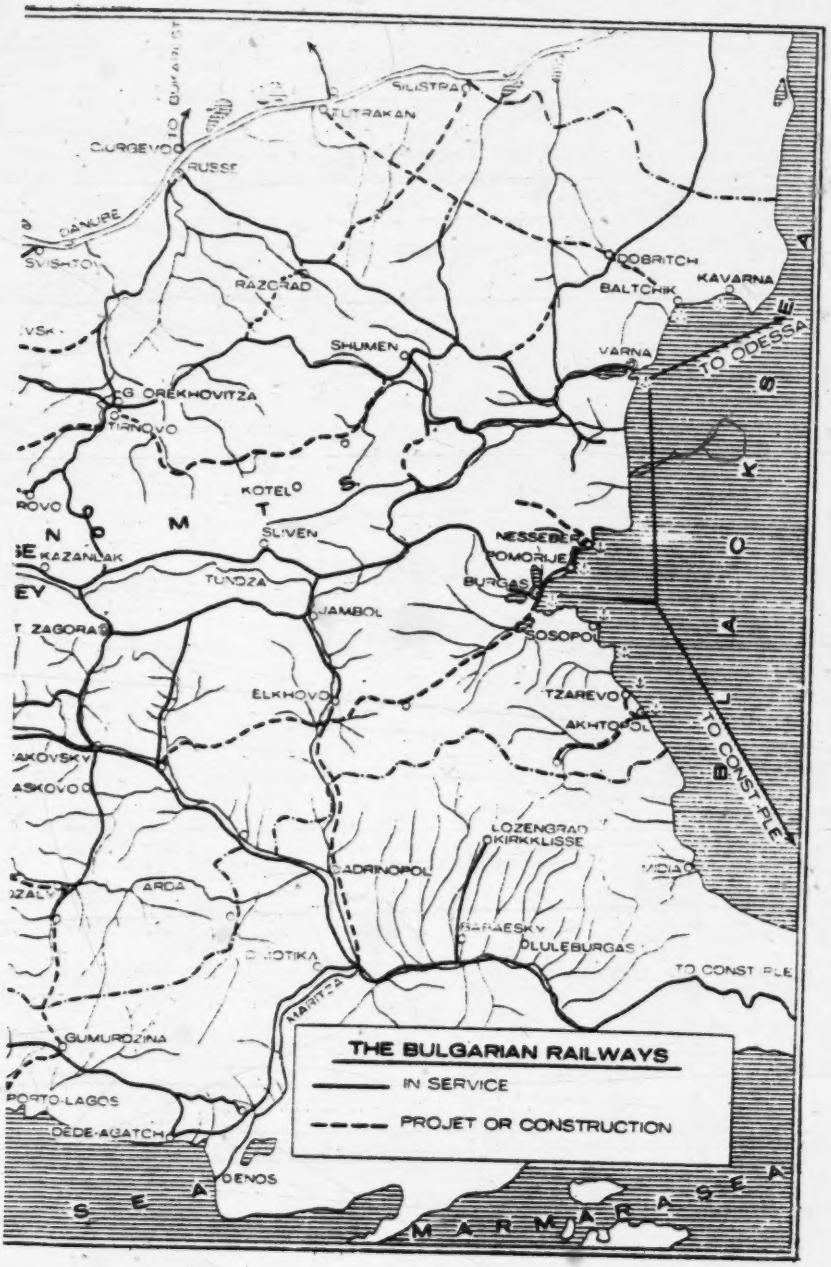

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DIMITRI SHISHMANOV

A Survey of Bulgarian Literature

Translated by

CLARENCE A. MANNING.

A lecture prepared for the
Department of Slavonic Languages,
Columbia University.

THE BAYARD PRESS

WILLIAMSPORT, PENNSYLVANIA.

p. 3 [pps. 1, 2 contain no textual information]

538 One of the most characteristic features of modern
517 Bulgarian literature is its militant assertion of its life and it expresses this assertion by an unceasing struggle for social and political ideals and by a constant pursuit of an artistic perfection in which the esthetic ideal is absorbed and transfigured in order to pass over the line of demarcation between art and reality.

A democrat by nature, the Bulgarian cannot tolerate much of aristocracy. He wishes cultural values to be made accessible for all, so that all can derive profit from
000 them. Thus in the tenth century when darkness still covered Western Europe, a Bulgarian ecclesiastical writer, the Presbyter Kozma, exclaims in anger: "Thou, rich man, who hast in abundance all the books of the Old and New Testaments and other books filled with instructive words and who knowest all of them, hast thou not understood that thou must lay down thy soul for thy neighbors? Why dost thou bar the road for the salvation of mankind by hiding the Word of God from thy brothers? Those books which thou hast stored away were written that through them all men might be saved, and not that they might be devoured by worms and mildew. Therefore, thou man, do not shut thyself up in thy library and do not hide the Word of God from those who

5 [p 4 is blank]

000 seek to read it and copy it and be thou content, that with it thou canst save thy brother."

These remarks of the Presbyter Kozma are striking and at the same time prophetic, since he predicted here the role which books would play in Bulgaria, just as he also foresaw that eight centuries later, his people would be awakened from the spiritual lethargy of five hundred years of the Turkish yoke, or as the Bulgarian poet Vazov said, "that there will be an end of history and they will become a nation", by the books of an inspired patriot. These books passed from hand to hand in manuscript copies to play in Bulgaria the role of the life-giving elixir which aroused the tsar's daughter from the magic sleep which an evil spirit had cast upon her.

175 The book which the Bulgarian regards as the corner-
814 stone of his present liberty and which is reflected in all modern Bulgarian literature is the "History of the Slav Bulgarians" by Paisi of Hilendar, a monk of Mount Athos.

In the eighteenth century the Bulgarian people had lost nearly all national self-confidence as a result of the Turkish yoke and the propaganda of the Pan-Hellenic idea by the Greek clergy and they seemed on the point of disappearing. Then Paisi, as the first of a series of clerical and lay writers who supported the feeble study of Bulgarian letters under the Turkish yoke, felt the significance which a knowledge of the past might have for the continued existence of his people and the importance to them of an understanding of the bases of its national culture. In 1762 he commenced a manuscript "History" (there were then no printing presses in Bulgaria) to remind his contemporaries that despite the oppression and

the contempt of the Turks and Greeks, they did not need 175
to be ashamed of their own traditions. In the past the 814
Bulgarians had had their own empire and had received tribute from the wise Greeks and they had had the most progressive tsars and patriarchs of all the Slavonic peoples and they had been among the first peoples to accept the Christian faith, which they had later handed on with a rich literature to the other Slavs.

With its poetic inspiration and its ardent love for his [186]
country, the History of Paisi appeared as a torch to kindle the lowly and undeveloped national consciousness of Bulgaria. It set it ablaze and thus caused the surprising advance of the Bulgarian people. In one century 2/n they turned from an amorphous mass to one of the strongest nationalities of the Balkans. They raised their level of culture, and developed their art, science and literature.

It goes without saying that the History of Paisi could 538
not have worked this miracle, if it had not found a fertile 814
soil in the souls of the Bulgarian people, and more than 186
that, if the soil had not been cultivated by a long series of enthusiastic imitators of Paisi. Between 1800 and 1850 these writers, without stopping, first in manuscripts and later in printed books, continued to arouse the national consciousness of the Bulgarians and to spread enlightenment in their native land. The aims of these men were purely practical. The definite object of Sofrony Vratchanski, of Neofit Bozveli, of Neofit Rilski in their works which are almost always of a didactic character, was to help their people, to educate them and to lead them on the path of proper development. Yet so strong and so inspired was the love that these men had for their

2/n [i.e., the eighteenth century --- Analyst]

538 people that without their endeavor, their works became
814 works of art and formed a stage in the development of
186 Bulgarian literature and the Bulgarian literary language. This gradually evolved under the guidance of the democratic spirit of the authors from the dead Church language which had predominated in the work of Paisi, until it approximated the Bulgarian colloquial dialects on which the modern language is based.

538 Not a little credit for the formation and crystalization
186 of the Bulgarian literary language and the development of modern Bulgarian literature must be given to the writers who walked in the steps of Paisi and his school and who were also public spirited men. This last circumstance explains the fact that the list of the most prominent authors includes the names of those Bulgarians who in the epoch preceding the political liberation of Bulgaria, the period between 1840 and 1875, took the leading and most self-sacrificing part in the cultural struggle for their country, for its spiritual awakening and its ecclesiastical independence, who fought in the revolting bands of various heroes, who worked inside the country in various revolutionary committees with the Central Committee in Bucharest (Rumania was already free), and who thus tried in every way to secure the liberation of their country. Thus, whether we consider the men who appealed for aid in the struggles for ecclesiastical and national independence or list the writers or the leaders in any popular movement, we always come upon the names of Rakovski, Lyuben Karavelov, Drumev, and above all Khristo Botev.

The character of Sava Rakovski (1821-1867) is especially interesting and original in this group. He worked

between 1840 and 1847 and we can say without exag- 538
geration that he became a poet with the definite patriotic 186
aim of adding the power of the living word to the other means which he was employing in the service of his people. For participating in conspiracies within the Turkish Empire, Rakovski lay for three years in a prison in Constantinople and later he organized a revolting band with which he operated in the Balkans. At the same time he composed the poem "A Mountain-Wanderer", he published journalistic articles, and made studies in folklore, all with the one aim of arousing the Bulgarians to revolt against the Turkish yoke, of giving them faith in their own power, and of convincing them that they are one of the chosen peoples of the earth, who are assured of a glorious future. Like Paisi and his followers, Rakovski was so inspired by his love for his country that he became a true poet and towers among his people not only for his personal heroism but for his books which won hundreds of adherents for the idea of Bulgarian independence.

The same is true of Lyuben Karavelov (1837-1879), for between 1870 and 1875 he took a personal part in the revolutionary struggle of the Bulgarians and he had great political influence as one of the founders of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee. Yet he left a still greater reputation from his literary work which he treated as part of his patriotic mission. Like his contemporaries, he had a definitely practical aim—to arouse the spirit of the Bulgarians and urge them to struggle; amid the difficulties and tragedies of the time in which he worked, he kindled the souls of his people, became inspired himself and was turned into a true artist. Thus it was granted

538 to him to write such stories as the "Child of Mamin" and
186 "Bulgarians of the Old Times." These have permanent value and are more and more highly regarded for their clever observation and understanding and the realistic manner in which they picture the life and manners of the people in the little Bulgarian cities at the middle of the nineteenth century, and they are still counted among the most happy productions of Bulgarian artistic prose.

Another man who was primarily interested in public work was Vasil Drumev (1841-1901), who in 1872, following the steps of the first Bulgarian theatrical writer Dobri Voynikov, wrote a historical drama "Ivanku" which is one of the best Bulgarian dramas. Unfortunately Drumev did not find in literature a satisfactory outlet for his patriotism and his desire to aid his people and therefore after finishing "Ivanku" he entered the priesthood and devoted himself exclusively to educational and political activity, a clear example of the way in which the Bulgarian writers of this period were led by patriotism to commence or to terminate literary and artistic work.

This same patriotic fervor developed and forged Petko Rachev Slaveykov (1827-1895), one of the greatest Bulgarian poets of the older epoch, a man who exerted great influence on later Bulgarian literature. Slaveykov became a poet quite accidentally, in furtherance of his patriotic aims. His first poem was a satire, which he wrote when he was barely 16 or 17 against Ilarion, Bishop of Tirnovo, a Greek by nationality and a well-known Bulgarophobe. This commenced his struggles against the Greek clergy and the Turkish government which filled his entire life. While Slaveykov was wandering as a teacher throughout the whole of Bulgaria,

unable to remain long in any one spot because of the persecutions of his enemies, he began to write lyric poems to take the place of the Greek love songs, which were then sung throughout Bulgaria and which were a powerful factor in the Hellenizing of the educated Bulgarians. To aid the Bulgarian national rebirth, Slaveykov became a journalist and edited a satirical journal and later a political paper. Then from patriotic motives, he commenced the enormous task of translating the Gospels with the support of the American Bible Society. But the social-literary activity of Slaveykov did not exhaust his powers; it merely inspired the poet in minutes of quiet reflection to write some of the most beautiful lyric productions of Bulgarian literature. In 1927 when the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Slaveykov was being celebrated— his poems, although they had been neglected by the younger generation, showed the sincerity, deep sensitiveness and warm feeling of their author and again won high regard.

Far above these writers of the pre-independence period, above Lyuben Karavelov, Drumev, and Petko Slaveykov, stands the dazzling and blinding Khristo Botev. Botev is the greatest Bulgarian poet and the most revered national hero. His short life created a mass of legends and these legends are even now repeated in Bulgaria from north to south and he wins all hearts by the clarity, beauty, and moral earnestness of his actions.

Khristo Botev (1848-1876) was born in the middle of the nineteenth century in Kalofer, a city in the Balkans not far from the celebrated Valley of Roses. His father was a good and enlightened teacher but he was loyal to

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186

the Turkish government. At home Khristo was trained to quiet and self-restraint but from his early years he felt in his veins the urging to a revolt against the Turkish oppressors and against the lamb-like toleration of his contempararies, especially their leaders (the Chorbadji), who looked upon every attempt to rouse the people against the Turks with even greater horror and consternation than did the Turks themselves. Who knows what would have happened to Botev in his little native city, where his patriotic revolutionary tendencies would have led him to ruin and destruction and where they could not have been guided and enlightened, had his father not sent him to Russia when he was 17? There in the land of Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky and Turgenev, Botev developed his character, thought over his career, and learned that he was to sacrifice himself for his people. But to sacrifice one's self in the best sense of the word, is to acquire unconquerable power— the power of a symbol, which cannot be separated from the conscience of the nation for which it serves as a noble example. His decision once made, Botev strove stubbornly and constantly to carry out his aims: to lay down his life for his country, without any other idea than that, as he puts it in one of his ballads, the people should some day say of him, "He died, poor man, for truth and freedom."

The last years of Botev's life were stormy. He remained in Russia until 1867; then for a short time he was a teacher in his native city, but later, instead of returning, as his father wished, to complete his education in Russia and become a physician, he emigrated to Rumania and began to prepare himself for active revolutionary work in Bulgaria. He became a member of

the Central Revolutionary Committee, edited the journals Budilnik (Alarm) and Zname (Banner), suffered poverty and maintained himself by writing and teaching. He finally wearied of emigré life and foreign conspiracies which revolted him by their uselessness and the atmosphere of intrigue with which they were surrounded. In 1876, when he was 28 years old, the revolts broke out in Bulgaria which gave the Turks the excuse for the reprisals characterized by Gladstone as the Bulgarian atrocities. Botev organized his own revolutionary band of about 200 men, seized an Austrian steamship, the "Radetski", crossed the Danube, landed on the Bulgarian coast and prepared to fight with his comrades for the liberation of his people. He failed to receive assistance from his compatriots and three days later he fell dead on the Vola, a barren Balkan height, and no one knows the location of his grave. 538 /86

Thus the life of Botev is filled with the beauty of active self-sacrifice and with harmony between preaching and action. This beauty is increased by one remarkable fact; that it is dominated and permeated by the gleam of a poetical inspiration which surges in direct proportion to the revolutionary activity of Botev and is its direct expression. This inspiration he poured out in 22 poems, but among these are the most pieces of Bulgarian authorship; the ballad "Hadji Dimitar" and the lyric poems, "To my first love", "May", "On farewell", etc.

To analyze the poems of Botev without being able to cite them is sacrilegious for a Bulgarian and it is impossible to translate them. We can only say in characterization of them that they arose incidentally amid 538

538 the stormy life of Botev as sparks of molten gold which reflected his ardent soul. They speak the language of Botev; they are diverse in content and rhythm and dazzle by their imagery. Full of undoubted originality, they are sketched with an economy of means such as only world-poets use. The poems of Botev are short and yet they embrace much. Every element is powerful and harmonious and like an unexpected flash of lightning each directly affects the feeling of the reader, so that he understands easily and surely the aim and idea of Botev's life, love for his country, above which there is nothing in the world and for the liberation of which, if a man falls, "he does not die, but even the animals and nature mourn for him and the bards sing in his honor", as he says in one of his poems.

How true these thoughts of Botev were can be seen from the fact that after fifty years every Bulgarian mourns for him. His name is echoed in the defiles of the Balkan Mountains and the broad Thracian and Danubian plains and rings without ceasing in the souls of the Bulgarians as the expression of the finest man whom their country has brought forth.

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538 The gigantic shadow of Botev falls across the gulf
186 which separates enslaved from free Bulgaria, for as is well known, the country was separated from Turkey as an autonomous principality as a result of the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-8. On the later side of the gulf stands the figure of another great poet, balancing the work of Botev. This man has a significance for Bulgarian culture and Bulgarian literature, if we estimate this by direct and evident influence, perhaps even greater than

has Botev. It is Ivan Vazov who first carried the fame 538
of Bulgarian literature beyond the boundaries of his 186
native land and whose activity of 50 years from 1872 to 1921 witnessed the joys and hopes of young Bulgaria, its heroic struggles for national unification and the crushing failure of these hopes in 1918 and who was a sensitive echo of all the joys and sorrows of his country.

Ivan Vazov (1850-1921) is the first Bulgarian poet who gave expression to his patriotism not by direct public work— as did his predecessors— but exclusively by unceasing artistic production through which he strove to express all that he saw in his country: its nature, its people, and also the ideals towards which it should strive. Bulgaria in all its manifold aspects— that is the content of the literary work of Vazov, who sacrificed to his inspiration his personal life and all his other interests, so that he could offer it worthy service solemnly and convincingly.

The sacrifice which Vazov offered to his country was not in vain. There is no Bulgarian writer who so truly and accurately reflects his country as does Vazov. There is no Bulgarian writer like Vazov whose works demand the attention of every foreigner who would know Bulgaria.

For example, if a man is interested in the past of 175
Bulgaria, let him turn to the historical dramas of Vazov 538
on themes from the old Bulgarian Empire, or his "Legends of Tsarevets", which describe touchingly the 186
struggles between Bulgaria and Byzantium. If he seeks the less distant past or the rebirth of Bulgaria, he has the splendid "Epic of the Heroes", in which he represents as in living marble the figures of Paisi, Rakovski,

538 Levski and the Brothers Milandinovi. If he wishes to
186 learn of the uprisings which were the indirect cause of
175 the liberation of Bulgaria and turned the attention of Western Europe to its fate, he can read the best novel of Vazov, "Under the Yoke" which has been translated into every culture-language and which describes with surprising artistry the life of a Balkan city before the liberation, the secret work of the group of rebels, the uprising which they prepare and which the Turks suppress with fire and sword. If he desires to understand the life of the newly liberated Bulgaria, he can find what he seeks in the novels of Vazov as "The New Land" and the "Empress Kazalar." If he would know how Bulgaria passed through the series of war which she waged, in which she conquered heroically without being able to reap any profit from her victories, he must turn again to Vazov and to his many collections of poetry, in which we find expression of all the pains of Bulgaria, all her hopes and disillusionments. Thus every one must turn to Vazov who wishes to know of Bulgaria with her landscape, her fields and mountains, the Balkans, Rilo and Rhodope, the Danube and the Black Sea.

538 It is superfluous to list the works of Vazov, for this would be merely the listing of all the inner and outer characteristics of Bulgaria in a perfect mirror. It is better to say that their significance is to be found not only in the fact that they focus as in a lens everything that is important in Bulgarian life but that this is done artistically, with the aid of a talent which is gifted for both poetry and prose, and which produces its effects with great music of phrase, vividness of imagery, a

wealth and freshness of poetic language, and an orig- 538
inality of poetic thought.

With such powers, Vazov— who had the additional [177]
merit of first acquainting Bulgarian literature with the tendencies of the Western literatures, especially French Romanticism— could not fail to exert an enormous influence on the social life of his day and even more on the literary life. Without his influence Bulgarian artistic literature would never have reached its present height, its poetry would not have been so enriched with rhythmic excellences, its prose would not have been inspired to discuss such complicated and interesting themes. The impulse exerted by Vazov on the literature of his country is one of the most glorious monuments to his talent and to the consciousness that he had as to his social mission. Conscious too of his duties as a national poet, Vazov, during the entire fifty years of his activity, never for a single moment laid down his pen and tried not to leave a single form of literature in which he had not experimented. He succeeded so well that he discovered new fields: he created new forms which his successors were to develop and he opened new paths from which not even the most advanced modernists have yet passed. A poet and a pioneer and in many fields still unsurpassed, that is what Vazov can say of himself.

One of the first to follow in the footsteps of Vazov was his friend, Konstantin Velichkov (1855-1907), who suffered much because of his enthusiastic love of art and his indifference to money. He had much to struggle against but he succeeded in leaving behind him three monuments, which will maintain his name in the roll of honor of Bulgarian culture. One monument is the

538 Academy of Art, which he founded in 1896, when he was Minister of Education. The two others were a magnificent translation of Dante's "Inferno" and a volume of "Letters from Rome" which can be compared with the finest examples of Western epistolary art. Not a few gems are also hidden in the poetry of Velichkov, especially in his lyrics.

Another writer who followed from the beginning in the steps of Vazov is Todor G. Vlaykov, who uses the pen-name Veselin (1865-). He was also an enthusiast for his country like Velichkov, and all his predecessors but unlike these— and this is a mark of the new period in Bulgarian literature which began at the end of the nineteenth century— he did not attempt to express so insistently his social and patriotic ideas in his writings. Vlaykov shows his love for his people by making careful sketches of the village life in a semi-realistic, semi-idealistic manner and he endeavors to express the positive qualities which hide in the soul of the Bulgarians and can be most clearly seen among the villagers: love of labor, stubborn pursuit of a definite goal, chastity in the relations between man and woman, and ardent love for the family. In the depiction of these positive qualities T. G. Vlaykov is unwearying. In this field he published the "Grandson of Grandsir Slachov" and two other stories at the age of 63 after a long pause caused by active political work, and he achieved success in them.

Near to Vazov's style of writing and his active feeling for Bulgarian reality stands Anton Strashimirov (1872-), a restless spirit, who during his entire literary activity which lasted almost 40 years, could not find time to train himself, to decide what he wished to become, a writer

9: Shishmanov B-4 (no date) 1932 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

with social interests or a pure artist, and who in conse- 538
quence never succeeded in creating anything with unity. Yet in some of the novels of Strashimirov and in one or two of his dramas, we feel the pulse of a real inspiration. This is revealed chiefly in the ability of the author in picturing the tragedy of the commonplace, the despotism of convention, and the injustice of class distinctions.

Strashimirov with his social bent, the tendencious character of his writing, his willingness to condemn, learned also from another author of this period, who in his desire to use his poetical gifts for the inculcation of ideas and opinions in the souls of his compatriots reminds us of the writers of the pre-liberation era. This author, Stoyan Mikhaylovski (1856-1927) developed satire in Bulgarian literature, first political and social satire and later satire of morals. Gifted with a keen insight into the imperfections of mankind, boiling with rage against them, cherishing a truly moral feeling and a developed philosophic mind, Mikhaylovski, with considerable artistic talent, might have played a primary role in the Bulgarian social movement and have left a deep impression on the literature of his country, if he had had that quality which every preacher, every prophet, every merciless scourge of the defects of humanity must possess— the capacity to love those whom he scolds, to pity those whom he chastizes. Mikhaylovski was cold and self-contained and therefore his satire, although it awakes admiration and is in general just, is not felt as such and it could not produce the favorable effect which it might have had, if we felt in it that the poet wrote with sorrow in his soul and with a desire to help

538 his victims and was not merely venting his own embitterment.

The work of another author of the nineties had this beneficial effect on Bulgarian social life. It was the work of a master of social and political satire like Mikhaylovski but much milder, more enlightened, more loving than he. This book which with Vazov's novel "Under the Yoke" is one of the most popular in Bulgaria, comes from the pen of Aleko Konstantinov (1863-1897) and is a cross between a chronicle and a novel; it consists of a series of loosely connected episodes from the life of one person Bay-Ganyu (the title of the book), who typifies the middle-class Bulgarian as he was in the first years after the liberation: clever, suspicious, but bold and self-reliant, not too cultured, not too able but yet rather clever in solving problems in which he seeks too much for subtlety, energetic, obstinately firm and in the depths of his soul not bitter, not spoiled, able to reform. [829] The value of the satire of Aleko Konstantinov, which is filled with humor, lies in the faith that Bay-Ganyu, the ordinary Bulgarian can change, that the evils from which he suffers are only temporary, that they are a result of the bad influences resulting from the Turkish yoke. These people deserve to be rebuked, but should be ridiculed rather than condemned irrevocably. Thus Aleko Konstantinov saves his victims, for his laughter is not cruel and does not slay completely. The book is salutary and gives a true picture of Bulgarian life in the epoch which it describes, much truer than the bitter satires of Mikhaylovski, and so Aleko Konstantinov, although he was not so serious a thinker as Mikhaylovski, yet holds a more important place in Bulgarian literature and his

hero has an immortal place and the sympathy of all 538
those who are interested in literary types.

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Aleko Konstantinov ends the series of authors of the 517
period between 1880 and 1900 in whose works the social 538
elements predominate over the purely aesthetic and who use artistic effects merely to proclaim social ideas and to realize patriotic or universal spiritual ideals.

After the death of Aleko Konstantinov who was killed in a political brawl in 1899, we no longer meet authors who aim to express characteristic features of the national life. The political life of the country was becoming more settled. Bulgaria was growing stronger, with confidence in its future and its political independence and the old problems ceased to be of all absorbing interest. New problems appeared,— chiefly of a cultural nature. The epoch of spiritual development was commencing, in which the artists played a role not of social workers but of leaders bidden to satisfy the immaterial needs of their compatriots. In the new epoch the Bulgarian writers turned their attentions to the emptiness which they beheld in the cultural life of their country, and they began to construct channels into which the spiritual life of the land could flow. They came to the conviction that they could best serve their country by leaving to the statesmen the necessary ordering of its material well-being and striving themselves as artists to enrich its spiritual treasury with values of esthetic importance, which were now more vital than the purely material interests.

It is not surprising that with such a transfer of the centre of interest the new writers should start a reaction

538 against the old and against those authors who had based
517 their art on the desire to give practical help to Bulgaria. The new art could not fail to take a position directly opposite to that of the older school, the dean of which was Ivan Vazov.

As we might expect, the three authors who at the beginning of the twentieth century directed the new movement for the invigoration of Bulgarian literature, Pencho Slaveykov, P. K. Yavorov, and P. Yu. Todorov, declared an open struggle against the influence of Vazov. Today we see that this struggle, which for a while seemed to be between representatives of irreconcilable schools, was unnecessary, that there was no yawning gulf between Vazov and the three younger men, that both sides had much in common, that they were both competent, had a serious idea of their poetical functions which they understood as a real mission to help their neighbors, and did not lose themselves in a struggle over abstract principles. Today we see the influence which his opponents exerted on Vazov and the aid which his ability gave them for the struggle against him. Since Slaveykov, Yavorov and Todorov introduced a new element into Bulgarian literature, their struggle with Vazov can be explained as the obvious development of a new and really independent group.

538 At the head of this group is Pencho Slaveykov (1866-
517 1912), son of the old Petko Slaveykov, whom we have
177 mentioned above. Pencho Slaveykov drew his new ideas from Germany where he lived for a while and where he felt the Hellenic influence of Goethe, the lyric and heroic humor of Heine and the philosophy of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. These influences, combined with

those of Russian literature, led Pencho Slaveykov to 538
break through the limitations of his lyric talents and to 517
create works which have significance for world literature 177
as well as for Bulgaria. The success of Pencho Slaveykov can be judged by the fact that in 1910, when an attempt was made to win the Nobel Prize in Literature for a Bulgarian poet, Pencho Slaveykov was put forward as a candidate, and had it not been for his premature death in 1912 at the age of 46, he would probably have received it. His poetic work which is really inferior to that of Vazov in substance and direct inspiration is superior to it in depth of thought and in its richness in universal problems, which the poet seeks to solve with artistic perfection. Slaveykov is the first conscious esthete among Bulgarian writers and he has also a deeply philosophical intellect. His ripe thought, tinged with pessimism and tempered with stoicism, enlightens and permeates the heavy, golden-sweet honey of his works—his splendid "Epic Songs", his tender lyric collection "Dream of Happiness", his original anthology "On the Islands of the Blessed". In this the poet under the pretence of translating from various foreign poets prints his own poems and he reveals various aspects of his creative personality in a series of clever biographical notes. His thought stands out and gives power to the "Song of Blood", an epic in which Slaveykov describes the uprising of 1876 and in which he tries to emphasize the salient characteristics of the Bulgarians, to explain the objects of their struggles and the nature of their oppression by the Turks, and by drawing a broad panorama of Bulgarian social life before the liberation, to predict the future of his country. It is further remarkable that

538 Slaveykov, although he based his poetic work on phil-
517 osophical and esthetic principles which he adopted from
177 Western Europe, yet remained loyal to the fundamental characteristic of all Bulgarian writers; he did not spurn reality, did not lose himself in impossible intellectual speculations, did not give up his love for his native land, but everywhere in his work he aimed to do good service to his fatherland. Because of this Pencho Slaveykov succeeded in creating works which were thoroughly intelligible to people who knew nothing of Bulgaria and which were yet as Bulgarian in substance as were those of his father Petko Slaveykov or Ivan Vazov. Such recognition is a mark of the high praise which Bulgarians accord his works.

538 Many consider the close friend and companion of Pencho Slaveykov, Peyu Yavorov (1878-1914), to be more gifted and significant than he, and without doubt, although he did not have the philosophical nature of Slaveykov, he was a more inspired and skilful artist. Yavorov enriched Bulgarian literature with nuances which had previously been unknown. He acquainted it with a great number of problems which perplex the modern man, as he is torn between a materialistic view of life and idealistic aspirations.

This struggle between faith and unbelief, between the need to devote himself unreservedly to a cause and the attempt to prove to his consciousness that such a sacrifice is superfluous, between an intuitive acceptance of all truths and a lack of confidence in human reason, between a deep and almost religious reverence for woman and an aversion to her, is the subject of his writings and is also the distinguishing mark of the life of Yavorov.

His life was one of suffering, an eternal ascending to the 538
heights and a constant falling to the depths, an eternal beating against the icy wall which separates man from absolute truth, a constant interchange of joy and disillusionment which leave a bloody trail on all the productions of his martyr life.

Although discord reigned in the soul of Yavorov, as he sought a real equilibrium, his poetry breathes only harmony. His language is unusually melodious, his rhythm is more diverse than that of any of his predecessors. The internal melody is more intensive than any which we find in the works of the preceding epoch. Here by his keen feeling for the melodic character of the verse, Yavorov continues the tradition of the old Bulgarian bards, the anonymous authors of the Bulgarian folk songs, all of whom were musicians, if we may judge by the sound of their productions. Yavorov also represents modern man as he tries to become intelligible to all the world and to be understood by strangers as well as by his neighbors. When his country calls him to make sacrifices, he is ready to lay down his life for it. He has a broad view of human sins and contradictions, the relations between man and woman, and he can portray a family tragedy, the mystery of which is only now being revealed.

All these contrasts in the soul of Yavorov, his struggles with himself and with the world are reflected in his works: the collection of poems, the "Shadows of the Clouds" which contain his most beautiful works and a wealth of motifs; his two dramas and the interesting memories of the years 1905-6, when he was struggling as an insurgent in Macedonia. For foreigners this work

538 has especial interest, since it compares Yavorov with his predecessors and it shows the union of purely Bulgarian features and universal aspirations, which are so typical of Yavorov who was both a Bulgarian and a member of the modern family of men with all of the contradictions involved.

To become a modern man and to be at the same time a Bulgarian and a Western European was the object of the third member of this group, Petko Yu. Todorov [177] (1879-1916). As a dramatist and an author of refined and elegant idyls, he introduced into his country the influence of Ibsen and he also strove to ennoble the Bulgarian folk songs and tales by using the material for original planned works, some of which have a symbolistic tendency. Todorov zealously strove to introduce into the Bulgarian palette those esthetic and philosophical principles, which seemed to him a logical outcome of literary and social development, and he did not realize at times that some of these principles were alien to the Bulgarian soul. As a result of this he did not find full freedom in the use of the folk lore material, which he might have used on a large scale. His best work are his idyls. These, the best in this form that Bulgaria has yet produced, were insufficiently valued when they appeared but now fifteen years after the death of the poet, they find conscious or unconscious imitation, especially in the works of the youngest writers with their slogan "Back to the native". We can see today that the dramas of Todorov, despite the contradictions between the symbolistic elements adopted from Ibsen and the tales and songs which are drawn from national sources, will also have a revival. The author's dramatic merits are great

9: Shishmanov B-4 (no date) 1932 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

and many authors since his day have followed his path 538 in drawing material from the folk beliefs and legends.

A contemporary of Pencho Slaveykov, Yavorov and Todorov, although he was not their friend but can now claim to share with them in the esteem in bringing Western influence into the native literature of his people is Kiril Khristov (1875-). He first attracted attention as a poet of passionate love and of fervent aspirations; later he created a large amount of lyric poetry in the folk style, but with the spiritual experiences of a highly developed man. He also created epics, dramas and novels, in which the most characteristic features are passion, a thirst for life, a stubborn movement toward distant horizons and a revolt against suffering and oppression in life, an element which gives Khristov a place not far from Vazov, Pencho Slaveykov and Todorov.

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The major part of the work of the poets of whom we have just spoken was done before 1912, before the Balkan Wars which mark a dividing line in both the political and cultural life of Bulgaria. The same period saw the rise of two other authors, who are still working, but whose spirit, interests and temperament belong to the past age, which they manifest by a calm, a wisdom, and a light scepticism which is lacking to the modern authors.

One of these writers is Dimitar Ivanov, known under the pen-name of Elin Pelin (1878-). He was born in a village not far from Sofia and in his two volumes of stories and his two novels he expresses all the outstanding features of the Bulgarian villager: sober realism, a

538 keen love for the land and the tools whereby this is worked, a feeling of close kinship with nature, a natural and unspiteful cleverness and humor. Although he is in his works a typical Bulgarian, Elin Pelin has under the influence of Vazov, Pencho Slaveykov and Yavorov and by his acquaintance with modern European literature, been permeated with the spirit of modern life, has deepened his observations and has been developed intellectually. Thanks to this he has elevated stories on strictly Bulgarian themes into tales that are accessible and interesting to the entire world. We can say with certainty that Elin Pelin is an excellent stylist and that next to Vazov he is the Bulgarian author whose works have been most translated into foreign languages and who is more popular at home than other writers who have perhaps deeper themes but less solid material, directness and naive artistry.

Another writer who like Elin Pelin did his chief work before 1912 is Georgi Stamatov (1869-), the most careful and serious psychologist and analyst among Bulgarian prose writers. His stories are so delicately and elaborately wrought that they arouse in the readers feelings of terror and delight. Stamatov (a good type of the completely modern man) busies himself especially with the relations of man and woman, marriage and all elements on which this is often based. For many years a judge, he deals also with the conflicts which take place in a humane man between his moral feeling, his virtues, and the need of protecting himself and society against all dangers. In discussing every theme, he shows his keen glance, his ability to dissect character, his sardonic smile, behind which there is not bitterness as is the case with

Mikhaylovski, but a tolerant and mild humaneness which 538
remains from the good pre-war times with their quiet
and satisfaction.

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This humanity and this wisdom which we see in 538
Stamatov and the writers of his period, are a reflection 178
of the Slavonic elements in the Bulgarian people and
were most clearly shown while Bulgaria lived a happy
and free life. Since the war with its attendant sufferings
and the revival of memories of the Turkish yoke, these
qualities are disappearing, partially if not wholly, or are
being eclipsed by other elements which are appearing
in literature. The national catastrophes which Bulgaria
suffered after the Balkan Wars and the World War, when
she was forbidden union with Macedonia, the hardships
inflicted by the unjust treaty of peace, and the material
deprivations embittered all the Bulgarians and took
from them their self-confidence and the internal peace
with which they were rising to cultural perfection and
social well-being. The people turned their attention in-
wards, to the problems of the soul, questions of life and
death, social and class conflicts. They sought in their
own past the causes and the explanations of the misfor-
tunes which they had undergone and interested them-
selves in their national qualities and defects, in which
lay the basis for their future success or failure.

As a result of this change in the Bulgarian character, 538
in political life there came a strengthening of partisan
struggles, and sharp division into schools in the field of
literature. Each of these sought to solve in its own way
the problems resulting from the changes in the social
and the psychological life of the people.

538 The most striking example of this new attitude is the appearance of mysticism, something which had not been hitherto observed in Bulgarian literature and which was really foreign to the sober spirit of the people. After the war this manifested itself first in the members of all kinds of sects which suddenly appeared and which were composed of people who were suffering directly or indirectly from the general catastrophe and who felt the need of some religious consolation which at the time could not be supplied by the national Church. This mysticism appeared in certain writers where it is not only a result of the war but is also a distant echo of that social-mystical movement, Bogomilism, which revolutionized the whole of Bulgaria during the 10th and 11th centuries and which was carried from there into Italy and France where it begot the sects of the Albigenses and became one of the causes of the Reformation.

Among the Bulgarian mystical writers the first place belongs to Ivan Grozev (1872-), a quiet and retiring poet, who eternally wanders into the world of legends which is populated with demons and angels, dragons and marvels supernatural but nevertheless real. He enthusiastically confines these creatures in poetry which is filled with the anxious aspiration for purity and redeeming sufferings and humble submission to unknown powers which guide us and can conduct us to a good land, if we will but follow. Grozev's most interesting works are his poems and some of his dramas in which his mystical feeling is strengthened by a philosophic idea which intuitively reaches into the very depths of existence.

Another mystic is Nikolay Raynov (1889-). His personality is too indistinct to be accurately definited, but it is

very broad and the author pursues various inner and outer 538
goals which he approaches by different paths. Thus some productions of Raynov are purely mystical; others are symbolistic; a third group are realistic and even naturalistic. All these works are nevertheless the work of one spirit in its eternal striving for the remote, the mysterious element of life; all are extremely ornate, stylistically refined, highly colored (in this we fell the influence of the fact that Raynov is a painter and a professor in the Academy of Art); all draw directly or indirectly on the wealth that is hidden in the mystical legends of the people, the old apocryphal religious tales and the philosophy of India. The most interesting and the most perfect are the fantastic tales of the old past of Bulgaria, his "Bogomil Legends", and also a novel which describes the life and works of Jesus Christ, in which he gives a surprisingly vivid picture of old Jerusalem and he brings out the figure of Christ with surprising distinctness.

There is a certain mystical coloring also in the works of the leading Bulgarian symbolist, Todor Trayanov (1882-), who for a long time seemed exceptional among the poets of his country for his abstractness, his remoteness from real life, a mistiness which is unnatural to a Bulgarian and which he acquired in Germany. The war forced Trayanov to descend from the clouds and to write the "Bulgarian Legends", his most beautiful works, full of the enthusiasm of a suddenly awakened love for his country and of definite sympathy with its sorrows. Trayanov tries to peer into the fate and future of his country and in his latest work "The Song of Songs", he has risen to splendid prophetic utterances.

538 Although Trayanov is the chief of the Bulgarian symbolists, the most gifted representative of the school is not he nor the uneven Lyudmil Stoyanov, the author of several collections of verse and some dramas, but Dimcho Debelyanov (1887-1916) who died an early but heroic death in the war in 1916. The entire work of this poet is included in one small volume with barely 50 poems. Quantity is not decisive. Botev wrote scarcely 20 poems and is accepted as the great master of Bulgarian verse. Debelyanov with his small volume is the master of the younger symbolists and perhaps the greatest poet of the modern period. No other of the younger men approaches him artistically in his melodious verse, his depth of feeling, his sincerity, his warmth, his acceptance of suffering which gives his poetry a heroic note. No other poet combines such simplicity and complication and depth in his feelings. No other poet can so take refuge from life in the most abstract images and symbols and no one else has his purity and his keen vision which are reflected in every strophe of his songs. The fundamental motif of Debelyanov is the yearning, the suffering of the homeless— and yet from this theme he does not derive a feeling of hopelessness but a quiet reverence before life, an assertion of existence.

The death of Debelyanov was an irreplaceable loss for Bulgarian literature. This was cruelly shown by the poems printed during his lifetime as well as by those found after his death in his notebook, in which he speaks of the war with such simple but deeply inspired thoughts and in which he gives such a true picture of it, that none of the authors of the hundreds of patriotic stories and

verses produced in Bulgaria between 1915 and 1918 can be compared with him. 538

The only poet who can console Bulgaria for allowing Debelyanov to die in battle, the only one who can be compared with him, is his comrade Nikolay Liliyev (1886-). Liliyev is perhaps a more delicate master than Debelyanov; his verse sounds more tender and more intangible; his themes which he chooses from the torments and yearnings for solitude, show a man of more sensitiveness and come from the mysterious depths of personality. But Liliyev is further from life than Debelyanov; his art is not so spontaneous; we do not feel the fervor of a soul which thrills in common with the whole of nature. So the significance of Liliyev lies in a different field from that of Debelyanov, in the field of purely artistic poetry, in which Liliyev is indisputably the master. His language is more melodious than is that of Yavorov, with a more delicate rhythm, greater variety in shadings, greater lightness of imagery. The great achievement of Liliyev can be seen in his influence on all later poets, who without exception owe to him the elegance which marks their verses and is one of the outstanding features of modern Bulgarian poetry.

Nikolay Liliyev, although he is counted a symbolist works not with this group (which centres around the journal Hyperion, edited by Trayanov) but with another centre which has been in existence for ten years and is composed of writers of various tendencies who desire to call attention to the external form of their works, the language and style, who strive to develop as far as possible the means of expression, as they try to broaden the internal content of their works. In other words they

538 are following in the footsteps of Pencho Slaveykov and Yavorov in raising Bulgarian literature to the same level as the literatures of other cultured poeples. Their organ is the journal Zlatorog (Golden Horn) which is edited by the critic Vladimir Vasilev and by Liliyev, and they strive in all their works for artistic perfection.

One of the best known members of the Zlatorog group is the master of the Bulgarian novel Yordan Yovkov (1884-). In his five volumes of stories and one novel Yovkov describes sympathetically the life of the villagers in the Dobrudja, his native province. Although is is a realist and his heroes are simple people, he never loses a sense of proportion and he never falls into roughness or into the improbabilities into which so many writers fall, when they seek to give an exact picture of life in a village and who apply the colors too thickly. For this reason Yovkov is not only an accurate observer and a good psychologist but he is also an excellent stylist with a live feeling of measure like a poet. He sees an aureole of beauty softening the rough places of life. He understands his heroes and he knows how to describe their humanity, their natural goodness and their noble feelings. This capacity for idealizing without distorting Yovkov has revealed in his two volumes of war stories, which include his masterpieces, and also in his other stories, especially "The Legends of Staroplanina" which he published later and which in language, in the liveliness of the descriptions, the clarity of his comparisons and in picturesqueness are one of the finest books in Bulgarian literature.

Among the other members of the Zlatorog group, we must mention one woman, E. Bagryana, who after several years of silence published in "Eternity and the

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Saint", a collection of deeply sensitive lyric poems, which have a high place in Bulgarian poetry, since they reveal an abstract estheticism in form, a quality very much admired in Bulgaria, and they are also formally perfect and sincere, since they are drawn from life and have passed through the heart and soul of the author as well as through her mind and reason. 538

Another gifted poetess in the same group is Dora Gabe, the author of delicate and passionate feminine verses, and of some excellent stories from the life of the Dobrudja. She has a great influence on the development of literature for children and she is considered a master in this form of writing.

Georgi Raychev (1882-) also works in the Zlatorog group. He is a prominent novelist, the author of several well-constructed tales, with interesting and complicated psychological subjects based on the contradictions in the human soul, the hesitation between evil and good and the relations between man and woman. Raychev's story "Sin" is a well planned book and can be recommended as the best example of a Bulgarian psychological novel.

To the same group belongs one of the most promising of the younger writers, just 30 years of age, Angel Karaliychev (1902-), who in his first works won the admiration of all by his truly popular and yet naturally artistic language, his village themes, and the almost expressionistic fluidity of his stories. Karaliychev is developing well and is approaching the manner of Petko Todorov. He is apparently trying to walk in his footsteps, as we decide when we notice how he uses folk legends,

538 tales and songs with all their direct naivité and freshness for his elegant and originally constructed poetical works.

Among other members should be mentioned Vladimir Polyanov, a unique but not untalented novelist and Yordan Stubel, a poet of semitones and of unclear figures.

The Zlatorog once counted two other modern writers— the critic and essayist Konstantin Galabov and the most extreme of the modernists, Chavdar Mutafov. As a result of misunderstandings both men left their friends and formed their own group, the Strelets (Archer) which has almost the same aims but has a greater tendency to merge the native art with that of Western Europe, especially of Germany. (Both Galabov and Mutafov were educated in Germany.)

Among the members of the Strelets group, Chavdar Mutafov is the most interesting, for he after Geo Milev, a gifted but not definite poet— first tried to develop on Bulgarian soil the principles of expressionism as these were formulated in Germany by Franz Werfel, Kazimir Eischmid, Ehrenstein, etc. Although his experiment was somewhat artificial, since expressionism (the principles of which had taken root in Germany) was foreign to the realistic Bulgarian spirit— yet thanks to the fact that he was a talented writer with a keen sense for constructive style, excellent language, and much liveliness in beginning a story, he succeeded in producing valuable results, especially in some of his short stories and in his novel, the "Dilletante."

Another gifted young writer in the Strelets group is Atanas Dalchev, whose verses win attention by their

original rhythms and their charm, although they are in 538
rather inartistic form.

* * * * *

The writers whom we have mentioned fall into three groups, Hyperion, Zlatorog, and Strelets, but there are some who stand alone and do not care to sacrifice their individuality or whose creative work is of more interest to them than the theoretical disputes between the groups, or they are not of an aggressive character and do not wish to have a tumult around them.

The first of them to be mentioned must be Dobri Nemirov, the best novelist of the present day, who continues the tradition of Vazov in his quiet realism and his fondness for purely Bulgarian themes. Steeped in this tradition, Nemirov, who has a really original style, a well-developed language and the ability to analyze characters and to portray spiritual conflicts, has written several well-received works of which we must name the story "Poor Luka" and the two novels "Case No. 9" and the "Brothers". The last is especially valuable, since it portrays the chief types of Bulgarians of the period before the liberation and throws light on several curious aspects of the Bulgarian soul with its present contradictions.

Another independent is Konstantin Konstantinov, who in his stories describes well and sympathetically the life of the small and dying provincial cities and gives his stories a social note and a resultant humane coloring.

We also find among the independents the two best Bulgarian dramatists of the past years: Stepan Kostov, several of whose comedies of manner with their humor

538 and keen observation have been produced by the theatres of Sofia and the provinces: and Ratcho Stoyanov, whose drama "The Masters" with its deeply felt poetry has had a great success.

Apart from the confusion of the groups there are working also Stiliyan Chilingirov, a poet of many years' standing who recently brought out a successful novel, Trifun Kunev, an author of excellent symbolistic poetry, Mara Belcheva, whose poetry is interesting because of its philosophic resignation, Nikolay Rakitin, whose songs are full of sunlight and color with their pantheistic descriptions of nature, and Vasil Petkanov who is a promising novelist well acquainted with the soul of the village.

* * * * *

There are many other names which might be mentioned but it will be better not to list more names that will mean nothing to the foreign reader but to say a few words about Bulgarian literary criticism, which— whatever the writers may think about it— has been one of the chief causes for the flowering of Bulgarian literature.

Botev and Vazov, of course, owed nothing to criticism, but Pencho Slaveykov and his friends would not probably have reached their height if they had not been introduced to the public and supported by Dr. K. Khristich, a clever critic and essayist, whose writings are full of enthusiasm and of fervor with which he struggled for his beloved writers in the Misl(Thought), a journal which he founded and edited. The group of the Zlatorog, of which we have spoken, could not have trained and developed so many talented writers, had it not been for Vladimir Vasilev, a temperamental editor, and more than

that, his friend Boyan Penev, Professor of Slavonic 538
Literature and an essayist, whose influence on a long series of modern Bulgarian writers has been enormous. Another critic and essayist of a militant disposition is Professor A Galabov, thanks to whom grew up the Strelets group. To Bozhan Angelov, the literary historian and Ivan Radoslavov, the unwearied admirer of Todor Trayanov, the critic, we must credit the flowering of symbolism in Bulgaria, especially the symbolism of the Hyperion group. To still other critics and literary chroniclers as Vasil Pundev, Yordan Badev, Anna Kamenova, who is well acquainted with English and American literature, Malcho Nikolov and others, we owe the awakening of that interest in elegant literature, which is seen everywhere in Bulgaria and which is one of the most joyful signs of the cultural development of the country.

* * * * *

With these brief characterizations of the leading Bul- 000
garian critics we will close our lecture. The author of these pages could scarcely have dared to compress the history of modern Bulgarian literature in a few pages, if he had not thought that some profit might be derived from it: that he might show to those who know little of Bulgaria, the name of which is scarcely met with in the political history of Europe, which has suffered so severely from the wars and the earthquake of 1928, that this country had won its right to stand amid the family of civilized nations and to receive the same rights and privileges as they. In less than one century, despite all the obstacles and misfortunes which it had met, it had brought itself to the level of those nations that had been progressing for two or three hundred years and it de-

served the help and sympathy of all nations and especially of America, which Bulgaria is imitating in its readiness to work, its courage, its democracy and its love of culture.

If the lecture can help in showing this abroad, the author will be satisfied.

"So be it! May there be profit for Bulgaria and understanding of its problems and its achievements."

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000 BULGARIA
PAST & PRESENT

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BULGARIA

PAST & PRESENT

BY

GEORGE CLENTON LOGIO

Formerly Lecture at King's College, University of London.
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Author of „Bulgaria: Problems and Politics", „Rumania: its history, politics, and economics", etc.

WITH 25 ILLUSTRATIONS & MAPS

„The true patriotism is the corner-stone of true nternationalism. One often can best serve his country by reminding it of what is due to other nations".

L. T. Hobhouse in „Morals in evolution".

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MANCHESTER
SHERRATT & HUGHES
1936

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TIRNOVO: THE OLD CAPITAL

[facing p. iii]

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000 The forbearance of the reader is solicited for the numerous typographical errors, such as the occasional omission or substitution of letters, disseminated throughout the book, and due to the total ignorance of English of the Bulgarian printers.

Page 48, line 9, *for* " 1934-1 " *read* " 1934-5."
Page 54, line 32, *for* " Philippolis " *read* " Philippopolis."
Page 62, figure of imports for 1934 should read 2247.
Page 64, line 19, *for* " frayed " *read* " defrayed."
Page 126, figures in column of exports for 1934 should read 2879.
Page 174, line 25, *for* " they forests b " *read* " the forests by."
Pages 180 and 192, figures in tables referring to areas in hectares should read as if they contained one unit less.
Page 108, line 34, *for* " 26 leva " *read* " high as 26 leva."
Page 222, lines 5 and 6, figures referring to gradients should read per thousand instead of per cent.
Page 233, line 22, *for* " 1931-4 " *read* " 1931-2."
Page 420, line 21, *for* " May 6 " *read* " May 7."
Page 435, line 4, *for* " Secrosanct " *read* " Sacrosanct."
Page 472, line 32, *for* " out of the " *read* " out of the sails of."

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PREFACE

Mr. Compton Mackenzie in his „First Athenian Memoirs" affirms, not without a certain dose of humour, that: 121
„the Balkan country which really inspires the love of the Englishman is Bulgaria. There is something about Bulgaria which speaks to the very soul of the prosperous and intellectual English Nonconformist. . . there is something respectable about falling in love with Bulgaria".

Such sympathy is well deserved, for it is a public atonement for the crucifixion Bulgaria suffered at Berlin in 1878 through the unjustifiable and blundering intervention of the British government. Though the Bulgarian people's fondest hopes were then irrevocably shattered, its body politic maimed and crippled, no ill-will is harboured against the English. On the contrary, it is enough to intimate in Bulgaria that one is an American, or an Englishman in order that he be met with effusions of friendship, and overpowered with offers of assistance and attestations of goodwill.

For the Bulgarians recollect that it is mainly owing to the desinterested efforts of such warm-hearted Americans as Dr. Albert Long, Mr. Eugen Schuyler, Dr. George Washburn, and to that of the noble-hearted Englishmen, W. H. Gladstone, and Sir Edwin Pears, that their country owes its emancipation. It is the efforts of these men which brought to the knowledge of European public opinion the existence of Bulgaria and made the Bulgarian question the burning problem of the time. The liberation of Bulgaria, in some form or other, was already a settled matter, before the armed intervention of Tsarist Russia. Gladstone by his untiring efforts had well nigh convinced his more insularly minded colleagues that the best defence of the road to India lay „not in a dying despotism but in the breasts of free men" and it was only the success of the Russian arms which provoked the regrettable revulsion of feeling that led to the Congress of Berlin.

As a result of the world war Bulgaria has sustained further mutilations. She has been incapacitated and disabled, and turned into a mendicant among the

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121 nations. Loans have been floated under the sponsorship of the League of Nations to succour her. The author canvassed at the time all his acquaintances and friends in favour of the loan which was raised on behalf of the Bulgarian refugees. The disillusion and loss this Refugee loan has caused to the author's acquaintances has been the chief moral incentive which has urged him to compile the present book. He feels he owes them a full explanation, and he, in a special chapter, has attempted to give a complete version of the story of these loans so that it may become clear that the responsibility for the partial default of their country does not weigh solely on the Bulgarians.

There are few peoples who have received such a severe bludgeoning from Fate as the Bulgarians. Religion unfortunately sits lightly on them and it is of little consolation to cite to their intent from the Epistle to the Hebrews: „If ye endure chastening. God dealeth with you as with sons; for what son is he whom his father chasteneth not? But if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards, and not sons".

Sympathy and goodwill for Bulgaria, arising from a full knowledge of the difficulties with which she is faced, may help, however, her people to meet with greater fortitude the heavy task with which they are confronted. This has prompted the writer to enlarge on several little known aspects of Bulgarian life, and he sincerely believes that a perusal of this book, in spite of its manifold shortcomings, will not only enlighten the American and British public on Bulgarian affairs generally, but it will also help them to understand some of the causes which have led to the decline of Parliamentarism in most European countries.

It may also be added in conclusion that a study of the economic situation of Bulgaria will help readers to grasp the problems confronting most of the Danubian States, and will convince them how indispensable is the active participation of Gt. Britain in the economic life of these countries if the results of the present crisis are to be alleviated. Failing this policy, the only alternative remedy is a resurrection in some form or other of the *Mittel-Europa* scheme with all its momentous consequences.

G. C. L.

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THE PASSING OF DEMOCRACY

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The announcement that Bulgaria had abandoned on May 19, 1934 the Parliamentary and democratic system of government and set up in its place a military semi-Fascist dictatorship was received with undisguised regret in countries where the democratic traditions were deep-rooted and traditional. This act of Bulgaria, which was considered as the most democratic country in the Balkans, was viewed with disappointment and vexation, it was considered as an open defection of a minor member of the same confraternity of liberal-minded peoples, to the triumph of whose conceptions and principles of government is due in the main, the progress achieved by the Western nations.

Such an opinion, however it might appear concordant with outward appearances. does not seem to be justified. For Bulgaria was never a democratically governed country, in spite of its Parliament and Constitution. And as for M. Kimon Gheorghiev and his colleagues, who effected the coup d'état, no one can uphold that they resemble in the least Plato's tyrant who, serves as prototype to modern dictators. This model tyrant was characterised by effecting „Just the reverse of medical purgation. For doctors remove the worst and leave the best; he does the opposite." (G. Lowes Dickinson, „The dialogues of Plato" p. 155). The Gheorghiev government far from putting into practice such precepts, has on the contrary administered the most salutary „purges" to Bulgaria, which effected a true catharsis, delivering the State from such disintegrating elements as the Macedonian Revolutionary organisation and the political coteries. The military who planned, car-

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ried out and imposed the change of government did this much against tneir will, and only after repeated warnings and objurgations to the politicians to mend their ways, had failed to call the latter back to reason and to duty. Far from assuming sole control of the ship of state, they have appealed to men of character and integrity and sought their co-operation and they have even confided to these civilians the direction of some of the most important branches of the administration. This liberal attitude is again in direct contradiction with the traditional behaviour of the model tyrant of Plato, for „he must have a sharp eye also for the man who is courageous or high minded or wealthy; and it is his greatest happiness to have to be the enemy of all such whether he like it or not, and plot against them until he purge the city of their presence.... Apparently he must do it if he is to rule". It is obvious therefore that the semi-military oligarchy which has assumed the reins of power in Bulgaria differs radically from the traditional enemy of democracy. In justice to the men who effected the coup d'état, it must be admitted, that they have never declared themselves admirers or exponents either of Fascism or of Hitlerism, and that they have never impugned democracy for faults which sprang from the abandonment of democracy. Their overt aim was to stave off corruption which was threatening the State with dissolution and to implant civic duties among their countrymen which will eventually render them fit for self-government. In fact by conforming themselves to Lysistrata's recipe they attempted to inculcate among their compatriots the idea of Good Citizenship, (this was according to Meredith the dominant idea of Aristophanes'comedies.).

„ . . . Next, for the clubs, the cabals, and the coteries,
banding unrigtheously, office to win,
Treat them as clots in the wool and dissever them,
lopping the heads that are forming therein:
Then you should card it, and comb it, and mingle it,

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all in one basket of love and unity,
Citizens, visitors, strangers, and sojourners,
all the entire, undivided community."

The first effect of liberty on those who are unprepared for it is often confusion, if not license, and the Bulgarian people were never trained to make a judicious use of the rights which the ultra-liberal Constitution prematurely foisted on Bulgaria, conferred on them. So far, Bulgarian political leaders, with some very rare exeptions, though they have masqueraded under every conceivable brand of democracy, ranging from social-democracy to make-believe Liberalism („Conservative" was too unattractive a party name for the astute and cunning Bulgarian demagogues to parade under and even those of conservative tendencies preferred to disguise themselves in the garb of the progressive, or of the populist) have miserably failed to educate the Bulgarians as to the elementary duties of citizenship; on the contrary all they did was to cultivate among them an inordinate sense of their rights, which was fostered by intensive appeals to their egoistic instincts. It is only those who are superficially acquainted with the inner working of parliamentary and democratic forms of government in most European countries that can remain intransigent supporters of all forms of self-government. For the latter often assume the most repulsive aspect of government, that leading to wholesale corruption and to the undermining of the moral fibre of a nation. The unlimited vista of putridity recently revealed in France and Rumania by the Stavisky scandal, and the Scoda affair, which impelled even a former Rumanian Premier, Dr. Vaida-Voevod to make on March 23, 1933 from the tribune of the Rumanian Chamber the astounding admission „that thare was something rotten in the organism of his country which must be amputated and cleansed before it could aspire to health", show that it is paying lip service to

000 democracy by taking up indiscriminately the defence of all that styles itself democratic. It is such travesties of Parliamentary government which render the advent of dictatorship both a necessary and a welcome operation in order to stem the process of decomposition and degradation which inevitably flourish in their wake. Dictatorship acts as a cleansing, purifying fire, it purges the ground of weeds and prepares for the sowing of a new crop.

Real democracy can only flourish in an environment in which civic virtues prosper, where there it a deep sense of solidarity among members of the same community. An appropriate moral coefficient is an indispensable prerequisite to its proper functioning. In the absence of these, democracy rapidly degenerates and becomes a forcing ground for every sort of vice and crime. When this stage of degradation has been reached, the only salutary method is to turn to an authoritative form of government which is better suited to carry out a limited mandate, such as that of imposing discripline, order and respect for law, indispensable preliminaries for the reappearance of a rejuvenated and purified form of democracy. When democracy is on the decline an appeal to dictatorship becomes indispensable; it constitutes the necessary corrective for a community which has indulged in too loose living, and whose state of health has become alarming.

As in Yugoslavia, the venality and depravity of politicians prepared and paved the way to the dictatorship, so also in Bulgaria, it is the politicians who were the source of trouble and through their lack of integrity and of public spirit, compelled a section of the people, those preoccupied with the stern rigours of their military profession and with their thoughts concentrated on the national honour and safety, to bring about the fall of that form of pseudo-democracy prevalent in Bulgaria, and which was one of the most repulsive forms of constitutional govenment engendered by unripe democracy and individual rapacity.

THE PASSING OF DEMOCRACY

000 In countries like the United States, or Great Britain, we may scoff at the idea of the military ever teaching the public the arts of government. We are even inclined to share Mr. G. B. Shaw's[1] view about the soldier, namely that such efficiency as he may possess is the result of his dehumanization and mental disablement. But in Bulgaria those foreign observers who take an interest in her welfare were not slow to detect that the suppression of its conscript army as imposed by the Treaty of Neuilly, more than anything else contributed to the rise of crime, to the undermining of virtue, to the spread of Bolshevism, and to the deplorable sagging in public and private morals witnessed of late among its hitherto incorruptible peasantry, once noted for its austere conception of life. This sudden relaxation of morals must be largely ascribed to the eclipse military influence had suffered, and to the suspension of the military training which Bulgarian youth received in pre-war days. Barrack life was a sort of popular university; not only the young peasant learnt anew the rudiments of knowledge which he had imbibed at the elementary school, but which the rude life he led usually made him rapidly forget, but what was most important, such indispensable and fundamental notions as duty to his fatherland, obedience to his superiors, respect for the law, were deeply inculcated in him by his officers; and such ideas, imposed by military discipline during eighteen consecutive months, tended to form the basis on which he built his conception of the system of law which was to direct his relations with other members of his community. The exercise of such military virtues of authority, courage, discipline and tenacity, remained to him until the last. The suspension of this training, so indispensable to the formation of a correct moral outlook in Bulgarian youth

[1] See G. B. S. ' „John Bull's other island"

000 hastened the deterioration of the standard of morality in Bulgaria. When that benevolent influence which was formerly exerted by the officer corps and initiated the youth of Bulgaria in its primary duty was removed by the underhand machinations of Bulgaria's neighbours, who purposely destroyed this part of the social framework in order better to disable Bulgaria, there was no longer any counterweight to the demoralising influences which demagogic politicians let loose in their blind pursuit of private interests. The dangers inherent in an uneducated electorate are clearly realised even by those who may be considered as spokesmen for the masses. Lord Snowden, in whose enlightened radicalism we may all confide, affirms in his „Labour and the New World" p. 224: „Government by an autocracy is a danger and a tyranny. But the nominal government of an ignorant democracy may be a greater danger to the State than even the despotism of an autocracy. For behind the power of a nominally enfranchised democracy, there is no stronger force or restraining influence".

All friends of Bulgaria should therefore feel grateful to that band of altruistic and courageous men who have volunteered to act as a „restraining influence" and who have rushed in the nick of time to deflect their country from the road to perdition on which her unprincipled politicians were leading her.

661 And as for the record of Bulgarian politicians, and of Bulgarian Parliamentarism, we had better let independent and competent Bulgarian authorities express their views. The veteran educationalist and social writer, the Radical, Ivan Kepov, in one of his most illuminating books on Bulgaria, entitled „Our Actuality" p. 109, did not hesitate to declare: „From the time of the expulsion of our first prince, the whole system of government became a carrier of corruption. And in this stifling and

661 pestiferous atmosphere only those with an iron will and exceptional moral force evaded the usual fate of the intelligentsia — moral debasement". Dr. Krestnikov, a distinguished psychiatrist, whose scientific works are known as far afield as Germany, in his booklet „On Social Themes", published in Sofia in the year 1926, makes this startling admission: „Of the 96 Ministers who have governed our country since its liberation, 48 have been condemned by State tribunals, while 8 Special Courts have been instituted to inquire into the dishonest acts of Ministers. The behaviour of our politicians has been characterised by hankering after power, and by violence... We led a more virtuous life under the Turks; then mass violence and brutality were unknown among us".

And Stoyan Mihailovski, the poet-philosopher, and certainly the most puissant Balkan genius of modern times, who was a keen observer of public life and a profound moralist, stigmatised in a forceful apophthegm his countrymen's tendency to allow their egoistic impulses to run riot, which may be rendered by:

„Once slaves, now self-enslaved are we,
And from this cursed self-imposed yoke,
Only by our efforts shall we become free".

000 In a backward country nothing can be so demoralising as a bad example set by those at the top. And unfortunately Bulgaria during her brief independent career had seldom an inspiring model set before her. Walter Bagehot's profound wise dictum that „Rigid, definite, concise law is the primary want of primitive societies, that which they need above anything else, that which is requisite before they could gain anything else" seems to have been unknown to, and unheard of by all those who in turn had charge of Bulgaria's destinies. And the Bulgarian, who by nature is an extreme egalitarian, a quality which is certainly not without its attractive sides, must

above all have the principle of discipline and that of respect for his superiors inculcated in him, for no well-ordered State can survive without the existence of some form of hierarchy in it.

It must be admitted that the circumstances with which Bulgaria has had to contend were exceedingly adverse to the development and uplifting of the mass, necessary preliminaries to the exercise of democracy. The nation, dismembered at Berlin, directed all its energy to its reunion. To effect this purpose, it expended the greatest part of its resources on military preparations, and scant attention was given by the governing classes to cultural enterprise. Though many far-seeing Bulgarians, amongst whom Stoyan Mihailovsky, maintained that the policy pursued was wrong, and that a cultural development was the indispensable prerequisite to territorial aggrandisement. Bulgaria's ethnic unification being more easily attained by a process of evolution, and the establishment of a Balkan federation — these views naturally found little favour or encouragement with the classes which wielded power.

Moreover, the ruling classes succumbed to foreign influence, Russian or Austrian, whose object was to keep the Balkan nations in as backward a state as possible, in order to turn them more easily into blind tools for themselves. So that the moral ascendency which the outward world, and especially those great empires with which Bulgaria was in close touch, exerted on her, instead of being edifying and elevating was, on the contrary, demoralising and pernicious in the extreme, Dr. D. N. Popov, the biographer of Kosta Arseniev (1864-1899), an exemplary honest democratic politician, alluded in the following terms to that stormy period of Bulgaria's history. „Demagogy created immorality. Electoral abuses, brigandage below, and corruption above, became endemic. Some would have tied Bul-

648 garia to St Petersburgh, others wanted her chained to London, another party preferred Vienna, while a certain section had preferences for Berlin, and yet another group insisted that Bulgaria's foreign policy should be conducted from Constantinople. Unhappy land, her leaders endeavoured to tie her simultaneously to several mutually antagonistic protectors, and thus unwittingly acted against the interests of their country. Bulgaria suffered not so much from the treason of her neighbours, as from the shortsightedness and lack of scruples of those directing our foreign policy, in association with foreign consuls, whose protégés they were". (Kosta Arseniev, pp. 35-6.).

177 What moral forces remained, having survived Bulgaria's Europeanization, a process which was tantamount to the elimination of the patriarcal traditions of the Bulgarians, and their replacement by what was nothing but a thin veneer of civilization — were wholly absorbed in their confict with Tsar Ferdinand, that great factor of evil in their country.

661 He, in a true Machiavellian spirit, spread corruption
577 broadcast, and vitiated the intelligentsia, in order to render all opposition to him impracticable and impossible. The diabolical refinements with which that process was pursued were set forth by Stoyan Mihailovsky, in his „Book for the Bulgarian people", published in 1897. The ease with which the intelligentsia succumbed to the malign influences which surrounded it, is chiefly due to its extreme poverty. Having sundered all connection with the peasant, artisan or trading class, from which he sprang, the intellectual scorned the idea of obtaining his livelihood by any other means than that of state employ. This desire to get employment under the Government, which is almost a passion among the Bulgarians, could not be satisfied in respect of every claimant owing to the limited number of public posts, and led to the formation of a legion of

661 517 hungry office-seekers. ready to offer their support to any politician, who would hold out to them a promise of a State or municipal office. It is from this class, reckoned to number some 300,000 strong, that every party entrusted by the Crown with the task of government, recruited its staff, dangerously depleted during the lean years the party had passed in Opposition, and replaced all organs of authority, in order to influence and doctor the will of the electorate. A Cabinet would seldom owe its appointment to office to any other consideration than royal favour, for rarely indeed could it prove that it enjoyed the confidence of the people, since such a majority as it secured in the new Chamber was obtained by methods which were a negation of parliamentarism, and a clear violation of the national will.

[642] 661 Party government in Bulgaria was always a disguised dictatorship, which imposed itself by artifices that barely permitted it to save the outward forms of parliamentarism. Except on three occasions; in 1879, 1901 and 1931, there was never a free expression of the national will. The Chamber was maintained merely to save appearances, and in order to give to the people the illusion that it participated in the government of the country. The chief aim of a party, when in power, was the enrichment of its partisans and the constitution of some reserves for the lean years it had to remain in opposition. The more the rapacious instincts of partisans were satisfied. the more would a party prosper and grow powerful. An attempt to restrain the greed of its adherents would inevitably have led to its disruption. Corruption, therefore, was the basis of party life. Such an atmosphere paralysed every spiritual activity, and thwarted every noble initiative. Idealism, in fact, became an obstacle to the progress of a party, and law-breaking and peculation the main springs of its success. Before abandoning office, almost every government would vote

an amnesty commuting or completely abrogating such sanctions as had been inflicted on their partisans for the illegalities committed by them. The Minister of Justice pointed out on December 29, 1931, that since 1881, 35 amnesties had been voted. There was no deterrent to crime, and this is why crime is more prevalent among the State functionary class than among any other in Bulgaria, since the Bulgarians are certainly the most moral and honest people in the Balkans, and it was the perversity, short-sightedness and cynical selfishness of the politicians which was leading them astray. This deplorable state of affairs was the inevitable consequence of the malevolent foreign influences to which Bulgaria was subjected, and of the too-advanced political Constitution, with which she suddenly found herself endowed; for centuries of slavery do not constitute a good training for the rational exercise of liberty. This combination of adverse circumstances has led to a catastrophe, which is at once political economic and moral, and which seems almost complete, for the Bulgarians are beginning to lose faith in themselves. 661

The same portents that heralded the downfall of the first and second Bulgarian empires, became again visible. Antagonism between the people and the State was increasing, the people had lost faith in their leaders, who were incapable of sacrificing their private ambitions for their nation's welfare, or of emerging from that stifling atmosphere of personal squabbles and intrigues, in which they lay enwrapped. The counterpart of the rascally boyars of yore was supplied by the demagogues of the Agrarian party, who, like the tyrant in Plato's „Republic" considered „that it is easiest to rule over a hard pressed community for the taxes they have to pay will impoverish them, so that they will be compelled to give their minds to getting their daily bread, and not to conspiring against him," and who do not scruple to instigate the masses to appropriate 661 641

661 641 the hard-earned property of their political opponents, thereby driving the more stable elements to aggressive reaction. The problem of renovation is all the more difficult owing to the national psyche having been perverted 181 by centuries of slavery. It turned the Bulgarian peasant into an extreme egotist, into a man who had no notion of what social solidarity connoted. Excluded for so long from participation in public affairs, he came to view them with extreme suspicion, as something separate from his existence and antagonistic to his private interests. Being treated by the Turk as he was previously by his own nobles, and actually by the inteligentsia as an inferior, he came to consider himself as a being apart, in opposition to all the world.

Experience taugh him that wealth was the only means by which he could improve his position, and ensure for himself a measure of respect. Hence his grasping and individualistic propensities. His extreme individualism makes him refractory even to Socialism, for he feels that his instincts are in harmony with anarchism, rather than with the methodical theories of Karl Marx.

641 181 The Bulgarian has further developed another lamentable characteristic: that of a boundless disrespect for the law. The law was looked upon as an instrument of extortion, to be used by those in power for their own ends and to be modified or broken by them at their own pleasure. The law has never been for the Bulgarian a system under which the rights of the individual were safeguarded. The widely-diffused notion among members of advanced communities that the law embodies the common conscience and the common interest, not only has not percolated into the depths of the nation, but has not even penetrated the superficial strata of its leading circles, and until recently one witnessed the most iniquitous illegalities being committed by the party in power, which abuses, though they

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rouse to fever-heat the indignation of the foreigner, leave the Bulgarian indifferent. It is this lack of public spirit and an extreme self-centredness which renders him apathetic to the wrongs inflicted on others, and which prevent the creation of an alert public opinion capable of checking such misdeeds as the country has been suffering from. 641 181

Such is the social inheritance of the Bulgarian. It is with such a mentality that he has emerged to free life. It would be erroneous however, to assume that psychically the Bulgarians stand at a lower level than their neighbours, or that being a backward people they deserved the dismemberment they sustained by the Treaties of Berlin and Neuilly, to the profit of the other Balkan peoples who are more or less of the same mentality, and what is worse, do not excel by those stirling household virtues of the Bulgarians, that go some way to counterbalance their shortcomings, which could be eradicated by a proper system of education. 181

The high level of the spate of demagogy which submerged Bulgaria was attained soon after the termination of the world war, when her enemies had disarmed her and when, through the weakening of the military factor, the peasant politician Stambuliiski, secured complete control of the state machine. The country then experienced all the horrors of a jacquerie. The evils engendered by the Agrarian regime are tersely set forth by Kosturkov, the capable and outspoken leader of the former Radical party, in a speech delivered in the Sobranye on Sept. 4, 1925: „With few exceptions every Bulgarian government had sown the seeds of corruption and demoralisation, they also however left some positive creative work to their credit. Stambuliiski's regime, however, has left behind an indelible furrow of corruption which it will take scores of years to remove; it is a moral scar that will be most difficult to cure. Moral perversion has been disseminated by the authorities along 661

661 the whole length and breadth of our unhappy country and it is the worst form of corruption we have yet experienced for it has revolutionised village life from its very foundations." This depressing diagnosis is confirmed by Dr. Djidrov, a distinguished economist and political writer, who in a speech in the Sobranye on Nov. 16, 1927 characterised the Agrarian regime as „the most destructive Bulgaria had experienced and the one which completed the ruin caused by the war." The nefarious influence which this high flood of demagogy has had on village life in general may be gauged by the concluding lines of M. Petko Rossen's most readable and instructive book „Among the people," and published in 1933: „Every right-thinking man who is capable of observation will be struck with dismay. To-day our village is in the pangs of such a religious, moral and public crisis, that he who entertains the hope of saving the State and public order on this, the thickest layer of our community, is bound to seek refuge in a monastery in his despair."

669 The Ministerial crisis which broke out in May 1934 was pregnant with grave consequences. Bulgaria was faced with the dilemma of placing the Agrarians, the most numerous political party, anew in the seat of power, or of delivering herself up, hands and feet bound to Prof. Tsankov, who had in the meanwhile donned a brand-new black shirt of a Fascist, and was garrulously exhorting his compatriots to adopt the Mussolinian creed. It was a case of Hobson's choise, with the certitude of a bloody trial of strength between the two rival factions, both being resolutely intent to secure control of the administration at all costs. This spelt anarchy and civil war, to avoid which, the military stepped in between the combattants, before the latter were quite ready for the fray. It was neither greed nor ambition which had goaded the military on the high road of politics, but the consciousness that

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their intervention was indispensable to safeguard their country and stave off disaster. 669

Far seeing and patriotic Bulgarians had long since sensed the dangers inherent in the pseudo-democratic system hitherto in force. The master-mind of Stoyan Mihailovski as far back as 1919, in a series of articles published in the *Napred*, launched a campaign in favour of installing in power „an iron-handed saviour". He expounded that there could be no democracy in Bulgaria so long as the soul of the average Bulgarian is not recast and rendered capable of solidarity and love for its fellows, and that it was imperative to teach first what constituted duty and that after that Bulgarians could be initiated as to what rights they possessed as members of the community. The head of the Bulgarian Church, the venerable Excharch Joseph in an interview granted to Richard von Mach, on Feb. 24, 1914, and recorded in the latters' „Aus Bewechter Balkanzeit" likewise stressed the need of a strong and virile leader such as was Stambulov", a purified Stambulov". And Dr. Djidrov, who is a socialist in principles, in a political pamphlet published in 1934, in which he enlarged on the impasse, party government had brought Bulgaria to, could suggest no other course of salvation than that of appealing to Tsar Boris to exert himself autocratic powers, a course which could be followed without violating the Constitution, and by giving a rather elastic interpretation to some of its articles!

The writer, as a pupil of the late L. T. Hobhouse does not wish to be mistaken for an advocate of the authoritarian State. It savours too much of the Hegelian conception of the State, completely demolished by that masterly criticism of L. T. Hobhouse as expounded in the latter's „Metaphysical Theory of the State." The present writer realises the truth of his master's statement that „if efficiency is improved at such cost of freedom as to destroy 000

initiative, the community loses by it on balance and will probably decay". But even L. T. Hobhouse, that noble pleader in the cause of freedom, admitted that „freedom is only possible if each man effectually feels the common good to be in some sort his own". Unfortunately the anarchic individualism of the Bulgarian, largely due to his unfavourable environment, precludes him from realizing that his own good depends on that of the community. Five centuries of slavery, preceded by as many years of worse misrule and exploitation by the native Tsars, boliars, and clerics, and finally a brief period of fifty seven years of independent existence characterised in the political sphere by law-breaking, violence and corruption, have confirmed the average Bulgarian in his belief that the State is the arch-enemy and exploiter, against which all deceit is justifiable. The dogma of „voler l'état n'est pas voler" prevalent in France has found large credence in Bulgaria, where French administrative centralisation with all its defects have also deen implicitly copied[1], helping thereby to impart a distorted notion of what constitutes democracy. It is imperative to prove to the long-suffering Bulgarian citizen that the purpose of its existence is his moral and material upliftment. To secure this the whole machinery of the administration has fo be overhauled and a new spirit infused in the civil service. Force has to be used in order to remove the piled up relics of the past which cumber the ground as well as for the purpose of curbing unbridled instincts and restraining rapacity, before the egoistic impulses which have so far prevailed may be deflected to social purposes. When this is finally achieved, and consent, the alternative

How ill-adapted were the French to instil the principles of democracy into the Balkan peoples may be gauged by Dr. G. le Bon's very judicious remarks on his countrymen. „Le besoin de division et les haines. . . semblent être des éléments constitutifs, de l'âme latine." („La Révolution Française et la psychologie des révolutions" p. 70).

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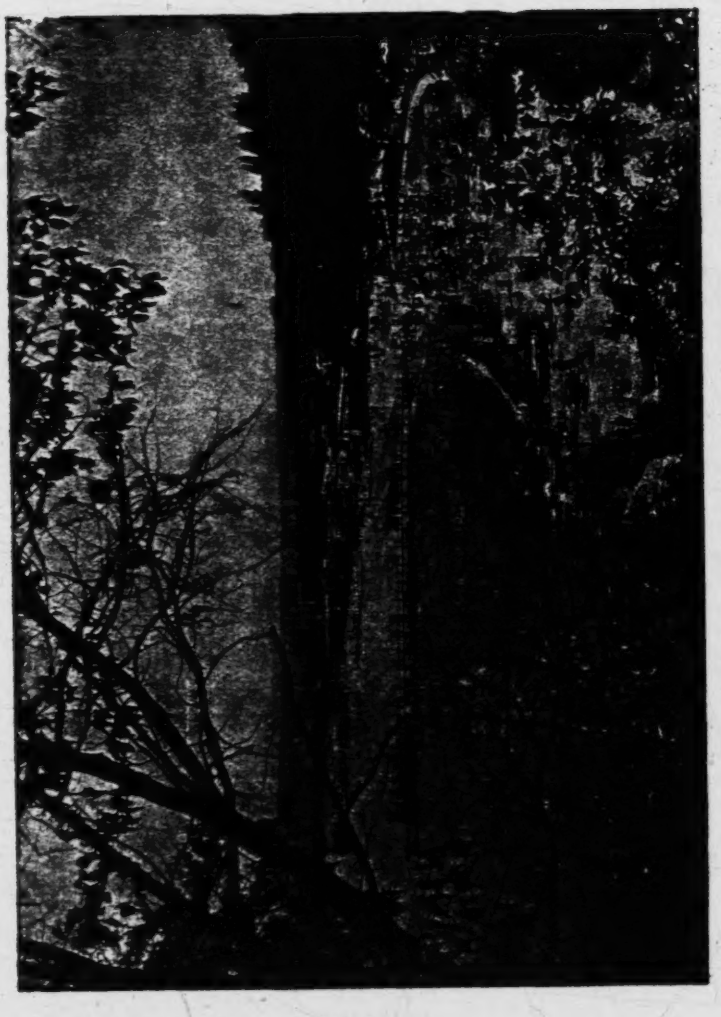

VARNA: A VIEW OF THE BEACH

[facing p. 16]

000 to force, may be relied on for the process of government, then it will be time to revert to democratic forms. As L. T. Hobhouse remarks: „If the institutions are sensibly above the intellectual and moral capacity of a people they will break down; if below, they will be broken up." The former phenomenon has occurred of late in most European countries which have adopted too prematurely Parliamentarism They are reverting to simpler forms more in harmony with their mental standing and degree of social development, both of which have markedly deteriorated since the world war. We may be confident that when these communities recover their former psychical health, or attain a more mature state of development and find that dictatorial forms of government are sensibly below their mental capacity, they will break them up and regain a just equilibrium.

643 It would be apposite to add a few lines on some of the patriotic men who undertook on May 19, 1934 the Herculean task of cleansing Bulgaria's Augean stables, for all are equally unassuming and modest, with a profound aversion for the limelight. M. Kimon Gheorghiev had already acted as Minister of Railways in the Liaptsev Cabinet (1926-1931) and owing to his strong disapproval of the financial policy of the government, resigned in protest. This, for a Bulgarian Minister is something untoward; usually their consciences are so elastic that they always manage to jog along together however much they may differ among themselves. It is they, who long before their British colleagues of 1932, evolved the doctrine of the Cabinet's agreement to differ! They only resign in a body and when such resignation is imposed by force of circumstances. In the political annals of Bulgaria there are remarkably few instances of Ministers resigning on a question of principle. The explanation which M. Gheorghiev gave in the Sobranye on Feb. 19, 1929, as to the reasons which

643 compelled him to take this step is characteristic not only of the high spirit of public duty which inspires his acts, but also of the consciousness of his responsibilities when in charge of public affairs. One or two sentences of the speech, suffice to portray the man. „It is," M. Gheorghiev declared, „a nefarious act to allow the public to perceive that the State shows partiality in its treatment of its subjects, and to favour some unduly at the expence of others... The sense of justice is being blunted, and such acts must cease"... and as they did not cease, M. Gheorghiev turned his back on his former colleagues and resigned, while the latter persevered in their campaign of spoliation and embezzlement.

645 663 As for M. Peter Todorov, the writer has nothing to alter in the opinion he expressed of him in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* on Oct. 6, 1923, the object of which was to correct and mitigate the erroneous impressions the British public was forming of events in Bulgaria owing to the reports of some three misinformed Labour members of Parliament, who had then visited the country. This appreciation of M. Todorov was couched in the following terms: „No words would adequately express the esteem in which he is rightly held by those who have the privilege to know him. His unsparing denunciation of the abuses committed by the former Agrarian government and his scathing exposures of shady affairs are the best proof of his unswerving devotion to high ideals. As long as M. Todorov remains in the Cabinet there can be no fear of Bulgaria pursuing a reactionary policy". To the above may be added M. T. G. Vlaikov's appreciation, so that it may not be thought that such flattering remarks are inspired by the personal esteem the writer cherishes for one of the most stalwart champions of true radicalism in Bulgaria. M. Vlaikov is a distinguished writer, and a political thinker who until lately had played an active and reputable part

in the social life of his country, and which may be likened to the role of the late much-regretted Charles Masterman in England. In his latest book, „Functionaries and Rulers" in which he related the rich and variegated experiences of his defunct brother in his capacity of a public functionary, and depicts in vivid colours the gradual deterioration of public morals, he lays stress on the fact, that, M. Todorov, on becoming Minister of Finances in 1923 startled all those about him by resolutely insisting that all functionaries in his department should be protected against dismissal and replacement by favourites and friends of the regime in power. That he worked with all possible zeal to render tenure of office secure for functionaries; this uncertainty as to their stability of employment being a veritable bane, and the main cause of maladministration in all Balkan countries. For a whole year there were no changes in the staff and the law relative to the appointment of functionaries in the Ministry of Finance was altered so that no one could be dismissed without the decision of a special disciplinary committee. Thus a dam against favouritism and political corruption had been effectively erected, but, M. Vlaikov, adds, no sooner had M. Todorov evacuated his post, that vents were made in the dam and soon the whole good work was undone. This shows how essential it is to have good men at the top, and all Bulgarians will readily agree that M. Todorov, in his capacity of Finance Minister has so far shown himself a very Cerberus on guard before the public purse, ready to defend it tooth and nail against dilapidations. Changes have occurred during this year (1935) in the composition of the Bulgarian Government, but the successors of M. Gheorghiev have all declared that their programme is identical to that of their predecessors and that they will pursue unflinchingly the task of purifying public life. All good-wishers of Bulgaria should wish them therefore success, for this is a pressing need.

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000 661 pressing need. The debasement it had reached spurred Stoyan Mihailovski to castigate in biting satire this remissness of his otherwise over-energetic countrymen. In the epilogue of one of his remarkable books „From Debasement to Dissolution," in which he depicts in masterly fashion the turpitude prevalent among the leading political circles at the time, he identifies the Bulgarian people with an ass, which animal he addresses as follows: „Thou shalt remain to the end a donkey. Such is the decree of providence. Thou shalt serve as an example to other animals, when they perceive thee, they will understand what moral deformity is, and they will guard themselves from such debasement. Do not ask me to flatter thee, for if I were to say in an apologue, that thou art a deft, clever sweet-voiced animal, common folk would begin to make fun of me, and would say that I too am an ass."

000 The above outburst should not be taken too literally [1], and patriotic Bulgarians need not feel uncomfortable. Let

[1] The state of public affairs in neighbouring countries does certainly not warrant one to conclude that other Balkan countries have reached a higher level, though they were enfranchised long before the Bulgarians. A few years ago a public scandal was caused in Greece by the discovery that the quinine supplied by the Government, (this being a State monopoly) was nothing but an inoffensive powder. This had gone on for a couple of years. A fifth of the population is affected by malaria and one can easily surmise the likely consequences on public health. Some personal friends and prominent supporters of M. Venizelos, were implicated a fact which corroborates the latter's explanation (made in private) as to his loss of popularity in Greece, namely that he was surrounded by a gang of depredators who had compromised his administration. Conditions in Rumania are incomparably worse, and the spoliation foreigners are subjected to beggar description. Arbitrary invalidation of contracts and seizure of property are common grievances and the „Times" did not hesitate to qualify these proceedings as piratical, when the property of a British concern, that of the Galatz Water Supply Co. was thus summarily treated. Some two years ago the present writer published a book on Rumania, with the object of putting investors and

[in public life — analyst]

them remember that G. B. Shaw, another irrepressible wit, who has much in common with Mihailovski, made one of his characters say of the British: „Every true Englishman detests the English. We are the wickedest nation on earth and our success is a moral horror." (Cusins in „Major Barbara.") 000

NEW BROOMS SWEEP CLEAN

The most important and the most difficult achievement of the Gheorghiev Cabinet was the suppression of the Macedonian revolutionary organisation. Since the Balkan wars, the Macedonian 'revolutionaries were almost autonomous rulers in the south western districts of Bulgaria, in which they levied taxes and administered summary justice. This region formed a fortress whence no Bulgarian Government had been able to dislodge them in spite of repeated efforts. From this retreat, the revolutionaries were able to control the whole body of Macedonian immigrants in 669

exporters to that country on their guard, and in order to bring the book to their knowledge made an application for the insertion of an advertisement on his book in the annual „Report" on that country prepared by the „Department of Overseas Trade" and published by H. M. Stationery Office. The latter, after acknowledging a cheque sent to defray the cost of publication, reimbursed the money three months later, and when pressed for an explanation, the writer received this edifying answer: „the book contained material of a political and critical kind, some of it hostile to the Rumanian Government. It is therefore obvious that in the interest of diplomatic comity such a book could not possibly be advertised in an official publication of H. M. Government." British citizens must obviously congratulate themselves on possessing such internationally-minded public servants who place diplomatic comity before national interest; though this extreme deference to ceremonial forms has cost Lancashire manufacturers dearly. Had the facts exposed in this book been brought to their notice, there is little doubt that a large part of their two million sterling risked lightheartedly since 1932 in Rumania, and now apparently as good as lost, would never have left our shores at all. 000

669 Bulgaria and keep them in readiness for an eventual military invasion of their native country. It is this latent danger which incited the neighbouring Balkan States to make such persistent efforts at Sofia for the dissolution of the Macedonian organisation. The removal of this ever present peril of war through the sudden incursion of Macedonian bands in Yugoslav, or Greek territory, has vastly increased the chances of a Bulgaro-Yugoslav rapprochement and promoted the work of pacification in the Balkans. Even if the Gheorghiev Cabinet had left no other record of its activities than this suppression of the Macedonian organisation, this would be sufficient for it to have secured a valid claim to the gratitude of all peace loving men and of the Bulgarian people above all. For the activities of the revolutionaries made themselves felt in Bulgaria far more than abroad, frequent murders, blackmailing, terrorism, flouting of justice, disregard for the prestige of the State's authority by the adherents of the revolutionary organisation, rendered its survival in Bulgaria a public danger and a factor of demoralisation, since the crimes and abuses its votaries committed were but very rarely punished.

631 Another laudable reform was the reduction of the
663 administrative districts from sixteen to seven, while the rural communes, numbering 2552, were reduced to 800 approximately. This change will not only effect a diminution in the administrative staff and an economy in expenditure, estimated at between 80 to 100 million leva annually, but will also permit of a more rational economic organisation of the country. By regrouping the rural communes
632 and lessening their numbers, more resources will be avai-
663 lable for the communal autorities to carry on their work with more effectively. The perpetual feuds between villages over the possession of communal lands over which so much treasure and time was spent have ceased as if by

enchantement, since by this reform rival villages have been incorporated in the same commune. These rivalries were encouraged and promoted by the politicians who hitherto made themselves indispensable to the villagers as intercessors with the authorities in their judicial disputes, and constituted a large source of revenue for all political partisans to the detriment naturally of the rural population. Communes henceforth are to have a population of at least 5000 and they will be governed by mayors appointed by the central government, on whom all authority will devolve. Mayors will choose their advisers from amongst the local notables, teachers and priests. The Government has decided to appoint as mayors, men with a university training in law, active and capable who by their example and by their knowledge will be able to raise the cultural level of the villages. They will be empowered to settle all disputes involving sums less than 2,000 leva among the villagers, thus expediting the course of Justice and settling quarrels rapidly. The perpetual drain of intellectual forces from the country to the towns, which had tended to deplete the rural districts of most intelligent forces, and which accounts for their relative backwardness, has now been fortunately reversed and one may hope for a certain improvement in rural conditions as a consequence of this reform.

This administrative reform had been advocated by many social thinkers but never carried out, for it did not suit the political parties to curtail official posts and functions in which they could accommodate their partisans. M. A. Yaranov in his „Bulgaria to-day and to-morrow," a book published in 1928, recommended for instance the suppression of at least four administrative districts, as likely to secure an economy of some 100 million leva per annum and to render 550 government posts superfluous. Even the Radical party had advocated similar curtailments, but

631 663 no government had ever decided to apply such a programme of retrenchment voluntarily and deprive itself of the privilege which the dispensation of posts brought to it. For it must not be forgotten that the politicians held the electorate by the hope of office and the civil service by fear of dismissal from their posts.

645 663 Another administrative reform was a decrease in the number of Ministries. That of railways, posts and telegraphs, has been merged with that of Public Works into a Ministry of Communications, while those of Agriculture, and of Commerce and Industry have been fused into the Ministry of National Economy. This change will not only effect an economy in the personnel, but will obviate the necessity of duplicating similar work and services and generally simplify and expedite the work of the institutes. While the placing of the Ministries of Industry and Agriculture under the same management will greatly facilitate the work of reconciling rival and often contradictory policies, which hitherto prevented the adoption of a rational general plan. Cuts and economies were effected in all branches of the administrations, the Ministers themselves setting the example by reducing their salaries by 50 %, an example which was followed by managers of both State and private banks and other institutions.

663 475 316 On July 12, 1934 less, than two months from his assuming power, M. Kimon Gheorghiev announced in a public speech that his government had licensed 6220 public functionaries and effected economies in the budget amounting to a minimum of 385 million leva. The efficiency with which the work of overhauling the functioning of the administration was carried out may be gauged by the report on the management of the Pernik coal mine, which is an autonomous institution under State control. The new directors found that the former Agrarian Minister Ghitsev, under whose province came the supervising of

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the mine, had nominated 75 partisans as supernumeraries at a daily wage varying between 120 and 150 leva and that these busybodies never presented themselves at the mine even to receive their salaries, but that they had their emoluments regularly remitted to them at their domiciles. Another 170 persons had likewise been appointed in order to receive stipends but without doing any work. The new administration dismissed all redundant functionaries and by the beginning of 1935 the staff had been reduced from 5750 early in 1934, to 5100. The cost of extraction nad been diminisued from an average of 217 leva per ton in 1933, to 193 leva in 1934, and the quantity of coal extracted per day of 8 working hours per miner had increased from 753 kg. to 839 kg. The total output of the mine for 1934 reached the record figure of 1,266,000 tons. A saving of some 30 millions had been realised in the working of the mine, in spite of a decrease of 20% in the price of the coal delivered to the State railways and of 10% to 16% in that furnished to other consumers, which reductions could be estimated as amounting to some 55 millions. The new management likewise attempted to improve the social amenities of the working people and was reported to have provided free meals for the children of the miners attending school, to have opened crèches, and replaced 500 miners, who possessed sufficient incomes to live independently, by others who had no resources whatever, a fact which shows that the colleagues of M. Gheorghiev were decided not only to effect economies, but also to deal out as large a measure of social justice as possible.

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Another noteworthy measure passed by the Government was the law relative to the alleviation of debts, which radically solved a problem which was hanging fire for years. Owing to a drop of about 65% in the prices of agricultural produce between 1920 and 1933, the peasantry

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found itself utterly unable to meet its obligations and it became imperative to tackle drastically the question of indebtedness so as to permit debtors to fulfil their obligations and thus reopen the channels of credit which momentarily had become choked, and impart a new impetus to the economic life of the country which was threatening to come to a standstill. The measure aimed chiefly at helping the small farmers, and to a lesser degree the artisans and small traders. They affected debts up to 300,000 leva and contracted prior to January 1, 1931, which were reduced by this decree to the extent of 40%, 30%, and 20% respectively for each of these three categories of debtors Certain mitigations were granted to those who had contracted debts as sureties, while debtors owing over 300,000 leva were awarded a reduction in the rate of interest hitherto payable on their debts, as well as an extension of time for their repayment. The losses entailed were to be taken over by a specially created institute to which the State would henceforth affect revenues from certain imposts to the amount of some 220 milions annually which would suffice to meet the liabilities created by this measure. Private debts are estimated at about 12 milliard leva and it is reckoned that about 50% of the total will benefit rom this law. By July 1935, 281,177 claims had been registered with the special „caisse d'amortissement" created for this purpose for a total sum of 6,417,043,822 leva according to the Bulletin of the Agricultural Bank for July 1935. It is interesting to note that some 600 communes were reported as having filed claims, among which figured some municipalities of large towns such as Pleven and Plovdiv, a fact which proves that municipal finances are in a bad state in Bulgaria. For years previously both the Agrarianss and Communists had been making capital of this question of private debts and instigating debtors not to pay, promising the electorate that if it voted for them

they would pass a law abolishing all private indebtedness. 426
It is gratifying to note that in spite of all this arrant 663
demagogy and incitement to default, the peasantry has not deviated from its traditional honesty, and that in spite of the crisis it has done its best to meet its liabilities. The annual reports of the Agricultural Bank show that its advances to the peasants have during the years 1930 to 1933 slowly but steadilly decreased and that their total indebtedness to the bank had been reduced by 300 million leva at the end of 1933, as compared with the year 1929. In the bank's report for 1933 it is stated that the peasantry has ceased increasing its indebtedness owing to its being conscious of the necessity of adjusting its debts to the present level of their income, a fact which speaks very highly of its common sense as well as of its determination to maintain its standard of integrity by which Bulgarians have so far distinguised themselves from their neighbours.

One of the most active members of the Cabinet was 652
its Finance Minister, M. Peter Todorov, who in a brief 655
period of a few months succeeded in settings order in his department so that the salaries of public functionnaries which were some five months in arrear, began being paid again regularly. Debts to Government contractors which had remained unpaid for years were liquidated and with indefatigable energy M. P. Todoroff set creating new sources of revenue for the State. These were the monopolies of alcohol, tobacco, salt, light mineral oils and school text books. There was an intensive contraband carried on in alcohol, and the State was being deprived of millions of revenue which otherwise ought to have flowed into its coffers. The returns of the Excise on spirituous drinks were yearly diminishing correspondingly with the reported consumption of both beer and alcoholic drinks as may be noted from the following table:

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

Consumption in thousand of hectolitres

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Beer	76.4	46.8	41.7	81,7	52.7
Alcohol	10.2	8.2	8.2	4.9	5

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Yet these figures were far from corresponding with the actual consumption, and it was known that a large number of illicit stills were being in operation all over the country. The question of the loss this clandestine trade entailed to the Treasury came up several times for discussion in the Sobranye but so far no government tackled the matter seriously as it was afraid to ruffle certain sections of the electorate which engaged in these operations. Thus deputy Dr H. Mutafov speaking in the Sobranye on June 13, 1932 affirmed that for 1930 the quantity of wine which had been declared to the authorities and on which excise had been collected amounted to 38,822,096 litres, while according to the figures of the Ministry of Agriculture some 108,618,482 litres had been produced. The figures for 1931 showed even a greater discrepancy. It was known also that some 10 million litres of wine had been distilled and transformed into brandy, on which additional excise ought to have been paid, but of this quantity only 42000 litres had been declared. The contraband on tobacco was even more intensive than that on alcohol, for the smuggling of this article was much easier and the profit correspondingly greater. Tobacco in the leaf was sold at about 10 to 15 leva per Kg. while when transformed into cigarettes it was retailed at 150 to 200 leva per Kg. by the tobacco manufacturers who of course refunded to the State the amount of excise chargeable on their sales. The consumption of tobacco on which excise was imputable was yearly declining, and proportionally the State revenue from this head. A former Minister of Finance had declared on May 10, 1932 in the Sobranye that if the excise service could be reorganised and strengt-

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hened some 400 to 500 millions extra annualy would accrue to the State from this source, and he cited figures to show how the consumption of tabacco on which excise had been collected was being anually reduced. 5,214,089 kg. in 1925, dwindling gradually to 3,888,312 kg. in 1931. These figures may be supplemented by the following table which also shows the revenue derived from tobacco.

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Tobacco consumption in thousand kg.			Excise duty in million leva	
1931	3,888·3	"	670·4	"
1932	3,506·6	"	642·5	"
1933	3,374·3	"	613·3	"
1934	3,191·0	"	580·2	"

The tobacco monopoly will not only contribute in increasing revenue very substantially, and this will probably be secured by the creation of a special cheap brand of cigarettes to be sold exclusively in rural districts as has been done in Turkey, but will also exert a certain influence in stabilising the price of tobacco and will permit growers to obtain a more equitable price. With the creation of the tobacco monopoly the State will absorb for its proper requirements some 5 million kg. of tobacco and as this amount represents about a fourth of the annual crop, it will be easy for the State to exert a hardening tendency on prices for the benefit of the growers. Another beneficial result which will be derived from the creation of this monopoly is the improvement in the condition of the workers in the tobacco industry which occupies the greater number of industrial workers in Bulgaria. The State owing to its proclaimed policy of upliftment of the working classes is bound to do its utmost to ameliorate their lot, which was far from being enviable as may be inferred from the large number of strikes which occured in this industry,

The monopolies of light mineral oils and of salt do not aim at securing additional revenue to the State, their

652 655 object being mainly to effect a better control and levelling of prices in all parts of the country. The one for school text books has been created in order to reduce prices and to prevent the too frequent change of the books made use of in schools, a practice much in vogue in Bulgaria and by which students were exploited to the advantage of certain publishers closely connected with political circles.

Minister P. Todorov took the initative to fuse into one under the title of „Bulgarian Credit" all the provincial banks of the country in order to strengthen their position and reduce their running expenses. The State provided for this purpose a sum of 50 million leva, while the capital of the amalgamated banks amounts to about 100 millions. Eventually it is proposed to increase the capital to 250 million leva. The two State banks, the „Agricultural" and „Central Co-operative bank" have likewise been merged into one to the great advantage of the State and of the co-operative societies as may be inferred from the writer's notes on the co-operative movement.

654 The Ministry of Finance began to tackle also the problem of the excessive protection granted to the local industry which rendered the prices of all industrial products unapproachable to the impoverished agrarian masses. The advantages and prerogatives hitherto enjoyed by industrial establishments have been curtailed in many directions and the preference they enjoyed over their foreign rivals in so far as supplies to government institution is concerned has in fact been removed.

652 648 Other reforms, having as an object the stabilisation of the civil service, the simplification of judicial procedure, the transformation of the educational system etc, were being studied and would have been shortly applied when unexpectedly the Cabinet of M. Gheorghiev was asked to resign and cease its creative action, on the alleged pre-

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tence that some of its members and supporters entertained republican sympathies. Bulgarians who for the first time in their modern history had been at last privileged to witness at home how a decent government should function would if they were free to express their opinion probably demur at the change invoking in support Pope's dictum:

„For forms of government let fools contest,
What e'er is best administered is best".

What is not devoid of a certain piquancy is that the Financial Committee of the League of Nations „which had just rapped the late Government smartly over the administrative knuckles" (as stated in an editorial in the *Manchester Guardian* at the end of January 1935) should have provided the opportunity for this stroke. And yet the Financial Committee should above all have been thankful to M. Peter Todorov for his financial measures. Thus the creation of the monopoly of alcohol will vastly increase the revenues affected specially to the service of the Refugee Loan which was issued under the sponsorship of the League of Nations. But of course, the interests of the unwary investors in League of Nations Loans are no longer considered. Those of others take priority. M. Todorov's financial projects apparently were not to the liking of some oil magnates, and of the French, Belgian and Swiss capitalists who have respectively some 377·3, 568·4 and 533 million leva invested in banking and industrial enterprises in Bulgaria. His threat to reduce the tariff, and his creation of a powerful credit institution which would be in a position to compete with the foreign banks naturally provoked a certain amount of wire-pulling and log-rolling as a consequence of which M. Todorov has lost his portfolio.

BUREAUCRATS AND POLITICIANS

647 There are few such morally refreshing writings on Bulgarian politics as the opening chapters of M. T. G. Vlaikov's book „Functionaries and Rulers" in which the self-sacrificing efforts and the devotion of the freshly appointed civil servants in the newly liberated Bulgaria are depicted. Touching incidents are related which illustrate the high pitch of patriotism and sense of public spirit then prevailing among the more educated classes, who hastened at the time to abandon lucrative professions in order to assume public functions, because there were no other persons capable of carrying on the work of administering the country. If the blight of politics has succeeded in perverting such austere and exemplary virtues, the removal of the baneful influence politicians have so far exerted, may equally result, under proper guidance, in a reversion to the simplicity and austerity which characterised the first appearance on the political stage of their country of the passing generation of Bulgarian public men. Easy is the descent into Avernus, while the path leading to virtue is steep and beset with obstacles, nevertheless when its existence is known, and has been trodden before, there is some hope that it may be travelled on again.

647 661 Since the discarding of democratic forms of government on May 19, 1934 this stupendous problem, on the satisfactory solution of which will depend the success or failure of the new system of government, has only received superficial treatment. The Gheorghiev Government was absorbed in other more pressing matters, and it only issued a decree inflicting draconian sanctions on all public functionaries involved in peculation. A radical overhauling and simplification of the bureaucratic machinery is the most pressing problem at the pressnt time and it remains with M. Gheor-

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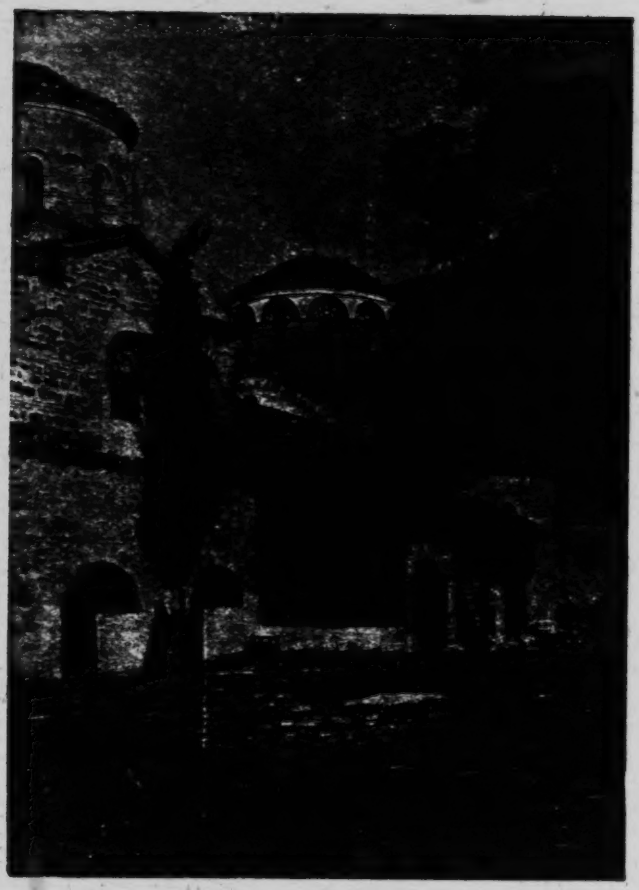

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[facing p. 35]

647 ghiev's successors to grapple with it and destroy root and
661 branch this foul growth which has so far poisoned public life and undermined morals in the country. By their abillity to deal with this pressing question cabinets will be judged and their fate decided. The urgency of the matter may be gauged by the following illuminating article which appeared in the *Mir* on November 24, 1933, and a summary of which is given below:

[674] „Official statistics show that criminality has increased from 426 per 100,000 inhabitants in 1910, to 631 in 1923 and to 726 in 1929. Crime has been much more frequent in the urban districts and the class which has been most indicted, excluding that of people without a fixed occupation, is that of State and municipal functionaries. The percentage of crime among this category has been 470 per 100,000 in 1910, 751 in 192-, 1936 in 1926, 2169 in 1927, 1995 in 1928 and 1718 in 1929. The percentage of increase in crime for the whole population between 1910 and 1929 has been 64%, while that for public functionaries, has been 435% during the same period. In 1928, 22.6% of all crimes in Bulgaria had been committed by functionaries of the State or of municipalities (excluding officials in the railway and post-office administrations, whose misdeeds if accounted for would have further increased this figure of 22.6%) and it becomes obvious that our functionaries are corrupt to a frightful extent. The causes are not only the bad economic conditions, but also our political manners.

When a manager of an autonomous institute appoints capable and fit persons in possession of the required training prescribed by the regulations, the Minister in charge dismisses them and appoints in their stead his partisans. Inculpated functionaries who ought to be dismissed and arraigned before a court are maintained and even promoted if they belong to the same party as the Minister in charge".

Instability in tenure of office must equally tend to render officials remiss in their functions, there is no incitement for them to display zeal since they know that they will be evicted as soon as their party is driven from power. According to a statistical table prepared in 1911, the average period of service of State functionaries was only seven and a half years Out of a total number of

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49,683 officials, only 830 had served thirty-one years and over.

A former Minister, M. Madjarov, writing in the *Mir* on October 11, 1934, affirmed that the reason for the increased corruption among functionaries is that the culprits are not found out. The fear of punishment is no longer a deterrent when 90% of the delinquents are not discovered. The well known author, M. T. Vultchev, also wrote on this theme in the *Mir* on October 30, 1933. He opined that the economic crisis was intensified owing to the vices of the administration, and cited in support an article published by a functionary who enlarged on the losses caused to the exchequer through the lack of control and the non-application of fiscal decrees by mayors and functionaries when they were dealing with their partisans. Even conscientious functionaries can not proceed to collect such taxes as are due by partisans of those in power for fear of being dismissed. In February 1934, the organ of certain functionaries in the Finance Ministry, the *Finansova Zastita*, wrote saying that excise controllers were hindered from doing their duty by the partisans of those who were in power and that consequently contraband was increasing. The *Mir* on November 17, 1933 affirmed that financial inspectors had ascertained that during the preceding seven months malversations amounting to 500 million leva had taken place. The *Sofiiska Tribuna* on October 14, 1933 revealed in full detail how the excise had been defrauded of some 2 million leva at Burgas through the complicity of certain State functionaries. The *Narod* on August 1933 reported that a certain sugar refinery was owing 134 million leva to the State, but that with the collusion of certain influential deputies this debt would be written off. The loss to the Bulgarian Exchequer through the pandering to the wishes and whims of partisans had attained tremendous figures. The former

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Minister of Finance, Stefanov, stated in the Sobranye on June 17, 1932 that in 1930 there were 2800 million leva of uncollected taxes, 75% of which could have been duly collected by the authorities if they had properly attended to their duties! The culpable remissness of the autorities has thus had two results, the disorganisation of public finances and the corruption of the public service. 647 661

The bureaucracy is not a native institution. It was set up and organised by the Russians and has inherited all the defects and corruption of its prototype.

M. Symeon Radev, in his most informative work „Creators of Contemporary Bulgaria", pp. 114/5 cited some instances of the deplorable example of corruption set up by the first Russian administrators in Bulgaria. The Russian commissary, Prince Dondukov-Korsakov, farmed out the tithe to a Frenchman at a price which was reported later by the financial authorities as derisively low. According to the contract, the Frenchman bound himself to pay as an advance 3 million gold francs, but this sum was never accounted for in the State acoounts, it had simply been pocketed by the Prince.

In connection with this contract it had been reckoned that there ought to be in the Government warehouses 290,000 bags of wheat and 100,000 bags of other cereals, but when the stock came to be checked, some 100,000 bags were missing. The financial official could get no satisfactory explanation from the Russian authorities in charge, and this colossal robbery had to be passed over in silence.

In Tsarist Russia, the functionary considered himself as all important, a very delegate of the almighty Tsar; he could take any liberty with the public, and the Russian organisers seem to have imparted this spirit to their young Bulgarian colleagues. The latter being inexperienced and uncritical, readily assimilated these vices, believing 647

647 they would thereby gain in self-importance. They thus took the habit of looking down upon the civilians with undisguised contempt and often did not hesitate to express resentment at being pestered with requests for advice or guidance. The tribulations of the average Bulgarian in his dealing with the authorities are insufferable, and one may marvel at the remarkable patience which this long-suffering, people displays. An idea of how tax payers are dealt with in Bulgaria will be formed by a perusal of the following excerpt from the *Mir*, published on May 10, 1934: „I went to the office of the Tax-collector to check the figures of an impost I had been asked to pay. The functionary was not there. I returned the following day, he took note of the matter. and asked me to call next day at 11 a. m. I was then informed that details had not yet been obtained from the archivist, and that I should call again at 4 p. m. When I presented myself in the afternoon, I was told that the details could not be found and that I had better go to the Ministry of the Interior and seek there the elucidation I needed. On calling at the Ministry I was asked to visit the Ministry of Public Health. From that department I was sent to a department of the Ministry of the Interior. There they attempted to make me call again at the places I had visited, but when I remonstrated and affirmed that I had visited these places already, one of the controllers took up the matter and was able to give me the information I was after. However this proved insufficient for my purpose and I had to prepare further petitions and start anew on my quest. It appears that all these difficulties are purposely created in order to compel people te disburse without asking for any explanations".

How indispensable it has become to challenge and destroy the existing bureaucratic system, a veritable Laernean Hydra and nightmare to the average Bulgarian, a

system which has alienated him more than anything else from public affairs, will be gauged from the following opinions expressed recently by Bulgarian politicians of all parties on the prevailing methods in the public services and the administration. 647

These excerpts are culled from speeches in the Sobranye as recorded in the Parliamentary minutes and made by both supporters and opponents of previous Governments, all however are equally unhesitating in their condemnation of the system.

T. Kojuharov. June 6,1928, Government deputy:

„People are subjected to much suffering in their everyday dealings with the officials of the administration who torture and harass them. One may be a no-party man and well disposed towards the authorities, but it will be enough for one to have to seek a certificate that one's taxes have been paid in order to come to detest them. For in order to obtain such an indispensable document one will be forced to hang on in turn before twenty box-offices, urged from one office to another and waste fifteen to twenty working days. These are everyday facts, the conviction has become rooted among the people that without the personal intervention of a deputy at a public office it is useless to aply even when it is a case of quite legitimate business. Corridors of public administrations are congested with people, but the functionaries who are being waited for are not busy. On opening the door leading to their offices you will see them drinking coffee while the people outside curse the Government. It is such daily contact of the people with the administrative staff which causes bitterness and undermines the authority of all Bulgarian Governments. Our bureaucracy is frightful, its indifference to public affairs and State interests is simply revolting. It is repugnant even to us deputies who are obliged to be in contact with it."

D. Todorov. March 9, 1927, Government deputy:

„If you go at 8 a. m. (Shops and public offices open at this time in Bulgaria) to a Government office and ask for a functionary, you will not find him. If you ask for an assistant manager, you will be told to call at 9 a. m., if for a manager, at 10 a. m., if for the head, at 11 a. m. It would be an insult to working men if I were to say that these people work. You will see them reading newsparers,

647 illustrated magazines, novels, or talking with friends. Complete chaos rules in the administrations and this will continue as long as Bulgaria can survive with this gangrene in her organism."

St. Kosturkov. June 15, 1932. Minister of Railways:

„There is nothing more terrible in Bulgaria than its bureaucracy, it is a greater plague even than partisanship, for if the latter is not overconfident as to its future, bureaucracy feels deep-rooted and secure, obeys no one, and respects nothing."

Dr. Beshkov. July 10, 1928. Opposition deputy:

„The registers of the financial administration present a veriable chaos. It is impossible to check their figures. Thus properties which have changed hands, still figure in the names of the original owners who are called upon to pay taxes on them. In order to recover their money the latter have to institute proceedings against the new owners. It occasionally happens that the properties have changed hands a third time, in which case the process has to be taken up further. In Sofia alone there are some 842 million leva of overdue taxes which have not been collected"

Unfortunately the situation has not improved in the least since the coup d'état, for the *Mir*, October 25, 1934, in a leader reported:

„The Sofia Tax collecting office is typical of the prevailing disorder reigning in the bureaucracy and illustrates our incapacity to organise a public service. Though great efforts have been made since May 19th to correct the inherent vices in this department there are no signs of any amelioration yet, though it must be admitted that it is impossible to redress in a few months the consequences of years of incapacity and remissness. Fantastic things occur at this office. Citizens can not receive a positive answer as to how much they owe to the State; at every inquiry a divergent answer is given. A few weeks ago taxes on the estate of a man who had died ten years ago were being collected and to the surprise of the heirs, buildings belonging to them for years were included among the property of the dead. For ten years these matters had not been verified! The system is vicious, incompetent and creates a current of dissatisfaction against authority."

The administration seems to take pleasure in creating difficulties and obstructing every branch of activity.

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The experience of an acquaintance who attempted to send a consignment of Bulgarian cigarettes to some relatives of the author's in Nigeria, is worth relating. He had to order special tin containers from England to hold the cigarettes. According to the existing customs regulations, all packing materials imported in the country and used as such for goods exported from Bulgaria pay no duty on entry. On the arrival of the tin containers an over-zealous official opined, that they were not, properly speaking, packing material, for they would themselves be packed in cases, and that therefore they were subject to duty. As the duty was prohibitive and amounted to a preposterous figure a petition was lodged with the Ministry of Commerce soliciting that a more liberal interpretation should be given to the existing law. Six months later the answer came, intimating that the matter was in the competence of the Finance Ministry. Another petition was then draffed and submitted. Another problem then arose, namely, which of the various departments in the Ministry was the competent one to deal with this subject. No one would assume responsibility. A whole year elapsed and finally the wiseacres in the Ministry decided that the Minister of Finance himself should cut the Gordian knot. But he too quaked before a matter of such stupendous importance, and he referred it to the Ministerial Council, which decided at last that the containers should be considered as packing material and be exempted from duty. Over a year and a half was needed to solve this complex problem, and in the meanwhile most of the tins had rusted and become useless. 647

These difficulties and obstacles one meets when dealing with organs of the administration are not due to mere red tape or to the proverbial bungling of the bureaucracy, they are often created purposely in order to embarass, bewilder and paralyse the applicant and thus 647 661

647 661 force him to have recourse to an intercessor, in important cases a deputy, whose services have to be remunerated, and who usually shares with the functionaries the spoils he has squeezed out of his hapless victim.

Thus we find D. Daskalov, July 18, 1928, an opposition deputy, declaring:

„Unparalleled chaos reigns in the Pension Administration. Pensioners living in the provinces have to employ and pay intercessors in order to have their affairs attended to and settled, in many instances and though all the necessary documents have been submitted, cases drag on for two or three years. I know of a teacher from Vidin, who after waiting for a whole year without obtaining satisfaction came specially to Sofia. On inquiring at the Pension Bureau he was told to call again in a week's time. When he retorted that he had specially come to Sofia for this matter and could not afford to wait, he was informed that such was the prevailing order and that it could not be changed."

A Government supporter, N. Padarev, then continued in the same strain:

„I know of an unfortunate widow with four children, whose pension book has been kept back for six months and not returned. Such a state of affairs is as inexcusable as it is unbearable."

G. T. Vlaikov, March 5, 1929, a supporter of the Government, after a long speech on the civil services related the following experience of a friend of his who had the greater part of his estate expropriated, and to whom a compensation of three million leva had been awarded. Though he was in urgent need of the money to pay his taxes and cultivate the remainder of his land, all his efforts to secure payment proved unavailing for eight years. At last he had recourse fo an intercessor who demanded a commission of 12%, but finally he accepted 7%, and in a very short time the money was paid.

Another deputy, H. Baraliev, January 28, 1927, a supporter of the Government, discoursed on the lapses prevalent in the Financial administration. Income-tax declara-

tions of wealthy and influential people went usually astray in tax collectors' offices. A committee of control had unearthed twenty such declarations in one tax-collector's office. A special commission had been appointed to examine the amount of taxes imposed at first hand, and in many instances had made undue reductions from millions to thousands. Obviously bribery had been resorted to. 647 661

The name of a well known Gabrovo manufacturer was given whose tax had been assessed at 800,000 and the amount afterwards reduced to a very small sum. The committee of control was able to prove the partiality of the special commission but its report on these abuses had been kept back by a head of a department whose name was given. Cases of income-tax collectors who had absconded after appropriating public moneys were also cited, and M. Baraliev explained that unworthy individuals were being nominated as tax-collectors owing to their close relationship with those in power. In Sevlievo a conscientious financial inspector was removed from his post because he inflicted a fine on an influential partisan and the fine had not been collected. The services were being demoralised when dutiful men were reprimanded and unprincipled men protected.

Ts. Tabakov, March 14, 1929, an independent deputy, decried the custom of creating sinecures which are filled by partisans. There was not a single chancery where abuses were not committed, bribes openly received, and embezzlements in which the big bosses of the party were participating. Responsible posts were entrusted to unworthy persons.

Another opposition deputy, Dr. N. Dumanov, March 8, 1929 was yet more outspoken: „Our treatment of functionaries is criminal, we choose them mainly as pioneers in electoral struggles, and consequently nominate men who are not fit to serve as civil servants."

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And the following statement made by another Government deputy, V. Marinov, on September 8, 1926 is not devoid of humour owing to its extreme artlessness: „What God gives is for all, but the blessings which the State may confer are first for our kin. That is how we understand democracy. So it was yesterday, is to day and will be tomorrow. It is we deputies who intervene to dismiss or nominate officials. Why should some criticise the system when they did the same thing when in office."

In the customs too, serious abuses occur, and the State loses millions every year by prevarications and collusions between customs officials and importers. One may secure illustrations of these shady transactions by perusal of a pamphlet recently published by a former customs official, C. S. Dobrudjaliev, and also in the above mentioned book of M. G. T. Vlaikov. This will explain the rocket-like ascension of certain commercial firms in Bulgaria. Such a practice is not only prejudicial to the State, which sees its revenues dwindle, but it is also devastating to the commercial community at large. Honest traders are being undersold and ruined by such unscrupulous competition.

Parliamentarism had become a [illegible]esty, and democratic institutions served as decoys [illegible]odwink the people and impose upon them. The public services were purposely demoralised in order that politicians should become the supreme dispensers of all power. Instead of appointing to public functions men suited by their accomplishments and training, servility became the best credential. Far from seeking to stabilise the civil services and render them immune to political influence, functionaries on the contrary were made to feel that both their appointment and promotion depended on the politicians. They therefore obeyed them in everything and looked up to them rather than after the interests of the State which they were supposed to serve.

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Another natural consequence was the undue multiplication of public functions in order to provide for an increase in the number of such docile retainers, who served to strengthen the politicians' hold on the State machinery. The increase in the personnel necessitated the finding of some additional occupation and this was secured by an undue complication of the administration. This too was to the advantage of the politician, it made him indispensable to his electors. The transaction of business in a Government office having been rendered as intricate and puzzling a procedure as possible, the average citizen was forced to resort to the services of a politician to settle such affairs. Political bosses made an easy living by the dispensation of such services, which were far from being gratuitous, and even public functionaries had often to compensate their patrons for the posts to which they had been appointed by sharing with them their meagre salaries.

This explains why, when conscientious deputies like G. Yurtov, who on February 22, 1927 remarked in the Sobranye that half of the functionaries could be dispensed with by simplifying the civil services, or when A. Kantardjiev (November 5, 1931) criticised the system and declared that Bulgaria had the greatest number of functionaries in proportion to her population, namely, 17 per 1000 inhabitants, while England, Switzerland and France had only 3½ to 7 per 1000 inhabitants, such remarks fell on deaf ears.

It may seem strange, yet it is among the higher strata of the bureaucracy that one finds its most perverted members; the rank and file, though wretchedly underpaid are on the whole honest and conscientious, which shows that if a more efficient control was exerted and stricter discipline imposed, the demoralising influence set by those at the top would cease. So far this was not attempted because the top layers of the bureaucracy were in the

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647 661 main recruited from the ranks of the politicians. Only twice have efforts been made to stabilise the civil services and put a stop to the abuses it was giving birth to. The first attempt was made in the early years of Tsar Ferdinand's reign and the initiative was due to the then Prime Minister, Dr Danev. But such a measure did not suit the views of the Crown, and the National Liberal party, which was next in office, hastened to rescind it with the approval of Ferdinand who refused to interfere when appealed to by several leading political leaders.

The second attempt was that made by M. Peter Todorov, which has already been mentioned.

000 It is easy to realise that when the Executive and the Legislature become bound by a community of private interests and either fails to control the other then Parliamentarism goes bankrupt. This is what has happened in European countries which have adopted Parliamentary institutions, with the exception of the Scandinavian countries, Holland and Switzerland where its proper functioning has been rendered possible owing to the citizen's high conception of his civil duties. Democratic government is the outcome of a long evolution and there is no room for blind imitation. It took some seven centuries to reach its present state of development in Great Britain, and even there, it is open to lively criticism. Dean Inge has defined modern democracy as "the organised plunder of minorities"; but even this constitutes a vast advance on the level attained in the Balkans where it is still at the stage of the organised plunder of the majorities, judging from the following striking deliverance of Mihailovski: "We are a predatory people ... Bulgaria is divided into two halves which have adopted this *modus vivendi:* – one day the first half plunders the second half; the next day, the second half despoils the first". One should admit, however, that it is not reasonable to

expect that in two generations new countries should tread the road to constitutional progress up to the point reached by England. 010

With the advent of an authoritative government this work of reform should be vigorously taken in hand, for those in power can no longer justify themselves by stating that they have their party attachments to satisfy. A radical simplification of the system should be aimed at, and drastic cuts should be applied. M. T. G. Vlaikov admitted (*Radical* March 8, 1929) that though the Liaptchev Government had assumed the obligation towards the League of Nations to reduce the number of functionaries by 10,000, nothing had been done. He further affirmed that directors of departments and superior officials hardly work more than two to three hours a day, and that out of every 12,000 public functionaries there are 1500 who do absolutely nothing and who nevertheless draw the biggest salaries. When the budget for the financial year 1934-5 came up for discussion, an open letter addressed to M. Stefanov, the Finance Minister, appeared in the *Mir* on March 21, 1934 from which it is worth citing the following remarks: "Excessive sums have been provided to defray travelling expenses, commissions etc, Functionaries who are delegated to participate at special conferences should not be entitled to receive additional emoluments. For instance, the Prime Minister who receives remuneration amounting to 665,000 leva a year, can surely afford to travel abroad in order to take up the defence of the country's interests there if this be necessary. Why should he be awarded a supplementary sum of 5000 or 6000 leva a day for this purpose? Other Cabinet Ministers receive 364,000 to 440,000 leva a year and they enjoy many other privileges. They travel in special railway cars and in State-owned automobiles, they even have free boxes at the National Theatre ... My aim is to draw attention to the 647 661

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directors in the Ministries, to the "collaborators" of Ministers, those occupying 'key' posts. In certain departments one is impressed by the fact that there are no subordinate officials. All are directors or inspectors. It appears that every Minister on assuming office creates new posts for directors, and matters have reached such an extreme, that in the ministries only managers are installed, and there are no officials to attend to routine work. In the General Direction of Public Works, the Minister is surrounded by a jurisconsult, a general manager, twelve chiefs of sections twenty six managing engineers and architects who receive monthly salaries of 6000 to 13000 leva. For the entire personnel of this institution a credit of seven millions a year is provided, out of which five millions are affected to the payment of emoluments of the higher members of the staff, who moreover are delegated to participate in conferences and therefore receive extra bonuses.

In the Directions of Public Health, and that of the Home Office, out of the affected credits of 1,976,400 and 1,784,400 leva some 1,200,000 and 1.484,000 are respectively assigned for the remuneration of the "directorate". In the Ministry of Finances out of the 16 million leva of expenditure voted for it, 12 are absorbed by the salaries of the higher staff and the real workers have to be content with the remaining 4 millions etc. It is these "directors" who inflate the budget. They constitute an intolerable burden because they do nothing and in most cases they come and go together with the Minister and the party which has appointed them, for on the whole they are altogether unfit for the posts they occupy. The Bulgarian administration does not require such "budgetivorous directors". Once upon a time each Ministry had only one secretary and the Ministers attended mostly singly to the affairs of the State. Minister Stefanov has

declared that the crisis is now beginning for Bulgaria, curtail therefore M. Stefanov your emoluments and the number of your "directors" to the minimum etc". 647 661

According to the budget of 1934-5 the number of public functionaries was stated to be 88,000, but obviously without reckoning the supernumeraries. The Gheorghiev Cabinet revised the budget and in August 1934 the number had been restricted to 82,583. In 1908 there were only 35,920, so that there is yet ample scope for further reductions. In Greece, which has about the same population, the number of public servants numbered only 45,523[1]) in 1930 and only 12% of the budget was charged with their remuneration. In Bulgaria, 35·15% of the budget for 1930-1 was earmarked for the wages of some 85,250 functionaries. The *Archive for Economics and Social Politics* in its second fascicule for 1933 contained the following table as to the numbers and salaries of the civil services for the year 1931-2.

DEPARTMENT	Number of functionaries	Total amount of salaries	% of total	Average salary per functionary
Supreme administration	674	33,447,000	1.1	49,625
Ministry for Foreign Affairs	2,750	82,886,000	2.8	30,140
" of Interior	9,858	247,943,000	8.5	25,151
" of Education	24,259	798,260,000	27.4	32,905
" of Finances	4,113	133,484,000	4.5	32,697
" of Justice	3,843	132,288,000	4.5	34,423
" of War	6,953	298,806,000	10.2	42,975
" of Commerce etc	1,833	69,837,000	2.4	39,099
" of Agriculture	4,432	151,144,000	5.2	34,103
" of Public Works	2,584	118,769,000	4.	45,963
" of Railways, Post & Telegraphs	6,800	203,228,000	7	29,886
Administration of Railways.	18,047	616,794,000	21.6	34.266
Commissariats for supervising Treaty. . .	8	486,000	0.1	60,780
Various funds	457	20,827,000	0.7	45,572
Total	86,611	2,908,198,000	100	Average annual salary 33 642

[1] This figure does not include railway employés who are not State functionaries in Greece.

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An accurate idea however, can not be formed by these figures, for while the hierarchy is well retributed, the lower grades are wretchedly paid and by averaging up the salaries as had been done above, one is likely to infer that the position of the public functionary is satisfactory, this unfortunately is far from being the case. The rank and file are miserably underpaid. Thus according to the figures available concerning the revised budget of 1934-1[1] out of 82,583 functionaries, plus the 26,189 volunteers employed in the army,

26,303	were	receiving	emoluments	of	1000 leva	and	under	a month,
55,992	"	"	"	"	between	1030	and	1940
11,194	"	"	"	"	"	2020	"	2510
1,867	"	"	"	"	"	2590	"	2940
5,316	"	"	"	"	"	3020	"	3980
1,862	"	"	"	"	"	4050	"	4940

while the number of those drawing wages over 5,000 leva a month and rising to a maximum of 20,500 leva, which is the salary of a minister, was only 6,438, while the total sum in the budget affected to salaries amounted to 2,753,946,864 leva. Bulgarian critics are at one to point out that there is a plethora of public functionaries and that the better remunerated posts are really sinecures. It is imperative to reduce the number of functionaries not for the purpose of effecting economies, but in order to increase by the saving thus made the salaries of those who remain, since the State has no other resources from which to retribute the services of its servants adequately. How can a functionary with a family in Sofia, live on a monthly salary of 2000 or 3000 leva, when he needs at least 1000 to 1500 leva a month for rent alone? Is it surprising if he tries to supplement his scanty salary by devious ways since it does not suffice to keep him alive? M. Vlasakov writing in the *Mir* on June 13, 1933 stated that between 1925 and 1932 in those State departments the

1 [Errata: should be 1934-5. —Analyst]

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accounts of which have been controlled by financial inspectors, it was found that 435,792,881 leva of public money had been misappropriated. He further affirmed that for the last 15 years not a single custom-house, tax-paying office, excise office or industrial enterprise had its accounts properly audited, and if they were subjected to a strict inspection the number of discoveries of peculations which would ensue would be astounding.

What is needed above all is a simplification of the system which can surely be easily attained, for up to the present those in power aimed at complicating the State machine in order to justify the creation of more posts for their adherents. The semi-military government now in power is not handicapped by such an incubus and it is to be hoped that its sense of duty and patriotism will give power to its elbow to carry out this indispensable reform. Should it succeed in carrying this through it will have deserved the undying gratitude of its fellow-citizens.

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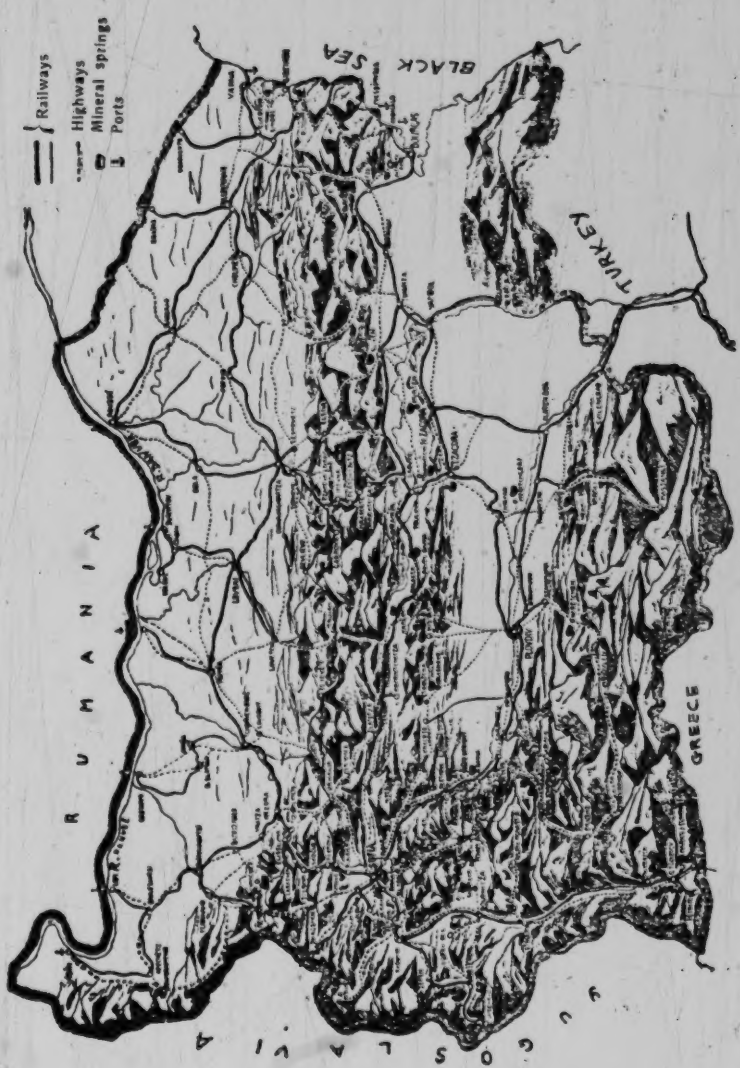

TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP OF BULGARIA

[facing p.50]

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GEOGRAPHICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES

131 Bulgaria has an area of 103,104,170 square kilometres or of about 42,000 square miles, rather more than a third of the area of Great Britain and Ireland. She occupies the North-Eastern corner of the Balkan Peninsula, between latitudes 41 an 44 and longitudes 22 and 28 east of Greenwich. To the north she is separated from Rumania partly by an artificial frontier 205 klm. in length across the Dobrudja and partly by the Danube for a distance of 397.3 klm. To the east Bulgaria is bounded by the Black Sea for a distance of 311·2 klm. To the south, an artificial frontier separates her for a distance of 234.6 and 485.7 klm. respectively from Turkey and Greece, the boundary with the latter country running along the highlands of the Rhodopes. To the west, the frontier with Yugoslavia runs from the mouth of the river Timok, an affluent of the Danube, southwards until its intersection with the Bulgaro-Greek boundary and is 523.8 klm. in length.

133 Bulgaria is intersected from west to east by the Balkan range, the highest peak of which attains an altitude of 2,373 metres. The Balkans are traversed by several defiles, and also by the river Isker, which rising in the Rila mountains cuts across the Balkans through a deep and picturesque gorge and finally reaches the Danube. To the south of the Balkans extends for a considerable distance a parallel chain of mountains, the Sredna Gora, forming between the two a series of fertile plains, the most famous of which is the renowned Valley of Roses. To the south of the Sredna Gora lies the Thracian plain drained by the river Maritsa and bounded to the south by the Rhodope Mountains which merge on the west with the Pirrin range and the imposing mass of the Rila mountains, the highest peak of which, the Mussala, attains 2,923 metres.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND. TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES

133 In the west, and south of the Balkans lies the Sofia basin, at an altitude of some 580 metres, crowned by the picturesque Vitosh Mountain, reaching a height of 2,287 metres, at the foot of which lies the capital of the country, Sofia. The country to the north of the Balkans forms a table land, intersected by several affluents of the Danube. its eastern part gradually merging into the waterless region of the Deli-Orman, a part of which is now in Rumania. The south western part of Bulgaria is formed by the upper part of the valleys of the rivers Struma and Mesta and constitutes that part of Macedonia which has reverted to Bulgaria.

162 According to the census taken on December 31, 1934, the total population of Bulgaria was 6,090,215, or 59 inhabitants per square kilometre. The vast majority of the population was rural, the urban population being only 21.48% of the total and segregated mainly in the following towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants: Sofia 287,976; Plovdiv 100,485; Varna 70,183; Rustchuk 49,388; Burgas 36,099; Pleven 31,764; Sliven 30,683; Stara-Zagora 29,857; Haskovo 26,622; Shumen 25,734; Yambol 25,125; Pazardjik 23,387; Vidin 18,599; Assenovgrad (Stanimaka) 17,817; Vratsa 16,477; Kustendil 16,386; Pernik 15,977; Dupnitsa 16,071; Razgrad 15,700; Kazanlik 15,097; Lom 14,807; Tirnovo 14,100; Gabrovo 13,823; Svistov 12,112; Tsirpan 11,308; Samokov 11,031; Tirgovishte (Eski Djuma) 10,421; Panagurishte 10,188; Petritch 10,121; Gorna-Djuma 10,028; There are 67 other urban centres of less than 10,000 inhabitants, but which in fa[illegible] are mere villages, the smallest of these is Melnik, with a population of only 548 inhabitants.

133 Bulgaria owing to her extremely variegated structural character offers an astonishing diversity of landscape scenery

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133 to the tourist.[1] The Rila mountains with their numerous lakes, Alpine scenery, extensive pine forests, beautiful valleys, and crystal streams, constitute a perennial source of attraction. The famous Rila monastery which is reached 346 by a narrow gauge railway from Dupnitsa, as well as by road from Sofia accessible to motor cars, extends its large hospitality to all visitors and may serve as a hostelry for those intent on indulging in the healthy joys of mountaineering. The monastery deserves a visit by itself; its imposing pile crowned with its domes and cupolas and its battlemented tower, all encased and dominated by a ring of forest clad mountains, leaves a lasting impression of calm and repose on the visitor. The great gate of the monastery leads into a vast pentagonal yard in the midst of which is the church brilliantly decorated with frescoes and stone-work and endowed with a magnificent ikonostasis. By the side of the church is the five storied stern old tower, that constitutes the only remaining relic of the original structure of the monastery built in 1335. The immense yard is surrounded by a number of galleries, giving access to the cells of the monks which now usually serve as lodgings for visitors. These galleries rise in tiers, forming a series of picturesque arcades overhanging the yard with its numerous fountains which fill the air with their endless murmur of running water, all vying to dominate the roar of the swift-flowing stream traversing the mountain gorge in which the monastery is built, and which supplies the enraptured traveller at the rustic restaurant kept purposely for his behalf, with a dish of succulent mountain-trout, such as would have relished even Lucullus himself.

133 To the south ot the Rila range rise the Pirrin Mountains and further east the Rhodopes. The little town

[1] An excellent and profusely illustrated guide-book in English, may be obtained free of charge from the Tourist Bureau of the Bulgarian State Railways in Sofia.

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of Razlog on the upper reaches of the river Mesta may 133
serve as a convenient centre for excusions in this maze of mountains mostly clad with pine and fir forests. The three beautiful mountain lakes dominated by the majestic summit of the El-Tepe, the highest peak of the Pirrin range, reaching an altitude of 2684 metres, may be easily reached from the townlet of Bansko, a few kilometres to the south of Razlog. Tourist huts have been erected at [485]
several points, and recently excellent roads have been constructed, so that the more adventurous type of tourist, intent on roaming off the beaten track, can indulge in protracted and most enjoyable rambles in what is certainly a *terra incognita,* even to most Bulgarians.

It is astonishing that the Bulgarian Government has 529
done nothing to popularise Sofia as a tourist centre, and yet few towns in Eastern Europe can rival it as such. It is at a convenient driving distance from the Balkan mountains which offer a veritable kaleidoscope of enchanting views. Century old oak and beech forests cover generally the rolling undulating mountain valleys, their shaded glens offering the most delectable relaxation after the heat of the plain. Another attractive forest resort is Tcham-Koria lying on the heavily wooded slopes of the Rila, amid enchanting mountain scenery, at a distance of 69 klm. to the south east of Sofia. The greatest attraction of 312
Sofia is of course its mineral and thermal springs. In the 529
centre of the town is a modern bathing establishment, built on the site ot the ancient Roman thermal baths, and endowed with an electro-therapeutic section. In close proximity to Sofia are a number of other thermal springs most of which are endowed with excellent bathing accomodation and easily accessible from Sofia by either tram, train, or motor bus. Such are the thermal establishments of Bankia, one of the finest in Bulgaria, that of Gorna-Bania, Ovtcha-Kupel, and of Kniajevo. Bulgaria is

312 one of the richest countries in the world as regards
5-9 mineral and thermal springs of all kinds. Among the most noted mineral springs is that of Solu-Dervent, lying at about 72 klm. from Sofia, on the railway line to Plovdiv, it possesses a high radioactivity, 588_{10-10} Curies, and a temperature of 65° centigrade, and is specially recommended for cancer. Another most attractive watering place is that of Hissar, some 45 klm. north of Plovdiv. Within a radius of two kilometres there are twenty springs, all varying in their composition and their temperatures. The present baths are built on the site of the old Roman ones. Tne temperature of the water is 47° C. with a radioactivity of 114_{10-10} Curies; it is noted for its curatice properties for all diseases of the liver and kidneys. Hissar possesses another great attraction, that of its Roman walls, built in the form of a rectangle. It is supposed to be the old Roman town of Diocletianopolis which successfully resisted in 587 the siege of the Avars. The present walls were restored in the reign of Justinian I but there is a Roman inscription at the Momina Baths dating from 308 A. D. Its ruins would form a most interesting source of study to archeologists while taking the waters at this most agreeable Spa. It is surrounded by rose gardens and pos sesses delightful shaded walks rendering it a most agreeable residence during May and June, all the more so since it
5-9 possesses excellent hotels and pensions. At that time of the year visitors at Hissar can easily visit the famous Valley of Roses without interrupting their treatment, for Karlovo, Kalofer and Kazanlik, the centres of the Attar of roses industry, are all within easy reach. as well as the famous Shipka Monastery. A railway line connects Hissar with Plovdiv, formerly known as Philippolis. This is a town with a most picturesque aspect, being built on five hills of syenite, two of which have been turned into parks. The thickly wooded Sehayat Tepe is unique in its kind, com-

manding a suberb view over the vast Thracian plain with 529
the Maritsa river winding its course through the fertile fields and the majestic mass of the Rhodopes looming large on the southern horizon. Another town which can hardly de beaten for its picturesque appearance, is Tirnovo, the ancient capital of the country, built on the steep banks of the river Yantra which meanders through the town. No visitor to Bulgaria should miss visiting these two towns, which for their quaintness and scenic beauty have few rivals in the Near East.

But from the point of view of the holiday maker, the greatest attraction is provided by Varna. A score of years ago it was a squalid, sordid hamlet, an open roadstead at which one could with difficulry land when the wind was blowing from the north or east. Now, it has been transformed into a modern town with wide boulevards and an excellent port. It possesses one of the most beautiful parks in Europe situated on the cliffs overhanging the Black Sea and commanding enchanting views along its littoral. Varna possesses a magnificent beach of fine sand and a most modern and elegant sea-bathing establishment. The town is provided with a casino and comfortable hotels, and actually the municipality is contemplating the construction of a big modern hotel, so as to avoid the shortage of accommodation which is usually felt during the summer months

The creation of this modern town of Varna, with all it amenities and with its unrivalled park, is the best standing testimonial of the Bulgarians' untiring and unrelenting energy. Varna having been despoiled of its hinterland after the transfer of the Dobrudja to Rumania declined in importance as a trading centre and its inhabitants lost their means of livelihood. They set themselves with unremitting toil and sacrifices to transform their town into what is now the premier watering-place on the Black

529 Sea. Their success is all the more remarkable owing to their extreme poverty, which is still easily discernible, but their indomitable industry and unrivalled assiduity has overcome all obstacles. Of them it cannot be said that:

> „Chill penury repressed their noble rage
> And froze the genial current of the soul."

The Bulgarian is in fact an indefatigable and most perseverent worker with the constructive instinct highly developed, the only thing needed apparently is coordination of individual efforts, as they are usually mutually opposed, and this coordination nas been achieved at Varna with happy results for the town.

The advantages of Varna are becoming known in Central Europe and every summer Hungarians, Poles, Czechslovakians and Austrians flock in hundreds to this sea resort. The municipality has recently converted the monastery of St. Constantine, some nine kilometres to the north of Varna, into a comfortable hostelry. Situated as it is in the midst of an extensive park overlooking the sea, it forms an additionul attraction to visitors, while to the south of the town lie the extensive forests of the Longosa, as well as the estuary ef the river Kamtchia which provide other delightful outings and excursions. To the visitors from Central Europe the greatest attraction is the extremely low cost of living. For a short time they can imagine they have been transformed into American millionaires and indulge in what the Bulgarians consider riotous living. The latter have learnt to act as excellent hosts to their visitors and stop at no sacrifice at making them comfortable. Their honest, and kindly manners are simply disarming and largely compensate for the absence of such comforts as the Westerner has come to look upon as indipensable. The visitor from Central Europe has usually little money to spend, but in

comparison with Bulgarian standards he is still a Croesus. However, such income as is derived from visitors does not suffice to cover the outlay of the town. Taxation is extremely heavy, and the inhabitants complain that they can only make the two ends meet with the greatest difficulty. According to a report compiled by Prof. Tsolakov, and published by the Varna School of Higher Studies, the estimated revenue of the Varna municipality for the financial year 1932-3, from the tax on buildings and professions, was respectively 25, and 210 million leva, but the actual revenue was only 13,704,418 and 179,722,752, and other sources of revenue were even less promising. It would be well if the inhabitants of Varna did something to attract a more wealthy *clientèle* than the poverty stricken mid-Europeans. Judging from a series of articles which the French Academician, Louis Bertrand, published in the *Revue des deux Mondes* at the end of 1934, the Italians are developing Cyrenaica as a health resort and endowing it with big hotels in the hope of attracting the wealthy Greeks of Egypt, and they rely to allure them thither largely on the consideration that it was once a famous Greek colony.

„A Cyrene, on se propose d'attirer pour l'été l'opulente société Grecque d'Alexandrie et du Caire. Les Héllenes. . . trouveront ici plus de fraicheur que dans les petites stations éstivales de l'Eubée ou de l'Attique. . . Enfin les dirigeants italiens comptent sur le patriotisme exalté des Héllenes, qui voudront venir admirer et vénerer ici les véstiges d'une de leur plus ancienne colonie".

Varna may boast of the same privilege, it was anciently known as Odessus and was founded by the Milesians in the year 585 B. C. It was one of the few Greek towns which under Roman rule retained the right to strike coins and this testifies to its importance. It possesses a museum in which a vast number of Greek works of art have been collected and as most of the Bulgarian towns on the Black Sea coast littoral have likewise been founded

529 by Greek colonists, and one of them Mesembria, possesses some remarkable ruins of Byzantine churches, with a wealth of ornamentation and mosaics that have rightly won for it the appelation of "the Bulgarian Ravenna", it would be well if all these facts were utilised for propaganda purposes. Varna possesses a vast advantage over Cyrenaica not only owing to its climate, its luxuriant vegetation and charming surroundings but also in still possessing a small number of inhabitants of Greek origin who may be utilised as a focus for attracting Greek visitors. Nothing indeed will incite Hellenes to visit the Bulgarian Black sea board so much as the knowledge that they will be welcomed in their native tongue, that they will be able to attend divine service in one of their own churches, and have the possibility to ascertain that the spirit of their race survives in spite of the "silent artillery of time".

Surely the inhabitants of Varna can look on good humouredly on a few patriotic manifestations which are likely to follow when "Greek meets Greek", nothing but good will ensue for all the parties concerned from such outbursts, and it will constitute one more excellent proof of the liberalism and tolerance the Bulgarians have always manifested for all ethnic minorities living in their midst.

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ECONOMIC HISTORY

The pre-war period

After the amputation inflicted on her by the Treaty of Berlin, it was natural for Bulgaria to devote from the moment of her emergence as a political entity most of her resources and energy to repairing the mutilations she had suffered. She thus diverted to this aim a large part of the vital strength she would under different circumstances have entirely consecrated to her cultural and economic advancement. And if, in spite of this incubus Bulgaria yet attained to such remarkable material development within the six decades of her independent existence it may be surmised with certainty that the progress achieved would have been a record one had she started on her career as a nation under more auspicious omens.

From the very start she was encouraged to spend an unduly large proportion of her resources on the organisation of her army by the Russian officials who supervised the setting up of her administration, and owing to the natural desire of the Bulgarian people to liberate their enslaved kinsmen, who had been thrust under foreign dominion by the bungling politicians at the Berlin Congress, it was extremely difficult to discourage expenditure on this head. This tendency was further encouraged by the armament firms which showed themselves always obsequious and ready to facilitate the securing of the necessary credits for financing the supply of war material and thereby helped to involve Bulgaria into an indebtedness beyond her capacity.

The Bulgarian State was further saddled with heavy obligations such as that of assuming a certain indebtedness towards Turkey in the form of an annual tribute and that of defraying the cost of the Russian military occupation. It was also forced to provide for the construction of those

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sections of the projected international railway which was to traverse Bulgarian territory, an onerous liability for a young State, since such a railway was of little importance to local traffic, and further, it was constrained owing to its political vassalage to maintain a uniform custom tariff with that of Turkey and was thereby debarred from increasing its revenue. The country having been maintained in a most backward condition while under Turkish rule, had to create of a piece a complete administration, organise an army, construct a net-work of roads and railways, build ports, and improvise a minimum of equipment of which it was entirely deficient, possessing few roads and only one railway of international, but of little local importance, namely that between Rustchuk and Varna, of a total length of 224 klm. belonging to an English company and which the Bulgarian government was obliged to buy out a few years later. Towns and villages which had been destroyed during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 and the insurrection which preceded it had to be rebuilt, and even the bulk of the land which belonged to Turkish landlords had to be purchased by the Bulgarian peasantry before the latter could be installed as owners in the fields they cultivated.

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Bulgaria being a pre-eminently agricultural country, with practically no other revenues save such taxation as could be raised from her industrious peasantry was thus faced with the Herculean task of providing out of her meagre means the indispensable equipment of a modern State, and it speaks volumes to the credit of her people that so much should have been achieved within so brief a time, all the more so since the country owing to its undeveloped and backward state had very few resources to draw on. Its main assets being the unflinching laboriousness and the extreme thriftiness of its peasantry.

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It is from 1885 onward that a study of statistics becomes informative and the rate of advance more easily traceable since it was at that date that the first step towards the partial realisation of the national unity was taken, namely the union of the principality of Bulgaria with the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia. The territorial accretion thereby secured was maintained until the Balkan wars of 1912-3, so that it is retatively easy to follow the country's development from a study of the statistics provided after 1885 since no calculations have to be made to adjust numbers to territorial alterations. No such change occurred until the Balkan and World wars, when the area of Bulgaria was increased from 96,345.5 in 1912 to 111,836.8 square klm. in 1913, and finally reduced to 103,146.1 in 1919.

From the following statistical table of exports and imports one may form an opinion of the scantiness of Bulgaria's resourses, since with a few exceptions each year reveals an unfavourable trade balance and Bulgaria never possessed any investments abroad, nor rendered any services, from which she could derive any invisible income wherewith to balance the deficit of her commercial balance.[1] The abrupt increase in the figures cited after the quinquenial period 1916—1920 is due to the gradual depreciation of the leva, which from its equivalent of a gold franc prior to the world war was reduced to the level of only 0.03745 gold franc, or 139 leva to a gold dollar, at which rate it was stabilised in 1928.

[1] Before the war a certain number of market gardeners emigrated temporarily to neighbouring countries and remitted their savings home. It may also be presumed that the deficit in the commercial balance was not as large as indicated by official statistics for merchants were occasionally inclined to underestimate their exports in order to pay fewer dues as was revealed by Minister Burov in a speech in the Sobranye on April 1928. The income derived from foreign tourists is reckoned at 40 million leva a year.

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YEARS	IMPORTS in million leva	EXPORTS in million leva	BALANCE in million leva
1885—1890	350	310	— 40
1891—1895	416	386	— 30
1896—1900	337	339	+ 2
1901—1905	474	597	+ 123
1906—1910	699	591	— 108
1911—1915	916	698	— 218
1916—1920	4,002	2,993	— 1009
1921—1925	24,924	22,628	— 4296
1926—1930	32,330	31,064	— 1266
1931	4,660	5,934	+ 1274
1932	3,471	3,383	— 88
1933	2,202	2,846	+ 644
1934	7,247	2,535	+ 88

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From the foregoing figures it becomes obvious that Bulgaria had to have recourse to foreign assistance in order to secure the necessary equipment of a modern State as it was unthinkable for her to raise the requisite capital locally. Tbe following loans were contracted prior to the Balkan wars, the proceeds being used for military equipment, for the construction of railways and ports or the financing of expenses incurred through a rather premature davelopment of the political organisation and occasionally through a not very judicious employment of public funds.

Year	Nominal Interest %	Duration of repayment in years	Nominal amount in million leva	Price of issue	Net amount in million leva	Real interest %
1888	6	33	46,777	at par	46,777	6·
1889	6	33	30,000	86·03	25,650	7·5
1892	6	33	124,962	86·41	107,342	7·34
1902	5	50	106,000	78·32	87,367	6·72
1904	5	50	100,000	75·24	82,383	7·03
1907	4·5	60	145,000	79·91	123,250	5·94
1909	4·5	50	100,000	85·56	86,000	5·56
1909	4·5	75	82,000	at par	82,000	4·75
			734,739		640,769	

The 1888 loan was floated in London, its proceeds being entirely devoted to the purchase of the Rustchuk-

[Errata: should be 2247 — Analyst]

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Varna railway line built in 1860 by an English company to which the Turkish government had guaranteed a revenue of 7%, a charge the Bulgarian government considered unduly heavy and out of proportion with the net income derived from the exploitation of the railway.[1]

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The proceeds of the 1889 loan were used for the construction of the Tsaribrod—Sofia—Vakarel, and that of the Yambol—Burgas railway lines. The loan was floated in Vienna as the obligation to construct these lines had been imposed by Austria-Hungary at the Congress of Berlin. A mortgage on these railways secured the loan. The subsequent loan was also contracted in Vienna and served to reorganise the army and to construct the Kaspitchan—Sofia railway line and the building of the two ports of Varna and Burgas. A mortgage on both ports and the railway being taken as security for the loan.

The 1902 loan was the first of a series concluded in France, for Bulgaria having in the meanwhile adopted a distinctly pro-Russian attitude, the Paris money market was opened to her at the intercession of Russia, France's

[1] The capital of the company which constructed this line was represented by 45,000 shares of £ 20 each, or a total of £ 900,000 or 22,500,000 gold francs, and these shares were never quoted above ¼ of their nominal value. A commission of Bulgarian engineers presided over by the late Serbian Premier, N. Passitch, at the time in the employ of Bulgaria in his capacity of an engineer, had evaluated the line as worth 18,575,000 gold francs, which was a fair estimate, yet the Bulgarian Premier, Stambulov, was prevailed upon to pay more than double this sum. This transaction was strongly resented in Bulgaria, but owing to the censorship little was said about it in the Press at the time; and there were good reasons for such resentment, for Bulgaria had been mulcted out of a considerable sum merely in order to placate certain financial circles as likely to influence British political support at a time Bulgaria was traversing a critical period. A very unfortunate precedent being thus created which has since caused havoc in Bulgarian finances.

175 ally. The proceeds of this loan served to make good the budget deficits of the period 1895-1900 amounting to 53 million leva and mainly due to a period of bad crops, to pay off the sum of 17,390,664 to the Turkish and Russian governments, due according to the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin, to pay for 2,687,515 leva worth of armaments, and reimburse certain advances made to the Bulgarian government by the Bulgarian State Bank. This was the first loan to which a special revenue was assigned as a guarantee and a special controller delegated to Sofia on behalf of the bondholders to supervise the sale of the special revenue stamps affected to the tobacco tax.

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In 1904 yet another loan was floated in France to which the surplus of the tobacco tax and the proceeds of revenue stamps were assigned as pledges. Owing to the revolution of 1903 in Macedonia, field artillery of the value of some 25 million leva had been purchased from the French firm of Creusot and other military expenses had been incurred and had to be frayed, the balance of the loan was used for the construction of the railway lines Tirnovo — Trevna, and Sofia — Kustendil. Military expenditure was steadily increasing and proving an intolerable burden to the State, yet owing to the anarchic situation in Macedonia and the prevalent belief that Bulgaria was in duty bound to interfere some day on behalf of her unredeemed kinsmen in Turkey, the Bulgarian people assumed stolidly the financial burdens imposed on them. Thus during the two years 1904 and 1905 some 55 million leva were expended solely on armaments, a sum exceeding half of the budget figures of these years.

It must be admitted that the French armament firms which had found an excellent client in Bulgaria must have largely contributed in persuading French Banks as to the advisability of financing the loans made to Bulgaria, which were being gradually floated at shorter and shorter intervals.

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VARNA: A VIEW FROM THE PARK

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SOFIA: THE OPERA HOUSE

[Facing p. 65]

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In 1907, a further loan was issued in Paris out of which sums of 20,935,000 and 31,584,500 leva were earmarked for the conversion of the 1888 and 1889 loans. The 1907 loan having been issued on a 4·5% basis it was thought that a considerable economy would be effected by reimbursing the first two loans bearing 6% interest. Unfortunately, owing to the fact that the bonds were quoted above par, the Bulgarian treasury incurred instead a loss of some 21·5 million leva in carrying through this operation The balance of the loan was employed, to the extent of 32 millions for the buying of war material, while another 32 millions were allotted to the construction of railways and some four millions devoted to the settlement of a floating debt. The same pledges which had been assigned to the 1902 and 1904 loans were also affected to the service of this loan as the revenues from these sources were quite adequate. Thus the revenues from the tobacco tax and 'mourouriye' yielded 17,677,000 in 1909 and 18,183,000 leva in 1911, while the yield from the revenue stamps amounted to 6,088,000 and 6,638,000 leva respectively, the service of the three loans necessitating in 1909 the sum of only 18,265,000 leva, thus leaving a surplus of some 5 millions at the disposal of the Exchequer.

The elevation of Bulgaria to the rank of a Kingdom in 1908, and the attending political complications which rendered the mobilisation of the army indispensable had caused a heavy drain to the treasury, and in 1909 another loan was contracted, the proceeds of which were entirely absorbed in reimbursing the State's debts to contractors and to the National and Agrarian Banks, a sum of over 58 millions being due to these two State institutions. This loan was floated in Vienna, and no real guarantees demanded by the Austrian banks, a fact which may be explained by the desire of Austria to express her satis-

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faction at the way Bulgaria had arranged for her proclamation of independence to precede Austria's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908. Simultaneously Bulgaria assumed a liability of 82 millions to Russia, the latter having undertaken to indemnify Turkey on Bulgaria's refusal to continue the payment of her tribute after her proclamation of independence and provided the requisite money (some 42 million leva) wherewith the railways constructed and operated in Southern Bulgaria by the nominally Turkish company of the Chemins de Fer Orientaux were purchased by the Bulgarian government.

By the end of 1911 Bulgaria had a consolidated debt of 603,799,618 and a floating debt of 29,493,524 gold leva which with a population of 4,390,325 represented a per capita charge of 144·25 leva. From the proceeds of the foreign loans some 283,058,566 leva had been employed for the construction or purchase of railways of a total milage of 1,931 klm. and in the building of the ports of Varna and Burgas, 102,670,856 leva had been employed for the purchase of military equipment and the balance was absorbed by budgetary deficits, the liquidation of the tribute payable to Turkey (over 40 millions), and other administrative expenses. It should be remembered that the latter item included the building of schools, the constructions of roads, bridges, telegraph and telephone lines, barracks, government buildings etc. all of which were almost totally lacking, so that on the whole, few of the successive Bulgarian governments can be accused of having unduly wasted public money. The national wealth had been estimated in 1911 by the late Cyril Popov at 10,500 millions and the national revenue at 1,647 millions, equal to 387 gold leva per capita, which could only provide for a very low standard of living, since yet another 20% had to be provided out of it for the defraying of public and municipal taxation.

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The State budgets were approaching the 200 million figure, but were not always balanced. Thus in 1910 and 1911 the revenue figures stood respectively at 181 and 198 millions while expenditure attained 198 and 181, leaving alternatively for each year a deficit and a surplus of 17 millions. The service of the debt required slightly over 36 millions and absorbed 18% to 20% of the annual revenue of the State, while military expenditure required about 44 millions. Unfortunately the trade balance wherewith the service of the foreign debt had to be provided continued to show an excess of imports over exports, the years 1910 and 1911 showing respectively debit balances of 48 and 15 millions, and this state of affairs forced Bulgaria, so long as she was unable to expand her exports to continue borrowing in order to meet her monetary obligations abroad and to pay for the excess of her imports, which were indispensable for her development and the sustainance or her people.

So that even prior to the Balkan wars, when Bulgaria was considered powerful and flourishing and her financial situation inspired confidence she was in fact a very poor country living beyond her means and only able to meet her foreign obligations by indulging in a policy of borrowing abroad which was reckless, but which was indulged in for patriotic motives, because it was hoped that when finally Macedonia would have been incorporated, the increased revenue the State would thereby derive would permit the shouldering of the indebtedness incurred mainly in preparing for this territorial expansion. Bulgaria's reputation of a good payer was due to the scrupulous exactitude with which both private and public debts were being met and the extreme sobriety and parsimoniousness of her people which had enabled them to build up a complete machinery of State not only by borrowing but also out of their hard-earned and slender incomes.

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The frugality and thriftiness of the Bulgarian people stood them im good stead for it was thanks to these qualities that they were able to assume practically unaided the financing of the Balkan wars. The 1912 and 1913 budgets closed with deficits of 140 and 181 millions, owing to the falling off of the revenue and the increased military expenditure and were met partly by the expedient of discounting treasury bills abroad namely 75 millions with the Banque de Paris and des Pays Bas, 30 millions with Austrian Banks and 27·7 millions with the Russo-Asiatic Bank, and partly by advances from the National State Bank which attained 142.9 millions by the end of 1913.

Naturally the unfortunate outcome of the Balkan wars found Bulgaria utterly exhausted and in urgent need of funds. An internal loan of 90 millions was inadequate to relieve the pressure on the treasury and as the budget of 1914 was pointing to a deficit of 68 millions, the government was constrained to seek foreign help at all costs. Owing to the pro-Austrian proclivities of the Radoslavov government, the French Banks demanded as a preliminary condition to their granting a loan, that Bulgaria should furnish assurances that she would no longer pursue an anti-Russian policy. Unfortunately these were not forthcoming. On the contrary the Bulgarian government opened negotiations with a group of German and Austrian banks, headed by the Diskonto Gesellschaft, in spite of the violent obstruction of the Opposition and raised a loan from this German banking group. Though the members of the Radoslavov Cabinet have always denied that any political clauses were attached to the loan, this may be considered as forming the preamble to Bulgaria's engagement to the Central Powers, for the Germans have on many occasions declared that the question of Bulgaria's allegiance had been definitely fixed on the conclusion of this loan. The loan was of a nominal amount of 500

million leva. The conditions attached to it were distinctly onerous for they included the cession of the Pernik coal mines belonging to the State, a concession for the construction of a railway line Rakovski—Porto Lagos and the building of its harbour, while specific revenues were affected to it as a guarantee, namely the surplus of the tobacco tax and revenue stamps over the share already affected to the 1902, 1904 and 1907 loans, the proceeds of the State monopoly of cigarette paper and the proceeds of the revenue from the customs. Owing to the outbreak of the World war the German banks advanced only some 270 millions and though it had been stipulated that the Bulgarian Treasury bonds emitted during the Balkan wars would be reimbursed, only those held by the Austrian banks were paid while the German government placed an embargo on the 27·7 millions due to the Russo-Asiatic bank.

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How Bulgaria financed her participation in the World war.

The cost of Bulgaria's participation in the World war was borne practically unaided, for except for a part of the loan issued by the Diskonto Gesellschaft no other effective aid was received. A convention was signed in September 1915 between Germany and Bulgaria, providing for the granting to the latter of an advances of 50 million leva during each of the four months the war was expected to last, and stipulating for complementary advance should the war last longer. Germany continued to extend these credits only to the end of 1917, so that the total amount secured by Bulgaria on this head attained 1350 million leva. But in fact, not a single penny ever reached Bulgaria, for these monthly advances were deposited in a Berlin bank to the credit of the Bulgarian National Bank which was authorised to issue a corresponding amount

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of paper money which it placed at the disposal of the Bulgarian government. These deposits were to be utilised solely for this purpose, and also for the payment of goods purchased in Germany and with the consent ot the German authorities; but as during the war Germany had little to export, the amount of merchandise thus purchased did not exceed 350 million leva. The balance of about 1,000 millions which had served as cover to the increased fiduciary circulation of the Bulgarian National Bank owing to its being labelled in marks was totally lost to Bulgaria when the mark depreciated after the armictice. The National Bank of Bulgaria attempted to transfer part of this sum to Switzerland, but was precluded from doing so by the initial arrangements entered into by the two governments and subsequently by Article 145 of the Treaty of Neuilly which obliged Bulgaria to transfer to the Reparation Commission any claims she might have to payments or reparations by her late Allies. Besides these monthly credits, munitions and military equipment to the value of 1440 million leva were received from Germany and of 73,398,500 from Austria. Against these sums the Bulgarian government had a larger counterclaim amounting to 2,148,814,923 leva, several items of which represented more tangible value than the nominal monthly German advances, for they represented foodstuffs, raw materials and 240 millions in Bulgarian currency delivered to the German military authorities. It may be affirmed that the only financial service rendered by Germany was that of enabling the Bulgarian National Bank to increase its fiduciary circulation from 369,791,000 leva at the end of 1915 to 2,298,617,000 at the end of 1918, and this was obviously of a very questionable value for in the end owing to the total depreciation of the mark it was the Bulgarian people who had to shoulder the entire loss caused by this inflation. As M. Stefanov the Minister of Finance,

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declared in the Sobranye on May 10, 1932: „Bulgaria was the sole country to conclude the war with so few debts, for she only received 270 millions from the Diskonto Gesellschaft, while she remained a creditor to the extent of 840 millions to Germany." This statement may be compared to the one M. Stefanov made on July 10, 1928, when he maintained that Bulgaria had lived during the world war on her own resources, but had been exploited and robbed by her allies, the latter owing her at the end of the war, 860 million leva.

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The budgets for the four years 1915 to 1918, closed with a total deficit of 2,270 millions due in the main to increased military expenditure. This outlay was met by the expedient of increasing the fiduciary circulation and by advances to the State from the National Bank. At the end of 1918 the metallic cover of the bank still amounted to 64 millions in gold and to 19 millions in silver, but as the country's food supply had been utterly exhausted, flour to the value of 27·25 million gold leva in cash had to be purchased in 1919 from the United States and this drain on the gold reserve coupled with the fact that the balances abroad (mainly in Germany) on which the fiduciary circulation was secured had been rendered worthless through the depreciation of the mark, brought about a rapid fall in the value of the leva; and this was further accentuated as the terms of the Treaty of Neuilly became known. Thus the leva fell from 0.19 gold franc, at which level it was quoted at the end of 1919, to 0·07 at the end of 1920, and to 0.036 at the end of 1921.

Part of the military expenditure incurred during the world war was met out of the post-war budgets, so that it is difficult to assess it correctly, but roughly it may be said to be represented by the budgetary deficits of the years 1915-1921, amounting to 5,706 million leva, to which should be added the amounts of the two internal loans

175 raised in 1914 and 1921, of 83, and 157 million leva respectively, as well as that of the 270 millions advanced by the
457 Diskonto Gesellschaft, which would bring the total military
652 expenditure up to 6216 million leva, of varying value, however, since the leva had depreciated from the intrinsic equivalent of a gold franc in 1914 to as little as 0.036 gold franc in 1921. These 6216 millions were financed by the expedients of increasing the fiduciary circulation which from 226,615,000 leva at the end of 1914 rose to the record figure of 4,622,833,000 on Nov. 30, 1924, and by the advances of the National Bank which at the end of the financial year 1921-1922 amounted to 4,206 million leva.

This estimate is for military expenditure incurred by
175 the State during the World war, and it is permissible to
652 presume that even parts of the budgetary deficits of the years 1921 to 1923 represented expenditure on this head.
727 It takes no account of the losses inflicted on the community at large, or of the war pensions the State had to serve subsequently to the disabled and their dependents. The number of killed was according to a statement made by the Minister of War in the Sobranye on Nov. 22, 1927, 53,825 during the Balkan wars and 115,048 during the World war.

175 In 1929 there were 98,000 persons receiving pensions
652 as war invalids or as dependents of such, and the amount of the annual charge this constituted to the budget was
729 372 million leva, or less than a paltry £6 a year per person at the then prevailing rate of exchange. This was all a grateful country could afford to pay to those of her sons who had been disabled in defending her. When such heroic sacrifices are so poorly requited, it is not surprising that its citizens' devotion towards it should perceptively cool and that they should turn for consolation to such subversive doctrines as Communism, which holds out the promise of greater justice and equity.

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According to the latest data, the number of war invalids receiving pensions on April 1, 1934, were 13,014 for a sum of 83,278,502 leva annually, and those of widows and dependents of soldiers killed during the wars 67,763, necessitating another annual outlay of 204,340,386 leva. In spite of the economic straits the Bulgarian exchequer is in, it has yet been found possible to make grants to 77 aged Russian veterans who had participated in the war of liberation of 1878, and who owing to the Bolshevik revolution have sought refuge in Bulgaria. The latter in spite of her difficulties is still harbouring some 19,000 émigrés and providing largely out of her slender means for their upkeep, a fact which inflicts a formal disavowal to the slanderous charges brought against Bulgaria as to her alleged ingratitude towards Russia.

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The Financial burdens of the Treaty of Neuilly.

The amount of the indemnity imposed on Bulgaria and euphemistically termed 'reparations' was fixed according to Article 121 of the Treaty of Neuilly at 2250 million gold francs and decreed payable within 37 years and to bear 5% interest. Article 132 of the said Treaty decreed that the costs of reparations would constitute a first charge on all the assets and revenues of Bulgaria. Article 133 bound Bulgaria to defray the total cost of the Allied armies in occupation of Bulgarian territory until the coming into force of the Treaty, this cost being finally assessed at 25 million gold francs. Article 137 constrained Bulgaria to assume a part of the Ottoman debt, a matter which has not yet been fixed. Another article, 177, provided for the indemnification of the material damage suffered by Allied subjects through Bulgaria's action in the war out of the property of Bulgarian subjects seized in Allied countries. The amount awarded as demages by Arbitral Courts

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specially constituted for the purpose amounted to £ 581,317 for British subjects and to 52,269,771 French francs plus £ 109,210 to French subjects, and smaller sums to Belgian, Italian and Greek subjects.

Articles 125 to 128 ordained other payments in kind which could more aptly figure as reparations than the 2250 million indemnity imposed on Bulgaria, and which amply sufficed to repair whatever damage the Bulgarians might have caused in the territories they had invaded as the writer pointed out in the "*New Europe*" of July 29, 1920 in the following terms:

"Bulgaria is asked to make reparations for damage, and these are assessed at a figure far exceeding the destruction the Bulgarians might have wrought in the Morava and the Dobrudja. The total value of these regions does not surpass 5,000 million francs, of which land figures for 70 per cent and buildings, cattle, etc. for the balance.

It is obvious that the Bulgarians could not have carried off the land, and it may be taken for granted that the damage inflicted on property is infinitesimal, and represents only a fraction of its total value.

On what grounds then is Bulgaria asked to pay 2¼ milliards as "reparation". The demand for such an indemnity is all the more unjust since the Treaty stipulated for the delivery by Bulgaria of a determined number of live-stock. It is contended that this quantity of cattle represents what the Bulgarians appropriated while in occupation of the regions they invaded. If this were so, it would be just to insist on the execution of this clause; the number demanded from the Bulgarians, however, exceeds all reasonable estimate of the losses in cattle which our Balkan Allies might have incurred. Amongst other things Article 127 provides for the delivery by Bulgaria of 1,000 mules to Serbia, when, according to Serbian official statistics, the total number of these useful animals in the whole of Serbia was only 349 in the year 1910! This example will serve to show that "reparation" is not the appropriate term for our demands on Bulgaria, the latter obviously aim at securing more than what the former designation implies. The Treaty also imposes on Bulgaria an annual delivery of 50,000 tons of coal to Serbia by way of compensation for the destruction of Serbian coal-mines by the Bulgarians. This is an unwarranted and unjustifiable decision, not only because all mines in Serbia were

exclusively worked for and by the Germans, but also because Bulgaria does not produce sufficient coal for her own requirements. Before the war she used to import coal not only from England, but also from Serbia, and this consideration alone ought to have prevented the formulation of demands that clearly seek to cripple the economic organism of a former enemy State. 175 728

The punishment already meted out to Bulgaria has been sufficiently severe, as have been the sufferings and losses which the war has inflicted on her population. Our object, therefore, should not be to increase the disadvantages under which Bulgarians toil, nor to force them to slave for others, for this is certainly not Bulgaria's mission in the world. If we wish her to make her distinctive contribution to civilisation, we should rather lend a helping hand to her people, and assist them out of their present difficulties. The laboriousness, sobriety and honesty of the average Bulgarian are virtues which commend themselves to all, and if they could only be made to realise that in the subordination of self to common interests lies the secret of a nation's greatness, then nothing could prevent them from becoming one of the foremost factors in the moral and economic renovation of the Near East."

Article 177 of the Treaty permitted Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia to formulate certain complementary demands for indemnification. An utterly unjustified proceeding in view of the fact that Article 121 had settled the total amount of indemnity to be imposed on Bulgaria. Though the Hague International Tribunal to which the claim of Greece had been referred to had decided on Sept. 24, 1924 in this sense, yet the Bulgarian government decided to meet the Yugoslav and Rumanian claims owing to political reasons and to its fear of a Yugoslav military intervention at the time of the Communist revolt which took place in Bulgaria during September 1923. Thus Bulgaria assumed further liabilities towards Yugoslavia and Rumania amounting to 320 million leva and 110 million lei.

The imposition on Bulgaria of the obligation to defray the cost of the Allied armies of ocupation was equally unmerited and contrary to the spirit of the

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armistice concluded at Salonica on Sept. 29, 1918, since the latter stipulated that Bulgaria was not to be treated as an occupied territory and only provided for the temporary occupation of certain strategical points. In fact the headquarters of the Allied armies only notified the Bulgarian government that they would occupy the port of Varna on March 16, 1919 and its occupation was maintained for a very brief time. The secret annex to the Salonica armistice provided that Bulgaria should be treated as a benevolent neutral, and it even stipulated for the co-operation of the Allied armies with part of the Bulgarian troops under certain eventualities. Had it been possible to resort to arbitration it is more that probable that Bulgaria would have been dispensed from payment on this head. At any rate those in charge of the Allied troops in Bulgaria were perfectly aware that they were not entitled to treat Bulgaria as an occupied country, for if during the three or four days following on their arrival in Bulgaria they affixed at the barracks they occupied a sign-post bearing the inscription "Headquarters of the troops occupying Bulgaria" on the representations of the Bulgarian government they immediately altered the title to "Headquarters of the Allied troops in Bulgaria".

The only sensible provision in the Treaty was article 122 which provided for the Inter-Allied Commission to reconsider from time to time the resources and paying capacity of Bulgaria and empowered it to recommend either a reduction or a postponement in the payment of the sums due by Bulgaria.

It was very unfortunate for Bulgaria that she did not have a strong and popular government capable of defending her interests, and ready to resign in sign of protest whenever she was being bludgeoned and coerced into paying on acount of reparations sums which were crippling her national economy and checking her develop-

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ment. Had her rights been entrusted to more stalwart defenders she would have certainiy met with as lenient a treatment as that meted out to Austria and Hungary, but unhappily her rulers' first thought was how to maintain themselves in office and avoid all source of conflict which might jeopardize their posts. This selfish consideration made them always bow meekly before such dictates as were issued by the International Reparation Commission whose sole consideration was to squeeze as much as possible out of Bulgaria. It is not to be wondered that the late Count Apponyi, that untiring champion of Hungarian rights, should have shown his aversion for such servile meekness, by remarking to an occasional Bulgarian delegate at Geneva, a fact which Prof. Gheorgov, a former rector of the Sofia University communicated to the Bulgarian Press: "I am at a loss to understand why your delegates keep silent when such important questions relative to your country are being discussed at the assembly of the League of Nations?"

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According to articles 124, 136, 142 and 145 of the above mentioned Treaty, Bulgaria was to be credited with certain sums as against the 2,250 million gold francs of reparations imposed on her. These amounts were computed in a pamphlet issued by the Bulgarian Commissariat of Reparations on Feb. 2, 1923 as totalling 3,857,548,624 gold francs and classified under the following heads:

Relative to Article	124	1,088,957,132
" " "	136	266,274,479
" " "	136	65,635,727
" " "	142	275,473,910
" " "	145	2,148,814,923
Maintenance of the Inter-Allied Commission		3,510,753
Indemnities paid to Allied subjects in territories occupied by Bulgaria		8,881,700

Besides the above, war material of a value of 633,211,117 gold francs had also been handed over to the Allies.

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Though certain items referring to Art. 124 and 145 are disputable, it seems that the Bulgarian government had some ground to insist upon its claims being taken into consideration, yet all the delegates of the Allied Powers did when the protocol of March 21, 1923 which settled the mode of payment of reparations was signed, was to divide into two parts „A" and „B" the total sum of 2,500 million gold francs claimed from Bulgaria, decreeing that 550 millions bearing 5% interest, labelled „A" share should be payable in 60 annuities, the first of which was fixed at 5 millions and was to increase gradually to 43,396,336 in 1934 and continue at that rate until 1983, while the remainder, amounting to 1,700 millions would stand over until 1953 without interest when such sums as Bulgaria had a right to claim would be deducted from it, though the Bulgarian counterclaims largely exceeded this figure.

Apparently little consideration was paid to Bulgaria's condition, to her having been amputated of her wealthiest provinces, to the utter exhaustion of the resources of the peasantry which had bravely shouldered single-handed the whole burden of the world war, and beguiled by the transient prosperity of a section of the population engaged in the cultivation and trade of tobacco which prospered exceedingly during the years 1919 to 1923, owing to the elimination from the European markets of Greece and Turkey as producers of Oriental tobacco, while engaged in fighting each other, and which trade is reckoned to have brought an inflow of some 4,000 to 4,500 million leva to Bulgaria during this period, the delegates of the Allied governments proceeded to bleed Bulgaria white.

Indispensable public services such as education and hygiene[1] were ruthlessly curtailed, the upkeep of railways

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[1] The rate of mortality from tuberculosis in 1928 was 30·53 per 10,000 in Bulgaria as against only 8·28 in Great Britain.

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and highways was completely neglected, nothing was done to reorganise agriculture and thereby permit the peasantry to recuperate after the exhaustion caused by the war, all this in order to economise on the budget and provide for payments to Bulgaria's insatiable creditors.

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The callousness and cynicism with which the Allied Powers, great and small, treated Bulgaria at this time is simply revolting and is best illustrated by the manner in which the Des Closières affair was liquidated. Among the documents published by the Bolsheviki were the minutes of the Russian Ministerial Council which revealed that on July 30, 1915 the question of finding 200 million francs wherewith to buy up Bulgarian cereals and at the same time to suborn Bulgarian politicians came up for discussion. Sazonov refused to besmirch his hands in this unclean affair and he left the management to England and France who provided 175 millions necessary for financing this operation, Russia supplying the balance of 25 millions. Several Bulgarian politicians were involved, and the irony of fate decreed that instead of serving the Entente's interests they should have unwillingly helped to consolidate the position of the tottering Radoslavov Cabinet. At the end of the war, the British and French governments demanded the restitution of all sums advanced by their agent, Des Closières, in Bulgaria, not only for the moneys supplied by the latter to various politicians for the purchase of cereals which had been ultimately confiscated by the Bulgarian government, but also for all the sums spent clearly on bribery and which figured in the claim lodged against the Bulgarian government as money spent „on propaganda and publicity". It is doubtful whether one can find another example of such brazen cynicism in inter-State relations and one marvels at the shamelessness of both British and French officials who had the impudence not only to avow that they had bribed, but that they

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175 7-8 should go to the length of demanding the reimbursement of the bribes from the very State the citizens of which they had attempted to corrupt. It is fortunate that the Arbitral Court before which these monstrous demands were formulated adjudged that the only part of the claim which was valid was that relative to the stocks of grain confiscated by the Bulgarian government and for which it was condemned to reimburse £164,264 plus 10,854,854 French francs, though as deputy G. Yurtov had declared in the Sobranye on Feb. 22, 1927, of the 200 millions francs of Entente money spent, only 18 or 20 millions had been used to buy cereals and the balance had been employed in bribing politicians.

The controversy which arose between the Greek politicians Venizelos and Cafandaris over the Greek Stabilisation Loan likewise casts a lurid light on the incentives which actuated Entente politicians when they heaped on Bulgaria the staggering burden of indemnities under which she has collapsed. At a speech Venizelos delivered at Salonica in the summer of 1932, he blamed Cafandaris for allowing himself to be cajoled by the French government into a remission of its war debt to Greece, amounting to 408 million gold francs, in order to secure French support for the flotation of this loan, after Venizelos had arranged in collusion with the French to lump the sum in question into the reparations claimed from Bulgaria! Obviously any stick was good enough to beat luckless Bulgaria with.

The present writer attempted several times from the columns of the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Near East* to point out that this policy of extortion and coercion which was being applied to Bulgaria was threatening to undermine her social structure, that its inevitable consequence would be the pauperisation of Bulgaria, since the country's financial capacity had never been taken into

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THE RISING GENERATION

[Facing p. 81]

175 proper consideration, but unfortunately his efforts proved
128 unavailing. The country, in fact, even before the war, was only able to pay her way by cumulating its foreign indebtedness, it would therefore hardly be expected that after being shorn of its most fertile regions and ruined by the war, the burden of which it had borne single-handed, Bulgaria would be able to meet unaided the problem of her pressing economic re-organisation and at the same time provide for the payment of the crushing indemnities imposed on her.

No wonder that M. Stambuliiski and his peasant colleagues perceiving that the Allied Powers were intent on draining every particle of moveable wealth out of Bulgaria, threw all restraint to the winds, and set themselves to embezzle and appropriate whatever public money they could lay hands on. Quinet's judicious pronouncement: „Otez à une terre toute chance d'avenir, elle enfante d'elle même la barbarie comme les ronces" was thus fully confirmed, for if a feeling of despair had not been instilled in the Bulgarian people by the pitiless and grasping policy of the Allied commissaries, the Agrarian party while it was in office would not have lost all sense of measure and thus hastened by its insensate policy the ruin which loomed large on the country's horizon.

The purblindness of the financial experts who had imposed the colossal burden of reparations became evident a few years later, when Bulgaria in spite of the financial assistance she received in the form of the two loans advanced to her under the auspices of the League of Nations felt unable to continue the payment of the reparation annuities.

By the end of 1929 Bulgaria had paid in annual instalments 41 million gold francs on this head, while the interest on the capital sum of the "A" share of reparations (550 millions) amounted to 125,984,233. So that she

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found herself in the invidious position of seeing her indebtedness grow in spite of the disbursements she was making, the capital sum of 550 millions having accrued to 634,984,233 gold francs by the end of 1929.

The absurdity of the position became so manifest that when the Young plan for Germany came up for discussion it was decided to revise the commitments imposed on Bulgaria, and on Jan. 20, 1930 a protocol was signed at the Hague by which Bulgaria was relieved of the "B" part of the reparations, namely 1700 million gold francs payable after 1953. This was a dubious gain, for Bulgaria likewise was forced to renounce her counter-claims, which an unbiassed arbitrator would have probably found to exceed this sum. Part "A" of the reparations was somewhat reduced and its mode of payment adjusted as follows:

1	annuity payable on April 1930	of 5,000,000 gold francs.
10	annuities payable between April 1, 1930 and March 31, 1940	each of 10,000,000 gold francs.
10	" " " " 1, 1940 and March 31, 1950	each of 11,500,000 gold francs.
16	" " " " 1, 1950 and March 31, 1966	each of 12,515,238 gold francs.

Bulgaria then agreed to pay these annuities unconditionally and renounced the right Art. 122 of the Treaty of Neuilly conferred on her, namely to invoke an inquiry into her capacity of payment. The transfer guarantee, however, established in connection with the League of Nations' loans was maintained and this was enough to nullify the promise Bulgaria assumed owing to her manifest inability to balance her international income and outgo.

Great Britain, France and Italy also "magnanimously" waived their claim to the balance due to them for the costs of their armies of occupation amounting still to 11,976,633 gold francs, for 'là où il n'y a rien le roi perd

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ses droits". The disinterestedness of these Great Powers became even better manifest when they abandoned the quota parts of the problematical Bulgarian reparation which accrued to them to their minor allies, Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia, who being on the spot would better dragoon and coerce Bulgaria into payment by „Balkan" methods the Great Powers would not dare indulge in. Obviously a most hopeful way of promoting goodwill and reconciliation among the Balkan States and to which may be traced the strained relations between Greece and Bulgaria and the tariff war the former has been waging against Bulgarian products.

The average sum of the reparation annuities which Bulgaria assumed to pay by the Hague arrangement was 11.2 million gold francs. This would have been a reasonable charge if Bulgaria possessed an excess of imports over exports which would have provided sufficient foreign exchange to meet this liability. For the payment of indebtedness requires that the net income of a State from its international trade and service operations should be equal to these outlays. Such, however, was not the case with Bulgaria for the available amount of foreign currency secured by its international income did not even suffice to defray the amortizations of her foreign loans, the payment of reparations was therefore suspended in accordance with the transfer guarantee assumed by the Reparation Commission towards the bondholders of the League of Nations' loans. But the latter did not benefit for long from this illusory guarantee, for Bulgaria bled white and exhausted by the senseless financial policy of some of her governments has practically been unable to meet even the annual charges of these loans as is related in detail in the next chapter.

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THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS' LOANS

128 Owing to the non-application of the principle of nationality, regions almost exclusively peopled by Bulgarians were placed under the sovereignty of other Balkan States. The latter though they assumed certain obligations towards the ethnic minorities they incorporated, made light of such safeguards as the Treaties extended to these minorities and by a policv of ruthless denationalisation forced large numbers to emigrate and seek refuge in Bulgaria. A few years after the termination of the war, some 350,000 mostly destitute people had thus come to seek shelter in Bulgaria. They constituted a heavy burden on the country since it had to provide out of its scanty resources for the maintenance of the greater number of these unfortunate people. If the League of Nations had watched and insisted on the carrying out of the obligations imposed by the Treaties, it would have been very easy not only to have stemmed this flow of destitute people into Bulgaria, but to have obliged Bulgaria's neighbours to repatriate most of these unfortunates who had been driven from their homes by persecution.

However nothing was done, and the Bulgarian Go-
457 vernment finding it difficult to raise the requisite means wherewith to assist this mass of suffering humanity, appealed to the League of Nations for aid. It was reasonable to expect that the League would respond to this appeal and succour Bulgaria without seeking to exploit the misfortunes of a luckless nation, but instead, capital was made out of Bulgaria's helplessness in order to squeeze something further out of her. It is necessary for British and American holders of these loans floated under the aegis of the League, that they should realise how shamefully Bulgaria has been exploited in her hour of need for the benefit of certain International Financiers,

and how these grasping Shylocks have by their disgraceful manoeuvres consummated Bulgaria's ruin and brought about her insolvency. Certainly, this action was rendered possible by the abjectness of certain Bulgarian politicians, who either out of purblindness, astuteness or for personal or party motives, facilitated the spoliation of their country, brought ruin to her and at the same time involved in that ruin a number of well-intentioned people who thought that by subscribing to the loan raised purposely for the settlement of refugees in Bulgaria under the sponsorship of the League of Nations, they were doing a praiseworthy act and at the same time were not exposing their savings to any untoward risk. Sir Arthur Salter in his recent book "Recovery" p. 106 grandiloquently asseverates: 457

"I venture to challenge a denial from any responsible person acquainted with the public borrowings of the years 1926—28 of the assertion that, with the exception of loans recommended by the League of Nations and the Central Banks, the bulk of the foreign loans in these years to public authorities in debtor countries would better not have been made.".

Why he excepts League of Nations' loans, it is hard for one to say, but there is not the slightest doubt that if there were loans which ought never to have been made, it is these two loans to Bulgaria.

The financial Committee of the League of Nations as soon as Bulgaria's demand was submitted to it, decreed that as a preliminary condition Bulgaria ought to agree to revalorise gradually her pre-war loans making them reinbursable in gold francs instead of paper francs, in which currency the Bulgarian Government was repaying them. The Bulgarian Government was paying regularly both interest and annuities in full in French francs, the majority of the bonds being labelled in francs, while British subjects who held the same script issued in sterling had been prevailed upon to accept payment also in

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French francs so that they might not be unduly advantaged in comparison with their French colleagues whose national currency had depreciated to 1/5th of its original value. This was a sensible arrangement, for if wealthy France was repaying the gold francs she had borrowed from her creditors in depreciated paper francs it could not be expected that Bulgaria after the amputation of her wealthiest provinces should proceed to refund her French creditors on a more lavish scale then they themselves were being reimbursed by their own State. It is really surprising that these gentlemen of the Financial Committee should have never heard of France's behaviour towards British investors in the French War Loans and of the controversy which arose between them and the French Government over the decision of the latter to repay them in paper francs instead of gold francs, which decision was maintained in spite of the repeated protests of the injured party, and that despite the precedent thus created by France they should have proceeded to reverse it in favour of the nationals of the very country which had issued it. Of course, if Bulgaria had adequate resources to pay her liabilities, she would be free to dispose of her money as she liked, but when her obligations to her American and British creditors are left indischarged on the specious plea of an inadequacy of resources, while such available resources as exist are being utilised to pay her French creditors over and above what they ought to receive, American and British bondholders have a right to protest against such unfair discrimination. Why should Bulgaria be allowed to pay her debts to the French in gold francs instead of in paper francs, depriving thereby some of her creditors of their legitimate share of assets in order that some others may be advantaged? The City of Tokio loan contracted in 1912 in francs in spite of all the pother roused in France and her insistance

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on its being reimbursed in gold francs by a decision of the Supreme Japanese Court taken in December 1934 is to e paid in paper francs. 457

If Japan is allowed to repay her debts to France in *paper* francs why should Bulgaria be constrained to reinburse hers in *gold* to the manifest prejudice of her other creditors? It is obvious that by advantaging some at the expense of others the Financial Committee of the League of Nations did not act independently in the matter, but that it was biassed in favour of certain French banks which were the principal holders of these Bulgarian bonds. Thus in order to secure the privilege of obtaining the League of Nations' help for her refugees, Bulgaria was constrained to increase her disbursements for the service of her pre-war loans from 81 million leva in the year 1921 to a sum gradually rising to 270 in 1931 and to 486 in 1934. The service of the Refugee Loan demands 186 million leva annually, and bears a nominal interest of 7 %; it is easy to calculate that this extra burden imposed on the Bulgarian Exchequer, the acceptance of which had been made an indespensable preliminary to the floating of the Refugee Loan, brought up in 1931 the interest payable on this Loan to about 10·5 %, the extra 3·5 % being pocketed by people who did not subscribe a single penny of the money handed over to Bulgaria for her refugees! If the Financial Committee was not intent on favouring thus certain particular interests. there was another way of coming to the assistance of Bulgaria, and this was pointed out repeatedly in the Bulgarian Chamber by M. Muchanov, the former Bulgarian Prime Minister and by others. As it is known, Art. 132 of the Treaty of Neuilly imposed a mortgage on all assets and revenues of Bulgaria in order to secure the payment of Reparations and this right was waived by the Reparation Commision so that the two League of Nation loans might have certain

457 revenues assigned to them. This same Commission agreed that the payment of reparations would be suspended entirely if their transfer was likely to compromise the stability of the Bulgarian currency and thus endanger the payment of the service of these loans. So that it would have been quite practicable for the Financial Commission of the League of Nations to have given their support to the suggestions which came from Bulgaria. Thus M. Muchanov speaking in the Sobranye on September 27,1926 affirmed: „To grant such privileges to the pre-war loans and instead of maintaining the existing convention, to accept to repay them on the basis of 100%, in gold is not a humane act... if the payment of Reparations had been postponed, Bulgaria could easily have financed the settlement of her refugees by employing for five years the reparation annuities for this purpose without assuming any other burdens such as the upkeep of commissaries and delegates, like M. Charron and other honourable people, whose first thought on their arrival here was to buy a Mercedes car costing 700,000 to 800,000 leva". On December 7,1926 M. Muchanov after denouncing the loan as not a humanitarian one since it increased the amount payable on the pre-war loans and thereby crippled Bulgaria, went so far as to affirm that Bulgaria could have financed if necessary the settlement of the refugees out of her own resources.

„The State by economising might itself have found adequate means for the refugees. We could raise, 200 millions a year for a period of 6 years or a total of 1200 millions just as previous governments had provided 160 millions during each of the preceeding two years".

Another deputy, M. A. Gospodinov, approving the above added that Bulgaria had been shamefully exploited while she was in a difficult position. In fact M. Muchanov was not very far out in his estimate of the approximate cost

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of installing the refugees. Out of a nominal sum of 2,246 million leva provided by the Refugee loan, some 1,613 millions only were used for assisting them and the money was expended not in a lump sum but in the course of 5 years in varying instalments. The former Finance Minister, M. Stefanov, speaking in the Sobranye on May 10 1932, affirmed: „We could have avoided contracting the Refugee loan since it was spent in instalments of about 170 millions a year, practically the equivalent of its annual service. It was a huge mistake since it obliged us to accept the revalorisation of the pre-war loans." Naturally the treatment meted out to Bulgaria was strongly reasented and often denounced. Thus M. Ilia Yanulov, a socialist deputy, well known to League of Nations' circles did not hesitate to deliver himself in the following terms in the Sobranye on April 11, 1928:

„From the proceeds of the Refugee loan only 1450 millions will be used for the refugees, almost a whole million has been diverted to other purposes such as the payment of old debts and reparations and yet this loan was dubbed humanitarian. It was a scandalous proceeding without precedent in all financial history. Owing to the revalorisation of pre-war loans we assume to reimburse within 39½ years a total of 6,624 millions in repayment of the 1,450 millions spent on the refugees. The Financial Committee of the League of Nations was nothing but an advisory body of bankers and not a part of the League of Nations. We should refuse to bow to such an idol. Why should we assume this liability of 6·50 milliard leva? In order to stabilise an international order which permits Serbia to annihilate Bulgarians (in Macedonia), Greece to expel Bulgarians from her territory and Rumania to deprive Bulgarians of the lands they possess (in the Dodrudja)"?

No wonder that Bulgarian deputies seeing the shameless exploitation to which their country had been subjected openly advocated default. Thus on June 9, 1932 deputy P. Stoev speaking in the Sobranye stated:

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

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"Russia has renounced her 80 millions we owed her. The masses of the nation desire the complete writing off of all the other State loans".

Another well known deputy M. P. N. Dackalov followed by stating that Bulgeria had already paid two milliard gold francs on behalf of reparations and this was bleeding Bulgaria white. He also denounced the insincerity of the former Minister of Finances, M. Mollov, who at Geneva represented Bulgaria's position as financially good and her budgets as showing surpluses, while at the same time he sent delegates to Paris to show that the contrary was the case. To ease the atmosphere, M. Stefanov, the Minister of Finance, then got up and stated: that Sir Arthur Salter in his report recommended that the loan to the refugees should not exceed 600,000 to 650,000 leva, but every effort was made to increase the total of the loan for which increase there was no justification whatever and this led to the demand for the revalorisation of the pre-war loans. This was confirmed on another occasion by Prof. G. P. Ghenov in the Sobranye on May 16, 1932 who asserted that if the Government had had the courage to reject the Refugee loan, the revalorisation of Bulgaria's pre-war loans would have never been imposed.

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From the above it becomes evident that the Financial Committee of the League of Nations did not act impartially and that it committed an act of favouritism on behalf of the holders of the Bulgarian pre-war loans and grossly prejudiced thereby the interests of the subscribers of these Bulgarian League of Nations' loans floated at its recommendation and under its auspices. There is no doubt that certain members of the Liaptchev Government, which was in power from 1926 to 1931 are also largely to blame for what has occurred and they were overtly accused of benefitting by these transactions, thus deputy T. Tonkov on May 14,1932 did not hesitate to in-

terpellate M. Mollov in the Sobranye in the following terms which can hardly be considered as equivocal: 457 661

"I do not know whether you used the proceeds of these loans to establish yourself or the refugees for the latter still live in huts".

As for the Government's responsibility in saddling Bulgaria with this onerous arrangement, Dr. Beshkov declared on April 20, 1932 in the Sobranye that Liaptchev and Burov were to blame for agreeing in 1926 to reimburse the pre-war loans in gold instead of in paper francs.

When such an example of gross spoliation was set at the top by those who were supposed to supervise and control the funds raised on behalf of the refugees we need not feel suprised that lesser officials manifested little zeal in practising economy and preventing embezzlements. Obviously, the borrowers were encouraged to have a few years of artificial prosperity in order to forget the bitterness engendered by the imposition of such onerous clauses.

Thus in July 1933 the Bulgarian Press cited the names of certain architects and engineers employed by the State in supervising the settlement of the refugees, of having embezzled some 15,000,000 leva, and it was further stressed that out of the construction of 264 houses built at Kavacli for housing the refugees some 5 millions had been misappropriated by them. These malversations were first denounced by M. Vlassakov, a courageous outspoken journalist, and he continued his campaign of denunciation in the *Mir* in spite of M. Charron's (the League of Nations' delegate in Bulgaria) efforts to hush up the matter, and the menaces and threats of the incriminated parties. For a time he was even prevailed upon by official circles to cease writing as he was assured that a commission of inquiry had been appointed to examine into these peculations, but as little was done and the

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culprits remained as active as before, he returned to the charge and continued his exposures. He affirms that over 18,000,000 leva were embezzled by two persons alone who had issued paying orders without adequate justification.

Another revelation as to the improper use of the money provided by the Refugee loan was made by the "Radical" December 6, 1932. This paper being the mouthpiece of M. Kosturkov, former minister of railways, was qualified to know how matters stood. 300 millions from the proceeds of the Refugee Loan were earmarked for the construction of the Rakovski-Mastanli railway but a large part was dissipated in a spirit of levity that illustrates the utter disregard shown by the Liaptchev administration for the obligations it assumed in formal protocols to private creditors. It shows at the same time to what extent M. Kosturkov was vigilant and anxious to cut down expenses in his department. In this he holds a record, for in the two years of his administration he reduced its expenditure by 500 millions. It was his parsimony and scrupulousness which incited his more profligate colleagues to organise the political cabal which caused his overthrow and brought just and swift retribution in the coup d'état of May 19, 1934. Thus the paper stated: "The bridge over the river Arda cost 10 millions while the one over the Sutliika though one fourth the size cost 9,800,000 leva. The discrepancy was due to the bad administration of the Democratic Entente, this will also explain why this railway line is the most expensive one in Bulgaria, costing 4,150,000 leva per kilometer". What many of us will resent even more than the improper use of of our money was that the houses destined for the refugees were very badly built and M. Vlassakov in one of his numerous articles in the *Mir*, August, 1,1933, affirmed that in the Burgas districts hundreds of thousands of leva had to be spent on repairing these houses within

a year of their termination, as 20 % to 50 % of the bricks employed in their construction were of too inferior a quality. And these imputations levelled by M. Vlassakov as to the bad housing of the refugees are well founded for deputy N. Traikov speaking in the Sobranye on March 17, 1932, complained that though these houses cost each 35,000 leva they were badly built, and the people cannot stand erect in them. 457 661

What speaks volumes for the honesty of the masses and contrasts strongly with the behaviour of its leaders is that the refugees to whom this deputy refers after complaining to him of their difficulties, of the impossibility of refunding the cost of their lands and homes to the government, expressed their readiness to evacuate them. For the lands and houses were not presented free to the refugees, but were to be bought by them on easy instalments, the State retaining a mortgage on them until fully reimbursed, The sums thus obtained are to serve for the reimbursement of the loan. By August 31, 1934 the sum of 20,203,733 leva had been reimbursed by the refugees; it is owing to the drop in the value of agricultural produce that proceeds from this head have been so scanty. Some of the funds set aside for the establishment of refugees were specially ear-marked for the draining of marshes, for Bulgaria had not sufficient land to provide for all their requirements. Apparently certain sums so destined were most uneconomically employed, provoking the righteous indignation of a talented deputy, who in his much commented and appreciated book "Among the people wrote as follows on the subject (p. 64):

The authority in charge of the settlement of refugees has bragged a lot about its efforts to drain the Indjekoy marsh (near Mesembria) and proclaiming that it had thus reclaimed a vast track of land. In fact ³/₄ of this area was grazing land equally as valuable as the arable land into which it will now be converted; as to the remaining part, it is below sea level and without resorting to pumping

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it will remain a marsh. For the conversion of this area of 1000—1200 hectares from pasturage to arable land, 15 million leva[1] have been spent, or 15,000 leva per hectare! (the price of arable land, is less than half this figure in Bulgaria), as to the annual cost of maintaining the drains, the future alone will enlighten us. But this is not all! In order that the cattle of the future settlers may be led to pasture, six huge concrete bridges each capable of sustaining a load of twenty tons were constructed. Will they start breeding Brobdingnagian cattle in these newly opened lands, or is it in tanks that they will transport their harvest? — six bridges costing six million leva. If this is not waste I do not know what else it may be called. At a short distance, all in a group, six colossal bridges, while along the whole lower course of the Kamtsia, that of the Taka Dere and the Karabounar river there is not a single bridge, so that whole districts remain isolated, as if in foreign territory. Thus insensately millions out of this much advertised refugee loan have been dispersed. Let us pray these millions will soon be exhausted in order that these mad acts may also cease."

In the face of these facts are not American and British bondholders entitled to call to account the Financial Committee of the League of Nations and to ask for an explanation not only of their own behaviour but of that of their delegate in Bulgaria, M. Charron, who apparently was too engrossed in contemplating the natural beauties of that country while rolling along in his luxurious Mercedes car, provided as M. Muchanov stated at the cost of some 700,000—800,000 leva out of the moneys subscribed by the bondholders of the Refugee loan?

The debates in the Sobranye on the so-called Stabilisation Loan raised in 1928 reveal that the same policy of exploiting the difficult position Bulgaria was in continued, naturally with the connivance of the same ministers and in spite of public opinion, as far this may be ascertained in Bulgaria, which was decidedly against the conclusion of the loan, as it could be clearly foreseen

[1] This is an underestimate, according to an official report dated March 24, 1933 the sum expended on draining this marsh was 19,230,866.

that it would bring no relief, but that on the contrary it would only involve fresh burdens for the country. The triumvirate, Liaptchev-Mollov-Burov which was in charge of the government had come to the conclusion that the more commercial and private debts Bulgaria concluded the better, for they would certainly get precedence over the political, and that the payment of the latter would be suspended in order that Bulgaria might pay the former. It was thus good policy to run into debt in order to avoid paying indemnities, and in the meantime Bulgaria in her turn had the satisfaction of squeezing something out of her exploiters. It was an astute deal, and the disappointment and loss subsequently inflicted on the financiers who undertook the underwriting of these loans was fully deserved by them. What one regrets is the small investor who fell a victim to the intrigues and cupidity of these two rival camps of astuteness and rascality. When taken subsequently to task in the Sobranye for his financial policy, the late M. Liaptchev attemped to vindicate himself by hinting that default on a large scale would ensue, thus turning to his successor in office, M. Muchanov he made this illuminating remark:

> There will be no loss to Bulgaria. The Prime Minister affirmed in the Committee of Foreign Affairs that he would buy up all the bonds of these two loans for 500 millions. Is it not so M. le President ?

M. Muchanov's answer is not recorded in the Parliamentary minutes (Sept. 6, 1932), evidently it was not politic to dilate on such a thorny matter for... "taisez vous, mefiez vous, les oreilles enemies vous écoutent!"

British investors who subscribed to these loans did so because they inferred that their Government which was represented on the Council of the League of Nations which had approved them, had likewise done so. Their savings were supposed to be safeguarded from improper

457 use by international control in which their own Government was to participate, and if there has not been proper supervision it should shoulder its share of responsibility. In 1933 the British Government went out of its way and paid £5,500,000 in order to meet "a moral obligation" on its dollar bonds of 1917, though there was no legal obligation upon it to assume a liability of which it had been relieved by the action of the United States when it went off the gold standard and abrogated the gold clause. The Chancellor of the Exchequer championed with considerable warmth the rights of these bondholders "until a short time ago" he said, "they had every reason to suppose that those rights were valid. In these circumstances we came to the conclusion — indeed, we could not resist the conclusion — that we had some moral obligation towards these people etc". Sir Stafford Cripps and others denounced in very plain language:

"We do very strongly resent this special finding of £5,500,000 for the City of London, because that is what it comes to. . . If we were going to embark on that principle there were better recipients of our bounty than the bondholders of this particular issue. The vast majority of these bonds were now in the hands of quite different people from those who originally lent the money".

Nevertheless the measure was passed and a precedent created which may be usefully invoked by British holders of these Bulgarian loans, who if they cannot secure an indemnity from their own Government should at least secure its support for obtaining a more equitable share in the distribution of the available assets.

However some people may criticise this act of the British Government it serves to emphasize one principle, namely that investors who have suffered a loss through depreciation of currency are entitled to some compensation. This must have been acknowledged even by the

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457 Bulgarian Government when it agreed to repay its pre-war French loans on a gold basis instead of in paper francs. What is somewhat disconcerting however, is that having shown itself so punctilious towards its French creditors it should have failed to comport itself in the same manner towards its American and British creditors, who more gentlemanly, and imbued with a greater sense of fair play, had not attempted like the French to make Bulgaria shoulder the loss which their own governments had inflicted on them by decreeing the depreciation of their respective currencies.

As has been explained, a preliminary condition for the conclusion of the Refugee loan was that of Bulgaria's acceptance of the revalorisation of her pre-war debts, a condition which was clearly a case of favouritism at the expense not only of the Bulgarian public, but also of *bona-fide* investors in this loan. This same policy, though on a smaller scale, was also pursued in connection with the 1928 loan. In order to secure the necessary revenue for the payment of the service of the loan, the Reparation Commission agreed to waive its rights on the customs revenues of the State and assign them specially to this purpose. Art. 132 of the Treaty of Neuilly had pledged all assets and revenues of Bulgaria to this Reparation Commission. The rights of the latter on this branch of revenue were implicit and indisputable for whatever claims German nationals may have had on this particular item they had renounced them, as becomes clear by art. 139 of the same Treaty which plainly stipulates: "If, in accordance with articles 235 and 260 of the Treaty of Peace with Germany, all rights, interests and securities held by any German... national under the contracts and agreements regulating the loan concluded by Bulgaria in Germany in July 1914, are taken over by the Reparation Commission, the Bulgarian Government undertakes to

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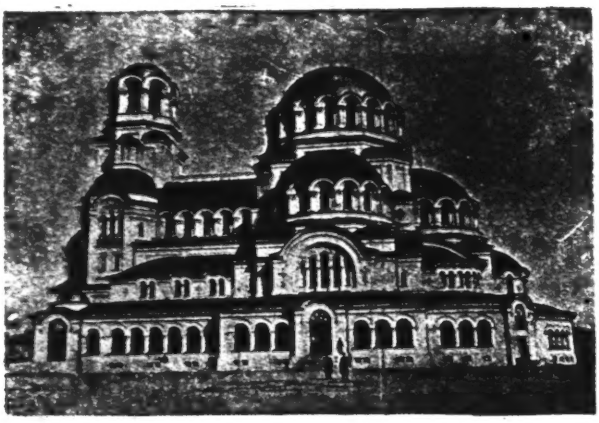

SOFIA: THE ALEX. NEVSKI CHURCH

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A GROUP OF PEASANTS

[facing p. 97]

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457 do everything in its power to facilitate this transfer". This loan alluded to, had been contracted by the Diskonto Gesellshaft, but as this German bank had not fulfilled its part of the contract with the Bulgarian government, all its rights had lapsed; besides the Bulgarian Government had a formidable range of claims against the Germans, so that there was not a ghost of evidence to show that there was the slightest justification for raising this veritable skeleton in the cupboard. As M. Liaptchev himself admitted in the Sobranye on June 28, 1928. „We appointed a judicial commission to consider the Diskonto Gesellschaft's claims and it has reported that it had no legal ground whatever for them". Nevertheless the Financial Committee of the League of Nations thought that this question of the Diskonto Gesellschaft's lapsed rights might serve as a colourable pretext for extorting from the wretched Bulgarian peasantry a few hundred millions. As to the motives which inspired this sudden solicitude for the German bank no one can be so artless as to entertain any doubts. As the Sobranye would have rejected outright the loan if this proposed indemnification of the Diskonto Gesellschaft had been divulged this was judiciously hidden from the deputies as becomes evident from a passage in the interpellation addressed by the veteran Bulgarian parliamentarian, M. Ilia Gheorgov, to the Government on March 16, 1928,

> "It is rumoured that Bulgaria will be forced to assume certain engagements towards the Diskonto Gesellschaft. A parliamentary regime demands that the Chamber should be consulted and not placed before a *fait accompli*".

When later it became known that the Liaptchev administration had accepted to satisfy the Financial Committee's demand on this subject a chorus af denunciations arose in the Sobranye, M. Muchanov, the leader of the Opposition declared on June 28, 1928: "Since the

Govern ment knew that this question had to be settled before securing the loan, it ought to have asked the Sobranye's opinion prior to accepting the loan protocole." M. Pastuhov, one of the leaders of the Socialist party added: 457

"This secret should not have been kept from the Sobranye by the Minister of Finance so that the acceptance of the loan protocol might be made easy. His assurance that nothing is to be paid to the Diskonto out of the loan is humbug; the latter bank being now in close association with English and other banks, its claims will be considered".

While M. Gheorghov again denounced the unparliamentary attitude of the government in mystifying the Chamber and insisted that at least the question of Bulgaria's claims against Germany should be simultaneously discussed with those of the Diskonto Gesellschaft. The voting of this loan caused an uproar in the Sobranye and what proves its unpopularity was that it split the Government majority, usually a body characterised by extreme docility and keen attentiveness to the behests of those on high. The feelings of every independently minded and intelligent Bulgarian were correctly interpreted by Dr. Beshkov, an Opposition deputy, when he affirmed in the Sobranye on November 14, 1928:

"With an annual deficit of some 500 millions in our balance of payments increased by 170 millions of the annuity of the Refugee loan and by 250 to 260 millions that of the new loan, all the reserves at the National Bank will soon be exhausted and a new loan needed. The present loan will only serve to stabilise temporarily the party in power but not our national economy. We shall not vote for it".[1]

Another deputy. M. G. Petrov was equally outspoken:

"In a few years the funds provided by the loan will be exhausted and we shall find ourselves in the same situation as now The deficits in the budgets arise from the payment of political debts; by

[1] Both the former Prime Minister M. K. Gheorghiev and Minister of Finance, P. Todorov, who were deputies and nominal supporters of the Government voted against the loan.

457 balancing them with loans we simply transform political indebtedness into commercial or private indebtedness".

It is idle to contend that the Financial Committee of the Leangue of Nations was not aware of the state of affairs in Bulgaria and that it allowed itself to be hoodwinked by that quintessence of diplomatic finesse, the triumvirate Liaptchev—Mollov—Burov. It bears even a greater share of responsibility than these Bulgarian Ministers, for the loss investors in these loans have suffered, since it cannot even offer the same justification for its acts as the latter, who as several Bulgarian deputies affirmed, contracted the loans in order to stabilise, at least temporarily, their seats on the Ministerial bench. What greater condemnation can there be of this insensate policy than that contained in the utterences in the Sobranye of M. Stefanov, the succeeding Minister of Finances, on June 17, 1932 and July 10, 1932:

"Bulgaria could have done without any loans these last years, in such a case she would have had to provide 600 million less annually, this being the amount she has to disburse now on account of the last two loans and for the revalorisation of the pre-war loans. This would have constituted a great relief, and would have allowed Bulgaria to live without worries... The burden of the reparations has not worsened our condition as we ourselves have worsened it by our financial and other transactions. It is true that the reparations constituted a heavy charge but this imposition can not serve to disculpate us for our errors".

457 652 In fact as soon as the proceeds of these two loans became available, the Liaptchev administration began indulging in an orgy of squandering in order to placate its adherents and to show that it could act with munificence worthy of a great government. If we turn once more to M. Stefanov's speeches we shall find him relating:

"In 1928 there were over two milliards of uncollected taxes which in the next two years had increased to 2800 millions, 75% of which could have been collected if the Government had so wished, but there was no effort to do so. No measures were taken to stop in

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time the drain on the gold reserves of the National Bank and to-day we are obliged to cut down ruthlessly imports into Bulgaria for we only have foreign exchange enough to meet the requirements of 10% to 30% of our indispensable imports. There has been waste in every direction; in order to show the electorate that the Government had not forgotten it, the construction of railway lines and public works had been started in all directions and had to be suspended later for lack of funds. It will take 12 years to terminate these lines. There was no system, no policy whatever .

In another speech, on June 1, 1932, M. Stefanov informs us that the Liaptchev administration was equally prodigal in the matter of granting loans to towns and communes out of the State Exchequer, or with the State's guarantee; 2744 millions had thus been advanced of which only 400 millions had so far been reimbursed Many communes were not paying even interest on these advances and the money might well be considered as good as lost.

Concerning the indefensible prodigality the Liaptchev administration displayed in its public works policy it is not necessary to turn to its successors in office in order to find it criticised. It was condemned even by its supporters at the time while it was still indulging in this phenomenal profligacy. Thus in the Parliamentary minutes (June 28, 1928) we read of M. D. Neikov, a government supporter who proceeded to lecture the Government in the following terms:

"The Government has no plan in railway construction and complete anarchy prevails. Eighteen lines are being constructed simultaneously. We start constructing and then suspend work. The earthworks of the Tserven Breg-Teteven line had been completed but the work stopped and the elements have washed them away. If the line is to be constructed the work will have to be done over again. It is the same with the Panagurishte-Plovdiv line. What are we to say however about the fact that, having already a railway between Sarambey and Tsepino, the Government starts constructing a parallel line Tatar-Pazardjic-Tsepino. Does this not prove that we are

457 actuated not by our country's interest but by those of our partisans or by our own private ones?"

652 This speaker was succeeded by another Government deputy, M. G. T. Popov, who confirmed his colleagues' recriminations in the following rejoinder:

"Whoever passes by Tatar Pazardjic sees that money is spent uselessly. . . This railway line is a monument of waste and extravagance".

457 Similar criticisms might be quoted ad infinitum, they came both from official and unofficial circles and bondholders may well ask what was the delegate of the League of Nations doing? True, his functions were to see that the Bulgarian Government made arrangements to pay the annuities of the loans, but it was easy to foresee that the wastefulness of the Government was rapidly exhausting the resources of the country and that it would be impossible to provide for the payment of the coupons in a few years. But apparently there was a cordial entente between the custodian and those who had been confided to his custody. Obviously, if the Financial Committee had imposed on the Bulgarian Ministers the acceptance of the revalorisation of the Bulgarian pre war loans entailing a supplementary charge of 8500 million leva (see M. Yanulov's speech in the Sobranye (Feb. 12, 1929) to the Bulgarian Exchequer, such generosity had to be requited by the Financial Committee blinking at the intensive "affairisme" of their clandestine associates. This occult fraternisation lasted sometime, for the Bulgarian Ministers equally agreed to raise no opposition about the resurrection of the Diskonto Gesellschaft's untenable claims solemnly abrogated by Articles 235 and 260 of the Treaty of Versailles, and Article 139 of the Treaty of Neuilly. This shady transaction resulted in Bulgaria being saddled with a further total charge of 20,825,000 gold francs, repayable in annual instalments until 1944. In this case no French

politicians, ever alert to denounce threatening infringements of their sacro-sanct Treaties, denounced this gross violation of both Treaties of Neuilly and Versailles. Of course it was a mere matter of fleecing some Bulgarian peasants, or of relieving some American and British investors of a part of their superfluous wealth so why bother about such trivialities! This harmonious co-operation between the Financial Committee of the League of Nations and the Liaptchev Government would have gone on still, for the gullibility of the investing public is well known, and the sign-post of the League of Nations as an association of underwriters is bound to inspire greater confidence than that of a Hatry or a Krüger. 457

The floating of loans presupposes the existence of needy borrowers, spending therefore required encouragement, for if borrowers did not spend the money they raised, they would have no need to resort anew to the bankers. This is self evident and explains the profligacy of the Liaptchev administration, which turned a deaf ear even to the disapprobatory remarks of its more parsimonious supporters. As Prof. G. P. Ghenov affirmed in the Sobranye on May 16, 1932:

> "Its policy was to govern the country by concluding loans every three or four years. It had prepared the preliminary steps for the conclusion of a loan destined to foster Bulgarian co-operative societies".

But those Bulgarian peasants proved too suspicious; the members of the co-operatives gave the alarm. The contents of this cornucopia which the Government wanted to empty on them must contain mixed blessings, it smacked of *"timeo Danaos et dona ferentes"*, for surely foreigners were not going to shower their gold on Bulgaria for nothing! So that when the electorate was consulted in 1931 M. Liaptchev's applecart was upset to his immense surprise and dismay. This was a stroke of luck for the

457 would-be investors in that prospective Bulgarian Co-operatives' Loan which the League of Nations was preparing to patronise; for those would-be investors might now have been in the same fix as the bondholders of the two other loans floated under the alluring and alas! delusive aegis of the League of Nations.

457 65 The Refugee Loan floated in 1926 was labelled in pounds sterling and dollars and was in its great bulk subscribed by American and British investors. It was repayable in 40 years, the price of issue was 92 and the yield 7%. The nominal amount was £3,300,000 and $4,500,000 but the net proceeds available to Bulgaria were £2,112,000 and £3,915,000 for some £625,889 were employed for the reinbursement of the Bulgarian Exchequer bonds issued in 1912-1913 to the French Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas. The money borrowed had been in French francs and the bank was repaid in the current rate of the franc and not in gold and though this arrangement seemed quite fair, yet there were Bulgarian deputies who considered that the Bank had been unduly favoured. (See Prof. P. Stoyanov's speech in the Sobranye Sept. 24, 1926). But when, one comes to consider the case of the revalorisation of the pre-war loans, it is apparent that it was a case of swallowing the camel and straining at its tail. Specific revenues were assigned to its service such as the excise on salt and alcohol and the proceeds of the match monopoly. Further, the Reparation Commission agreed to suspend the payment of reparations if such transfers were likely to affect the stability of the Bulgarian currency. A further security was provided by the fact that the State had undertaken to place at the disposal of the refugees 132,000 hectares of land, and the refugees were to refund both the value of the land and of the houses to be built out of the funds provided by the loan. The money to be

derived from this source was to be earmarked for the repayment of the loan. For this purpose the farms of the refugees had been mortgaged to the Bulgarian Agricultural Bank, which was to supervise the refunding of these sums by the refugees. To all intents and purposes there was full security, the special revenues assigned to the service of the loan providing three times the amount needed for its service though recently the yield of these taxes has slightly decreased. Repayments by the refugees have dwindled, for owing to the fall in the price of agricultural produce they are not in a position to continue the reimbursements of their mortgages. A large number of them had been expelled from Greece, but by the Kalfov-Politis and the Mollov-Cafandaris protocols, which received the sanction of the League of Nations, Greece had undertaken to indemnify them for their possessions which they had left behind. Bulgaria had likewise bound herself to indemnify such Greeks as emigrated from Bulgaria. As the number of Bulgarians who were forced to leave Greece was far in excess of the Greeks leaving Bulgaria, there was an outstanding balance due by Greece to Bulgaria of 1,030 million leva, which sum had it been transferred to the Bulgarian refugees (See M. Smilov's speech in the Sobranye May 5, 1932) would have served for the paying off by them of their mortgages to the Bulgarian Agricultural Bank, and the money would have been used for the gradual repayment of the loan. Nothing, however has been done to compel Greece to carry out her obligations on this head. The Kalfov-Politis agreement admits that the obligation is of a private character, and that the balance arising from the exchanged properties should be handed to the refugees. This stipulation however is not reiterated in the Mollov—Cafandaris agreement which superseded it and Greece now takes advantage of the moratorium on inter-government liabilities to put off the settlement of this debt claiming that

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it is not a private matter but a governmental one. Prof. G. N. Ghenov speaking in the Sobranye on March 16, 1932 on this matter stated:

"The Hague Court to which the matter had been referred found that it was not within its province, but the case of the Hungarian optans proves the rectitude of Bulgaria's point of view, namely that it was a case of private debts which should be respected. Bulgaria had concluded a loan to enable these people to settle, if she receives money from Greece she will reimburse the loan, if she is not paid why should she be bound to pay in her turn"?

A perfectly judicious remark, though hardly reassuring to the bondholders who had better see that justice be done to Bulgaria if they wish the latter to do justice to them.

According to official data, a total of 1,619,064,310 leva provided by the State had been expended on the winding up of the department entrusted with the settlement of refugees, on the housing and assisting the refugees, draining marshes, constructing roads, and the railway line Rakovski—Mastanli etc., according to the summary appended below:

	Leva
Preparatory work on lands	77,879,200
Seeds etc.	75,167,806
Cattle	182,097,700
Agricultural implements & carts	81,026,153
Construction of houses	657,692,692
Draining of marshes	122.584,359
Railroad line Rakovski-Mastanli	324,872,617
Roads	13,971,109
Hygiene, Anti-malaria campaign etc.	18,220,905
Water adduction and improvements	36,330,852
Accountancy & general expenses	53,589,570
Total. . .	1,643,432,963

According to a statement by M. Gr. Vassilev in the Sobranye (Feb. 3, 1932) 30,099 families had been financially assisted and settled in rural districts and 7,896 in urban localities. The majority had come from Greece;

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7,896 from Western Thrace and 11,705 from Greek Macedonia, 1,240 from Serbian Macedonia 1856 from the west confines of Bulgaria which had been ceded to Serbia, 3,748 from the Dobrudja, and 15,802 from Turkey. There were a few thousand families which had not been in need of State help. 457 652

The balance of the loan over and above the 1,643,433,963 leva was not used for productive purposes; it served to pay reparations and debts, a matter which was strongly criticised in the Sobranye and which has been referred to.

The Stabilisation Loan floated in 1928 was labelled in pounds sterling, dollars, and French francs and was issued for the nominal amounts of £ 1,800,000. $ 13,000,000 and Frs. 130,000,000, the net proceeds being £ 1,616,713-13-0, $ 11,910,750 and Frs. 116,350,000, or a total of 3,370,065,553 leva. The price of issue was 96 in England, 97 in the United States and 98.20 in France, and the yield 7.5%.

The revenue from customs affected to the service of the loan was far in excess of the amount required, and although there has been a marked falling off in custom dues, yet the amount raised annually is still sufficient (774 millions in 1932-3 & 514 millions in 1933-4) to provide twice over the requisite sum. The proceeds of the loan were utilised as follows: £ 1,500,000 paid to the National Bank in partial reimbursement of its advances to the State, £ 500,000 and £ 150,000 each to the Agricultural and Co-operative Bank, so that their scope of action might be extended, £ 1,100,000 were used to wipe off budget deficits, £ 1,250,000 employed for the overhauling of railways, roads and ports, and £ 500,000 for repairing the damage caused by the earthquake in the Plovdiv region. Simultaneously the sphere of action of the National Bank was rigorously limited and defined so as to shield it from all interference from the State.

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Thus the amount of exchequer bonds it was allowed to discount was limited to 400 million leva and a foreign counsellor was appointed to supervise its accounts and report to the League of Nations on its activities.

Bulgaria, like other countries, has been severely hit by the fall in the price of agricultural produce which has happened since 1929. There has been a marked drop in the State revenues with the result that the budget has continually been closed with deficits, but owing to the draconian measures adopted since 1929 with the object of curtailing imports and thus restricting the outflow of gold from the country, the government has succeeded since 1930 in transforming an almost perpetually passive commercial balance into an active one (except for the year 1932 which showed an excess of imports over exports of 88 millions). Unfortunately, owing to the existing system of clearings and quotas, the realised surplus from excesses of exports over imports to and from one country is not always available for the discharge of a debt towards another country. The principal creditor countries, Great Britain, France, and the United States continue to export to Bulgaria far in excess of what they import from her. Especially this is so in the case of England, for until quite recently Bulgaria used to buy from her six to seven times as much as what she sold. It is obvious therefore that Bulgaria was not in a position to transfer sufficient sums with which to pay her excess of imports over exports, and at the same time to effect the service of her debt towards these States. It devolves on these countries to furnish greater trading facilities to Bulgaria, in order that she may be in a better position to discharge her obligations. This is especially incumbent in the case of Great Britain, which is in the course of losing one of her most valuable clients in the Near East, her exports to Bulgaria having gradually dwindled from 738.9 in 1929

to 152.2 in 1933 and 143 million leva in 1934 while her imports were reduced from 100.08 to 49.8 million leva between 1929 and 1933 (53 millions in 1934). 457 652

The surplus from the commercial balance is the only source from which external debts may be paid, since the gold resserves of the National Bank can not be further drawn upon without compromising the stability of the currency, and Bulgaria has no foreign investments providing other invisible resources. Owing to the continuous shrinkage of the exports and the consequent reduction of this surplus (160.1 million in 1930, 1,274 millions in 1931, a deficit of 88 millions in 1932, a surplus of 644 millions in 1933 and of 288 in 1934) the Bulgarian Government has found it impossible to meet its liabilities, notwithstanding the fact that owing to the moratorium on inter-governmental debts, it has been relieved of the obligation of providing annually some 10 million gold francs under the head of reparations. Thus in 1932 it was obliged to demand a partial suspension of its payments abroad, and this was conceded in the form of a reduction on the interest of its exterior debt to the extent of 40%. But this concession proved insufficient, and by an agreement signed in May 1934 the percentage of the interest payable was further reduced to 32.5% of the original sum for a period of two years, expiring on April 1st, 1936. By the end of 1934, however owing to the shrinkage of the excess of exports over imports, the Bulgarian Government declared itself unable to carry it out, and demanded that the rate of interest payable on its exterior debts should be reduced proportionately to its available resources. Its request is justifiable; since the creditor countries refuse to buy Bulgarian produce wherewith to provide their debtor with the means with which it can discharge its obligations, Bulgaria's creditors must bow to the inevitable. American and British bond-

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holders of the two last loans, however, are entitled to insist on a better repartition of the available surplus, for in this matter they have been wronged. Owing to the depreciation of their national currencies they were being paid 40 % less by the Bulgarian Government than what the latter was paying to the French subscribers of the Stabilisation loan.

In fact while the latter received 32 ½ % of the original amount of interest due, American and British bondholders were only receiving 19 %. But what seems ~~a far~~ greater injustice is that while American and British bondholders have forfeited 40% of what is due to them, owing to the depreciation of their national currencies, holders of the Bulgarian pre-war loans, labelled in francs, in spite of the fact that the currency in which their bonds are labelled has depreciated to the extent of 80%. should be receiving preferential treatment in the form of a gradually appreciating payment which will shortly attain gold parity. If American and British bondholders were being paid in full in their national currency, there would be no cause for complaining, but when Bulgaria who has taken full advantage of the depreciation of the pound sterling and of the dollar, and proceeds to reimburse her French creditors not in their national currency but in gold, and using for this purpose a portion of the available sum which is the common property of *all* her creditors, it is high time that a halt should be called. Naturally French bondholders who are always strongly backed by their government, will exert the utmost pressure on the Bulgarian Government in order to maintain their present position of vantage and it is useless to appeal to the Financial Committee of the League of Nations which has itself sanctioned this favouritism. The latter really represents the interests of International Finance and these birds of prey have shared the booty plucked from hapless Bulgaria, by ceding the spoils derived from

the revalorisation of her pre-war loans to the French group while reserving the proceeds of the opportunely resurrected claims of the Diskonto Gesellschaft to the Anglo-American or British groups. These are matters which even peasant deputies are conversant with in Bulgaria,[1] and which are powerfully working to poison public opinion against the West which alas! has distinguished itself rather by its rapacity than by anything else, and contributel to turn the country Bolshevik.[2]

The only hope for American and British bona-fide investors in these loans to better their position, is to organise themselves into a committee and take up the defence of their own interests. If they insisted on a more equitable distribution of the available surplus, not only they would get as much as they were receiving under the agreement of May, 1934, but they have a chance of bettering their position. The amount needed for the annual service of Bulgaria's foreign debt by this convention is some 236 million leva, while the available surplus of exports over imports for the year 1934 is 288 millions. It would seem therefore that the paltry 19% (instead of 32½%) of the interest originally due to them and which was served out to them by the above mentioned convention could be substantially increased. It lies also with the

[1] While the Stabilisation loan was discussed in the Sobranye, M. H. Baev, a peasant deputy, got up and in a vigourous invective denounced the Government for endeavouring to bamboozle the opposition by assurances that no promises had been given to consider the defunct claims of the Diskonto. "These" he said," had been bought for a mere song by English bankers and Bulgaria would be made to pay for them through the nose."

[2] One may well sympathise with Prof. F. Soddy when he proceeds to denounce the doings of international bankers and financiers and exhorts us to do away with "a hierarchy of impostors and humbugs whom it is the first task of a sane civilisation to expose and clear out". ("The role of money" p. 214).

000 bondholders to propose another method which would secure for them a more advantageous return. For if they can not be better paid in their own currencies owing to the latter's shortage in Bulgaria, they may insist on being paid in Bulgarian currency which is more plentiful, for the special revenues affected to these loans provide several times over the amount needed for their services. The Bulgarian currency thus obtained may be used by bondholders for defraying their holiday expenses which they can take in Bulgaria. Sofia within two and a half days from London, possesses all the amenities of a holiday resort, an excellent climate, a plentiful water supply, cheap and comfortable hotels, mineral, thermal and radio-active springs with an extensive range of curative properties, as well as modern thermal baths, beautiful scenery and an excellent opera. Those who indulge in sports will rejoice to know that a magnificent open swimming pool is available as well as a stadium and that mountaineering can be indulged in in its immediate vicinity. Those again who have a predilection for the sea may resort to Varna, which in natural beauty rivals Biarritz, while the cost of living will be found to be a bare fraction of that in the fashionable French resort. As for the majority of bondholders to whom the taking of their holidays in Bulgaria is not practicable, they may advantageously dispose of their Bulgarian currency in another way. They can come to an understanding with the Bulgarian Co-operative societies and in association with them open a distributing centre for Bulgarian produce in London, and there in exchange for their Bulgarian currency acquire for their personal use an immense range of goods at competitive prices, such as tinned vegetables, fruit and meats, cheese, prunes, cigarettes, bacon, hams, poultry, flour, eggs, perfumes, rugs, etc. etc. There will be no difficulty whatever for an average British householder to spend thus in a year the re-

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venue he may derive from an original investment of a couple of thousand pounds in Bulgarian League of Nations' Loans. Such an arrangement would not only bring relief to British investors, but would be of inestimable advantage to the Bulgarian Co-operative Societies, which would get a footing in the English market and secure the patronage of a numerous class whose interests would coincide with theirs, since the cost of running such a distributing centre would be shared by both parties. For diplomatic reasons the Bulgarian Government may consider it impolitic to espouse outright such suggestions, however it may approve of such a scheme. Britain's detachment from European affairs obliges Bulgaria to manage French susceptibilities to the utmost, and France will disapprove of a scheme likely to be disadvantageous to her nationals, for no government backs its bondholders so fervently as the French. But if Anglo-American investors league themselves together and insist on their rights being respected, championing at the same time Bulgaria's interests, which after all are identical to theirs, they are bound to carry the day, for the average Bulgarian is quick to grasp where his interests lie.

American and British investors in the Refugee Loan, were largely actuated by their sympathy for Bulgaria when they proceeded to subscribe to it; (the writer knows something about this, since he himself invested a couple of thousand pounds and canvassed all his friends in his native Lancashire, inviting them to do likewise). They in common with Bulgarian ratepayers have been disgracefully exploited; but they can prevent being sponged upon in the future by joining hands. To persist in the present passivity is merely to encourage spoliation. Since the pledges given as security to these loans provide a sufficiency for the integral payment of its service, it is preposterous that subscribers should renounce their rights without ade-

000 quate reason. It would certainly be unfair and injudicious on their part to insist on exacting their full pound of flesh, such a strangulation of Bulgaria in the interests of a creditor minority would not be tolerated. But a demand 457 on the part of Bulgaria for an alleviation in the charge of 435 the actual debt is justifiable in view of the fact that the fall in world prices has increased the burden of the world's debts very considerably, and has therefore correspondingly improved the position of all creditors.

The extent to which this burden has increased, owing to the fall in agricultural produce in respect of these two League of Nations' Loans may be gauged by a very instructive article published a few years ago by the Association of Bulgarian Economists, which shows the respective values of the loans in tons of wheat at the time of their conclusion, and in 1930. It was thus explained that the total proceeds of the two loans at the time of their subscription was equivalent in value to 957,066 tons of wheat, while by 1930 owing to the fall in the price of commodities, Bulgaria would have had to provide 2,638,317 tons of wheat to raise the same amount of money wherewith to repay her debt. This shows to what extent Bulgaria's paying capacity has been impaired, but even if we adjusted it on this basis we should find that she should pay 35% of the original interest instead of the paltry 19% which she taking advantage of the depreciation of the American and British currencies has been serving out until quite recently to the American and British bondholders.[1] This

457 [1] By an arrangement arrived at in April 1935, the Bulgarian 65 government will continue paying 32½% of the interest due on these loans until Sept. 30, 1935. but of this amount only 15% will be transferred abroad for distribution, while the balance of 17½% will be placed to the credit of a blocked account. Discussions as to subsequent payments are to be resumed in October 1935. The dividend distributed during July 1935 on the Refugee Loan amounted to £5—5—0 per

is hardly fair and if this be brought to the knowledge of the Bulgarian public, it will itself protest against the discrimination which is being exhibited towards a section of its creditors. But unfortunately both the Bulgarian Government and public are helpless, they are bound by the shackles of the Treaty of Neuilly, they are not masters in their house. they are precluded from redressing the wrongs they suffer from, and which are inflicted on others in their name. It is rather on the American and British bondholders that this duty devolves, and when the latter decide to demand a more equitable treatment, let them realise that it entails also a larger share of justice to Bulgaria. For if the revalorisation of the pre-war debts

£1000 of nominal capital, but if the depreciation of the dollar and pound be taken into consideration, this was tantamount to a rate of 0·7°/₀ per annum. It will be of interest to bondholders to know that payment at the rate of 15°/₀ of the sums due on its foreign debt involves a total charge to the Bulgarian exchequer of 105,667,655 leva apportioned as follows among its foreign committments:

On the pre-war loans	40,735,216
" " two L. of N. loans	42,346,464
" " upkeep of the delegates of the pre-war loans & of the commissary of the L. of N.	4,674,236
" " 6½°/₀ 1923 loan	3,063,128
" " sum due to the Diskonto Gesellshaft	3,616,440
" " 7°/₀ 1923 loan (utilised for settlement of the des Clusières affair	640,594
On the amount due to the Jonction Salonique-Constantinople railway (paid integrally 100°/₀)	10,561,387

Bondholders should note that if interest on the pre-war loans were paid in paper francs, the amount to be disbursed would be about a third of the 40,735,216 earmarked for this purpose. It would be well if explanations were asked as to why the Bulgarian gorernment is burdened with the upkeep of a special delegate of the holders of these loans, for the commissary of the L. of N. could attend to this job and a saving of over two million leva would thereby be effected. An explanation is likewise due as to why the railway Jonction-Salonique is receiving preferential treatment.

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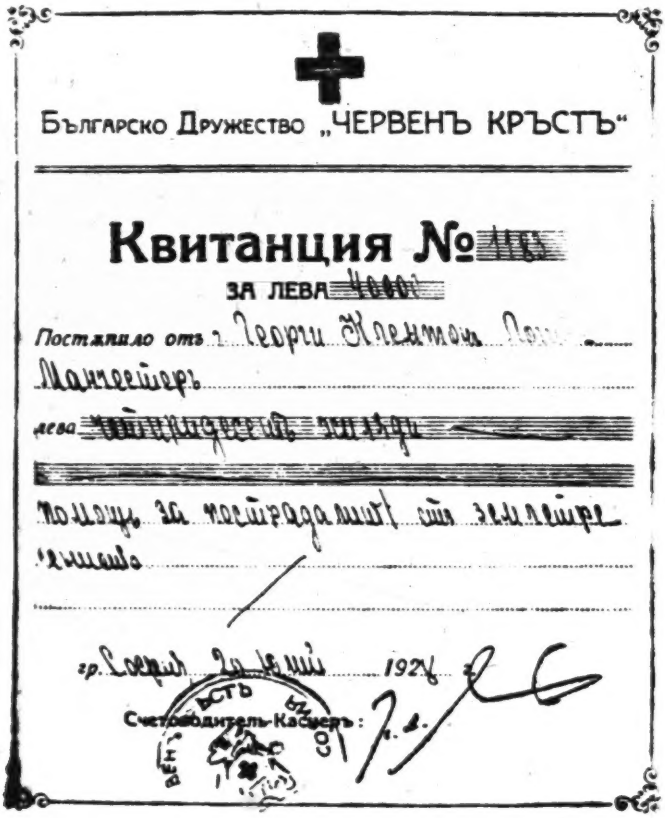
and the payment of an indemnity for the fictitious claims of the Diskonto Gesellschaft be suspended, this means a considerable alleviation of the charge laid on Bulgaria's shoulders They could equally raise the question of the payment of the sums outstanding to the refugees, for whenever, and if, these unfortunate people recover their due, they will hasten to refund the mortgages on their houses and the money thus recovered will be at the disposal of the bondholders. It should not be forgotten that the sums outstanding are not negligible, 1,030 million leva from Greece and almost ten times as much from Turkey. Let it be remembered that Bulgaria can not recover this money without international support because she has been disarmed and rendered helpless mainly at the instigation of her despoilers. Such interference, it is true, implies the exploding of the existing fiction of a nation's sovereignty but it is high time that this outgrown conception should be set aside. When a State has recourse to financial assistance abroad, it converts itself into a sort of limited company, and extends in a sense its citizenship to its creditors. The latter are as anxious as the natives for its welfare and there should be no resentment if they proceed to flash theirh searchlights into hidden places and call to account the directors of the „company" when things threaten to go astray. This is the prerogattve of all shareholders in public companies and it has proved an excellent corrective to abuse. Such interference in local affairs by foreigners has been often resented, because it is usually inspired by selfish motives, but occasionally it may be ascribed to altruistic incentives, for all investors are not Shylocks. Especially this i so with the majority of bondholders of the Refugee Loan, who, when investing in this script were under the impression they were helping a distressed country, and many of whom, when the ravages of the earthquake of 1928 became

known, hastened to offer what help they could to the sufferers without having to be goaded on by violent or explosive methods.[1] Surely such bondholders need not be treated with suspicion as harbouring mischievous schemes 000



Българско Дружество „ЧЕРВЕНЪ КРЪСТЪ"

Квитанция № [illegible]

за лева [illegible]

Постъпило отъ: Георги Пленчовъ [illegible]
Мангеитеръ
лева [illegible]
помощь за пострадалитѣ отъ земетресе-
нието
гр. София, [illegible] 1928 г.
Счетоводитель-Касиеръ:

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF ONE OF THE DONATIONS MADE BY THE AUTHOR ON BEHALF OF THE EARTHQUAKE SUFFERERS.

[1] Certain opulent Bulgarians refused to contribute to the earthquake fund, whereupon Sofia students proceeded to place bombs in the houses of these recalcitrant millionaires. They became more amenable to persuasion after the explosion of the bombs, and one of them, a well-known banking manager and plutocrat disbursed as 731

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000 detrimental to Bulgaria. On the contrary they may be credited with manifesting a solicitous concern for Bulgaria's development and of taking a pride in her legitimate successes to which they are as keen as the natives to contribute. In a future and more rational society such people would be granted equal political rights with the natives, but for the moment all they can hope for is that they should be treated as shareholders desirous of defending the common property of „Bulgaria Ltd" both against outside spoliators, internal depredators, and the unholy alliances between them which in the past have so often checked Bulgaria's vitality and progress.

731 much as 25,000 leva. In refusing to help however they may have been responding to other motives than mere avariciousness. They may have thought that their money might not reach its destination. The former Finance Minister S. Stefanov affirmed in the Sobranye on Dec. 9, 1931 that there had been undue dissipation in this case and some 200 to 300 million levas wasted. However, external help was badly needed. for according to M. Liaptchev's statement in the Sobranye on Nov. 29 1928, 74,568 buildings had been destroyed & this entailed a loss of 4534 million leva, besides this, the State had to dispense collecting 435 millions of revenue in 1928. Voluntary contributions to the earthquake fund amounted to 46,720,000 leva from Bulgaria & to 44,790,000 from abroad. The £ 500,000 provided by the Stabilisation loan hardly sufficed to restore $7^1/_2$% of the damage & it is the local residents who had to raise the requisite funds in order to repair the ravages of this scourge.

STATE FINANCES

The budget, National Revenue, Balance of Payments & Public Debt

Budgetary deficits have become a perrenial manifestation in spite of the drastic efforts to curtail expences. These deficits for the last five years have amounted to 1,366 millions for 1931/2, 752 millions for 1932/3, 233 millions for 1933/4, 332 millions for that of the year 1934. (Coinciding with the calender year and covering revenue & expenditure for 9 months.) 652

The budget for 1935 has been fixed at 5,695,120,000 leva, an apparent increase of 183 millions on that of 1934, but in fact it shows a noteworthy compression since it covers a full year instead of nine months. It provides for the first time for a credit of 200 millions for the "Caisse d'amortissement" which is to carry through the partial cancellation of agrarian debts etc, and a sum of 80 millions on behalf of the compensation deal concluded in 1934 with Germany and Austria, by which 908 millions worth of materials were provided by these States in exchange for 5500 million kg. of tobacco and of certain sums of money to be paid in instalments. The Exchequer has also had to make provision for the payment of 16 million leva to Greece in settlement of the dispute about the Rhodope forests, to allot an extra 20 millions for education owing to the natural increase in the number of children, and also to assign a sum of four million leva to the Agricultural Bank an behalf of certain co-operative societies which were unable to meet their obligations which the State had guaranteed.

There is no increase in taxation, as it is recognised that the maximum of imposition has been reached; on the contrary the tax on sheep and goats has been reduced from 60 to 40 millions and that on buildings, from 25 to

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

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External debt		Original amount
a) consolidated		
Pre-war loans of 1892, 1902, 1904, 1907, 1909 in gold francs		575,942,500
4 3/4 % loan of 1909	French	82,000,000
Occupation debt of Eastern Rumelia	roubles. . . .	10,618,250
6 1/2 % loan of 1923, for payment of Entente Subjects (Enaux) in Fr. francs		58,815,000
Advances by National Bank for payment of indemnity in Fr. frcs		2,659,200
on Des Clusières affair	in pounds sterling	109,200
7% Refugee loan 1926.	" " "	2,400,000
	" dollars.	4,500,000
7 1/2 Stabilisation loan 1928	" pounds sterling	1,800,000
	" dollars.	13,000,000
	" Fr. francs . . .	130,000,000
Reparations, accordiug to Hague covention of Jan 20 1930 in gold francs		171.637,915
b) non-consolidated		
Debt owing to the Jonction-Salonique Railway Co. Fr. francs		27,500,000
" " to Diskonto Gesellshaft, according to agreement of May 4, 1929 dollars		4,018,253
" " to Rumania. according to Hague convention of Jan 20. 1930	lei	110,000,000
" " to Italy, for the repatriation of Bulg. prisoners of War.	lt. lire	471,473

Internal debt		
a) consolidated		
6% State loan of 1914	leva	85,552,000
6 1/2% " " " 1921	"	204,899,100
6% " " " 1923, according to Greco-Bulgarian convention for exchange of refugees .	"	2,804,910,000
6% Treasury bonds 1933	"	59,896,336
6% Promissory notes 1934	"	230,000,000
	Total internal consolidated debt	3,385,257,436
b) non-consolidated		
Debt to National Bank		
" " " " against-Treasury bonds		
" " Agricultural & Co-op. Bank " "		
" " Mortgage Bank " "		
" " various funds & various Treasury bonds		
	Total internal non-consolidated debt	
	" " cousolidated & " "	

STATE FINANCES

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Nominal outstanding balance	Equivalent in leva
396,180,500	9,796,025,711
78,783,945	43?,523,858
3,618,250	—
50,487,000	277,173,630
2,170,500	11,916,045
89,120	37,385,840
2,230,200	935,568,900
4,115,000	345,660,000
1,779,100	746,332,450
12,848,500	1,079,274,000
128,485,000	705,382,650
170,805,565	4,601,501,921
Total external consolidated debt	18,968,745,000
8,193,750	44,987,687
2,436,036	204,627,024
55,000,000	46,090,000
471,473	12,701,483
	308,402,194
Total external consolidated & non-consolidated debt	19,277,147,199
47,041,800	
182,826,800	
2,256,905,500	
59,896,336	
210,850,000	
2,757,522,936	
. . . . . leva 2,727,819,485	
. . . . . " 345,000,000	
. . . . . " 525,000,000	
. . . . . " 15,000,000	
. . . . . " 794,307,455	
. 4,407,216,940	
. 7,164,739,876	7,164,739,876
Total external and internal debt	26,441,887,075

Expenditure	
Supreme Administration . . .	46,497,000
Central & Regional Audit Courts	21,433,000
Ministry of Foreign Affairs . .	158,241,000
» » Interior.	393,422,000
» » Education.	785,400,000
» » Finance.	2,210,640,000
» » Justice	167,725,000
» » War [1]	1,010,000,500
» » Public Economy. .	365,003,500
» » Communications .	536,758,000
	5,695,120,000

Revenue	
Direct Taxation.	432,000,000
Indirect » Customs	945,500,000
» » Excise	1,375,000,000
» » Taxes	498,000,000
» » Revenue stamps . .	370,000,000
» » Fines	92,000,000
Contribution of the Railway administration as amortisation of its debt to the State	163,982,420
Post Office, Telegraphs & Telephones	280,000,000
Revenue from State Properties . . .	331,250,000
Communes' contribution to teachers' salaries	320,000,000
Various items of revenue	251,481,580
Revenue from various funds.	185,000,000
Arrears of taxes	320,000,000
Non-transferred sums from service of external debt	430,806,000
	5,695,120,000

[1] Expenditure on the army is comparatively high because Bulgaria according to the stipulations of the treaty of Neuilly is debarred from utilising a conscript army and is obliged to employ mercenaries.

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6 millions. Receipts provide for about 320 millions of very uncertain revenue and doubts may be entertained as to the budget being balanced. Among these is an item of 83 millions of revenue anticipated from the exchange of refugees between Greece and Bulgaria which is of a very problematical nature. 652

The various items of expenditure and revenue for the 1935 budget will be found on page 122.

The attempt of the State to buy cereals at enhanced prices in order to assist the peasantry has constituted a heavy drain on its resources for the last few years. The bulk of the grain thus obtained was disposed of abroad at the parity prevailing on the international markets, which naturally caused a serious loss, while only a part was sold locally for consumption. As the quantities bought ranged round about 250 million kg. a year and the difference between the local price and that obtained abroad was about 2 leva per kg., the loss on the cereals exported was serious and accounts to some extent for the deficits in the budget. Deputy P. Denev stated in the Sobranye on Nov. 18, 1933 that the losses amounted to 346,341,228 leva during 1930, to 558,507,600 for 1931, and to 36,722,000 for 1932. The quantities of grain bough up by the State in 1933 and 1934 were respectively 266,800 and 111,693 tons. [1]

The State budget does not comprise the total amount of expenditure for the social services. There is the budget of the autonomous administration of the State railways which for the year 1935 amounted to 1,454,031,412 leva and those of municipalities, and communes which provide for another two milliard leva of expediture, bringing up the total of expense for the public services to about 9 milliards.

The national revenue before the Balkan wars was

[1] It is computed that during the last four years the State disbursed 2500 millions in the form of such subsidies to the peasants.

65 assessed at 1,647 million gold leva, or 44,469 million paper leva. In 1929 this was computed at 46.000 millions and in 1932 at 26,300 millions according to Dr P. Kiranov former head of the Statistical Bureau, and was made up of the following items:

	1929	1932
Agriculture	21,402,700,000	9,872,200,000
Forests	320,000,000	195,000,000
Cattle raising etc	2,196,000,000	1,502,000,000
Mines & quarries	359,400,000	298,800,000
Industry (fostered by State privileges)	2,199,349,000	2,413,000,000
" not eujoying privileges	1,099,600,000	1,206,500,000
Public Buildings	550,000,000	350,000,000
Home Industries	5,490,000,000	3,666,000,000
Transport & Communications	1,107,000,000	1,027,000,000
Commerce	11,600,000,000	4,800,000,000

The national revenue has continued to contract, particularly that derived from industry. In a speech delivered in the Sobranye by Prof. G. P. Ghenov in the middle of March 1934, the latter estimated that it had sunk below the 20,000 million figure, so that actually the social services absorb about 50% of the national revenue, which is an altogether disproportionately heavy burden for a community to bear, especially in view of the fact that the per capita revenue does not even reach 3,300 leva, and after deduction of the expenditure on social services only 1650 leva would be left over for sustenance to each individual. It is obvious that this sum, equivalent to 61 gold francs, is far below the minimum required for this purpose, since this minimum has been estimated at 260 gold francs for industrial and at 144 for agricultural countries. The disastrous consequence of this dire state of poverty are making themselves manifest. Bulgaria in fact heads the list among nations as to the percentage of tuberculous among her population, mainly due to malnutrion.

The country's balance of payments continues to close adversely as may be seen by the data given below, which

STATE FINANCES

were compiled by Dr A. Tsakalov, former director of the National Bank, and which were published in the Journal of the Society of Bulgarian Economists on April 1934. The figures are in million leva: 652

	Revenue		Ehpanditure		Plus		Minus	
	1931	1932	1931	1932	1931	1932	1931	1932
Foreign Trade	5,229	3,096	4,549	2666	680	430		
Services	376	286	230	201	146	85		
Participations	38				38			
Revenue of foreign capital	15	10	310	93			295	83
Other private payments	132	145	246	192			114	47
Public payments	591	156	1,233	604			642	448
Short term loans			450	200			450	200
Increase or deccrease of long term credits	114				114			
Decrease of liabilities of private enterprises abroad without merchandise credit . .			50				50	
Equalisation items								
Decrease of foreign currency held by National Bank	573	178			573	178		
Foreign currency secured by National Bank locally		85				85		
	7,068	3,956	7,068	3,956	1551	778	1551	778

Dr Tsakalov adds the following explanatory notes: Though the commercial balance for 1931 and 1932 showed respectively a surplus of 1,274 millions and a deficit of 88, if only those imports and exports which were paid be accounted for, each year will show a surplus, namely 699 and 430 millions. Most of the imports were not paid for, but were received on credit, thus out of 4,600 millions imported in 1931, only 4,549 were paid, and in 1932 out of 3,471 millions, only 2,666.

652 In another paper published by the same journal on Feb. 1932, the same writer shows that for the period 1924—30, Bulgaria had an annual deficit in her balance of payments of 1 to 1.5 milliard leva, which was partially met out the loans floated after the war.

In spite of favourable trade balances during the past two years the drain on the resources of the National Bank continues, owing to the fact that the balances derived from clearings are not available for use by the Bank. The following table gives details as to the entries and exports of currency during recent years:

Entries (in million leva)				Exports (in million leva)		
1932	1933	1934		1932	1933	1934
2,576	1,108	744	Free currencies and banknotes	2751	1,227	905
648	1,439	1513	Clearings	607	1.301	1,372
320	231	602	Compensation dealings	320	231	602
3,544	2,778	2.859		2,678	2,759	1,879 [1]

On pages 120/1 will be found a table giving particulars of the Public Debt on Dec. 31 1934, totalling 26,441,887,075, of which 19,277,147,199 represent the external debt payable in foreign currency. The *per capita* indebtedness on the basis of a population of 6 millions is therefore 4407 leva, an apparently light burden when compared with the public indebtedness of other countries, but unduly oppressive if the resources and the national income of Bulgaria be considered.

[1] [Errata: Should be 2879 — Analyst.]

BANKING

The banking facilities extant in Bulgaria were too large for the available volume of business and the crisis which survened after 1929 has affected all credit establishments very severely. In order to parry to the further falling off of the already limited volume of business, a policy of fusioning the banks has been embarked on, which will obviously help to consolidate their position. 453

According to an article published by the Journal of the Society of Bulgarian Economists in Dec. 1934, the total number of banking establishments in the country (including branch offices) at the end of 1931 numbered 2,673, with a total capital of 5,389 million leva, deposits 16,016, and advances amounting to 15,746 millions. This revealed a level of liquidity which is well above the point of safety, but which does not seem to have been maintained, in the case of certain banks.

The following table was appended, giving details of the distribution of the capital among the various groups of banks at the end of 1932.

	Capital	Deposits and moneys confided to them	Advances Current accounts discounted bills etc. (in million leva)
a) Government Banks . .			
Agricultural Bank . .	802	5,374	5, 09
Co-operative " . . .	164	659	769
National " . . .	1,691	464	717
Post Office Savings " . . .		877	730
International " . . .	40	123	124
b) Co-operative Banks .			
Agricultural	450	1,394	1,185
Popular	790	2,465	2,505
Others	189	440	425
c) Private Banks			
Mortgage Bank	92	440	435
Large Sofia Banks . .	606	2,779	2,262
Other Sofia " . . .	250	385	309
Provincial " . . .	504	687	591
Total	5,578	16,106	15,761

453 The figure of 16,016 million leva of deposits, is likely to give an erroneous estimate as to the financial strength of the country. Properly speaking, deposits, or savings, do not reach even half this figure, and according to the latest data they were reckoned to have been apportioned at the end of 1933 among the following banks. Agricultural Bank, 1.496, P. O. Savings Banks 1,171, all Co-operative Societies, 3,020, Private Banks 806, Foreign Banks in Bulgaria 450 millions, or a total of 6,943,000,000 leva. The tendency has been during the last few years to transfer savings from the private banks to the State banks and P. O. Savings banks, as presenting greater safety for the depositors. The uncertainty of the situation was increased owing to the pending voting of a Law aiming at alleviating indebtedness, the need of which law became imperative owing to the drop in the prices of agricultural produce, as a consequence of which farmers were no longer able to meet their obligations and credit had come to a standstill. It was rumoured that even savings at banks might be affected and owing to this apparent insecurity of capital, building operations have been indulged in out of all proportion to the present requirements of the country and a great amount of capital has been needlessly locked up. During 1933 some 9,161 buildings have been erected, of a total value of 1,313 million leva, about double the number and value of those constructed in 1931. (The value of the amount spent in Sofia on this head reached 800 million leva in 1933).

Already the disastrous effects are apparent, prices of buildings have depreciated by 30%, while the number of unlet flats and dwelling houses in Sofia is estimated at between 2900 and 3000.

652 453 The National Bank of Bulgaria is the sole central issuing bank, the main activities of which are centred round the aim of maintaining the stability of the national

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[652]

currency. It controls the sale of exchange and fixes the quotas of imports.

The Agricultural Bank and the Co-operative Bank which have now been fused into one, exert a preponderating influence in the economic life of the country and have contributed immensely in assisting farming operations and the development of rural credit. The guiding principles of these institutions was to come to the relief of the local population and not the pursuit of profit, with the result that very often less circumspection than the situation warranted was shown in the granting of credits. In the balance sheet of the Agricultural Bank published at the end of 1933 figured a sum of 924,631,000 leva advanced to the State for financing the Cereal Board and to municipalities for the construction of schools.

A sum of 2,553,606,000 leva was owing by farmers, 80% of which liabilities were overdue. A sum of 1,831 millions advanced to co-operative societies either cannot be considered as capable of quick realisation.[1] The bank, owing to the difficult position in which the peasantry find themselves, will be obliged to extend further facilities to its clients in order to enable them to rationalise their farms and initiate other methods of cultivation, for if this is not done, they will not be in a position to reimburse their debts to the bank. The position of the bank unfortunately does not permit it to undertake such a course and the only hope is that the State will eventually facilitate it to inaugurate such a forward policy.

The Popular Banks, to the number of 247 at the end of 1933, with a total capital and funds amounting to 930 million leva (The corresponding figure for June 1935 was 972 millions). are exerting a growing influence. They are

[1] At the end of 1934 Public institutions and individual farmers were owing to the Bank 3,188,566,436 leva and the co-operative societies 1,894,064,482 leva.

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[Facing p. 129

453 run on co-operative lines, having a total membership of 180,366. Their aim is to obtain credit facilities for their members and profit making is a secondary goal. The net profit shown during the year was 4%, which would have been by far higher if a more rational policy had been followed and new banks had not been opened in districts in which similar banks were already operating.

In Sofia there were in 1932, 25 Popular banks and in the course of 1923 seven more were founded. These 25 Popular Banks had an aggregate capital and reserves amounting to some 250 million leva and deposits of about double this figure. The staff of these 25 banks numbered 585 people, costing an outlay of 15·3 million leva annually, which was an unneedful luxury. This has apparently been perceived, whence the policy of bank fusioning which has been initiated by the government. The crisis has equally affected the Popular Banks, it was stated that 142 of these banks had a proportion of their advances to their members „frozen" to the extent of 50% to 80% and over, while in the case of the remainder, the percentage varied between 5% and 50%. The principal foreign Banks operating in Bulgaria were four and their capital and reserves attained at the end of 1931 the following figures: Banque Generale de Bulgarie 60,46; Banque de Credit 72,80; Banque Comerciale Italienne et Bulgare 62 and Banque Franco-Belge 170,86 million leva. Of late their activities have been very much restricted and the amount of their deposits singularly reduced from 2170 million in 1931 to 450 million leva at the end of 1933. The amount of foreign capital engaged in credit operations conducted by limited societies was reported to be 442·5 million leva, according to the Bulletin of the National Bank of Bulgaria (Jan. 1935), and this explains that besides the above mentioned four banks, several Bulgarian Banks such as the Banque Bulgare de Commerce were mainly operated

by foreign money. The main countries having invested capital in banking institutions in Bulgaria were: Belgium (66·9), France (92·2), Germany (53·4), Italy (53·3), U. S. A. (41·3), Holland (28·2), Hungary (26·8), Czechoslavakia (26·7) and Gt. Britain (24) million leva. Among the principal Bulgarian joint-stock banks are the Banque Bulgare de Commerce and the Union des Banques Bulgares possessing a capital and reserves amounting to 90 and 110 million leva respectively at the end of 1931. With the policy initiated by the government of fusioning the Bulgarian banks, it is probable that one, or both these two institutions will be merged in the newly created banking institution of the Credit Bulgare. 453

Among the credit establishments enjoying the greatest confidence are the Post Office savings banks, and the rapid growth of their deposits at a time these last were rapidly dwindling at other banks testifies to this.[1] The depositors are mainly women, householders (12.77%), farmers (15%), artizans (13·36%), workmen (7·29%) and functionaries (7·22%), and 37·85% of the depositors have only sums varying between 10 and 500 leva to their credit. This percentage of small deposits represents 4·14% of the total savings entrusted to the banks. If the deposits be divided into two categories, namely 10 to 1000 leva, and 1000 to 10,000 leva, the former belong to 57·43% of the depositors and represent 10·89% of the total sum confided to the savings banks, while the figures for the second category would be respectively 42·57% and 82·11%. The popularity of these banks is due in part to the facilities they extend and to the fact that 555 post offices are authorised to receive deposits and make payments. The savings banks have invested the major parts of their deposits with the Agricultural Bank (1.321,333,545 leva, at the end 454

[1] These had increased from 173 millions at the end of 1925 to 2006 million leva at the end of 1934 and to 2097 in June 1935.

454 of 1932) and in view of the difficult position the latter finds itself. it would not be an easy matter to find liquid funds to appease a panic should a run on the banks be experienced.

453 The great problem facing the banking institutions in Bulgaria is the providing of cheap long termed credits to the rural population so that it might be able to transform its methods of agricultural production. Until presently, the rates of interest charged to farmers by the Agricultural Bank were 8% to 10% and it is obvious that in the present circumstances it is impossible to expect that capital invested in agriculture would be profitably employed at such rates.

It is an imperative necessity to find means wherewith the rates of interest on advances to the peasants should be reduced to about half this figure, failing which there is little hope of securing an improvement in the economic conditions of the country. This is a matter which of course transcends the limited resources of Bulgaria and it would be well if an international institution took a hand in solving this problem on which hangs the future welfare of the country.

INDUSTRY

433 Bulgaria, like all the Near Eastern States has indulged in a policy of extreme industrialisation which has proved an excessively onerous burden to the community and which with the exception of a few directly interested individuals has brought no benefit whatsoever to the masses. The adoption of this policy is all the more regrettable since it has tended to widen the cleavage between the rural and the urban sections of the population, the former rightly claiming that the increase in the price of industrial articles which this policy involved tended to increase their

cost of living and therefore to handicap them in their efforts to lower their costs of production. 433

One of the reasons given for establishing native industries is that in case of war, a country would find itself less dependent on foreign supplies, but in the case of Bulgaria even this plea can not be maintained, for not only is Bulgaria disarmed and not likely to be drawn into a war by herself, but her industry is almost entirely dependent for its raw materials, and largely for its driving power (oil) on foreign supplies and would come to a standstill in case of war breaking out.

Naturally the extreme protectionism adopted by successive Bulgarian governments elicited very strong protests from the masses and these were voiced by their representatives in the Sobranye, but without avail, for most political groups did their utmost to further the interests of the industrialists who knew how to win over to their cause influential politicians. 433 651

A crushing indictment of this protectionist policy is contained in a most lucid and interesting booklet, written by T. P. Karatsorov in 1932, who has no difficulty in proving to the hilt his contention fortified by statistical data, that protectionism has had on Bulgarian economy ruinous consequences, and in his concluding remarks he adds that it has equally proved morally disastrous among governing circles. He cites in support the case of a prominent politician who in 1931 declared: "These parasitic industries are a terrible evil. Our industry is unduly favoured at the expense of our national economy", and who, on becoming a Cabinet Minister did not hesitate to affirm a month later: "Our industry is not yet sufficiently protected, the State must make further sacrifices for it." This complete *volte-face* being obviously due to the bribes which he received in the meantime while his former declaration may be assumed to have been an attempt to blackmail industrialists.

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The local industry enjoys on the whole a tariff protection of 100 % to over 200% against imported foreign goods. Raw materials utilised in the local industry were liable to an ad *valorem* duty of 3 %, increased to 8% in 1931 on their entry. The loss to the State accruing from applying this extremely reduced import duty, instead of the full tariff had gradually increased to as much as 450 million leva in 1929 and had surpassed 500 millions in 1930.

M. Karatsorov gives many examples of the parasitic industries which have been fostered in Bulgaria. The details relative to one will amply suffice to illustrate all and sundry. Thus five workshops were established to manufasture nails from imported steel wire. The total annual consumption of nails in Bulgaria is 5 to 6 million kg, the import duty 7 to 8 leva per kg., or about 150% of the cost of foreign nails f. o. b. a Bulgarian port. (about 4.50 leva per kg.) The price of the local article was, on an average above 10 leva a kg., so that the profit realised by the local makers was at least 120%. The number of workmen employed was 200 and the amount disbursed in salaries does not exceed 3 to 4 million leva a year. The State loses 30 million leva a year, through levying a duty of 8%, on wire, instead of a duty of 150% on 5 to 6 million kg. of nails, and except for the wages paid to the workmen all this sum of some 26 million leva, is divided among the owners of the 5 workshops, and is obviously provided out of the pockets of the population. This was so self-evident that deputy, I. Kurtev, intervened in the Sobranye on April 5, 1928 and demanded: "That this industry be withdrawn from the list of those which are being favoured", but in vain. An example of how a high tariff barrier encourages the building up of redundant manufacturing plant is furnished by the sheet-glass industry. The consumption of this article amounts to 80,000 cases a year. F. o. b. prices of Belgian glass were 260

leva per case, and the duty 600 leva per case. As the cost of erecting a glass factory was computed at 30 million leva, and the profit to be realised by the non-payment of duty on the locally manufactured sheet-glass was 48,000,000 leva (80,000 cases×600 leva) and would have permitted a profit of 150% to be made during the opening year, work on three different factories was begun in 1930. The creation of such industries, as M. Karatsorov shows, would even have an adverse influence on the country's balance of payments. Thus if 80,000 cases of sheet-glass were imported, currency to the amount of 20 million leva would be exported, while when the factories would begin operating, the owners being foreigners, the amount of currency which would be exported would be equal to the sum of 48 millions of profit made minus the local expenses of the factories.

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M. Karatsorov affirms that in most cases the creation of local industries has increased adversely the country's balance of payments, and he cites in support not only the above instance, but also that of the sugar industry and also the textile. Local textile weaving sheds often paying more for their imported yarn than what would have been paid if the corresponding woven fabric had been imported instead from a country the industry of which had been thoroughly modernised and was producing on a large scale like Japan.

The opinions of the above writer were often re-echoed and punctuated by such remarks as these in the Sobranye. "The law fostering industry has cost two milliard leva which the people had to find". (Dr I. Karadjov, March 26. 1926). "By purchasing materials and machinery abroad the loss to the national economy will be as great as if foreign goods were bought, and besides, protection will give free play to speculation". (G. Zivkov, April 3 1926). "The parasitic industries live on the back of the people, who

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are robbed in order that 1200 to 2000 industrialists and their bankers may profit" (S. Petkov, May 12 1932). "The loss to the revenue through exempting from duty raw materials is 500 million leva a year; these privileges must be put a stop to" (G. Zeliabov, June 8, 1932).

This system of importing semi-manufactured materials practically free, in order to convert them into manufactured articles in Bulgaria, also led to grave abuses. Several unscrupulous manufacturers imported materials and often sold the greatest portion of them secretly. Thus S. Stefanov, subsequently Minister of Finance, declared in the Sobranye on Dec. 8 1927. "Big frauds are committed by pseudo-industrialists who dispose on the market of materials imported duty free for use in their factories. In big factories control is possible but the 800 workshops set up since the war are never inspected. A huge army of inspectors is needed to supervise 1100 industrial establishments and there are only 4 or 5 inspectors affected to this job." Another deputy, S. Boyadjiev, dwelt on the following day on the same abuses, cited instances, and then made the following just criticism: "The law grants to any seven persons the privilege to form a co-operative society. There are several persons who have thus grouped themselves together, and who import materials duty free for alleged industrial purposes, and then sell them secretly, undercutting honest traders who have paid the legal duty on their stuff." Another trenchant attack on protectionism was delivered by deputy K. Manolov on Dec. 15, 1927, who among other things stated: "Experts affirm that the subsidies granted to industry up to the present date amount to 4000 million leva. Is this justified? It should have cheapened the cost of living but the contrary has taken place and foreign articles, inspite of the duty, still compete with the locally manufactured ones. Our balance of payments has not improved, and

our industry is hardly any stronger. Even labour has not been advantaged. In 1909, a workman was paid two gold leva a day, equal to 54 paper leva, and to day he only receives 47 leva. We should not go on dissipating our vital forces in this way or we shall degenerate as a nation... The financial cartel which controls most industries enjoys the sympathies of government circles etc". 433 651

How the community was exploited in order that a few favoured individuals might amass wealth is also clearly described in the party organ of the Radical party in its issue of Feb 20 1931: "According to the information we possess the Granitoid Cement Manufacturing Co. Has realised for the year 1930 a profit of 180 million leva, a sum which considerably exceeds the capital invested in this concern. How are such profits possible at this time of crisis? This is quite plain. A ton of cement costs 500 to 600 leva, but the duty on it is 800 leva. Consequently foreign cement can not be sold on our market for less than 1450 leva a ton, and this has permitted the Granitoid to sell its locally made cement at about this figure, realising a premium of about 800 leva a ton. Is it not outright robbery to mulct people out of their savings in order that this company might make a profit of 145%, instead of contenting itself with a benefit of 12% to 15%? Cement is an article of prime necessity, both the State and the public buy large quantites of if. Until when will this criminal policy continue?"

These details seem fully to confirm M. V. Novicov's pronouncement on protection, namely: "Tout industriel protégé est un parasite. Et chose étrange, tandis qu'on considere le parasitisme comme un mal, les gouvernements considèrent jusqu'à présent le parasitisme provenant de la protection comme un bien... Un tarif protecteur, n'est autre chose que le gaspillage économique érigé en système de gouvernement. Il a la prétention 000

000 d'enrichir la société, il n'a d'autre résultat, en réalité, que d'arrêter le developpement de la richesse. Le système protecteur c'est une récompense donnée à l'imbecillité, au desordre, à l'incurie, et une punition infligée à la capacité, à l'économie, à l'intelligence." ("Luttes entre sociétés humaines" p. 117/8). They also fully support Mr J. A. Hobson's affirmation in his "The New Protection" p. 113–7 that: "Protection is a crime for its effect as its intention s to perpetuate strife by stamping divisions ... whereas the whole trend of civilisation has been to bind the peoples of the world into closer unity of interests and activities by the growing of interpendence of commerce, protection would reverse the movement .. Cobden was mistaken in thinking that the perception of their obvious self-interest must rapidly lead all nations to adopt Free Trade. His error lay in failing to perceive that, though the interest of each people as a whole lay in freedom of commerce, the interests of special groups of traders or producers within each country would continue to lie along the line of privilege and protection, and that until democracy became a political reality these organised group interests might continue to mould the fiscal policy of their several States".

651 435 In fact protectionism in Bulgaria has contributed in intensifying the existing antagonism between the rural and urban classes, the former bitterly complaining that they were being exploited in favour of the latter. If they were unable to make themselves heard it was because "democracy had not become a political reality" and that "organised group interests" in league with the political flunkeys who bossed Bulgaria, "continued to mould the fiscal policy of the State".

The recriminations of the peasantry were fully justified for if the prices ruling in 1929 be taken as a basis (100) those of agricultural products had sunk to the level

of 34.4 at the beginning of 1934, while those of locally manufactured articles had only been reduced to 88.1, and those of imported industrial goods to 81.8, mainly on account of the high protective duties which remained constant owing to the specific tariff in force. 651 435

As the above figures are based on wholesale prices, it may be assumed that the peasants had to pay 10% to 15% more for their purchases from retail stores, and that they had to give 2 1/2 times as much of their produce as they were accustomed in order to obtain in exchange the manufactured articles they had been used to buy.

The discrepancy between agricultural and manufactured goods has to some extent been reduced since the abrogation of the parliamentary regime, for the military seem to have had a clearer conception of their duties as rulers. This they achieved by drastically curtailing the privileges enjoyed by local manufacturers on the one hand, and by the State intervening as buyer of several agricultural articles, such as wheat, rye, cotton, rice, tobacco etc, and fixing enhanced prices for them. The government attaching less value to the cheapness at which the consuming public might obtain its food than to the maintenance of a level of prices at which the peasants are able to live. This seems to forebode a return to sanity, for level-headed men like Prof. G. P. Ghenov, often laid stress on the necessity of Bulgaria reducing her tariffs if she were not to see foreign markets closed to her produce, and that it was indispensable to buy if she sought to sell. His speech of May 16 1932 in the Sobranye in which he exposed the inanity of subsidising an industrial system which cost one milliard leva annually to the State, was very favourably commented on at the time. 652 435

What seems difficult to explain is how the wiseacres of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations should, on the floating of the Stabilisation loan of 1928 454 651

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have granted Bulgaria a free hand to raise her tariff, on the pretext that this step would increase the revenues earmarked for the service of this loan, a prognostication which was radically contradicted by subsequent events since the increase of the tariff which followed in 1930, imparted a further impetus to the creation of local industries, reduced imports and diminished very considerably the custom dues raised from them. But the Financial Committee was not so obtuse as it would appear at first sight. Its secret desire was not to strengthen either the position of the bondholders, or that of Bulgaria, but rather to grant increased facilities to certain financial interests for exploiting the Bulgarian consumer through the dominant position these occupy in industial, banking and commercial enterprises, and which position they hitherto managed to exploit to the full owing to the venality and flunkeyism of the politicians, who did not hesitate to sell themselves to these occult influences. According to the bulletin of the National Bank of Bulgaria of Jan. 1935, the total fully paid up capital of industrial limited companies during 1934 was 3,202.4 million leva, of which 1631.3 millions were foreign, so that it is obvious that protection favoured more foreign interests than Bulgarian, and explains why the Financial Committee was so prodigal in extending to Bulgaria the right to increase its tariff. The participation of foreign capital can only be traced in limited companies, and the above mentioned bulletin specified that 325.9 millions of foreign capital were invested in banking establishments, 281.3 in commercial, 11 in transport enterprises, and 30.7 in insurance companies. No particulars are obtainable about the foreign capital in private firms, but it must be as much, if not more, for deputy C. Petkov affirmed in the Sobranye on Feb. 26, 1932, that annually as much as 650 million leva are remitted abroad as interest on foreign capital invested in Bulgaria, and 800 millions as its par-

ticipation in profits. These figures are not likely to be far out since another deputy, M. Dotchev, stated on March 4 1932, that during the financial year 1928/9, over one milliard leva was remitted abroad as dividends and profits of the foreign capital invested in industrial and commercial enterprises in Bulgaria. 454 651

Some preliminary statistics have been published as to the state of industry in 1930/1, but most of these figures refer to those workshops which enjoy privileges extended to them by the law fostering industry, and are necessarily incomplete. These establishments numbered 1250, had a capital of 7500 million leva, used 115,000 H. P., employed 36,000 workmen (the total number of workpeople employed in all industries fluctuates round about 75,000) and had an annual output of 6850 million leva of manufactured goods. The principal branches of industry were: 433

	Number of establishments	Capital in million leva	H. P. employed	workpeople employed	% of local raw materials used
Textile	214	1390·8	19,197	14,641	13·6%
(In 1933:	231	some working with 2 & even 3 shifts		17,976)	
Food & drink . .	172		27,653	4579	
Metallurgical . . .	142	417·3	10,998	4084	14%
Ceramic	110	774	22,604	3382	48%
Chemical	117	397·8	6,707	2031	35%
Leather	52	162·3	4,721	778	18%
Timber	55		2,726	1643	
Paper	4	99·3	2,210	443	38%

There are two other important groups of industries not included in the above table, the tobacco manipulating and cigarette manufacturing in which some 20,000 workpeople are almost permanently employed and the milling industry. In the latter, a capital of 786.[2] million leva is invested. There are 307 flour mills, employing 2579 workpeople and possessing machinery developing 21,637 H. P. This was a thriving industry in the past as deputy

433 Neitsev remarked in the Sobranye on May 12, 1932, for Bulgarian flour was largely exported. 67 million kg. having been shipped in 1911 as against only 1,265,000 kg. in 1929. Actually ⅔ of the existing flour mills are redundant and can be bought at a quarter of their cost. This seems to be the case with most industries, for it was reported in 1933 that the mean output was only 45% of the normal.

316 433 There exists a scheme to develop anew copper mining in order that the 5 million kg. of copper sulfate needed annually for spraying the vines and which is obtained from Great Britain at a cost of 50 million leva may be produced locally. This plan may eventually materialise for the existing local copper mines produced as much as 31,310 tons in 1919 and the only product which would then be needed to import would be 700 to 800 tons of sulfuric acid at a cost of 5 million leva. Even this could be manufactured on the spot by utilising the local pyrites when the chemical industries are further developed.

The mineral resources of the country seem to be considerable, but they have not been properly exploited except in the case of the State-owned coal mine of Pernik the output of which reached 1,266,540 tons in 1934. There is a large lignite bed in the valley of the Maritsa, and recently it was reported that an extensive coal field had been discovered near Lom, on the Danube. The production of the mines in work during 1931, in tons was as follows:

Copper	Lead (1929)	Zinc (1929)	Mixed Zinc & Lead (1929)	Mixed Lead & Copper (1929)	Aluminium
900	3985	1925	11396	9923	1,382

Owing to the fall in prices most mines have closed. Salt is extracted from the saline marshes in the neighbourhood of Burgas, production varying from 35 (1932) to 19·5 (1933) million tons annually according to the state of the weather. Local requirements amount to about 60 million tons.

of the weather. Local requirements amount to about 60 million tons. 000

The tendency of the government which assumed power on May 19 1934 was to put a stop to the existing abuses and restrict the privileges granted by the State to such industries as could utilise and transform local raw materials. Their efforts will be facilitated if outlets for Bulgarian produce are secured, and compensation for this facility will no doubt be given in the form of a lowering of the present high tariff. If foreign countries, however, persist in their determination to maintain a policy of autarchy, there will be nothing left for Bulgaria but to follow suit and persist in a policy that is mutually undermining the economic fabric of all the nations. 654

Mr. J. A. Hobson's remarks on protection, cited above, are well worth pondering over, for its apparent triumph coincides with the decline of democracy and the growing inability of the will of the masses to find expression. 000

TRADE

Both the commodity composition and the geographical distribution of Bulgarian exports has undergone a considerable transformation since the war. Thus cereals, which until then had figured first as to value on the list of exports, representing as much as 66.6% of the total during the quinquennial period 1908-12, fell to 18.9% for the corresponding period of 1926-30, and to only 10% during 1934, The proportion of tobacco exports on the other hand, has increased from 1.28% to 38.47% and 40%, for the corresponding dates. The Near Eastern and west European markets which in 1911 absorbed respectively 25.09% and 49.53% of Bulgarian exports, in 1931 took only 4.97% and 35.37%. On the other hand exports 439

439 to Central Europe have increased from 20.40% to 73.14%, during the same years. Imports were subject to lesser variations except for a slight decrease of those of Near Eastern and western European origin, to the benefit of Central European, the percentage of the latter increasing from 49.68% to 61.94% between 1911 and 1931.

There has been a noteworthy decrease in the value of Bulgarian trade since 1929, exports falling from a total of 6,397 million leva, to 2,535 millions in 1934, though in weight there was an increase from 313,000 to 396,000 tons, by which may be gauged the effect of the reduction of prices of agricultural produce on the country's economy.

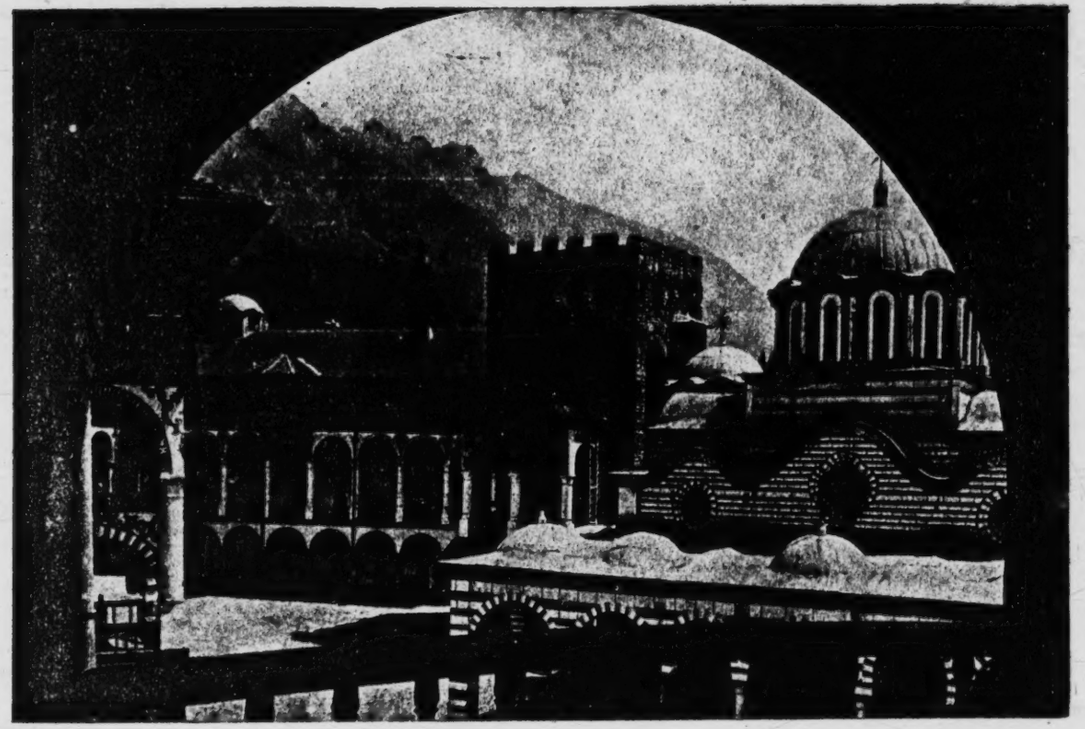
The table on page 145 gives details as to imports and exports from and to the principal countries trading with Bulgaria during recent years. The figures are in million leva.

It is well worth noting that the chief creditor countries of Bulgaria, France, Great Britain and the United States, show a permanent debit in their trading balance with Bulgaria and that it is indispensable that these countries should do something to assist the access of Bulgarian goods to their markets as otherwise they run the risk of seeing not only their exports to Bulgaria further reduced, but the payment of the interest on the debts owing to their nationals being further curtailed, or totally suspended. Bulgaria has no other resources wherewith to pay her obligations than her exports, and with the system of barter and clearings which is being increasingly applied, there is a growing difficulty ot utilising the surplus trade balance of one country for paying the debit balance due to another. It may be taken for granted therefore, that the surplus balances Bulgaria may have with Germany are only partially available.

The chief products exported from Bulgaria in 1934 were:

	6 months ending June 1935					1934				
	Imports	% of total	Exports	% of total	Balance	Imports	% of total	Exports	% of total	Balance
Austria	69	5,0	86	6,3	+17	107	4,8	135	5,3	+ 28
Belgium	26	1,9	12	0,9	−14	167	7,5	89	3,5	78
Czechoslovakia	110	8,0	92	6,7	−18	85	3,8	91	3,6	+ 6
Danemark	1	0,1	16	1,1	+15	1	0,0	59	2,3	+ 58
Egypt	8	0,6	51	4,3	+43	13	0,6	98	3 9	+ 85
France	25	1,9	30	2,2	+ 5	86	3,8	53	2,1	3
Germany	662	48,4	698	51,0	+36	902	40,1	1,083	42,7	+18
Gt. Britain	90	6,6	32	2,3	−58	143	6,4	53	2,1	− 90
Greece	6	0,4	15	1,1	+ 9	21	1,0	18	0,7	−
Holland	25	1,8	17	1,2	− 8	28	1,2	79	3,1	+ 5
Hungary	18	1,3	42	3,0	+24	23	1,0	11	0,4	− 1
Italy	65	4,7	110	8,0	+45	176	7,8	233	9,2	+ 5
Palestine	3	0,2	38	2,7	+35	3	0,1	50	2.0	+ 4
Poland	13	0,9	2	0,1	−11	47	2,1	40	1.6	
Rumania	31	2,2	6	0.4	− 25	95	4,2	19	0,7	− 7
Spain	39	2,8	17	1,2	−22	51	2,3	80	3,2	+ 2
Switzerland	99	7,2	20	1,5	−79	132	5,9	122	4,8	1
Turkey	7	0,5	4	0,3	− 3	30	1,4	36	1,4	+
U. S. A.	25	1,8	15	1,1	−10	51	2,3	16	0,6	− 3
Yugoslavia	3	0,2	10	0,7	+ 7	9	0,4	5	0,2	−
Other countries	44	3,5	56	4,0	+12	77	3,3	165	6,6	+ 8
Total	1.369	100	1,369	1.00	—	2,247	100	2,535	100	+28

[Facing p. 145]



THE RILA MONASTERY

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Il: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EEI Bulgaria EEI

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Tobacco, 982 million leva worth, eggs 341, cereals 261. (mainly maize 182), grapes 140, dried hides 114, poultry 114, cattle 65, oil cakes 51, haricot beans 43, attar of roses 36, Cheese 35, and sunflower seed 31. Imports consisted of textile materials (wool & cotton) 580 millions in value, metallurgical products 163, machinery 130, mineral oils 93, Chemical products 130, medicinal products 66, hides 61, vegetable oils and fats 18, rubber 32, etc, About 50% of the exports are shipped by way of the Black Sea ports, the other 50% being forwarded in about equal quantities either overland by rail or by the Danube. Imports on the other hand are more evenly divided among the three different ways of access. Exchanges between Austria and Bulgaria are practically all made by way of the Danube, exports to Germany are sent to the extent of 1/6 by this river fairway, while 1/4 of the German imports into Bulgaria also borrow the same route.

Bulgaria's trade with the neighbouring countries is insignificant and is not likely to develop. Her exports to them approximate 2.5% of the total, while her imports from them slightly surpass 5% of her total imports and this mainly owing to her purchases of mineral oils from Rumania, but there is a probability that this custom will be transferred to Russia, as the latter country offers a greater possibility of interchange of commodities than Rumania. How tariffs may affect trade between countries may be illustrated by the abrupt fall of Bulgarian exports to Greece, which from almost one milliard leva in value in the years 1926 and 1927 have contracted to 4 millions in 1933, owing to the tariff war Greece had declared on Bulgaria in 1930.

The huge preponder nce of Germany in the total trade of Bulgaria (40% of total imports & 42·7% of total exports) shows the capital role Germany plays in the economy of the Danubian States and the impossibility of

TRADE

reckoning on their recovery so long as Germany does not return to normalcy. All the pother made about economic conferences and programmes concerning the Danubian countries is empty prattle, and does not deserve to be taken seriously, for neither France nor Italy are in a position to help. The former country, especially, though she holds 3/5 of the Bulgarian State debt, and possesses considerable private investments in Bulgaria does nothing to assist Bulgarian trade. but on the contrary does not hesitate to have recourse to political pressure in order to exploit to the utmost Bulgaria, to the obvious detriment of the latter and of her other creditors. 439

British Commercial and Financial circles would do well to consider the advisability of increasing the sale of Bulgarian products in Great Britain, for Bulgaria is still buying three times as much as she is selling to Gt. Britain (a few years ago the ratio was seven to one) and if the proportion is not righted, British exports to Bulgaria run the risk of being further reduced. There is yet another forcible reason for encouraging Bulgarian imports into Gt. Britain and this is in order to provide Bulgaria with a surplus wherewith she might be enabled to discharge her liabilities to British bondholders. If this is not done Bulgaria will very soon be in the material impossibility of paying interest on both the two loans floated under the sponsorship of the League of Nations, a large proportion of which are held by British investors.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

474 The growth of the co-operative movement in Bulgaria and the enthusiasm with which it has been supported by a large number of intellectuals is one of the most hopeful portents in the country, not only because of the material benefits which the peasantry will derive from it, in fact it may prove the only avenue of salvation to the majority of smallholders, but also on account of the ethical training it involves, and the lesson of solidarity and mutual help it teaches its members. In a country where anarchic individualism, and envy of one's neighbour, usually prevail, no propaganda would be more useful to bridle and tame these unsocial propensities than that on behalf of the idea of co-operation. It is therefore highly satisfactory to record that the co-operative movement has met with a great success in Bulgaria in comparison with other countries in the Near East. If it were not for that scourge of politics which has made itself unduly felt also in this branch of social activity, the achievements of the co-operative movement would have been phenomenal and might have equalled those attained in Denmark.

The history of the co-operative movement in Bulgaria is mostly that of the struggle between a few idealists trying to preach coordination and harmony, and the body of intriguing politicians endeavouring to sow discord in order to insinuate themselves in the co-operatives and render them subservient to the political parties; and strange to say, there was no greater sinner in this respect than the Agrarian party, which ought above all to have fostered the growth of the co-operatives since on their success depended the welfare of the peasantry. As M. Petko Ditsev, one of the leaders of the co-operative movement stated in his voluminous memoirs (p. XVIII) published in 1933:

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"In the course of 24 years, I was in continuous conflict with the Bulgarian political parties because their representatives would not remain impartial to the co-operative movement, but always endeavoured to subject it by force or ruse, or demanded leading posts in it when wielding authority".

M. D. Berov, a deputy, speaking in the Sobranye on July 17, 1928, also expressed himself in the same way.

"Party influences diverted our co-operatives from their goal a few yeare ago and turned them into party clubs. Until recently in the statutes of the Bulgarian Co-operative Bank figured article 15 which stipulated that no one was to be assisted if he did not agree to become a member of the Agrarian party. The Co-operative Central Syndicate with a capital of 1,502,000 leva owes eight millions to the Agricultural Bank. All this money was employed to build a party club and a printing press for the Agrarian party, or distributed among various leading Agrarians (a list of names and sums cited). All this money is as good as lost. This is the crown of co-operative activity of the Agrarians".

In whatever Bulgarians undertake they infuse such a tremendous amount of energy that even if a fraction of it happens to be well directed, the goal aimed at is attained. Most often however thay are incapable of coordinating their efforts and their exertions are wasted in counter-checking each other's activities. This will be plainly illustrated by the methods adopted in fostering the co-operative movement and if it has nevertheless survived and prospered, this, proves that local conditions constitute an extremely congenial environment for its development, and that if it be protected from the bane of politics from which it has so far suffered, and if something be done to coordinate and harmonise the forces that have so far impelled it, it is bound to prove an immense and unparalleled success in the country's history. The movement so far has suffered from too great a division of forces, and even governing circles are to blame for setting an 'example of disunion'. Thus instead of confiding to one central bank the

This instead of confiding to one central bank the
474 task of financing the co-operatives, two government insti-
453 tutions were entrusted with this aim, with the result that each attempted to detach from the other as many of its clients as possible, and the nefarious example set by these government institutions was followed down the scale by many co-operatives which seemed to take pleasure in tresspassing on each others activities. To crown all, the fissiparous tendency which characterises the growth of every intellectual manifestation in Bulgaria split many groups into rival factions that wasted their means in fighting rather than in helping each other. The recent decision of the Government to amalgamate the Agricultural with the Co-perative Bank, the two governmental institutions financing the co-operatives, ought therefore to be applauded for it will tend to put a stop to the insensate rivalry between the two banks and facilitate the exertion of stricter supervision on their activities since they supply the bulk of the operating funds of the co-operative societies, for after all, it is the one who pays the piper who should call the tune. As the agricultural co-operatives, the popular banks, the producers' societies and the associations of consumers will each be represented by a delegate elected by them in the council of administration of the fused banks, it may be assumed that their respective requirements will be duly
474 studied and attended to. Thus one of the recommendations set forth in the Report prepared by the experts of the League of Nations in 1930 as to the Co-operative movement in Bulgaria has been realised. Any one interested in the state of the country should read this document for in it one will find a plethora of data which will permit one to form a general idea of the prevailing conditions which the experts do not view very optimistically, for according to them:

"The burden of taxation threatens to undermine the whole economic development of the country. The situation is difficult, but

better prospects may be secured if the natural capacity, the laboriousness and enterprise of the people are seconded from outside". 474

These foreign experts further criticised the tendency of Bulgarian co-operative societies to extend their activities in too many directions instead of specialising in one line. This apparent defect however, seems an unavoidable necessity owing to the restricted field of operation of each society, though on the other hand much could be done to prevent one co-operative from impinging on another's radius of action in order that a local society may not be atrophied by its natural field of activity being too circumscribed and its resources tapped by a distant and more enterprising rival. Thus M. T. G. Vlaikov, another pioneer of the co-operative movement, in one of his works (volume VI) dilates on the rivalry between Agricultural co-operatives and the Popular banks, the latter intruding in villages where the former already function, a policy which he strongly condemns. The experts of the League of Nations were only six weeks in the country and naturally they could not fathom every question, or grasp the extreme penury of the resources of most co-operative societies since it was natural that they should visit first the most progressive and most promising establishments. An average Agricultural credit co-operation has about a hundred members and disposes of a capital of some 100,000 to 200,000 leva, bringing an annual income of 20,000 leva. The advances it secures from either the Agricultural or Co-operative Bank will amount to 800,000 or one million, and this will yield an extra interest over that which it pays of 2 %, so that its total income will amount to 36,000 leva, if it restricts itself to purely credit operations. What can it achieve with such meagre means, and how can it defray its running expenses, since it has to provide out of them for rent and at least one man's salary? It cannot hope to expand locally, for the

474 average village contains 100 to 200 houses; for this reason pioneers of the co-operative movement, such as P. Ditsev, suggest that two or three villages should be grouped together and pool their resources.

474 In order to supplement its revenues such village
45 credit co-operatives are obliged to engage also in retail distribution of commodities and other activities so as to bring down the running costs while the addition of a distributive branch helps them to increase their membership for the apportionment of the "dividend" forms a very alluring attraction, and accounts for a large percentage of adherents though not to the extent prevalent in England where it explains the adherence of three fourths of the co-operative membership (see an Article by Edwin C. Fairchild in the "19th Century and After", August 1934, p. 179) In Bulgaria however, the divident is paid only partially to purchasers, and usually half of it is retained and placed to the credit of the new customer as his share in the capital of the co-operative society. The great inducement to join a co-operative society is the credit facilities which it accords to its member, for capital is scarce in Bulgaria and rates of interest remain unduly high in spite of the various laws which have been passed to suppress usury. The penury of capital accounts to a large extent for the develoment of the Popular banks which to some extent increase their roll of membership from among those soliciting advances, the latter being granted only after the applicant agrees to subscribe to the bank's share capital, whereupon his indebtedness to the bank figures partly as money loaned by the bank, and partly as capital of the bank; thus one is often induced to form an erroneous estimate as to the soundness of these banks by assuming that their capital is fully paid up. It also often happens that co-operatives are formed mainly owing to the additional credit facilities which will accrue to

their members, their founders being solely instigated by this very utilitarian motive which naturally leads to abuses and to the discrediting of the co-operative idea. This might be ascribed to the undue facility with which State funds were placed at the disposal of the co-operative societies by both the Agricultural and Co-operative banks, especially when an influential politician would discreetly hint that a certain „co-operative" society, often composed exclusively of his own supporters, deserved financial assistance. The present arrangement by which a more effective control will be exerted by the banking authorities which grant these credits will, it is to be hoped eventually eradicate these methods which in the past have allowed several unscrupulous individuals to play ducks and drakes with State funds.

There seems to have been an undue duplication of the granting of credits as well as of the means of placing savings in the rural districts. Thus, a peasant could secure an advance both from the local credit co-operative, as well as directly from the Agricultural bank, and as the interest he had to pay on loans from the latter was lower he preferred having recourse to it. He also patronised the bank rather than the co-operative when it was a question of confiding his savings, because the Agricultural Bank naturally presented a far better security. If it could be arranged for both operations to de restricted to the co-operatives, and if the Agricultural Bank could be eliminated from granting personal credits to peasants, the scope of the co-operatives would be immensely extended and their position correspondingly strengthened as they would be made an indispensable adjunct of village life. All parties would gain by it, for the local co-operative would be better acquainted with the individual needs of its members and better suited to proffer help and advice. This naturally is not so easy to realise, since according to M. I. Nikolov only 160,000

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peasant proprietors out of a total of 800,000, are members of co-operatives

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The disability arising from the exiguity of means under which the individual co-operative society labours, and which equally prevents the formation of several distinctive co-operative societies in one village capable of ministering to the various major needs of its inhabitants has been circumvented by the creation of regional co-operative centres at convenient localities which by concentrating certain operations are able to provide the needed machinery and render its utilisation remunerative. By such concentration a further economy is effected by a reduction in the staff, for the various activities are seasonal, and occur at various times of the year, and the same personnel can be made co attend to them in turn. These regional centres also serve to concentrate the produce collected by the village co-operatives affiliated to them and help to dispose of it more advantageously than could be done in remote villages; they further serve as local wholesale Societies supplying the retail distributing branches with their requirements which they themselves could not obtain direct. Unfortunately such attempts as have been made to coordinate the activities of these regional centres do not seem to have succeeded so far, for there have been repeated complaints of one underselling the other in the open market and thus contributing to the lowering of prices. This has been particularly manifest in the marketing of tobacco, rival co-operatives undercutting prices whenever foreign buyers made their appearance

This antagonism which arises from a lack of understanding of co-operative principles is responsible in many instances for the injudicious utilisation of the limited funds at the disposal of co-operative societies; thus instead of two or three neighbouring village co-operatives pooling

their resources to build one flour mill, or one oil-crushing plant, or one wine press. each co-operative will on the contrary endeavour to construct them independently without taking into consideration that such a plant cannot be provided with a sufficiency of work to render its employment remunerative. Thus losses are incurred through a desire to emulate one's neighbours and capital is locked up unecessarily when it could be profitably utilised elsewhere. There is no doubt that if all these disunited and often warring forces could be better coordinated an immense advantage would accrue to the country. Such a consummation would facilitate the pursuance of a more coherent and better defined policy and favour the growth of reciprocal relations with foreign wholesale co-operative societies and the International Union of Co-operatives, the support and aid of which could be solicited more advantageously and more authoritatively than by the existing undisciplined and composite body of some fifty various „Centrals" and „Unions", both General and Regional. The extremely difficult task of harmonising their divergent interests and views has been entrusted to a former Radical deputy, M. Ivan Harizanov, whose conscientious devotion to the cause of conciliation renders him well adapted to bring such trying negotiations to a successful end.[1]

It is held that co-operation is essentially based on voluntary association, that State control is likely to injure it, and that every form of compulsion from above will destroy it. But in a backward community it is impossible to bring together a mass of isolated individuals in a common economic object, and lay the foundation of a new and better rural society by mere persuasion. The State has to

[1] Unfortunately he has been releaved of his post after the fall of the Gheorghiev Cabinet.

474 provide solid inducements in the form of the indispensable capital which otherwise would be lacking, and it should be in duty bound to exert a strict supervision of its utilisation even if this entails a certain restriction of individual freedom.

Of course mistakes often occur, such as were committed in the case of the compulsory transfer of the attar of roses industry to the co-operative societies. The individual traders were prevented from continuing their activities and as a consequence the export of this product has considerably diminished, since the foreign connection the individual firms had built up could not be utilised by the co-perative societies.

Judging from the variety of co-operative societies in Bulgaria, one may justly infer that it is an extremely popular and attractive form of association, for it has been put to some unique experiences. Tenements have been built on a co-operative basis, several individuals pooling their resources to construct a building in which each would possess a flat. Rose growers and vine growers have grouped themselves together to build a distillery or a wine press and cellar, and there is even a sugar beet factory run on these lines. The Bulgarian is an indefatigable constructor, he revels in hard work, but the only thing which he has not yet learnt is how to coordinate his exertions in order that one individual's efforts may not be directed to counterbalancing or undoing the labour of some one else. Hitherto this is what has been happening, but the co-operative movement is beginning to open the eyes of many and eventually it will prove an excellent lesson in disciplining these antagonistic tendencies.

As has been stated, all the co-operative societies were financed and supervised either by the Agricultural or the Central Co-operative Bank. Those affiliated to the former on December 31, 1933 consisted of:

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Agricultural Credit Co-operatives . . .	1,474
Consumers Distributive Co-operatives .	6
Tobacco Marketing " .	35
Timber " " .	48
Wine and viticultural Co-operatives	19
Milk and Dairy "	7
Vegetable and Tinning "	2
Sericultural "	1
Fishing "	3
Water-power Syndicates "	12
Federations & Co-operative Syndicates . . .	41
Various	10
Total .	1,658

The total capital of the above co-operatives figured at 580,358,299 leva their reserve funds at 250,033,020, their depositors at 519,330,713, their advances to members at 1,010,490,147 and their debt to the Agricultural Bank at 1,831, 389,502.[1] They possessed an inventory valued at 222,567,836, buildings estimated at 277,109,226 and land at 40,549,954 leva. Their Roll of membership attained a total of 237,627 individuals and 2981 collective members.

The Central Co-operative Bank on the other hand was assisting the following co-operative Societies at the same date:

Popular Banks	247
Consumers & Distributive Co-operatives . .	64
Artisans " . .	85
General Suppliers " . .	61
Building and Dwellers " . .	52
Insurance " . .	2
Credit " . .	8
Co-operative Syndicates " . .	5
Total	524

[1] At the end of 1934 this sum had increased to 1,898 millions but by June 30 1935, the advances by the now fused Agricultural and Co-operative banks, to all co-operative societies were reported to amount to 2,648,913,900 leva.

474 The capital and funds of these 524 Societies amounted to 2,289,870,000 leva, their deposists at 2,004,000, and their debt to the Central Co-operative Bank to 1,456,815,009. Their roll of membership attained 418,879. The co-operative societies affiliated to the Central Co-operative Bank were mostly operating in urban centres, while those connected with the Agricultural Bank were mainly established in rural districts This explains why each of the former has on an average five times as many members as the latter and disposes of greater capital resources. The limited number of distributive societies is explained by the fact that most of the credit societies, as well as the popular banks, have branches engaged in the retail distribution of commodities and that they do not limit their activities solely to credit operations. The co-operatives affiliated to the Agricultural Bank, judging from the data supplied by the latter seem to be extremely short of capital, the average loan alloted to an individual member is not even a bare 4,000 to 5,000 leva, and this can hardly satisfy the requirements of a farmer. Occasionally there seems to be an undue discrimination in the apportionment of the Agricultural bank's advances, some co-operatives being favoured at the expense of others. Thus at the and of December 1932 the Tobacco Co-operatives which had a capital of 45,534,409 and funds 26,239,495 leva, owed the Bank the colossal sum of 407,984,625, (at the end of 1934, this sum had increased to 476, million leva) which must be admitted was altogether out of proportion with their capital, all the more so, since this seems to have been altogether locked up; 101,516,990 leva figuring on their balance sheets as buildings and warehouses.

This exaggerated spending on buildings is noticed also in the balance sheet of the viticultural co-operatives which with a total capital of 8,833,354 leva and funds 3,431,316, have an entry of 23,732,780 leva under the

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heading of buildings etc., obviously a part of the 21,384,478 leva advanced by the Agricultural Bank having been utilised in their construction. It was reported that they suffered a loss of five million leva during the year. On December 31, 1934 these co-operatives were reported as numbering 17 with a total capital of 8.6 millions and a membership of 2,108. They owed to the Agricultural Bank 21 millions and had a stock of 3.6 million litres of wine. The position of these co-operatives seems to have been rather critical for on June 1935 they were owing to private creditors 6,641,500 leva and the Agricultural Bank was forced to assume the payment of these debts taking over as security all the buildings of the viticultural co-operative societies.

It would seem that the eventual recovery by the Agricultural Bank of its advances to these particular co-operatives is rather problematical. Apparently the 476 millions advanced to the Tobacco co-operatives include the 150 millions due by the "Asenova Krepost" Co-operation about which one read in the Agricultural Bank's Bulletin published in the summer of 1934 the following avowal: "A great share of responsibility for the catastrophe of this co-operative and of that of some others, likewise credited by the Agricultural Bank, devolves on the managing board of the bank between 1921 and 1925. This has been ascertained by a commission of inquiry which has shown that there was too much thoughtlessness in financing the co-operatives, and a lack of system in the policy they followed at the time. This was an attempt to screen some very disagreeable facts namely that there had been collusion between functionaries of the Agricultural Bank and of the above mentioned co-operatives to defraud the State by presenting and passing doctored accounts as Dr. Tsirpanliev showed in the Sobranye on April 15, 1926."

Another "bad egg" in the co-operative basket is

474 the „Vutsa" which according to the bulletin of July 1935 owes to the Agricultural Bank 538 million leva and to various other persons 272 millions, while its gross income is only 20 millions a year. Over 700 million leva have been engulfed in this enterprise which was planned to harness the waters of the Kritsim river, a few miles to the south of Plovdiv, and provide with cheap electric power the whole of South Bulgaria. Unfortunately the original estimate of the cost of this has been exceeded several times, and finally an auxiliary steam generating station had to be erected in order to satisfy the more pressing demands of the town of Plovdiv, and until such time as the water storage works and the hydro-electrical plant on the river Kritsim are completed. This non-realisation of the hopes placed in this enterprise has caused deep disappointment and has been a blow to the co-operative idea, but such mistakes occasionally happen as has been the case with the Shannon scheme in Ireland, which was estimated to supply the entire Free State with its power and lighting requirements at a cost of £5,260,000, and though twice as much has been spent, and another two or three million sterling is to be spent on it, it has now been realised that the supply is insufficient and that an auxiliary scheme must be provided On the whole it may be said, that the employ by the co-operatives of the funds placed at their disposal by the State has not been as judicious as it might have been. Bulgarians are noted for their parsimoniousness and economy in their private affairs, but unfortunately, when it comes to handling public money they exaggerate in the opposite extreme. There have been complaints of lack of loyalty among co-operators for their readiness to transfer their patronage to private traders whenever the latter offer more profitable terms, but similar remonstrances have often been made also by the directors of the English Wholesale Society at their meetings, and obviously a

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A PERSANT GIRL PICKING ROSES

[Facing p. 161]

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474 Bulgarian peasant co-operator can not be expected to set an example to his British colleagues on this head, but what should be expected of him however is that he should show greater consideration for the means which are placed at his disposal by the community as a whole, and that he should not proceed to dissipate them without regard for their consequences. The following excerpt from the "Artisans' Co-operative Movement", 2nd year, № 4, reveals the mentality prevailing among certain co-operative circles and the editors of the review should be congratulated at reading such salutary lectures to their subscribers:

"During 1932, fifty eight producers societies have shown a loss of 3,502,958 leva, or each co-operative a loss of 60,596 and each co-operator a loss of 3,849. Nevertheless certain co-operators and especially those belonging to the societies least well off, draw daily wages of 175 leva. It is not a question as to whether this is too much but when the money is being withdrawn out of the capital and the sums borrowed by the co-operative, this is a crime. It is strange indeed that these same co-operators when working on their own behalf should have lived within their means, but now they seem to have lost all sense of measure".

Similar abuses were extant among the timber and fishing co-operative societies according to a report the former Minister of Finance, M. Stefanov had communicated to the Ministerial Council and which was commented on by the newspaper *Zora* early in September 1933.

One may form a general view of the activities of some co-operative societies by examining the data for 1933 of the 64 Consumers'Distributive Co-operatives affiliated to the Central Co-operative Bank. These were grouped into two syndicates, 56 belonging to the "Napred" Syndicate, a Social-Democratic body, and the remaining 8, directly affiliated to the Central Co-operative Bank. The groups had memberships of 62,191, and 7688, share capital 13,369,567 and 3,503,911, reserve funds and loan capital of 16,472,194 and 2,291,416. Advances in goods and money

474 of 110,622,277 and 14,481,696 leva respectively. The sales for the year were estimated at 376,289,157 and 37,964,023, and the profit for the "Napred group" was 583,107 leva, showing a diminution of 294,138 on the previous year, while the remaining eight co-operatives had sustained a loss of 4,229,855 leva, this being an increase by 1,729,028 on the loss sustained in 1932. The loss however was not equally apportioned, two co-operatives having incurred a loss of 4,792,880 leva, and six having realised a profit of 752,025. The average purchases per member of the second group was about 4,935 leva or approximately £11·75, while its profit and loss account figured at 5,862,346 and 10,083,209 respectively, disbursements on salaries accounting for 22%, interest for 12% loss on merchandise for 29% of this latter figure, while 97% of the former figure was ascribed to profit on the sale of merchandise.

474 456 The most remarkable success registered among co-operative societies is undoubtedly that of the "Functionaries' Insurance Association", and as M. T. G. Vlaikov pointed out, this result has been secured by its directors' rigorous abstention from politics, honest management and devotion to the aim of the association. Its growing importance may be gauged by the fact that of the total insurances on life in force during 1931, namely of a value of 3,601 million leva, policies to the value of 1424 millions had been issued by this association alone. Its success is well deserved for it has been most generous in dispensing grants to its sick members and it even maintains sickhouses and sanatoria for the construction of which it has spent several million leva.

474 In conclusion the following table may be given of the total number of co-operative societies functioning at the end of 1933 according to the official statistics.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

	Number of Associations	Members
Credit Co-operatives	1,940	367,345
Consumers'	142	81,033
Buildings & Dwellers' Co-op.	289	10,160
Mutual furnishing	359	73,740
Insurance Co-op. (mainly for insuring cattle)	1,135	182,835
Producers' Co-op.	289	76,163
Unions & Centrals Co-op.	42	16,198
Total	4,203	807,474

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Of these Societies 3,165 operated in rural districts and 1,038 in towns. 58% of the members belonged to societies established in urban districts and 41% to societies established in rural districts. This figure of 807,474 is certainly excessive, but is to be explained by the fact that the same individual may figure in several co-opetatives, and it is computed that there are only about 600,000 distinct members. The total capital and funds of these societies amounted to 4,347 million leva and deposits to 2,849 millions, their liabilities amounted to 4,456 millions, while their net profit for the year was reported to have reached 110,366,000 leva.

THE OBLIGATORY LABOUR SERVICE

Owing to Art. 65 of the Treaty of Neuilly abolishing military compulsory service in Bulgaria, those attaining military age are now being utilised to carry out various public works. A special law was voted rendering all men between the ages of 20 and 40 liable to serve during a term of eight continuous months in the labour corps, and subsequently they are liable to be called upon for temporary service for a term of 21 days every year within the communes in which they are domiciled. Exemption from service may be secured through the payment of a [728] 466

466 tax, but owing to the poverty of the masses only about 10%, of those liable to serve avail themselves of this opportunity to affranchise themselves, though the percentage of the older classes which liberate themselves from temporary incorporation for 21 days reaches 20% to 25%.

[461] The aim of the law is not merely economic, but also aims at instilling among the conscripts of the labour corps a better comprehension of their duty towards the community, a sense of solidarity, and also a liking for manual work, and open air living, especially among the intelligentsia, who considered any sort of field work beneath their dignity. Originally the law did not provide for exemption by payment, as M. Stambuliiski, who was its chief inspirer, pursued at the same time another object, that of humbling and persecuting all his bourgeois opponents, but the representatives of the Entente Powers intervened and succeeded in introducing certain modifications which rendered the application of the law much more lenient.

466b 653 The State has derived substantial help from the utilisation of the labour corps, and it must be admitted that the condition of both the railways and roads on the repairing of which the labour corps was largely employed would have been infinitely worse off, since the State would not have been in a position to defray the work accomplished on them.

Between the years 1921 and 1931, the annual contingent of youths called upon to join the labour corps varied between 12,000 and 19,000; all those liable to service were not utilised, there not being a sufficiency of work for all, owing to the lack of resources and absence of a plan. It was for the first time in 1932 that as many as 20,750 were incorporated, the number being increased to 26,000 in 1933. The greater part of these labour conscripts were utilised for the construction of railways and

roads as may be seen from the following table which also gives an estimate of the value of the work accomplished: 466 653

Year	Work days employed for the construction of railways and roads	Work days utilised on other work	Total work days	Value of the work carried out in leva
1922	2,271,579	322,131	2,593,710	77,811,210
1923	1,345,936	191,069	1,537,005	93,940,134
1924	1,055,789	112,909	1,168,698	66,058,916
1925	962,361	151,473	1,113,834	75,111,237
1926	710,835	201,225	912,060	68,083,877
1927	1,336,980	234,820	1,571,800	135,450,983
1928	1,310,178	214,299	1,524,477	142,075,936
1929	1,310,166	158,553	1,468,719	154,381,307
1930	1,261,359	190,317	1,451,676	142,082,059
1931	1,236,346	167,893	1,404,239	131,858,836
Total	12,801,529	1,844,689	14,646,218	1,086,854,595

To the labour of these conscripts may be ascribed the construction of some excellent highways traversing the Balkan mountains, such as those between Gabrovo and Shipka, Elena and Sliven, and from Troyan southward along the Boyanski Pass, as well as a road some 50 klm. in length along the banks of the river Kritchim to the hamlet of Duvlen in the Rhodopes. It is reckoned that 49·2% of the total labour was absorbed in the construction and reparation of roads, 3.420 klm. of new roads, as well as 436 bridges, having been constructed, and 2.315 klm. of roads repaired. Railway construction and work on ports absorbed 19.2%, and 21·4% was utilised in industrial enterprises, special workshops having been constructed such as a brick factory, a clothing and shoe factory in the vicinity of Sofia, and a timber exploitation works in the State forest of Titsa, in the region of Varna, where the available timber resources were rationally exploited, sleepers for the railways, pit-props for the

466 mines and telegraph poles being prepared, as well as
653 lumber for building purposes. The balance of the available labour was employed in agricultural work, excavations, construction of aerodromes and dams, reparation of thermal bathing establishments, drainage, afforestation, water adduction etc.

The most impressive work undertaken by the labour contingent was the erection of two large dams along the banks of the Danube namely between the mouths of the rivers Isker and Vit, and near the mouth of the river Yantra. The former one 28·3 klm. in length, has secured an area of some 17,000 hectares from the annual floods of the Danube, and the latter which is a massive dam 17 klm. in length, 24 m. wide at its base, and 5 to 7 m. in height, bearing an excellent road on top has served to reclaim 1,100 h. of marsh land and protect another 1,250 h. from floods. The total cost of this last dam at the mouth of the Yantra to the State was 32 million leva.

Certain other workshops which had been opened at Shumen and Radomir as well as certain agricultural enterprises, and cattle ranches have not proved successful and were closed.

466 The financial results of the experiment may be
652 gauged by the folloving table compiled by the Direction of the Labour Service and which coves the whole period of its functionment from its inception to March 31st 1932.

Disbursements cover: salaries and office expenses of the permanent staff, food, medical attendance, clothing, equipment, general expenses, depreciation of machinery etc. Under the heading of receipts figure, the sums paid for exemption from service, proceeds from the sale of various materials, as well as reimbursements by the various ministries of a nominal wage per man, for the number of labour conscripts affected to their services. This last practice was initiated in the financial year 1924/5 in order

that the budget of this department might not be deficitary; the wages per day paid by the various ministries have varied between 30 and 60 leva and are substantially under the average wage of manual workers hired in the open market. It is reckoned that the upkeep of a labour conscrips costs 15 leva per day to the State, and that the value of his work is on an average about 30 leva. If it were not for the subsidy furnished by the various ministries, the scheme would not even be self-supporting, and as no remuneration whatever is given to the labour conscripts whose labour would certainly be worth semething in the open market it would not appear that this plan of employing labour is on a whole economical to the community, though it may be so to the State or the municipalities. As it should be expected, every man cannot be utilised in his profession and as a consequence the output of his work on the particular job he has been affected to is not a record one; as M. I. Detchev, a radical deputy, stated in the Sobranye on Dec. 34, 1926, the work of 14 labour conscripts equals that of one skilled workman.

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The data on page 168 do not refer to the temporary service which is carried out by the communes or municipalites independently. The latter have the right to call up every year for twenty one days all men up to the age of 40, and exceptionally up to 50, who are domiciled within their precincts for the purpose of carrying out any public work which has been decided upon. It is estimated that some 800,000 men are liable to this temporary service and if their daily wage be reckoned at 40 leva per man and per day, this would represents a possible saving of 672 million leva a year on the wage bills of the municipalities employing labour and would permit them to undertake public works which otherwise would never have been contemplated owing to the precarious state of their finances.

Years	Receipts from exemptions	Receipts from subsidies paid by Ministries	Receipts from goods sold	Various Receipts	Nett Loss	Gross disbursements
1920—21	16,465				7,475,850	7,492,315
1921—22	2,941,071		1,580,664	37,838	48,709,284 *	53,268,855
1922—23	49,908,210		29,278,321	507,642	98,084,065 *	177,778,237
1923—24	85,463,762		63,757,598	803,678	24,783,318	174,808,356
1924—25	26,202,847	67,223,163	50,340,817	12,785,405		147,384,287
1925—26	36,882,768	80,802,373	66,108,120	10,692,529		182,944,747
1926—27	37,119,522	72,744,526	51,208,024	1,220,288		146,548,629
1927—28	45.542,866	143,751,752	41,389,855	2,524,909		154.388,922
1928 - 29	77,845,990	173,601,206	50,594,311	8,324,177		164,482,237
1929 - 30	101 649,332	195,795,776	65,853,521	7,048,642		188,061,303
1930—31	46,169,921	211,843,934	48,699,040	10,169,179		198,413,223
1931—32	35,478,757	184,630,035	46,481,683	9,942,087		173,334,375

* According to a statement by Minister Vassilev in the Sobranye on June 19, 1928 the Direction computes that the loss is smaller, but accounts for the difference by entering a certain sum as extra profits „not figuring in the budget" or, in other words, a subsidy of some sort

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FORESTRY

Bulgarian foresters are unanimous to deplore the unbusinesslike manner in which the magnificent forest domains of the country have been treated as well as in the irrational way they have so far been exploited. The lack of interest shown in this branch of national wealth may be gauged from the fact that though a quarter of the country's surface was covered with forests, yet until 1930 almost the totality of the lumber needed for building purposes was imported from abroad and it was only by imposing a very heavy duty on foreign timber that imports from abroad were reduced by 4/5 in 1931 and an impetus given to local lumber industries. According to the official statistics the total area covered by forests amounted to 2,698,000 hectares in 1933, of which 321,000 hectares were coniferous and 2,297,000 hectares deciduous, (mainly oak and beech) while ownership was apportioned as follows:

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State	644,000	hectares
Monasteries	42,000	"
Municipalities	1,484,000	"
Private	528,000	"

The principal varieties of trees found in Bulgaria are — The oak, ash, elm. Extensive forest of resinous trees are to be found also in the Rhodopes, Pirrin and the Rila mountains and they are mostly composed of the varieties: Pinus sylvestris, pinus Austriacus, picea fectinata and picea excelsa.

According to M. D. Vessov's book on Bulgarian forestry, the State and municipal forests represent a capital of 20,000 million leva. About 20% of the total area of the country is covered with forests, this sylvan area being mostly mountainous and not fit for any other cultivation. If the forest were rationally exploited a yield of

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six million cubic metres of rough wood per annum could be secured, and as the average price it fetched was 500 leva per cubic metre for conifers, 200 leva for beech or oak, and 50 leva for brushwood and loppings, a minimum yearly revenue of one milliard leva could easily be reckoned upon, though eventually as much as six milliards annually might be secured, a sum which seems somewhat exaggerated, since official statistics show that the State receives less than a hundred million and the municipalities 150 million leva annually from their forests. There is therefore a tremendous amount of lee-way to be made up. For the year 1931 it was reported that the State forests supplied 571,000 cubic metres of wood and that their upkeep costs about 60 million leva. The main cause of neglect was the absence of transport facilities and lack of capital. The primitive saw-mills in work were too wasteful, from one cubic metre of wood only 50 % was turned out as lumber, while with modern machinery the wastage would not surpass 30 %, besides the planks sawn were of uneven thickness and did not compare favourably with those imported from abroad. M. Vessov finds that so far the concessions given to small traders for exploiting the forests have proved ruinous, as the concessionaires cut down the trees without discrimination. They usually had also to contend with the hostility of the local population and failed owing to their inability to secure enough labour. An attempt was made to create co-operative societies among the inhabitants of forest districts, but owing to their lack of means and the unsympathetic attitude of the official foresters, they do not seem to have been very successful. They generally launch into undertakings altogether beyond their resources, attempt extensive clearings, and then being unable to transport the felled wood, leave a large percentage of it to rot. The main reason for their creation was to satisfy the cravings of certain political par-

tisans and hangers-on and as a consequence these societies have not manifested any co-operative spirit so far. The State has derived no profit from them and they have been combatted alike by capitalists and the forestry personnel. According to the official statistics there were in 1932, 102 such co-operative societies engaged in forest exploitation, their roll of membership was 8,492, their capital 15,805,640, funds 8,202,908, deposits 5,929,955, capital invested in sawmills 15,787,715. They owed 10,736,478 to the Agricultural Bank and 14,981,228 to private traders. According to a recent decision of the government, the State will assume the exploitation of the forests for its own account, in view of the unsatisfactory results obtained so far. 313 137

According to this author, the best form of exploiting the forests has been that of granting large concessions to societies possessing adequate capital, and as an example the exploitation of the Rila forests was cited which has proved exemplary. Another successful enterprise organised by the State with the help of the compulsery Labour Corps was that of the Titsa domain, south of Varna, in which the State had invested some 29 million leva. M. Vessov considered that it was indispensable to increase the means of transport in order to develop the timber industry and permit it to compete with foreign imported timber. He recommended that cattle should be rigorously prevented from grazing in the forests, a desideratum which unfortunately cannot be fulfilled because the population of the mountainous districts has no other grazing lands; his suggestion, however, of curtailing surreptitious felling of trees, by rendering compulsory the sawing of all wood in controlled modern saw mills built outside the forest areas, seems a judicious one and worth considering, owing to the vast amount of contraband which takes place. 313

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An interesting paper was read by M. Taslakov in February 1933 at a meeting of the Society of Bulgarian Economists, from which the following data are worth quoting: 35% of the timberlands consisted of heavy forests and 65% of scrub forests. From the former an annual yield of 1,008,000 cubic metres of prepared timber for building purposes could be secured, the price of which was 2000 leva per c. m. or some 907,200,000 leva, while the output from the latter would amount to 2,600,000 c. m. fit only for fuel and priced at 125 leva and would attain 325,000,000 leva. The revenue from forests would therefore reach 1,232,200,000 leva per annum.

The forests contained 50% oak, 25% beech, and 25% various conifers. The annual arboreal growth per hectare of beech was 3·6 c. m., of oak 2·8 c. m. and of the conifers 6·2 to 6·6 c. m. The total arboreal growth available for felling would be estimated at 10,294,380 c. m., half of which would cover the local requirements and the balance would be available for export.

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There is another highly interesting book on Bulgarian sylviculture by M. Ch. Gruev, who was a forester and consequently fully qualified to write on the subject. His exposures of the abuses committed by successive Governments in the administration of forests, constitute a most damning indictment of the pseudo-democratic form of government so far extant and show to what extent politicians are responsible for the annihilation of the forests and how they contributed in demoralising the people by their cynical disregard of the law. The only conscientious Minister in the charge of the forest domains were D. Christov, who was a member of the Gueshov Cabinet during 1911—1912 and the Agrarian leader Draghiev. He speaks highly also of Stambulov who passed excellent measures to preserve the forests, but unfortunately under his successor, Stoilov, everything was undone. He nar-

rates at length how the late Minister Ghenadiev ordered the forest guards to inform the population of the Batak region that whoever voted for his brother would be alloted several cubic metres of timber free of charge. The same Ghenadiev repaid his electors at Stanimaka by making them a present of the Tsepelare forests belonging to the State and worth many hundred millions. In order to secure his return at the elections of 1903 he allowed his intended electors to fell undiscriminately as many trees as they wished within his constituency and in order that they might not be prevented by the forest guards, who would have demurred at this patent violation of the forest regulations, he summoned temporarily most of them to Sofia pending the elections. Whenever a forester manifested some initiative and prevented adherents of the party in power from cutting down trees, he would at once be removed from his post. (p. 137-144).

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M. Liaptchev who succeeded Ghenadiev, is as violently taken to task. He is accused of preventing foresters accomplishing their duty and ordering them to let the people dispose freely of the forests until the elections were over in order to secure their votes for the Government. As a result entire forests were ruthlessly cut down, in the region of Varna, and these disafforested tracts are now known locally as Liaptchev's fields. (p. 172—3). He adds:

"But the most anarchic Government Bulgaria had seen was that of the Agrarians, it was characterised by the greatest corruption bribery became a system". (p. 267).

M. Gruev reveals astounding facts about the Agrarian Minister Obov, who completely demoralised the forestry personnel by acceding to all the solicitations of provincial deputies. All conscientious functionaries in the administration were dismissed or threatened with dismissal and ordered to shut their eyes to the abuses committed by Government supporters. Obov was perpetually pestered

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by feminine petitioners for grants of forest clearances. Some 4000 hectares of forests on the Danube islands were handed over to villagers in order to win their votes. 90 pseudo-co-operative societies were created to exploit the forests but they disappeared as if by a miracle as soon as the Agrarian regime fell on June 9, 1923. The Agrarians in short, had proved the greatest enemies of the forests. (p. 297– 8). Unfortunately Minister I. Mollov, who took over this department after 1923 did not put a stop to the abuses, he dismissed the competent staff and nominated in its stead relatives and friends. (p. 326).

The above charges against the Agrarian regime are more than justified. A perusal of the minutes of the Sobranye reveal that several deputies impugned the Agrarians with extensive misuse of the authority they wielded when in office. Thus in the sitting of February 4 and 10, 1925, deputies related how in 1922 in order to win over 250 voters the Ministry had permitted them to cut down 6500 cubic metres of lumber, but not satisfied with this, these prospective supporters of the Government having a higher estimate of their value, proceeded to cut down 14000 cubic metres, and when the forester in charge protested, the local grandee had him arrested. The Agrarian Minister prior to the elections had openly incited the people to plunder they forests b asking „Who is the forester who dare prevent you from exploiting the forests which are yours"? Minister Obov had made a present of 46,000 hectares of forests, valued at 158 million leva to villages near Svistov and some 3800 hectares worth 175 millions to three other villages in order to secure their votes. Omartsevski who replaced Obov for a short time, disposed of some 120 hectares from the Ivanova forest in the same manner. On August 5, 1926 deputy Ts. Bratanov gave a further list of illicit felling of forests by the Agrarians whom he accused of destroying even part

of the pine forest in the vicinity of Sofia with the intent of grabbing the timber. 313 661

With the re-apparition of the Agrarians in the Government presided over by M. Muchanov, the same methods were noticeable. Thus the „*Burgaska Poshta*" of March 11 and 18, 1934 refers to extensive illicit felling of forests in the region of Aitos, the Plovdiv „*Borba*" in April of the same year complains that the then Minister of Agriculture proceeded within 7 or 8 months to replace all the forest guards with his own partisans etc.

The aftermath of the devastation of the forests was a great deterioration of the climate as a result of erosion and denudation. The Journal of the Society of Bulgarian Economists for September 1933 published an article by M. Ts. Doutsev, giving certain illuminating figures. The forest belt which in 1,900 covered 32 % of the country, had diminished to 27 % in 1912 and to 19 % in 1926. Observations gathered from 67 meteorologigal stations reported that while the annual rainfall averaged 820 litres in 1900, it had decreased to 690 in 1919 and to 490 in 1921. The more impressive figures were those of the stations at Yambol and Nova Zagora which had recorded in 1900 and 1921, of 818 and 364 respectively for the first, and of 825 and 530 litres for the second. The Maritsa basin recorded a rainfall of only 500 litres per sq. metre and this was the cause of the recent poor harvests.[1] An affluent of the river Maritsa, the Topolnitsa, which had a flow of 700 to 800 litres per second, now had only 250 to 300, and this falling off could be traced to the destruction of the forests in its catchment area. M. Doutsev demanded that the Sylvan administration should be freed from political in- 313 132 313

[1] M. D. Christov, a former Minister of Agriculture declared in the Sobranye on December 11, 1920 that the rainfall in North Bulgaria averaged 600 to 650 litres per sq. metre while in the Plovdiv district it was only 500 litres.

313 fluences in order that the forests might be efficiently protected and he advocated the militarisation of the foresters as the best way of achieving this aim. The grazing of [137] cattle in the great timber forests accounted for their gradual deterioration and transformation into stunted brushwood. This was due to the shortage of pasture land, of which there was only enough for feeding four million head of cattle, while the number of cattle in Bulgaria was fourteen million. The requirements of this head of cattle is about five million kilogrammes of fodder, 4/5 of which is supplied from the forests, the foliage of the trees being used as such. Goats did the greatest harm, there were 250 of them per thousand inhabitants in Bulgaria, 750 in Greece, 150 in Serbia and 25 in Rummania. By these ratios one could also gauge the relative condition of the forests in these countries.

132 731 The gradual decrease in local precipitation which is of such importance to the cultivator, as well as the resulting inundations, with the appaling destruction they cause in the fertile valleys, all of which may be traced to the unchecked felling of the forests has begun to make itself felt. We thus find deputy N. Terkalanov declaring in the Sobranyé on December 11, 1928, that the yearly loss from drought could be reckoned as amounting to a reduction of the crops by 180,000 tons of cereals, 20,000 tons of industrial cultures, 10,000 of vegetables and 100,000 tons of fodder, of a value of two milliard leva. The loss caused by drought during 1934 was estimated at five milliard leva, though the harvest was an average one. Big losses were also incurred through inundations, the river Kamtsia alone caused damage amounting to 3·5 millions annually.

313 134 Travellers in the Balkan regions cannot help noticing how vast expances of once fertile land are getting buried deep beneath tons of rubble and sand, sent down by

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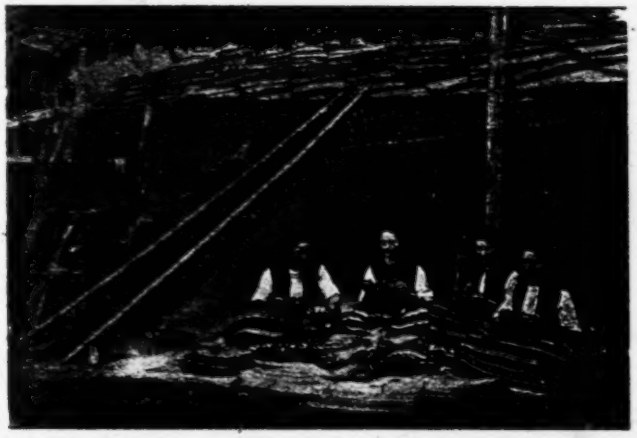

SORTING TOBACCO LEAVES

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KARLOVO WITH THE BALKANS IN THE BACKROUND

[facing p. 177]

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mountain torrents, this being plainly attributable to the extensive disafforestation of the mountain ridges of this chain. The gorge of the river Isker, which might rival in scenery certain parts of Switzerland, has been largely denuded, with the consequence that extensive damage is being done yearly to the road and railway running through it by floods. The trains are often held up for hours by the bouiders and debris washed down. It would be well if the slopes of the denuded mountains were afforestated anew with conifers which the herds of grazing animals would not attack, for in spite of regulations, the peasantry possessing cattle far in excess of the grazing capacity of the region will persist on sending them to graze in the forests. The afforestation of the Isker gorge would be well worth undertaking in view of the thousands of tourists who visit it every holiday during summer, special excursion trains being run from Sofia, providing as it does most charming outings for excursions and walks.

Investigations into the not very remote past history of Bulgaria, establish that the devastation of forests are comparatively of recent date. The French traveller Ami Boué records in 1854 that the Vitosh mountain overhanging Sofia was covered with thick forests; these have been cut down and it only sustains a meagre growth of shrubs, though steps are being taken to afforestate it anew. According to M. A. Ihtchiev, Turkish judges mention in their notes that the highway from Slivnitsa to Sofia ran through alleys, and big trees, and that rice and the vine were cultivated in the region at the time. This is no longer possible now owing to a change in the climate since then, and as for the big trees, not a vestige of them has been left. The region of Pleven was at the time of the Russo-Turkish war fairly thickly wooded, but now it is practically denuded.

313 In view of the construction of an excellent road from Kritsim to Duvlen along the banks of the river Vutsa, the forest administration would do well to keep an open eye on the way the forests in that region are being exploited, for if they are heedlessly cut down as has happened in the Tsepelare district, a few miles to the east, following on the exploit of the late M. Ghenadiev reported above, the Vutsa river will dry up almost to the extent the Tsepelare has done, and all the millions spent on the hydro-electrical plant by the Vutsa co-operative society will have been in vain.

It would seem that the rational exploitation of the Bulgarian forests would prove a lucrative operation, large masses of lopping and inferior wood would be converted into charcoal for which there is a large market in Constantinople, Greece, Egypt and Italy. An important firm possessing adequate means with which to provide for the building of roads and railways through the forest regions, which would also assume the task of afforestation conjointly with the Government, would probably realise a fair return. Under the present circumstances the Bulgarian Government would probably be disposed to grant such a concession, as it can hardly solicit a loan for the development and exploitation of its forests, since it will be unable to pay interest on it in foreign currency, and there is little chance of financiers considering a financial operation based on the principle of repayment in kind, which is the only method by which Bulgaria can for the present, at least, discharge her obligations. The new Government has made it known that it will re-afforestate at the earliest some 300,000 hectares and will replant another 32,000 hectares of forests which have been destroyed by fire. It seemed firmly decided to put a stop to the abuses which have hitherto prevailed.

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AGRICULTURE

It is impossible to treat adequately in the limited space of a chapter a subject of such capital importance for Bulgaria as its agriculture, which is its staple industry and which forms the occupation of some 80% of her population, and only a brief and superficial survey can be given To those who are interested in the subject, the works of Prof. N. V. Dolinski, of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales of Varna are recommended, who has treated this theme with an insight and comprehension worthy of the savant he is. Prof. Dolinski, being a Russian and former professor at the Polytechnical Institute ot St. Petersburg, has studied thoroughly every aspect of this subject and the conclusions he has arrived at as to the future of Bulgarian agriculture are not optimistic. He thus differs from most Bulgarians, who being temperamentaly over-confident, and somewhat unconscious of their limitations, take an over sanguine outlook as to the future, believing as they do, that persevering and unremitting labour can surmount every obstacle. 241

Bulgaria, as is well known, is a country of small holders; according to the census of 1926, the 4,469,987·02 hectares of cultivated surface was divided among 734,191 individual farmsteads, each of an average area slightly over 6 hectares[1]. The tendency however has been towards further subdivision. In 1929 the number of independent holdings had grown to 807,309, and by 1931 to 840,900. The progressive segmentation of the farmsteads is an evil which eventually will have to be stopped through the adoption of the right of primogeniture concerning landed property, or by some other means. As matters stand, there are very few sons of farmers willing to continue their 241 423

[1] The following table gives detailed figures as to the size and number of the holdings:

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

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Area of farmsteads	Number of owners	% of total	Number of hectares	% of total
1 to 2 hectares	86,323	11.8	429,153	0·9
2 to 3 "	90,418	12·3	1,326,784	3
3 to 4 "	88,064	12	2,166,102	4·8
4 to 5 "	72,011	9·8	3,211,065	7·2
5 to 6 "	59,714	8·1	3,250,262	7·3
6 to 7 "	49,287	6·7	3,178,436	7·1
7 to 8 "	39,480	5·4	2,946,641	6·6
8 to 9 "	32,614	4·4	2,777.252	6·2
9 to 10 "	25,462	3·5	2,408,585	5·4
10 to 15 "	68,724	9·4	8,260.854	18·5
15 to 20 "	23,281	3·2	3,976.965	8·9
20 to 25 "	9,092	1·2	2.001,162	4·5
25 to 30 "	3,605	0·5	1,034,139	2·3
over 30 "	4,766	0·6	4,924,404	11
Total	734,191	100	44,69[illegible],987	100

parents' calling because they know that at the latter's death, the farmstead will have to be divided among all the members of the family, and that the portion which will revert to them will be too small to support them; hence their unwillingness to remain on the land, and their efforts to become State functionaries. This is also why the secondary agricultural schools have comparatively few students, the majority of whom become eventually functionaries instead of settling on the land. This explains why the progress of farming has not been commensurate with the strenuous efforts made by the government for its promotion.

A peculiar feature of these holdings is that they are often divided into ten or even more different strips, scattered about in various places, often far apart from one another, and of the most surprising dimensions. Thus a great deal of land is wasted on roads and boundaries. This intense subdivision militates against the introduction of rational methods of cultivation, and causes a huge waste of time to farmers who have to trudge from one strip to another in rotation along pathways which are well nigh impassable after heavy rains. One of the causes which led to the dividing up of the farmstead into several strips was to provide against the danger of loss-

by hail which is frequent in Bulgaria. Scattered holdings 241
considerably reduced the risk from such loss, for only 423
some of the strips belonging to one farmstead could be so
affected. But this custom has outlived its usefulness, for
the State now insures farmers against such loss[2] at a very [657]
slight charge, and it has wisely embarked on a policy of
encouraging the unification of holdings; even a law has
been passed, rendering this obligatory in any commune,
50% of the inhabitants of which express a desire to have
their scattered strips unified. Unfortunately little progress
has been made so far in this direction owing to the extreme diversity of the quality of the soil in most localities
and to the fact that the peasantry is over-conservative
by nature, and this is apparent from the comparatively few
farmers who insure against loss by hail. In 1934 their
number was stated to be 99,600, the premiums collected
22 million leva, and the disbursements made by the State
for losses by hail sustained by 25,000 farmers amounted
to 25 millions. The average annual loss caused by hail is
estimated at 500 millions. Even as regards their cattle,
farmers appear equally conservative, for in 1934 out of a
total head of large cattle numbering 3 millions, only
105,000 head of cattle vere insured.

If this policy of unifying the scattered strips could
be carried through, some 400,000 hectares would be rendered available for cultivation which are now occupied by
roads, pathways. boundaries, hedges etc. T. At. Yaranov
in his "Bulgaria to-day and to-morrow" estimates the cost
ot carrying out this unification of the various strips at
1,584 million leva, or roughly at 4000 leva per hectare
and as the actual price of farm land devoted to cereal
cultivation averages 5,000 to 8,000 [1] leva, the operation
would be practicable. The advantages to be derived from

[1] The pre-war price ranged between 1000 to 1500 leva (gold) per hectare.

2 [i.e. hail damage, see cat. 116, p. 180-181-A]

241 423 the application of this measure would be multiple. It would increase the available surface for cultivation by 10%. It would effect a great saving of time to the farmers, who would no longer be obliged to waste their time by visiting scattered holdings, but who would then only have to attend to one. It would permit the rationalisation of agriculture by making feasible the use of agricultural machinery. So far this extreme parcellation of the land has proved an unsuperable obstacle to the employ of modern implements. Thus during the period 1925—1930 some 2620 tractors were bought, at a cost of 1000 million leva, but it has been found impossible to utilise them for ploughing, and the only use they have been put to was to make them work the threshing machines.

However alluring this prospect of regrouping the holdings may be, it is regrettable that it can not be realised for lack of funds. As matters stand an extensive use of expensive agricultural machinery is not likely to prove profitable when there is plenty of cheap labour available and imported oil fuel is dear; besides, the smallholder would scarcely possess sufficient means to acquire them and would not know how to keep them in good condition.[1]

241 243 The utilisation of machinery on the farms could be lucratively carried out only if it mere undertaken on a co-operative basis, but in such a case it would be necessary to found co-operative societies in every village before proceeding with the wholesale employ of machinery. However, even with such improvements, Bulgaria could

[1] During the Liaptchev administration the government undertook to introduce by hook or crook modern machinery, and a large number was foisted on the peasantry but never utilised. Many complaints were made as to the peasantry having been encouraged to run into debt merely in order to buy machines. The exposures made by certain deputies on May 22 and 30, 1932, on this subject are not at all edifying.

not hope to compete in cereal growing with transoceanic countries, and the only advantage to be derived would be to continue raising the same amount of cereals on a more restricted area by employing more advanced methods of cultivation, in order that more land be diverted to other crops demanding more labour and skill.[1] The table on page 184 gives particulars as to the main varieties of cereals cultivated, and their respective yield during the last years 241 243

The harvest of 1934 was affected by drought in the early part of the summer, and the yield was considerably under the average of recent years as may be gauged by the following figures:

	Average yield per hectare during 1930—1934	Yield in 1933 per hectare	Yield in 1934 per hectare
Wheat	1157 kg	1204 kg	902 kg
Rye	1092 "	1180 "	868 "
Mixture of barley and wheat . . .	1228 "	1248 "	993 "
Barley	1240 "	1441 "	806 "
Oats	816 "	983 "	578 "
Maize	1232 "	1309 "	1221 "

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[1] Cereal growing is not a renumerative occupation and can only be carried on thanks to the subsidies offered by the State. It has to be carried on however, because Bulgaria can not afford to pay for imported cereals. Their production therefore should be adjusted to local requirements in order to restrict the amount of subsidies disbursed to the minimum.

The cost of wheat may be computed at 2·77 leva per kg., the following items entering into the cost of production per hectare: Ploughing and sowing 2,100, harvesting 300, transport to threshing machine and threshing 400, transport to market 100, seed 250 kg. at 1·25 = 321 25, total 3212·5 leva. Average production per hectare 1157 kg.

In transoceanic countries the cost of production is about 1·25 leva per kg., with a tendency for a further reduction judging from

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	Annual average for period 1927—1931		1931		1932		1933		1934	
	Area sown in 1000 hectares	Output in 1000 quintals	Area sown in 1000 hectares	Output in 1000 quintals	Area sown in 1000 hectares	Output in 1000 quintals	Area sown in 1000 hectares	Output in 1000 quintals	Area sown in 1000 hectares	Output in 1000 quintals
Wheat	1,159·9	13,470·6	1,247	17,507·5	1,256·3	13,903	1,246	16,166	1260	11,382
Rye	222·1	2,318	232·9	2,705·9	220·1	2,575	212	2.760	192·4	1,670
Mixture of barley & wheat .	99·1	1.128·6	104·6	1,413	89·8	951	88	1,165	85·6	850
Barley	243·2	3,204	244·8	3,453·1	230·3	3.070·3	234	3,599	230·2	1,855·4
Oats	133·2	1,065	118·6	1,024·7	113·8	1,128·7	134	1,556	126·4	730·3
Millet	13·9	141·1	8·5	118·8	12·5	156·5	7	87	7·7	67·5
Maize	698·4	7302	680·4	8,887	740·1	10,544·2	713	10,430	670·9	8,194·9
Rice	7·4	102·6	6·9	90·5	5·4	89·4	6	88	5·9	87·8
Total . .	2,577·8	287,33·8	2,655·1	35,201·2	2,658·3	32.419·8	2,640	35,851	2,578·4	24,837·9

the following passage in Viscount Astor's „Land and Life" p. 55 „Costs of many producers in North America are approaching 24/—per quarter, while one farming 30,000 acres, expects to be able to sell, with substantial profit at less than 17/—" (about 0·95 leva per kg).

AGRICULTURE

The yield per hectare has been increased, thanks to the efforts of the State Agriculturists and those of the experimental stations. It is affirmed that for about 1/3 of the area sown to wheat selected seed has been utilised from certain new varieties of wheat from which as high a yield as 2650 kg. per hectare has been obtained at the experimental stations, but only 1675 to 1766 kg. when sown in the average farmsteads. This has contributed in raising the yield from about 1000 kg. per hectare during the pre-war period to 1157 kg. at the present time. 243 242

Though about 3/4 of the cultivated land is devoted to cereals, 90% of the total output is absorbed locally, and only 10% is available for export in ordinary circumstances. Often, when the harvest is below the average there is little or nothing to export. The last international wheat Conference held in 1932 fixed Bulgaria's annual export quota of cereals at 2,500,000 quintals, or 236,000 tons, but in the export campaign of 1933/34, the quantity available for export did not reach this figure, and in the following season the cereals exported amounted to some 175,000 tons, so that it may be reckoned that Bulgaria has ceased counting as a grain exporting country. In fact the average Bulgarian farmstead does not produce sufficient grain for its own requirements, and it is only the larger ones, those of over 10 hectares, that have a surplus for disposal. This renders the majority of farmers unaffected by the fluctuation of prices since they consume their own produce, and strange as it seems, the fall in the prices of agricultural produce must on the whole be beneficial to them, since Prof. Y. Mollov, former Minister of Agriculture, affirms in the Annuaire of the Sofia University for 1933 (Agricultural Dept.) that the peasantry on the whole buy more than they sell, the proportion of their purchases to their sales being the following: 243 [439] 243 433

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	Year 1929—30	Year 1930—1	Year 1931—2	Average
North Bulgaria	171,06%	146,01%	110.70%	142.59%
Sofia region	179.90%	158.43%	158.28%	165.53%
South Bulgaria	119.60%	125.60%	186.23%	143.81%

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This of course has been possible owing to the credits which they have been able to raise from the Agricultural Bank, and to their not applying them to the specific purposes for which these loans were granted; the Agricultural Bank having extended to the rural population credits amounting on an average to 7360 leva per hectare for the smaller category of farmsteads. It must not be thought however that the peasantry has been living wastefully, and has run into debt owing to its being profligate. Very often in periods of drought the Agricultural Bank, under pressure from the State, has been compelled to come to the assistance of the peasantry and to supply them with seed and food, practically with no guarantee. This will largely explain the excessive advances which the Bank has made to the rural population, which, if it were not for this timely aid would have literally starved.

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The source of the trouble is that the available land is unsufficient to support the population, and that if it be not provided with more land In order to increase its production up to its requirements, or if it be not assisted financially in order to modernise its methods of cultivation, and thus be able to raise a larger quantity of products on the land it actually possesses, there will be grave danger of a dislocation of the present social fabric

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Prof. St. Tsolakov, a colleague of Prof. Dolinski, has published a most interesting essay in the 1934 Annuaire de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, of Varna, on the position of the farmers in the Varna region, and on their indebtedness to the State. It is certainly representative of the whole country, and the study of the figures he supplies will convince any one that the problem

of the reorganisation of agriculture in Bulgaria is a most pressing one if a social upheaval is to be avoided at no distant date. 241 434

Prof. Tsolakov has carefully calculated the revenue of all items of income of farmers from the various cereals, vegetables, fruit, poultry, cattle etc. they raise, as well as the disbursements they make for the purchase of similar articles for their personal requirements in cases where they do not produce one, or several of these articles on their own farms and have to sell certain surpluses, if they have such, in order to buy what they do not produce, and he has come to the conclusion that farmers possessing up to 2 hectares have an annual deficit as regards their needs in agricultural produce of 4,226 leva per farmstead, those possessing 2 to 5 hectares have a surplus of 402 leva, those with 5 to 10 hectares a surplus of 7,103, those with 10 to 15 hectares a surplus of 15,632, and those of over 15 hectares a surplus of 19,919. However, the rural population has other needs besides agricultural produce, which mainly represents food, namely: clothing, light, fuel, etc., and if these requirements be taken into consideration the farmsteads would show the following position as to revenue and expenditure:

Farmsteads up to 2 hectares:	Annual deficit	7,226	leva
" from 2 to 5 "	" "	4,598	"
" " 5 to 10 "	" surplus	103	"
" " 10 to 15 "	" "	5,632	"
" of over 15 "	" "	6,919	"

As a consequence, farmers have been unable to pay their taxes, or to refund their debts. Prof Tsolakov has appended the results of an examination into the accounts of 487 individual farmsteads in the region of Varna, and gives these most impressive data as to the hopeless position in which the peasantry finds itself. Arrears of unpaid taxes have been accumulating for the past years, and there 241 651 426

241 is practically no prospect of their ever being met. The
651 following figures are self-explanatory:
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Cases	Area of farmsteads	Arrears of taxes 1925—6 to 1932—3	Tax for 1933—4	Fines	Total mount of taxes owing
		(forx each category of farmsteads)			
144	up to 1 hectare	79,943 leva	12,016 leva	10,200 leva	102,150 leva
79	1 to 2 "	97,282 "	20,368 "	20,661 "	138,311 "
75	2 to 3 "	132,317 "	31,883 "	29,498 "	193,698 "
83	3 to 5 "	236,560 "	53,260 "	54,575 "	334,495 "
65	5 to 10 "	229,741 "	75,310 "	49,575 "	354,626 "
33	10 to 20 "	132,250 "	73,650 "	55,799 "	261,699 "
8	over 20 "	241,675 "	32,683 "	126,358 "	400,716 "

The amount of individual indebtedness has also been inquired into, and this has been computed as follows.

Farmsteads of	To Agricultural bank	To Co-operative bank	To the State (taxes mainly arrears)	To Municipality	To Private persons	Total
up to 2 hectares	7,360[1]	1,710	970	170	12,050	22,260
of 2 to 5 "	3,820	600	530	60	4,410	9,420
" 5 to 10 "	2,930	580	360	50	2,370	6,290
" 10 to 15 "	2,950	440	220	—	1,600	5,210
" over 15 "	2,800	290	400	40	1,190	4,720

From the above data it will be evident that the smaller farmers are hopelessly insolvent since the actual value of arable land is between 5,000 to 8,000 leva per hectare.

241 With regard to the production of cereals Prof. Tso-
511 lakov calculates that the average deficit of farmsteads

[1] According to a statement made in the Sobranye on Feb. 26 1932, peasant indebtedness to the Agricultural Bank amounted to 4,096,043,000 leva at the end of 1931. Farmsteads of 10 hectares owed it 3360 per hectare, and those of 10 hectares and over, 2170 leva per hectare. The total value of the 4,469,987 hectares under cultivation was estimated in 1927 at 83,933,620,000 leva, rural buildings at 34,845 millions, the live stock at 19,927,205,000 leva and agricultural inventory at 4,760,149,000 leva. By 1932 values had fallen by 60%, so that the value of farm property was estimated at only 50,000 millions and the debts of the farmers then amounted at only 12,000 millions. The total revenue from agriculture, had dwindled from 23,347 millions in 1929 to under 13,000 millions in 1930, as the Minister of Agriculture affirmed in the Sobranye on March 6. 1932.

having an area of up to 2 hectares, is 2,510 kg., that of 2 to 5 hectares 1,570 kg., and that of 5 to 10 hectares 149 kg., and he estimates that at the present state of development of agriculture, farmsteads of less than 2 hectares in area can hardly absorb the labour of two persons, those of 2 to 5 hectares of 3 persons, those of 5 to 9 hectares of 4 persons, those of 10 to 30 hectares of 5 persons, and those of over 30 hectares, of 6 persons and over. Consequently there are 1,214,766 persons too many on the land, and it is indispensable to transform agricultural methods to absorb profitably their labour. This could be done by developing orchard and vegetable growing, dairy farming, cattle raising, as well as by the cultivation of industrial and oleaginous plants. Prof. Tsolakov's figures are in no way biassed; deputy Dr. Assen Tsanov, affirmed in the Sobranye on May 18 1933, that farmsteads having an area of 5 hectares and under, could not support their owners, that there was a shortage of land, and that this forced the rural population to migrate to the towns where likewise no work could be found for it. In another speech, on March 8 1932, he explained that farmers owning 2 to 6 hectares could barely eke out a living and that they were utterly unable to pay their debts. Farmers and the Agrarian party have been most vociferous in stressing the necessity of bringing down the level of prices of industrial articles to that of the agricultural, for with the fall in price of the latter, the rural population had been precluded from buying even the most indispensable articles for lack of means. A most informative article in the guise of an open letter addressed by a farmer in south-west Bulgaria to the editor of the *Vetser* was published by the latter newspaper on Oct. I, 1933. The farmer after complaining that peasants had to exchange 2 kg. of grain for a box of matches, 4 kg. of grain for a kg. of salt, 40 kg. of grain for a pair of primitive boots, and that after satisfying

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their most essential needs there remained nothing over for the payment of taxes and interest on debts, he proceeded to give a detailed list of the expenditure and revenue of his farm, which had an area of 10 hectares and which he had bought for 200,000 leva in 1927. He had further acquired 2 oxen for 10,000 leva, 1 cow for 6,000 leva, 20 sheep for 10,000 leva, implements for 50,000 leva and had erected a cottage for 5000 leva, bringing up the total amount invested on the farm to 241,000 leva.

Revenue: 4 hectares sown to wheat=600 kg wheat	at 1.50 leva	=9000 leva
1/2 " " " barley=500 "	barley at 1 "	= 600 "
[1] 20 sheep, 600 litres milk	at 3 "	=1800 "
1 cow 600 " "	at 2 "	=1200 "
1/10 hectare planted with potatoes=300 kg	at 1 "	= 300 "
1/10 " " " vegetables		= 300 "
3/10 " sown " sunflower & beet		=1800 "
1 " " hay		=1500 "
(4 hectares lying fallow)		
Net revenue		16,800 "
Expenditure. Food for family of 5, 1825 kg of grain	at 1.50 leva	=2738 leva
Corn seed for 4 hectares 1000 kg. " " "		=1500 "
Threshing 6000 kg wheat		= 900 "
" 6000 " barley		= 60 "
Milling wheat for food		= 436 "
Clothing & boots		= 800 "
Light		= 400 "
Salt, sugar rice & wine		= 500 "
Soap, brushes etc.		= 200 "
Repairs to buildings & instruments		=1200 "
Medical assistance		= 200 "
School fees & extras		= 500 "
Fodder for oxen and cow, 1080 kg. of grain	at 1.50 leva	=1620 "
" " 20 sheep 3240 kg. of hay	at 1 leva	=3240 "
Insurance against hail		= 720 "
Total disbursements		=17,514 "

[1] The wool from the sheep was not accounted for as it probably served for making homespun cloth for the farmer and his family. It would have amounted to 46 kg at 40 leva =1840 leva The quantity would hardly suffice a household of five.

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Thus even a farmstead of 10 hectares, according to the above figures showed a deficiency, though it was exploited by its owner and family without any hired labour. And it must be noted that in the above figures no allowance is made either for payment of taxes, debts depreciation or remuneration for labour, and that further, the yield per hectare of wheat is calculated at well over the mean figure attained, this being 1157 kg. per hectare and not 1500 kg. as on this particular farm. No wonder that the land tax fell in arrears, and only yielded a fraction of the 350 million of revenue, which was the annual forecast in the budget. Thus in 1926—7 the yield from it was 187,755,000 leva, in 1927—8, 150 millions, in 1928—9, 32 millions, in 1930—1, 83 millions, until it was finally suppressed in 1932.

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The inability of the smaller farmers to provide for their own maintenance was concretely affirmed by Prof. Dolinski, in one of his works published in 1931, when he also asserted that 38·40% of the farmers were only slightly affected by the drop in the prices of cereals. The following figures were given in support, as well as a table showing the distribution of the arable land among farmsteads cultivating cereals. The average monthly consumption of cereals was stated to be 20 kg. per person in the urban districts, and 30 kg. in rural areas. The average farmstead had 5·351 members, and its annual requirements in cereals was 2015·165 kg. The production of cereals per hectare during the quinquennial period 1925—9, averaged 1009 kg. If 153 kg. for seed per hectare were deducted, this left 856 kd., a quantity which was raised from 2.354 hectares. Therefore farmsteads of $2^1/_2$ to 3 hectares, produced just enough grain for their owners, and had no surplus wherewith to pay taxes and renovate their implements.

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BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

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Categories aud numbers of farmsteads		Area owned Hectares	Area devoted solely to cereals. Hectares	Percentage
Self-sufficing in cereals	41,297	1,125,443·7	818,798 9	3·64
Buying cereals	236,047	3,050,087·6	2,259,841·1	9·76
Having a surplus of cereals	439,235	28,845,318·9	20,064,752·3	86.70

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What has so far been advanced is, it is to be hoped, enough to show that on one hand the lesser farmsteads are scarcely self-supporting and that on the other hand the larger farms, owing to the fall in the price of cereals, are unable to meet their liabililies. If 80% of the population is therefore in such a state of indigence and unable to pay any taxes, one can easily surmise in what poverty the whole nation must be struggling since its entire economic structure is based on agriculture, which has ever been its mainstay. This most regrettable state of affairs is largely due to those who drafted the Peace Treaties. Obviously, it was nothing short of a crime to deprive Bulgaria of such land as was indispensable for her population, and which had been in her possession, or was mainly inhabited by a Bulgarian population, and transfer it to her neighbours, all of whom had received vast increases in territory, and [illegible] no need of further land. This wilful pauperisatio[illegible] a people which was not only despoiled of its most fertile provinces, but obliged to house and feed some 400,000 destitute refugees, driven away from the territories so thoughtlessly transferred to the neighbouring States, is undoubtedly one of the causes which led the American people to wash its hands off European affairs in disgust, and this may be easily understood, for the American delegation at the Peace Conference in its desire to secure a just and enduring settlement, most sturdily upheld the cause of Bulgaria. Nor can the politicians responsible for these obtuse arrangements of the Peace Treaties plead in extenuation that they were actuated in their drafting by the biblical

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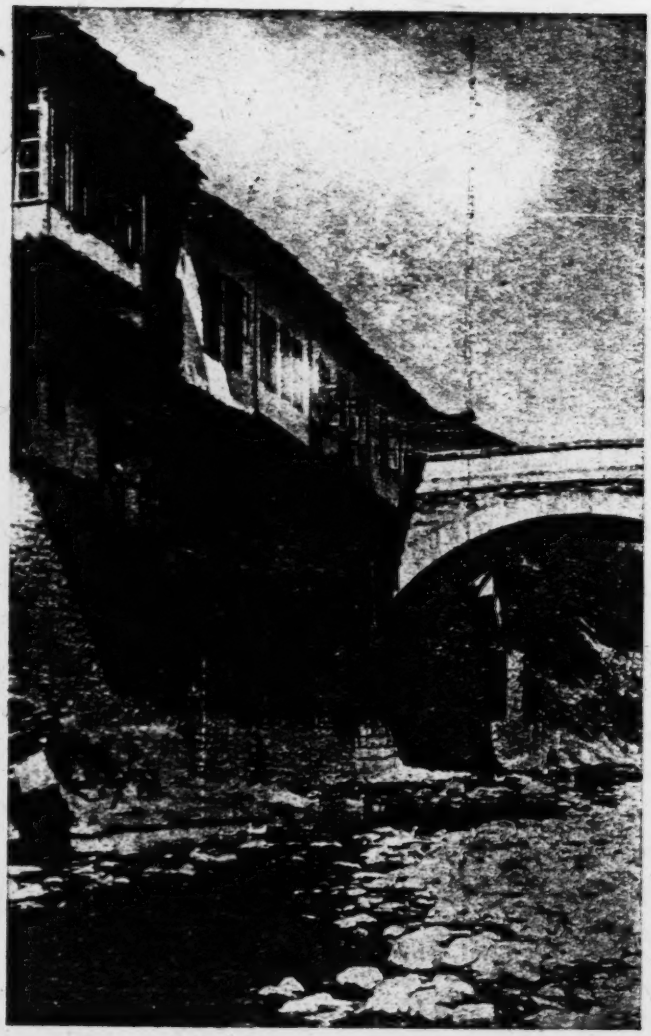

TROYAN

[facing p. 193]

000 precept of "Unto him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath", which, as far as Bulgaria is concerned, they applied in the letter, for Chistian considerations seldom sway them. The present writer well remembers Prof. H. Laski, affirming some fourteen years ago at the London School of Economics, that a certain Cabinet Minister had confided to him, that for ten years he had never heard a Christian thought expressed at the deliberations of the Cabinet! (Obviously not a Labour one).

241 311 Though amputated of her richest cornland, the Dobrudja, which represented 12% of the total cultivated surface of Bulgaria, and accounted for over 20% of her grain exports, as well as of western Thrace, which produced the finest brands of Oriental tobacco, the peasantry reacted, as any vigorous organism would do, and, sought by superhuman efforts to adapt itself as best as it could to its new restrained conditions It brought into cultivation hilly and less fertile land, and converted into tilled fields crazing land and forest, so that the surface devoted to cereal cultivation which averaged 2,460,447 hectares during the quinquennial period 1908—12, increased to 2,640,003 hectares in 1933. Owing however, to the increase in 241 population, the per capita production of cereals substantially diminished, and consequently the surplus available for export decreased from 609,169 tons in 1914, to some 120,000 tons for the season 1933—4, and even this result was achieved by underfeeding the cattle, which deprived of pasturages, mostly converted into cornfields had to

[1] Of the total area of Bulgaria, 6,157,000 hectares, was considered as unfit for tillage, the remaining 4,157,620 hectares, was arable land which was utilised as follows in 1933:

Tilled fields	3,220,013	hectares
Fields lying fallow . .	402,920	"
Vineyards & orchards	125,699	"
Natural prairies . . .	307.766	"

241 subsist on short rations, being fed on 4800 million kg. of fodder, instead of 12,000 million kg., which quantity is said to represent its normal requirements. The inability to keep up her position as a grain exporting country, constrained Bulgaria likewise to undertake the transformation of her agriculture and to give an impetus to fruit growing and the cultivation of industrial and oleaginous plants. These latter kinds were cultivated during the period 1908/12, in the mean, on an area of 25,759h. a year, while by 1933.[1] This had increased to 154,000 hectares, which were apportioned among the following plants:

	Area in thousand of hectares		Yield in thousand of quintals	
	1933	1934	1933	1934
Rape seed	0.6	16.085	7.543	10.7
Sunflower seed	81	105.123	929.832	980.
Tobacco	23	19.869	175.140	149.1
Cotton { Seed	20	38	89.607	89.923
Cotton { staple				
Hemp { seed	5 3	5 668	38.940	50.923
Hemp { fitaments			18.291	23.2
Sugar beet	11		22.938 1856	31.5
Various	13		58	

In the latter figure of 58,000 quintals are included 42,296 quintals of sesame (1934: 27,214) 7,309 quintals of aniseed (1934: 14,178) Flax: 2,798 quintals seed and 864 filaments (1934: 8,556 seed and 5,76 6filaments). Opium poppy seed 1,993 quintals (1934: 3,693). Pea nuts 2,862 quintals (1934: 8,514) and a quantity of soya beans, with which 15,500 248 hectares have been sown in 1935. Cotton seems to be the most promising among the industrial plants, and it is hoped that eventually sufficient will be grown to provide all the

[1] For 1935 the area devoted to them has been increased to 241,777 hectares while the area sown to cereals had decreased to 2,419,377.

cotton needed for local consumption and for the spinning of yarns up to № 24 counts. In 1932, 3,756 tons of raw cotton was imported, plus 6,355 tons of yarn up to 24 s. It is reckoned that the annual requirements in cotton and cotton yarn amount to 12,000 tons and that in a couple of years it will be possible to devote some 60,000 hectares to cotton growing in order that Bulgaria might dispense with the importation of cotton, cotton yarns up to 24s and most cotton textiles as are made from such yarns. It is believed that by a rational utilisation of the existing 82,514 spindles and 3,218 cotton weaving looms, no new machinery will be required. The cotton grown in Bulgaria is a short staple variety of an average length of staple of 21 millimetres and 0.0218 millimetres in thickness and in this it resembles Indian cotton. The yield per hectare is 200 to 220 kg. which also corresponds to the mean Indian yield of 86 lbs to the acre. It is a much more remunerative crop than cereals for the government fixed a buying price of 30 to 34 leva[1] per kg, which allows for a return to the farmer of 200 kg × 30 leva = 6000 leva, plus 400 kg. of cotton seed × 2 leva = 800 leva, or a total of 6,800 leva per hectare, from which some 700 leva should be deducted for the cost of ginning and 50 kg for seed × 2 leva = 100 leva, leaving a revenue of 6,000 leva per hectare, which on an average is three times as much as that from most cereal crops[2]. The cultivation of cotton however, can only be carried out in certain regions, mainly in south Bulgaria, and entails more labour than cereal

[1] The price of foreign cotton at about 6 per lb. if imported in Bulgaria would correspond to 36–38 leva a kg. for its cost would have been increased by 50% to 55% owing to the premium which would have to be paid on foreign currency and other expenses.

[2] The gross revenue per hectare of the various plants, based on the prices prevailing during 1932 was calculated to be: wheat: 2561 leva, maize: 1629 sunflower seed: 2096, Cotton: 5147, Flax: 8552, Hemp: 4355, Sugar beet: 10,066.

248 cultivation, but the peasant does not grudge this extra work, for the smallholder has plenty of time at his disposal. Prof. Dolinski in fact showed that small farms up to 1. 9 hectares absorb only 61.4 working days of a man, and 28.3 of a woman, and farms of 2 to 9.9 hectares require the labour of a man for 213.1 days and that of a woman for 86.2 days, so that the farmer is usually glad to find extra occupation when this is likely to bring some recompense.

248 The other, textile plants grown in Bulgaria are flax
288 and hemp. Of the latter as much as 2,320,000 kg of filaments were produced in 1934 and it is hoped that even a larger quantity could be locally utilised, if, as is contemplated, hemp were used in place of the 1,200,000 kg of jute yarns and fabrics which are imported. It is affirmed that there are 3367 spindles and 459 looms which could be adapted to the manufacture of textiles from hemp and that they would suffice for this purpose. Over a million kg. of hemp is used annually for the manufacture of cordage and string, and a smaller quantity for hand-woven fabrics. It was stated that there is a surplus of about one million kg of hemp left over from the 1934 crop, and that the production for 1935 will be curtailed. The cost of hemp is reported to be 17 leva per kg and the yield 800 kg and over of filaments and seed per h.

249 The oleaginous plants cultivaled are rape seed, ma-
258 inly exported, and sun flower seed, which is absorbed locally for the production of comestible oil, which has now completely replaced the oils hitherto imported. The oil obtained from sun flower seed il also utilised for industrial purposes and the residue, in the form of seed oil cakes is exported as cattle food. In 1933 of the total crop only 10,768,175 kg., or about 10% was exported, the balance having been bought up by the local oil-crushing mills, while the quantity of seed oil cake exported rea-

ched 25,411,022 kg. valued at 45 million leva. Experiments have also been made with another oleaginous plant, the *Ricinus Communis*, from which castor oil is extracted, with excellent results, a yield of 1500 kg. of seed of superior quality having been obtained per hectare sown. 249 258

Tobacco has come to replace cereals in importance as an article of export. In 1934 it represented 40% of the total exports, and the quantity marketed abroad was valued at 982 million leva. In 1933, 22,531,439 kg. of a value of 1,174,511,061 leva were export. In 1934 the respective figures were 20,830,000 and 982,000,000. Prices have been very much affected by the prevailing crisis, as may be inferred by comparing the above with the figures for 1932, when 22,452,752 kg. were exported, but were priced at 2,654,238,438 leva. It was after the war that tobacco cultivation was particularly fostered, the quantity exported rising from 7,355,448 kg. in 1919 to the record figure of 33,647,241 kg. in 1925. After this date both Greece and Turkey reappeared on the world market as producers of Oriental tobacco and the proportion of Bulgarian tobacco sold abroad fell off, though on the whole it maintained its position in Germany, which buys steadily about half of the amount exported, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia etc., where its qualities have been thoroughly appreciaded. It would appear that the average quantity of nicotine found in it varies from 0·5% to 1%, when according to Kissling, the contents in nicotine of Virginia tobacco are 4·3% to 4·8%, of Kentucky 4·5%, of Sumatra 4·1% and Samsoun (Turkey) 2·5%. German chemists have characterised Bulgarian tobacco as poor in nicotine and have approved the manifacture of cigarettes made from it which are designed as containing the "minimum of nicotine". Tobacco forms one of the chief items of revenue to the State, some 650 million leva being annually derived from the tobacco monopoly. The State also raises a tax of 1 249 439 249 651

249 651 to 2 leva per kg. of tobacco exported, while the amount of wages disbursed for the manipulation of tobacco was reckoned to reach an annual average of 559 million leva during the period 1919—1931, the number of workmen engaged in the manipulation of tobacco being 86,000. This however is a seasonable occupation and less than 20,000 workpeople are permanently engaged. The number of farmsteads mainly cultivating tobacco is reckoned at 127,000.

249 In contrast with tobacco, which now forms the staple product of Bulgarian agriculture, and the main source of revenue, the cultivation of sugar-beet, in which some 100,000 formsteads are mainly engaged, has caused, and is causing an important loss to the State. In Great Britain also the subsidising of the sugar industry has led to lively debates, and Sir Herbert Samuel, as recently as Feb. 5, 1935 appealed in the House of Commons that „this colossal, wasteful and scandalous expenditure should be brought to a speedy end". In a world suffering from a collective attack of aberration, all its members more or less, show the same symptoms. It is not surprising therefore that even the levelheaded Bulgarians, endowed with no little common sense, should not have managed to keep themselves exempt from the universal malady.

257 Under the protection of a high import duty, amounting actually to 11 leva per kg., five sugar refineries were established in Bulgaria at a cost of 1,347,226,037 leva. Their united capacity of production is annually 63 million kg, but consumption a few years ago was only half this figure, and owing to the steadily diminishing buying power of the population, this has decreased to 21.6 million kg. in 1933, for the State imposes sugar also with excise, and a communal tax and the sale price of sugar is as 26 leva per kg., while the price of sugar on the world market is under 5/-per cwt, or 2 leva per kg. It was af-

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firmed by a deputy in the Sobranye on March 25 1932 that the five refineries which had formed a syndicate in order to keep up prices were making an annual profit of 320 million leva, another deputy, M. P. Denev, had asserted on Dec. 12 1931 that this attained 270 millions. That the profits made were inordinately high may be proved by the fact that the shareholders of the one at Gorna Orehovitsa received a dividend of 25% in 1926, and of 50% in 1927, on their invested capital. (These details were published in the bulletin of the Prague Credit Bank which holds most of these shares).

It may be easily seen that this large profit realised by these five sugar refineries could have been secured instead by the State if it imported sugar from abroad and proceeded to sell it at the prevailing price, and that the profit it would have realised would have been enough to permit the State to pay to the farmers for the whole production of beet necessary to manufacture 30 million kg. of sugar, without their engaging in its cultivation. (Namely 200 million kg. ot beet at the rate of 600 leva per ton.) The profit derived by the State would also suffice to defray the whole wage bill of the workmen employed in the industry, namely about 40 million leva annually, as their number does not exceed 2000, and it would also be possible to provide out of it for a bonus of 10% on the capital invested in the factories. and yet leave a substantial balance. Protectionists would argue that such a policy would necessarily tend to increase imports, and create an adverse balance of payments to the extent of 60 million leva (30 million kg of sugar × 2 leva), but as matters stand, the capital invested in the sugar refineries being foreign, the profit the factories realise is remitted abroad, and as this exceeds very substantially the cost of the sugar which would have been imported, the country's balance of payments is adversely affected to a greater

257 extent than it would have been by the importation of sugar. The financial experts of the League of Nations, who are supposed to watch over the economic welfare of Bulgaria might well have intervened on this question and relieved her of a burden equal to that of the reparations imposed on her, but as foreign interests are involved which have powerful backers among international financiers, nothing was ever mentioned about this dissipation of public money except occasionally by some deputies in the Sobranye. The existence of the industry is an incubus to the country, for not only does it cause a yearly loss of over a quarter of a milliard leva, but owing to the high cost of sugar it has militated against the creation of a fruit-canning and jam industry. There is not the slightest doubt that if sugar were procurable at the price ruling on the world market Bulgarian fruit, such as apricots, peaches, plums, pears, cherries, strawberries, raspberries etc, which are as luscious and delectable as those grown in California, could be preserved and a large export industry built up. Under the prevailing system this is impossible, and only prunes, and strawberries in pulp, are exported, the former to Germany, and the latter to England, where they are converted into jam. It would be a sensible plan to reduce the protective duty by 75%; even then, the factories would be sufficiently protected against foreign sugar, all the more so, since the price of beet has been recently reduced from 600 to 400 leva per ton. The margin of profit would still remain more than adequate, and would be increased by an expansion in consumption which would inevitably result by lowering the price of this essential commodity. This is certainly capable of being trebled, which would then permit the factories to work full time, and produce more economically for the consumption of sugar has fallen as low as 3½ kg. per head per annum, compared with 40.6 kg. in Great Britain

and 23·8 kg. in France. which constitutes yet another sure sign ot the pauperisation of Bulgaria, since in Greece and Yugoslavia the consumption of sugar is about three times as high as in Bulgaria. Another article which during recent years has achieved a record success, is the cultivation and export of dessert grapes which as to value are now classed third in the list of Bulgarian exports. Owing to the careful sorting and packing to which the grapes were subjected by government controllers and to their perfection they have been able to secure an easy preeminence on the Central European markets, and even in England.

The variety chiefly exported resembles somewhat in appearance the Spanish grapes of Almeria, but is less sweet in taste, has a thinner skin, and the bunches are larger. The just appreciation which these grapes have achieved in Central Europe may be gauged by the rapid increase of the quantity exported, which from a mere 52 kg. in 1925, reached 21,223,030 kg. or 3740 truck loads of a value of 140 million leva in 1934. In 1932 some 92,094 hectares were devoted to viticulture, of which about 10% were table or dessert varieties, the remaining being chiefly cultivated for the production of wine, of which 142 million litres were produced in the same year[1]. Recently several co-operative societies have installed modern wine presses and cellars, and are now producing wines according to the latest technique several standardised types of wine having been put on the market which are not below the average grades of those produced in France and Spain, even a variety of champagne wine being on sale. Hopes are entertained that eventually a market for wine will be found abroad, as local requirements are much below production The con-

[1] The production of grapes is computed at 400 million kg. of which 120 millions are consumed locally, about 20 millions are exported, and some 260 millions used for wine. In 1935 the quantity exported is expected to be as much as 30 million kg.

274 sumption of wine is about 23 litres per capita yearly, as against 153 in France and 101 in Italy. Owners of vineyards were complaining that they could not meet their expenses as grapes grown for wine were a drug on the market. It was stated in the Sobranye on Dec. 8. 1931 that while revenue from vineyards was 600 millions, expenditure on them was 720 million leva, while the capital they represented was 13,000 million.

245 [242] [439] Concurrently with the vine, orchard planting has received a great impetus, the State having established 39 nurseries and experimental stations from which young fruit trees are supplied to farmers at a nominal price. Apples and plums are being exported in increasing quantities, as well as walnuts, of which 2083 tons were exported in 1934. The area occupied by orchards was stated to be 19,420 hectares in 1932, of which 12,030 hectares were planted with plum trees, 919 with apple trees, 122 with pear trees and 6,349 were described as mixed orchards.

247 303 [439] Bulgaria is renowned for its attar of roses; unfortunately the world crisis has affected to a great extent this industry, and the area planted with rose bushes (6800 hectares in 1931) is consequently being reduced since the export of this product has declined from 3,157 kg. valued at 240 million leva in 1928, to 1218 kg. valued at 36 millions in 1934. Consequently a surplus stock of some 3000 kg. has accumulated and this has affected prices, which from 80,000 leva per kg. in 1932, have declined since to about a third of that figure One of the reasons of this falling off in the quantity exported, is the relative high cost of the attar of roses, due most likely to the unduly large amount of capital invested in the distilleries, the capacity of which is disproportionately great to the roses available for distillation, and which moreover work for only one month in the year. In fact, the 32 distilleries which were operating in 1931 were stated to have cost

145 million leva, of which 64 millions were represented by machinery and buildings while their output for the year was given as 1,773 kg. of attar of roses, estimated at 43,876,966 leva. It would be well if the cultivation of other aromatic plants were fostered in the valley of roses, in order that the existing distilleries could be more rationally utilised. M. Gheorghiev, the capable director of the Kazanlik State experimental station assured the writer that about forty such plants had been experimentally grown for a number of years and had given excellent results, among the most easily acclimatized were the *mentha piperita*, the hyssop, lavender, verbena and especially the pyrethrum, from which, as it is known, insecticides are manufactured. This certainly confirms a very witty remark made by the well known economist, T. At. Yaranov, namely, that every plant and animal which had been brought over from its native habitat into Bulgaria had thrived better, and improved by the change, he was sceptical however as to whether this generalisation held good for the genus „homo sapiens" about which he would not confidently assert that those of its members who had come over from the banks of the Volga, were as good as those who had remained behind!

A branch of agriculture in which Bulgarians excel is market gardening. Not only vegetables grown in Bulgaria are equal, if not superior to those grown in France and Italy, but Bulgarian gardeners have for years emigrated to adjoining countries, as well as to Russia before the revolution, and undertaken in these countries the growing of vegetables on a large scale, as the following excerpt from the Czechoslovak nerspaper, the *Prajka Zadgradnitska Boursa—Slovo* of May 14, 1932 testifies:

The Bulgarians have done us this great service that they taught us how to grow vegetables on our own soil. What our vegetable specialists were unable to

244 accomplish was done by Bulgarian gardeners. Ten years
167 ago no one among us knew that it was possible to produce tomatoes, peppers and other vegetables in our land. To-day, however, this is a fact, thanks to the ingenuity of the Bulgarians"

Of fresh vegetables 55 truck loads were exported in
244 1933 to Central Europe, and of these the most appreciated
439 were the tomatoes grown in south Bulgaria, which many experts affirm to surpass in quality even those of Italy. During the summer of 1935 some 2750 tons of fresh
[255] tomatoes were exported to Central Europe. No serious efforts have been made to develop the export of tinned vegetables, though in price they are 50% cheaper than similar ones sold in France, and in every respect as good. Lack of capital, and of commercial connections abroad have prevented the few canning factories to launch in a forward policy which necessarily involves risks and losses at the start. The only leguminous plant which has been exported on a large scale was haricot beans, of which Bulgaria was always a large exporter, the high quality of this product having secured for her a certain preeminence among Near Eastern countries The area devoted to this crop was 73,162 hectares and the yield 74,677,000 kg. in 1933 of which 32,568 tons were exported. The area planted with pulse, vegetables, potatoes and that set aside for market gardening was estimated respectively at 95,000, 13,500, 14,000, and 38,000 hectares in 1932.

241 A great impediment to the steady development of
312 agriculture in Bulgaria is the periodic drought which completely undermines the economic position of the small holders, which even without this scourge, is never too bright. The mean annual rainfall for the period 1920—1930 was 578·2 litres per square metre, but this unfortunately is not evenly apportioned, the mountainous western and south western parts of the country having a much hea-

vier rainfall than the eastern part, in which the rainfall is often deficient. For this reason schemes for storing up rain water which is carried off too rapidly by the rivers without benefitting sufficiently agriculture have always engaged the attention of Bulgarian agriculturists and engineers. One of the latter, M. I. I. Mavrov prepared a comprehensive survey which was published at the expense of the government, in which full details are given as to the possibilities of regulating the water supply. 250,000 hectares could be brought under irrigation in the bassin of the Martsa, 150,000 hectares in the region of Stara Zagora, Sliven and Yambol, 100,000 hectares in the neighbourhood of Kustendil, Radomir and Dubnitsa, and smaller areas in the valleys near Zlatitsa. Kazanlik, Gorna-Orehovitsa, as well as a large part of the Danubian plain By constructing dams and correcting the channels of the Maritsa, Tundja, Isker and Yantra rivers. these could be rendered navigable for a part of their courses, and hydraulic energy of about 2,300,000 H. P. could be rendered available, which could be utilised for the production of calcium carbide, aluminium, (bauxite is found in the Rhodopes) nitrates and the delopment of a wood-pulp industry. Since the publication of this work, the subject of irrigation has often been discussed, and less ambitious plans have been put forward. In 1926, the American Yulen Co., offered to construct a dam on one of the affluents of the Maritsa at a cost of 1200 million leva which would have provided enough water to irrigate 130,000 hectares, but negotiations fell through. Actually the possibility of irrigating some 21,000 hectares by constructing two dams to store up the waters of the Mutavir and Luda-Yana, two small tributaries of the Maritsa, is being closely studied, and as this undertaking would only cost about 250 million leva it is possible that it might materialise, for it is reckoned that the yield of irrigated land increases three

241 fold, and its market value fourfold which would render the
312 execution of this plan profitable. In south Bulgaria two crops instead of one could be grown annually on irrigated land which moreover would be safeguarded against drought The Ministry of public works also contemplates the harnessing of the river Ossem in north Bulgaria. that some 42,000 hectares may be irrigated in the region of Lovets. This scheme would render available hydraulic energy to the amount of 38,000 H. P. which could be utilised for pumping water from the Danube and in order to water certain parts of the Danubian plain. A smaller scheme, that of bringing about 6000 hectares under irrigation near Nevrokop, in south western Bulgaria, by utilising the river Mesta is also receiving attention and will be carried out in the near future. From a close study of the data collected, it would appear that the irrigation of south Bulgaria is quite feasible and economically sound. The difficulty which stands in the way is the remuneration of the capital invested in the undertaking which could be secured under the present circumstances only by payment in kind, a consideration which is likely to discourage would-be promoters.

312 Concerning irrigation and water-adduction plans, it would be pertinent to mention the efforts which have been made to supply the waterless area of the Deli Orman in north-eastern Bulgaria with a supply of water. In this area of some 600 square klm. wholly devoid of springs and rivers, a network of water mains has been recently laid in order to supply some 569 villages with water, a considerable achievement in view of the financial stress in which the country finds itself. A similar noteworthy work was the adduction of water from the Rila mountains to Sofia, a distance of 82 klm. at a cost of 740 million leva completed in 1933; the difference of altitude being utilised to generate electric energy of 15,000 H. P.

231 Cattle raising and aviculture are fairly well developed, eggs figuring after tobacco as the second item on the list

of exports as regards value. According to the census of 1926, the livestock population was composed as follows: 231

		Per 1000 hectares	Per 1000 habitants
Horses.	482,180	46,75	87·94
Asses & mules .	212,371	20·59	38·74
Horned cattle. .	2,265,657	219·65	413·20
Sheep	8,739,769	847·32	1,593·94
Goats	1,260,647	122·22	229·91
Pigs	1,002,089	97·14	182·76
Farm birds. . .	10,117,874	980,94	1,945·28

The large number of sheep are mainly kept for their wool; the consumption of which amounts to 2.3 kg. per head annually, owing to the fact that the peasantry spin and weave their own clothing from this wool. The local supply does not suffice and about 2 million kg. of foreign wool and 300,000 kg. of woollen yarn are annually imported. Successful attempts have been made to cross the local breed of ewes with Hungarian rams and it is said that the weight of the fleeces of the cross-bred sheep weigh one to two kg more than the average weight of 2.3 kg. of the native sheep, and that the quality of the wool is superior, fetching 20 to 30 leva per kg. more than that of the local breed. In 1934 the amount of wool produced reached 11,892,421 kg. 236

The value of the above head of cattle was estimated at 10,000 to 12,000 million leva at the end of 1934 and the annual income derived was computed at 5,800 million leva, this last figure being made up of the following items: 231

Milk . . .	600	million litres	at 4 leva	=	2,400,000,000	leva
Meat. . .	220	» kg.	» 10 »	=	2,200,000,000	»
Wool . .	10·5	» »	» 40 »	=	420,000,000	»
Hides . .	20	» »	» 20 »	=	400,000,000	»
Eggs . .	508	»	at 0·80 leva each	=	400,000,000	»

The value of the livestock can not he assessed merely by the income which is directly derived from it as it

231 is also employed almost exclusively for ploughing and as draught animals, their manure being also used to fertitise the fields.

235 439 The export of eggs has been steadily diminishing owing to the poverty of the peasantry who can not provide for the proper feeding of ther farm birds, exports of poultry, however, have maintained themselves as may be seen from the following figures:

	1932		1933		1934	
	Quantity kg.	Value in million leva	Quantity kg.	Value in million leva	Quantity kg.	Value in million leva
Eggs. . . .	18 804,000	624	15,670,000	457	14,534,000	341
Live poultry	1,103,0[illegible]7	47	1,089,766	34	1,040,146	34
Poultry in cold storage	1,831,000	73	1,640,030	48	2,689,116	80

231 439 The export of cattle is very limited, only 2067 horned cattle and 3700 sheep, valued respectivery at 10 and 3·7 million leva having been exported in 1932. Efforts are actually being made to export bacon to England, and the few trial consignments sent are reported to have been successfully marketed. Certain varieties of cheese much appreciated in the Near East continue to be exported to that part of the world to the extent of 1,202 tons, worth 35 million leva in 1934.

246 The scarcity of fodder militates against a rational development of the cattle raising and dairy industries. The government is making strenuous efforts to increase the area of artificial prairies (32,000 hectares in 1934) and foster the cultivation of clover etc, but so far little headway has been made owing to the shortage of land. The annual supply of fodder is computed at 4800 million kg., when as much as 12,000 millions are necessary. In 1932 592,000 hectares were planted with hay and grass as against 649,000 hectares in 1934, of which 281,000 hectares were described as natural prairies. The most easy solution of

the problem is the utilisation of the fields lying fallow by sowing them with clover and similar plants, and this is being increasingly done, thus in 1932 the total arable land lying fallow had decreased to 434,000 hectares from 665,000 in 1910. 246

Sericulture too was once another promising branch of agriculture, as may be gauged by the fact that as many as 4600 hectares were planted with mulberry trees (1932) on the leaves of which the silkworms are fed. Unfortunately the decline in prices has discouraged production. In 1935 1,456,924 kg. of silk cocoons were produced all of which were bought up by the local silk weaving workshops. In order to protect the industry, a tax of 600 leva per kg. is levied on artificial silk produced in Bulgaria. 231

Apiculture is another side line in which farmers take a live interest. There are as many as 257,672 beehives in the country, the production of honey having attained in 1933 2,392,000 kg. and that of wax 114,399.

However persevering and laudable may be the efforts of the Bulgarian people to extricate themselves from their difficult position, these can only be crowned with success if markets can be found for their produce. France and Italy, despite their efforts to solve the difficulties facing the Danubian States can do little to assist them, for from the agricultural point of view both these States are practically self-sufficing, and they even antagonise Bulgaria as purveyors of fruit, poultry and eggs in the markets of Central Europe. England and Germany alone can help. The former country sells three to four times as much as she buys from Bulgaria, and it would not only be a matter of fairness, but even of foresight if she allowed a broader access to her markets to Bulgarian produce, if the Bulgarian market is not to be definitely lost to British manufacturers. Germany on the other hand is in the throes of an ever- 439

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

439 deepening economic crisis, and though she remains the best purveyor and client of Bulgaria, such commerce as is carried on is mainly in the form of barter and is yearly becoming more difficult. So long as England seems disinclined to lend a helping hand to Bulgaria and the other Danubian countries in order to facilitate the marketing of their produce on the British market, the only alternative which would bring relief to these hard-pressed communities, is the restoration of prosperity to Germany, which alone seems capable and willing to interchange its products with those of the Danubian countries, for the mutual advantage of all the parties concerned. As prosperity seems to have taken leave of Germany, and England shows little desire to assume the role of a good European, prospects for recovery in Bulgaria and the neighbouring countries can not be said to be bright.

COMMUNICATIONS

Railways

496 655 The Bulgarian State railway system at the end of 1933 consisted of 2,800 klm. of single track normal gauge railway lines, including the section Plovdiv-Panagurishte, 70·88 klm. in length opened to traffic in December 1933, 162 klm. of narrow 76 cm. gauge, and 250 klm. of 60 cm. gauge. According to a statistical report issued during the financial year 1932-3, the capital invested in the railway system amounted to 13,514,847,000 leva (or, 450,494,900 gold francs) and was made up of the following items:

Railway lines (all gauges)	3,085 klm.	value 350,375,520 gold francs
Locomotives	597	" 100,119,380 "
Passenger cars	621	
Tenders	205	
Postal cars	43	
Goods trucks	10,901	

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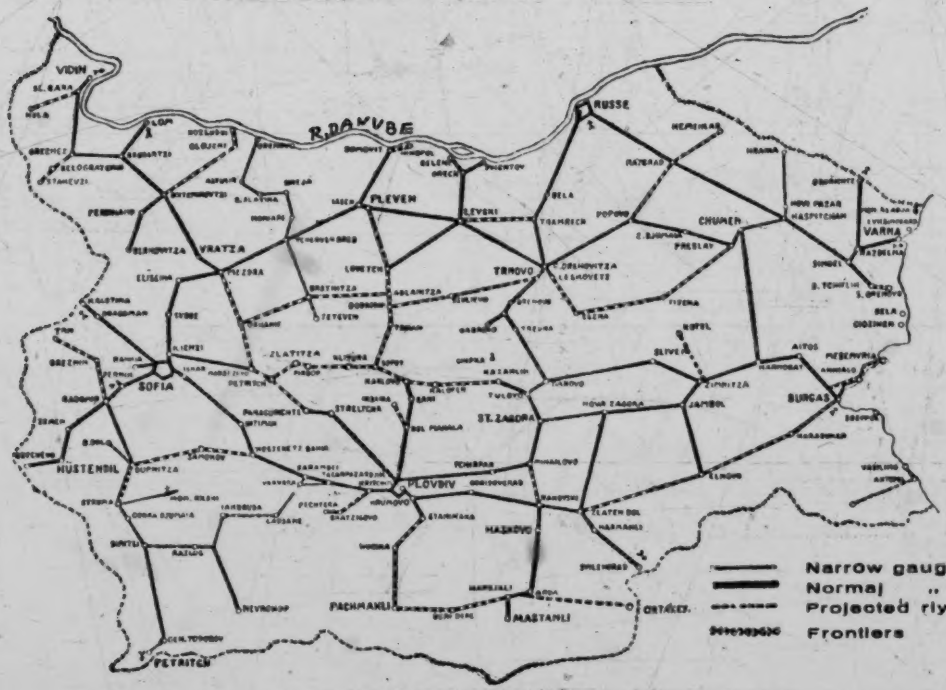
THE BULGARIAN RAILWAY SYSTEM



BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

497

Year	Normal Gauge Milage	Train klm. per year	Receipts in leva from: Passengers	Parcels and baggages	Goods	Various
1929—30	2438	9,893,375	450,710,177	29,269,236	784,330,428	1,186,024
1930 - 31	2582	10,018,327	404,119,328	16,127,156	751,281,848	5,874,70[illegible]
1931—32	2656	10,366,382	387,282,126	12,129,671	728,877,237	21,241,717
1932—33	2664	10,426,764	372,950,000	10,240,000	750,903,000	9,717,000

Year	Expenditure in leva: Salaries	Various	Excess of receipts over expenditure in leva
1929—30	421,515,136	473,459,617	370,221,112
1930—31	512,574,702	544,330,600	124,489,737
1931—32	510,000,000	450,000,000	189,510,651
1932—33	530,000,000	435,000,000	168,000,000

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Of all East European States, Albania excepted, Bulgaria has the smallest milage of all, 2·2 klm. of railway track per 100 sq. klm. of territory. The ratio being 2·5 for Greece, 3·7 for Yugoslavia, 4 for Rumania, while the proportion for Austria, Hungary and Switzerland, are respectively 8, 10·2, and 14. In spite of this evident inferiority, construction since 1918 has been very restricted, averaging a bare 44·3 klm. a year, owing to the depressed State of the country's finances. The railway administration is an autonomous institution and since 1929 has had its own distinct budget. The railway department had the great advantage of having for a number of years a most energetic, progressive and honourable engineer at its head, M. Morfov, who was subsequently nominated to the post of Bulgarian Minister in Paris, it also had in recent years the good fortune to possess as titulary chiefs, in the person of the Ministry of Railways, such active and honest men as MM. Kimon Gheorghiev and Stoyan Kosturkov, all of whom did their best to avoid the mistakes committed by their predecessors, a few examples of which are narrated further on. 496 655

The table on page 212 will give an idea of the intensity ot the traffic and of the rentability of the system during the last few years. 497

The intensity of the traffic in comparison with Western European countries is very light, as may be seen by comparing the relative data for the year 1931 relative to Belgium and Bulgaria:

	Average milage	Number of passengers carried	Passengers per klm.	Goods carried	Tons per klm.
Belgium .	4800 klm.	221,303,000	1,209,000	79,535,000	1,433,000
Bulgaria .	2600 klm.	7,680,000	204,000	3,480,000	250,000

From the above table it will be seen that the traffic in Belgium is on an average 6 times as intense as in

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

497 Bulgaria, the capital outlay however in Belgium per klm. of railway is about 15 million leva, while in Bulgaria it is only 4 millions, and this permits the Bulgarian railways to be operated more economically than those of all other continental States, the ratio of the cost of running them to gross receipts being 71.05 % in Bulgaria as against 101.49 % in Yugoslavia, 102.2 in Germany and 106.8 % in Belgium (1932).[1]

The Bulgarian railways are most economically run, thus the outlay on salaries amounts to only 53 % of the total expenditure, as compared to 57.4 % in Yugoslavia, 68.60 % in Greece, and 70.7 % in Germany. The railway rates are the cheapest in Europe as may be seen from the following comparative table. A journey of 50 klm. costs:

	Ist class	2nd class	3rd class	
In Bulgaria	103	75	52	leva
„ Yugoslavia	122·5	105	70	„
„ Rumania	232·5	178·5	116·45	„
„ Czechoslovakia . . .	285 6	158 76	105·84	„
„ Austria	231·8	166.15	92·75	„

Better financial results could have been obtained if some limitation were put to the excessive number of people travelling on the railways at reduced fares, a large proportion of them doing so out of favouritism. Important rebates too are allowed on the transport of most products of local industries as may be gauged by a statement of M. Kosturkov in the Sobranye on June 14, 1932: "Last year some 8,121,953 passengers were carried, 25 %, of whom benefitted of reductions varying between 50 % and 75 %. Half of the goods carried were transported at rates 10 % to 35 % below

[1] The railway administration, having assumed to repay gradually to the State the total cost of the railway lines, as well as to set aside annually a certain amount for depreciation, has been closing its yearly balances since 1930 with deficits. Namely 30,926,000 leva in 1930, 119,508,000 in 1931, 108,178,000 in 1932, 100,070,000 in 1933. In 1929 it showed a surplus of 122,190,000 leva.

those of the ordinary tariff." Dr. B Yantsulov some time ago estimated the loss which these reductions entailed to the revenue to as much as 109 million leva a year and apportioned the loss as follows: 497

Free tickets	20	million leva
Free transport of mails	19	" "
Rebates on goods to and from sugar refineries	19	" "
" " " " " " flour-mills	10	" "
" " " of local industries	41	" "
Total	109	" "

The contraction in the receipts due to the rather excessive granting of bonuses which have hitherto been granted on too generous a scale is now likely to cease, for one of the decisions of the new government installed on May 19th 1934 was that both the free issue of tickets was to cease and that most of the products of local factories would be transported at the usual rates and would no longer benefit of rebates.

Tho total tonnage of goods carried during the financial year 1932-3 was 3,317,692 tons, of which 340,947 tons were cereals, 134,778 flour, 149,176 sugar-beet, 22,102 sugar and 809,520 coal. The transport of the bulk of these goods is of a seasonable character, being mainly transported in the late summer and early autumn months, and this explains the shortage of trucks during this period of the year. The total number of functionaries, including the central administrative staff was 16,563. According to M. A. Yaranov's view as expressed in his book "Bulgaria to-day and to-morrow" this was en excessive number, for according to him in 1912 when the milage was only 1948 klm. with 125 stations, the total number of functionaries was 4878, By 1927-8 the milage had increased to 2231 klm, normal, and 416 klm. narrow gauge with 225 stations, while the number of the staff had reached 16,164 and this tremendous increase in the personnel was obviously

497 not justified. By the year 1931-2 the number of stations had increased by 30%. plus another 195 small stations, or halting places and though the milage had also augmented, nevertheless the staff numbered 16,602, so that M. Yaranov's criticism seems to have been well-founded so far as the year 1927-8 is concerned, this may be said also of his remarks about the stopping places being too numerous and involving a tremendous waste of energy to the trains having to pull up and start at very brief intervals.

499 653 Owing to the lack of funds, special measures had to be devised in order to provide the requisite means for the construction of the new railway lines. Thus a special tax was imposed on the inhabitants of communes through which new railway lines were laid and municipalities had to expropriate land and provide labour at their own cost. The compulsory labour service was utilised, and it may be said that without the help of this institution little of what was done would have been accomplished.

An idea of the cost of the new lines and of the repartition of the expenses may be formed by studying the data relative to the Plovdiv-Panagurishte line of 70·880 klm. in length, which cost a total of 117,458,474 leva, or 1,640,010 leva per klm. Eventually it is proposed to join up this line with the projected trunk line Sofia-Pirdop-Kazanlik-Sliven-Burgaz, parts of which have already been built.

20,937,003	leva	Work furnished by temporary labour conscripts (defrayed by communes)
14,668,896	„	Work furnished by regular labour conscripts (defrayed by the State)
2,120,985	„	Land and building expropriated by the communes
1,543,525	„	Sum provided by the State budget
556,910	„	„ „ „ „ „ extra-ordinary budget.
39,123,615	„	Sum provided from the Railway special construction Fund (Amounting to 408 millions in 1932)
10,000,000	„	Sum provided from the Railway special Fund for embelishments and Station installations (Amounting to 221 millions in 1932)

COMMUNICATIONS

20,820,000 leva value of materials furnished by the State Railways 499
7,687,550 " Various 653

The average cost seems to range between $1^1/_2$ and 2 million leva per klm. Thus the line Plovdiv-Karlovo, 77·530 klm. in length cost 152 millions or slightly under 2 million leva per klm., while the line Levski-Lovets cost only $1^1/_2$ millions per klm. It may be added that it took 12 years to complete the building of the line Plovdiv-Panagurishte and this tardiness is due to the fact that instead of concentrating all efforts on one or two lines, some 21 lines were being constructed simultaneously. This was anything but a sensible plan, in view of the utterly inadequate means at the disposal of the railway administration. In many instances earthworks which had been completed were washed away and had to be constructed anew before the ballast, sleepers and rails could be laid.

The general plan of construction of railways was set forth in a Bill passed by the Sobranye on May 9, 1925 and provided for the construction of the following lines:

Normal gauge

1. Rakovski—Haskovo—Mastanli
2. Radomir—Gorna-Djuma—Simitli
3. Yambol—Elhovo
4. Lovets—Levski
5. Dabovo—Sliven
6. Plovdiv—Karlovo (with branch to Hissar)
7. G. Orehovitsa—Elena
8. Sofia, circular
9. Kritsim—Pestera
10. Sofia—D. Kamartsi—Pirdop
11. Plovdiv—Panagurishte,

Narrow 76 cm. gauge

12. Tatar Pazardjik,—Ledjene—Nevrokop
13. Bela Slatina -Orehovo
14. Preslav—Verbitsa
15. Tserven Breg—Lukovit—Teteven
16. Burgaz—Anhiallo.

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On the completion of these lines, the bill provided for a further plan of construction which comprised the laying of lines between:

17. Simitli—Petrich
18. Rakovski—Mihailovo
19. Shumen—Smedovo—Karnobat
20. D. Kamartsi—Orhanie—Yablanitsa—Sevlievo—Tirnovo Osman-Pazar—Eski Djuma
21. Orhanie—Mezdra
22. Levski—Trembesh
23. Kostenetz Bania—Samokov—Dubnitsa—Bobov Dol
24. Stanimaka—Tsepelare—Pashmakli
25. Popovo—Razgad—Kemanlar
26. Batanovtsi—Breznik—Tren
27. Boitsinovtsi—Glozene—Kozlodyi
28. Vidin—Kula
29. Pirdop—Karlovo—Kazanlik
30. Zimnitsa—Kotel
31. Somovit—Nikopol
32. Pleven—Lovets
33. Lovets—Trojan (eventually to be prolonged southwards to Karlovo
34. Kirdjali—Ortakey
35. Drenovets—Belogradchik—Stakevski
36. Dolen Tsiflik—Staro Orehovo
37. Zlaten Dol—Kavakli—Elhovo—Burgaz.

Narrow 76 cm. gauge

38. Anhialo Mesembria
39. Malko Tirnovo—Vasiliko
40. Razlog—Simitli.

Of the above programme, lines, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 13, 16, have been completed, while work on lines 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 19, 25, 29, 21, 33, and 36 has been started and is being continued but at a very slow pace. Owing to the extremely difficult position of the Exchequer only 17,050,000 leva were provided in the 1934 budget for railway construction, and it had been decided that work should be concentrated on the completion of the Radomir-Dupnitza-G. Djuma, Mihailovo-Rakovski, Sofia circular line,

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and the 76 cm, narrow gauge railway Tatar-Pazardjik-Yakoruda-Nevrokop. The Mihailovo-Rakovski line is likely to prove of some importance for international traffic, as it is proposed to organise a service of through trains running from Poland by way of Rumania via Rustchuk-Tirnovo-St.-Zagora to Constantinople, which will necessarily borrow this connecting link, shortening, very perceptibly the distance St.-Zagora-Constantinople by avoiding the long loop round Plovdiv.

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The technical committee of the railways has made certain alterations in the original construction plan of 1925 and these modifications have been set forth in a protocol dated January 1929. Thus line № 20 is to be deflected in its eastward part more to the south, avoiding Osman Pazar and Eski-Djuma, in order to pass through Zlataritsa — Elena — Titsa and join the line № 14 Verbitsa-Preslav, which will be constructed as a normal gauge line instead of as a 76 cm, narrow gauge line, as originally projected. It is surprising that this scheme has not been a little further modified so that Sevlievo might be joined to Gabrovo and the already existing railway line Gabrovo—Drenovo—Tirnovo utilised, instead of leaving Gabrovo as a terminus of a blind-alley railway line despite the industrial importance of this town. Another decision taken was that of modifying line 38, (Anhiallo — Messembria) to a normal gauge, though the construction of this particular line seems utterly purposeless, there being no traffic to justify such expenditure, besides the fact that both termini are ports and that communications between them are always available by boat or by road vehicles.

There are about 19 lines of an approximate legth of 790 klm. on which work has been started; they are estimated to cost about 1,450 millions, there being some 9.750 klm. of tunnels to be bored. But in order to complete the programme which has been set forth some 210

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klm more have to be constructed, necessitating a further outlay of 1684 millions, for in this section the length of tunnels is estimated at 20.900 klm. These 30.650 klm. of tunnels will require some 1150 millions for their completion. The money can not be provided out of local resources, and since the new lines which are now being constructed can only be exploited sectionally and therefore uneconomically, so long as the whole programme of construction is not completed it would be judicious to seek outside help instead of exploiting for a series of years various unconnected branch lines at a clear loss. With the existing competition of motor vehicles it seems now senseless to run trains on small branch lines of 30 or 40 klm in length; which will eventually be joined up to form a big trunk line. So long as they are worked in sections they cannot attract much traffic and are unable to cover expenses, while if they were to be joined up, they could be exploited more rationally and made to pay, besides contributing to the development of the region they traverse. As an instance, lines 10 and 29 may be cited. They are planned to link up and be joined to the existing branch line Kazanlik—Tulovo which has been connected with the newly constructed branch line № 5 (Dubovo—Sliven) already extended to Zimnitsa, a station on the railway line St. Zagora—Burgas On this proposed trunk line between Sofia and Burgas there are already three sections which are being axploited, namely the ones between Sofia and Makotsevo,[1] Kazanlik and Tulovo, and Dubovo and Sliven. Several complete trains are being daily run on them, apparently at a loss, for most often the passengers using them may be counted on one's fingers, For on such short distances trains are always at a disadvantage as compared with motor vehicles, which,

[1] The unfinished section Makotsevo—Kazanlik is estimated to cost about 800 million leva.

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as everywhere else are proving formidable rivals to the railways. The line Kazanlik - Tulovo is hardly utilised by passengers proceeding or returning to and from Kazanlik—St. Zagora. They prefer to drive by motor car, the journey by road vehicle being more rapid and cheaper. Most of these short branch lines can serve no useful purpose and they will always be a financial burden to the railway system If so many short branch lines figure in the proposed programme of construction this should be attributed to the influences exerted by certain politicians, who always wish to gain popularity in a certain district by securing the construction of a railway line through it, without regard as to whether its construction will be profitable or not to the State. It would be by far more rational not to undertake the construction of such lines as Nos 9, 22, 26, 27,28, 30, 34, 35, 36, 38 and 39 and instead build good roads, it would be equally sensible too to suspend the running of complete trains on such short distances as Kazanlik—Tulovo, Sofia—Bankia, Lovets—Levski etc,, and replace them by light steam-driven units, or motor rail-cars which are practically omnibuses mounted on railway wheels[1]. It would thus be possible to have both a frequent and a speedy service, advantages now possessed by the road vehicles which are competing the railways most successfully on all short distance lines.

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The railway system according to M. Ivan Dorossiev's "Financial Studies on the Bulgarian State railways," seems to suffer from another serious disability, that of being very carelessly constructed. In order to reduce the initial outlay, all technical work which could be dispensed with was avoided, with the result that there are too many gradients,

[1] Four such railcars have been ordered on a compensation basis, and ten more will be provided for in the 1935 budget. The railway administration considers that it needs at least thirty more.

499 653 rendering the working of the line more costly than it need have been. According to the data furnished by this author, of the 2,205 km. existing in 1919, 26.30 % were level, 46 % with gradients varying between 1 and 10 per % and 27.6 % with gradients over 10 per %. The existence of so many steep gradients of more than 10 % in the net work is surprising, for even in Switzerland, the most mountainous country in Europe, the percentage of such gradients was only 20.4 % as compared with 27.6 % in Bulgaria, while in Rumania the percentage is only 7.2 %. The part of the network which has mainly contributed to increase this disadvantage is the section Tirnovo-St. Zagora which traverses the Balkans and which if it had been more carefully built could have proved of great value to the country since it could then have been utilised as an international trunk line, a function which in its present state it can not fulfil economically, as regards goods traffic, but can only compete for the carriage of passengers, and for the lighter and more valuable class of goods [1]

499 661 The history of this line is worth repeating as it illustrates to what extent politicians made light of their country's welfare and to what subterfuges and trickery they would have recourse to in order to further their own interests. The technical staff of the railway administration was utterly opposed to the construction of this trans-Balkan line in its present form. Their plan was to lay the line further east along the Haim Bogaz Pass, and this view was championed by the then Minister of Communications, M. Gatev, who was the only honest man in a cabinet composed of crooks, and presided over by an, arch-cynic Prime Minister, the late D. Petkov. The latter

[1] Deputy D. Neikov stated on June 28, 1928 in the Sobranye: „This line was constructed against the advice of the most competent technicians, it has gradients of 30%, and its upkeep and utilisation cause an excessive outlay to the railway administration".

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and some of his supporters, among whom Minister Ghenadiev and deputy St. Popov of Trevna, being interested in some coal mine concessions in the Trevna district, wished that the intended railway should be deflected from the projected course which the technical staff had recommended so as to traverse the region where the mines were located, thus enabling them to dispose very advantageously of their concessions. As the change in the original plan would have impaired the carrying capacity of the line, and would have increased considerably the cost of construction, M. Gatev resolutely opposed the idea, and refused to yield on the point. In order to overcome his obstruction, Petkov hit on the expedient of sending him on a mission abroad and temporarily took charge of the Ministry of Railways. No sooner had M. Gatev departed, than Petkov submitted a Bill for the construction of the railway, with the desired modification and had the Bill carried post-haste by his subservient supporters or „boys" as they were familiarly termed by him. M. Gatev, as was to be expected of him, resigned as soon as he became acquainted with the trick which had been played on him, but Petkov remained nonplussed by the public disavowal inflicted on him by his colleague. He was wont to meet such happenings with such cynical outbursts: „I am so full of blots that a fresh stain will not show".

At any rate he was not the only Minister to line his pockets out of the railways. His immediate successors in 1909 seem to have done remarkably well out of them. Dr. Sakarov, who until lately was the manager of the Agricultural Bank, wrote in a booklet in which he criticised the doings of the Democratic party, that while one of their leaders declared in the Sobranye on December, 15, 1908, that the railway net exploited by the Oriental Railway Company in Southern Bulgaria was not worth more than 19,135,923 gold francs; this party which was

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499 661 again in power in 1909 paid as much as 42 millions for them, and that the person who supported this measure with the greatest warmth was Liaptchev. It would seem that his advocacy brought him a net gain o two millions, according to the testimony of M. Sakarov, who cites Minister Pechev's „Memoirs" in support. Obviously there was a margin of some 22 millions between the real value of the lines and what was paid tor them, and there must have been others who shared M. Liaptchev's good fortune. That the price paid was outrageously high is self-evident since in 1898 the company had agreed to cede the whole network for 24,850,863 gold francs, but the transaction fell through owing to the inability of the then Government to conclude a loan. This was not the only occasion on which the railways provided for the staging of shady affairs.

The Finance Minister in the Stoilov Cabinet (1894—1899) thought it would be a clever expedient to construct parallel lines to those exploited by the Oriental Railway Company, and thereby force it to sell out at a low price. Apparently this financial genius was not at all perturbed by the expenditure which the construction of the parallel lines would entail, for the scheme was to serve as a pretence to enrich his political friends. Judging from the discussions which followed in the Sobranye at the time, it would appear that several partisans of the Government had bought up land along the proposed lines and expected to make a very substantial profit by ceding it to the State. The proposal was carried through in spite of the protests of one of the Ministers, M. C. Velitchkov, who resigned. A legacy of this ill-considered policy is the line running north of the Maritsa, from Plovdiv to Tsirpan and Nova Zagora. Fortunately the section Plovdiv—Tatar Pazardjik was not built, but if this wild cat scheme was not proceeded with further, it is not their politicians the Bulgarian people have to thank but rather the foreign capitalists who would not

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KARLOVO: A REPAIRED ROMAN BRIDGE

[facing p. 225]

499 661 furnish the means wherewith it could be carried out. Which shows that all financiers will not play the part of Mephistopheles to the Bulgarian Faust by tempting him with endless loans, as has happened quite recently and as holders of League of Nations' Loans have learnt to their loss. This whimsical scheme caused the fall of the Stoilov Cabinet in 1899 and was mainly brought about by the intervention of Ferdinand who overtly accused his Finance Minister of realising seven million leva out of these dubious transactions. It must not be thought that Ferdinand was prompted in this act by a desire to safeguard from dilapidation the public purse. He must have certainly been coaxed on by the avidity of the Minister in question who probably wished to keep most of these seven millions for himself.

499 648 With regard to inter-Balkan communications, it may be said that all the palaver of the Balkan conferences has not led to any practical decision. The Bulgarian proposal for the construction of a bridge across the Danube at Rustchuk, to link up the Bulgarian and Rumanian railway system, has been repeatedly rejected by the Rumanians and it was only at the end of 1934 that they made a slight concession by acquiescing to the plying of a ferryboat between Rustchuk and Giurgiu. As navigation on the Danube is suspended during the winter and the level of the river varies very considerably when in spate, the utilisation of the ferry boat will only be possible for a few months in the year, and the advantages to be derived proportionately restricted. The Greeks too have not responded to the Bulgarian suggestion of linking up their railways through the valley of the Struma, though the Bulgarians are pushing on with the construction of a broad gauge railway which will shortly reach Gorna Djuma. The extension of this line to the Greek frontier is estimated as likely to cost 328.7 million leva. It is only the Yugoslav Government

499 which has shown more consideraton to Bulgarian requirements and has agreed to join up its railways at two
648 other points besides Tsaribrod, namely at Vidin and at Giushevo, the present terminus of the Sofia-Kustendil line which will be prolonged to Kumanovo. When the construction of this line will be achieved, the present railway journey Sofia — Salonica will be shortened by a third of its present duration by the avoidance of the long way round through Nisch.

Roads

491 The total length of semi-permanent or macadamised roads in Bulgaria in 1934, was of 17071 klm. and there
652 were another 7,125 klm. in construction. Of the existing milage, 8,397 klm. were reported to be in good condition, 4,991 klm. in medium condition, and 4,103 as in a bad condition. The new Government planned to construct another 4000 klm. of roads and contemplates spending a sum of two milliard leva on this project, completing every year some 400 klm. of new roads. It has created new taxes in order to provide the necessary funds, among which is a special road tax of 140 leva a year to be levied on all males between the ages of 20 and 55. Owners of motor cars will also contribute to the maintenance of the roads by paying increased sums for their driving licences, It is expected that some 300 million leva will be raised annually by these special taxes, $^{2}/_{3}$ of which are proposed to be spent on the building of the new roads and $^{1}/_{3}$ for the upkeep of those already existing.

499 It is proposed to construct at once an arterial road of 300 klm. between Sofia and Orhanie, trying different systems and materials in order to find out which is the most suitable for local conditions. It is aimed to have the new roads laid out properly, in order that they may not need repairing for the first ten years. The compulsory

labour service will be utilised in the building of the new roads all of which will be 9, 8, or 7 m. wide, according to their importance, and with trees planted along their entire course. 499

The road milage was reported to be 17,238 klm. by deputy I, Vultchev in the Sobranye on June 7, 1932, and he added that it would be necessary to construct some 70,000 klm. of roads in order to connect all villages with one another. The average expenditure for the upkeep of roads was about eighty million leva a year and this was inadequate. He estimated the cost of construction at one million leva per kilometre in mountainous country and at 600,000 in level country. This does not seem to be an excessive estimate since M. At. Yaranov in his book "Bulgaria to-day and to-morrow", assesses the cost per kilometre of a good road fit for motor traffic at 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 leva and that of an ordinary one at 1.000,000 leva per kilometre which is about as much as the cost of a railway line in Bulgaria. It would appear from the figures cited that the Government contemplates halving the cost of the roads it proposes to construct by utilising largely the compulary labour service.

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EDUCATION

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In Bulgaria, as in other Balkan countries, complaints have been heard that the spread of education has resulted in the creation of a plethora of office-seekers. The reason for this is that while an excellent instruction is available, the training of character and of personality are neglected. Colleges, technical schools, and higher educational establishments have all been dominated by the idea that all education should be subordinated to place-hunting and not to the preparation of a more efficient citizenship in the life of the community. As a result restrictive measures are being taken to curtail the number of colleges and impede the admission of students to the higher schools and the universities. At present, students coming from rural districts are caught up in the whirlpool of urbanising influences and spurn the idea of returning to their native environment. They take on a false scale of values and, unable to secure public posts, fall by the way and become the easy victims of political propaganda. This could be remedied by making rural life more attractive, and by permeating all the educational institutions with the conception that an educated farmer is by far a more valuable asset to the community than either the public official or the urban worker. It is imperative for Bulgaria to evolve a system of education which will nurture a peasant-citizenry really in love with village life and the countryside, the same as has been achieved in Denmark. This is all the more necessary, as the transformation in Agriculture which is contemplated and which is equally an essential need, can best be achieved by better educated farmers, and by intensifying and modernising agriculture, increased employment would be provided for the educated. It would appear that "more education" ought to be the slogan in vogue, rather than the policy actually adopted. If

there were more educated persons in the countryside there would be less inducement for the educated to congregate in towns. 871 369

It is an erroneous view to believe that Bulgaria is suffering from overeducation. What Bulgarians have a right to complain of is rather of a maldistribution of educated forces. It was the political system which rendered politics the best and easiest career to earn a livelihood, and thereby attracted the intellectuals to this mode of life. Politicians in their turn fostered this tendency since they utilised this intellectual proletariat from which to recruit their partisans. 871

M. Iordan Tabakov in his book "The political situation of Bulgaria after June 9", affirms that on questioning fifteen deputies elected while Stambuliiski was Prime Minister, it was found that eight had not read the Constitution and seven had read it partly, and yet all had taken the oath to govern after its spirit and to defend it! None knew what the capitals of Czechoslovakia and Switzerland were. When asked whether they considered themselves fit to be deputies, some admitted that they were not, for they had not received the requisite education, while some considered themselves worthy of the posts they held since "the people had chosen them". Dr. D. Gabrovski in his Illiterate Bulgaria," affirms that: the percentage of illiterate voters in 1920 was 52 %, and that the statistics of 1928 show that the percentage of illiterates in the country was 40 %. Many who have been to school, and had later lived in an uncultured environment could no longer read. Of the total population, only 2000 to 3000 read books, and about 30,000 nothing else save newspapers. School attendance was not very satisfactory. In the year 1929-30 there were 727,670 children of school going age, but of these only 670,872 attended school, while another 37,139 dropped off during the course of the year. Those who 871 646 212 871

871 should have attended the secondary school (progymnasia) aged 12 to 14 were 185,394 but of these 74,885 did not attend and some 12,433 attended only partly. Only 98,076 completed the course, and of the latter 62,855 were successful at their examinations. During the same year 5,016 college graduates applied for entry to the University, of these 4,392 were admitted and 624 failed to pass the tests, and ~~this, according~~ to Dr. Gabrovski, was a conclusive proof that there was too little education in Bulgaria, since out of some 700,000 attending the elementary schools less than 4,500 complete their secondary education.

The Minister of Education explained on June 11, 1932, the causes of non-attendance at school. Of the 56,788 children who had absented themselves from the elementary schools in the year 1929—30, 22,777 were living at places difficult of access and there were 1999 abnormal children. Turkish children provided the greatest percentage of non-attendance (26%), that relative to the Bulgarian being 5·5%. Deputy G. P. Ghenov speaking at the same date, affirmed that the annual contingent of graduates from colleges and higher training schools numbered about 10,000 of those only some 1500 are admitted to the University and the rest are unable to find situations. College graduates consider themselves as intellectuals and refuse to become farmers or craftsmen. In another speech 871 delivered in March 1934, he laid stress on the fact that 647 youths graduating at the University were not sure about securing Government employ; thus for sixty to eighty qualifying for judges, only four or five posts are available and the number of candidates to the public services thus increases yearly. Politicians take advantage of the situation, and secure recruits for their parties by promising posts to those who have not been appointed public functionaries.

If the number of aspirants to Government employ is

now so greatly in excess of the available posts, it is not owing to the system of education, but rather owing to the fact that all the intellectuals from the Dobrudja, Macedonia, and Thrace have been driven to seek refuge in Bulgaria, and through the League of Nations abstaining from interfering on behalf of the Bulgarian minorities in the adjoining Balkan countries in order to secure the repatriation of these people. 871 647

Education is free and obligatory for all children between the ages of seven and fourteen. Approximately, 1/6 of the population is attending schools and about 8% of the children liable to compulsory obligation evade it for some reason or other. The urban population provides proportionally a greater percentage of school children, 25% as against 75% for the rural. The number of girls attending school is as large as that of boys. The following table shows the number of various educational establishments functioning during the year 1932 - 3, the number of professors and students: 871

		Pupils	Teachers
Kindergarten Schools	155	7,649	174
Elementary "	5518	705,443	18,478
Secondary " (progymnasia)	1933	207,795	7,189
Colleges "	105	42,217	2,901
Special "	25	2,854	408
Professional "	321	25,261	1,821
Higher training	4	667	55
" " Colleges	7	10,419	500
Scools for abnormal chirdren	5	252	42
	8,073	1,002,555	30,758

Of the 8073 educational establishment, 7093 were State schools and 980 private institutions, practically all belonging to various ethnic minorities and foreign missions, the number of pupils attending them, was 82,342 and that of the teaching staff 2,705. These last two figures are ncluded in the total shown in the above table. The

[8-5] 871 The number of women teachers is larger than that of men teachers. There is one school to every 738 inhabitants and this number is altogether inadequate To remedy this shortage of buildings, half of the pupils attend school in the morning from 8 to 12 a. m. and the other half in the afternoon, from 2 to 6 p. m. It was reported in the Sobranye on April 1, 1924, that only 39% of the school-buildings were fit to serve as such, and that some 220,000 children had to study in stuffy classrooms in which there was not sufficient air. Such adverse conditions naturally accounted for the abnormal spread of tuberculosis among school children. Deputy M. Stanev speaking in the Sobranye on June 11, 1932 stated that according to the inquiry [164] conducted by Dr. Rumenov, 60% of the children attending the first elementary class, were healthy and 40% tuberculous, but in the third elementary class, the percentage of the latter had increased to 62%, and in that of the first preparatory class to 73%. In the Stara-Zagora region, it was reported by the school authorities that 48% of all the children were tuberculous.

875 511 One of the probable reasons for the spread of tuberculosis were the teachers who were wretchedly underpaid and were not able to keep fit on their paltry stipends. Half of the public teachers received a salary of about 1700 leva monthly, but this was not all, for a large percentage of them were obliged to pay commissions to various political intercessors in order to obtain their posts, and had to refund to their protectors part of their slender emoluments. The minimum cost of living for a family of four members, each requiring 3000 calories a day was according to a scientific analysis made in Dr. Djidrov's *Stopanski Arhive*, 2563 leva per month for food only, light and heat necessitated an expenditure of 587, shoes and clothing 1320, rent 1500, and other needs 1130. or a total per month of 7100 leva. The emoluments offered

by the State to the teachers were therefore utterly inadequate, even for those not having family charges, especially in view of the fact that the teaching profession necessitated the most strenuous exertions. There is little doubt that if these deserving public servants were remunerated decently, and if they felt secure in their posts and not threatened with losing them every time there was a change of Government, as had been the case under the party system until recently in force, no only they would have been better adapted to carry on their difficult task, but they would have less reasons to become advocates of communism. 875 511

At the summit of the educational system are eleven higher training establishments, The State University, the Free University of Political and Economic Sciences, the Institute of Higher Commercial Studies of Varna, the Fine Arts school, the Musical Academy, the Military School, the Co-operative School, the Agricultural Schools of Pleven and Tatar-Pazardjik, and the State Teachers schools at Shumen and Plovdiv. 874

The students attending the University during the year 1931-4 and the number of the teaching staff were distributed as follows according to the studies followed:

	Teachers	Students	Number of students who graduated during 1932-3
Medicine	95	674	43
Letters	50	2219	134
Sciences	60	658	88
Law	30	2081	192
Agriculture	45	473	89
Theology	14	234	16
Veterinary Science	21	333	27

The number of women students was 1908 and is included in the figures given above, while the number of women graduates in the year 1932-3 was 160 out of a total of 599. The budget of the University amounted to

874 59,189,160 leva, 43% of which was absorbed by the faculty of medicine. The number of students completing their studies at foreign universities is apparently equal, if not superior to those graduating at the Sofia University. In 1931, 1932, and 1933, 635, 644, and 703 graduates respectively of foreign universities applied for registration of their diplomas. In 1926-7 there were 2,524 students who went abroad to complete their studies, of these 721 went to Germany, 649 to France, 523 to Austria, 233 to Czechoslovakia, 180 to Italy, 87 to Belgium, 36 to Rumania, 25 to Poland, 19 to Switzerland, 11 to Yugoslavia and 40 to other countries. In 1933, 105 Bulgarians graduated in German Universities, 250 in French, 24 in Italian, 95 in Czechoslovakian, 55 in Austrian, and 174, in those of various countries.

It was affirmed that the upkeep of the number of students studying at the higher educational establishments necessitated an outlay of 350 million leva a year to the community, and that this was a charge beyond its means, and that moreover it was not possible to find employment for them, the places available being considerably less than the number of candidates.

The Free University was established at the initiative of Prof. St. Bobtchev and aims at providing educational facilities to public functionaries and those in employment. It contains three sections, politico-social, administrative and commercial, and young people already in employment by following its course, which are held after 6 p. m. may improve their chances of advancement in their careers. The teaching staff is composed of about 46 teachers mainly recruited from that of the State University, and the number of students inscribed averages 1250 annually.

The study of agriculture seems well organised, there are 15 Superior professional schools of Agriculture, and there is a link forward by examination to the Agricultural

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faculty of the Sofia University. Besides these there are some 120 practical schools of Agriculture which all children of farmers after completing their studies at the secondary schools, are compelled to attend during two years, if they do not take up another profession. The period of attendance is from October to April and the curriculum is most appropriate to local coditions, but unfortunately it is not taken advantage of by the population. Special courses are also conducted during the winter months by trained agronomist, who travel from village to village and organise courses of lectures for a few weeks at a time and at which attendance is obligatory for all youths up to 18, and girls up to the age of 16. There are excellent technical and professional schools which provide practical training in all arts and crafts, but the technical and agricultural schools, have been dominated too by the idea of a Government job, and very often youths who have completed their studies in them are absorbed in the public services. Owing to the extreme tolerance shown by the Bulgarian Government, foreign schools of all denominations and nationalities are allowed to function. The French religious missions have established such institutions in most of the larger towns, there are also German and Italian schools. The Americans keep up their traditional educational policy in the Near East by maintaining what may be deemed as model educational establishments, one for boys at Simeonovo, at the outskirts of Sofia, and another for girls at Lovetch. Another school due to American initiative is the Pordim Folk School, founded by the late Dr. Edward Haskell and his wife. Its object was to supply advice to the peasantry, teaching them hygiene, giving them practical demonstrations in poultry raising, dairy farming, cattle breeding etc. Its attempt fo uplift the peasantry in the Pordim district has met with an immense success which does honour to its philanthropic founders.

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BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

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Another cultural Institution which deserves mentioning is the National Library at Sofia which contains a magnificent collection of some 4,000 old Bulgarian monuscripts dating as far back as the 13th century, some 10,000 Arabian and Turkish manuscripts, containing a vast amount of material relative to the history of the Balkan peninsula, about 100,000 historical documents, letters, etc. The Library possesses some 200,000 volumes in Bulgarian, being copies of all books which have been published in Bulgaria, as well as a certain number of foreign works. The present premises are altogether too exiguous to lodge the collections of books and provide reading accomodation for the ever-pressing throng of students and visitors. The writer, who often visited the library and wishes to ackowledge the courtesy he has always met from its much harassed officials, was strongly impressed by the strenuous efforts visitors to the library used to make and the patience and perseverance they displayed in order to secure access to its very limited reading room. It is very much to be regretted that neither the Carnegie nor Rockfeller Foundations, which have endowed so many public libraries, which often remain whole days without visitors, should not have rendered some materiel assistance to this particular library which is perpetually overcrowded. It is a great pity also that the Bulgarian Government has not been able to provide some resources wherewith to remedy, at least partially, to this lack of accomodation, which hampers the work of all visitors to the library. There are national libraries at Plovdiv, Tirnovo and Shumen, and all municipalities of large towns have well organised public libraries, of which at least 200 function regularly throughout Bulgaria. Much has been done to organise public reading rooms in villages and in April 1934 it was reported that some 2,356 such public reading rooms had already been opened, of which 1243 were organised in one syndicate with a total membership of 103,000.

A PSIHOLOGICAL ESSAY

Owing to the lack of funds, the activities of these reading rooms, of which 1,208 are in rural districts, were rather circumscribed, their stock of books was reported to be 847,426, and the books purchased during the year numbered only 127,757. 217 658

The new educational reforms comtemplate the suppression of about two thirds of the existing colleges so as to impede access to the higher training establishments and the University. The colleges will be replaced by practical schools, after the German „real schule", a system which according to Prof. Yorga has concurred in dehumanising the youth of Germany. Only those students who posses exceptional endowments will be allowed to complete their college training and qualify for a University education. 871

A PSYCHOLOGICAL ESSAY

All who have come in close touch with the Bulgarian people have been impressed by such characteristic traits as their diligence, assiduousness, their fondness of labour and their persevering and indefatigable devotion to the land which they till. Frugal and abstemious in the extreme, the Bulgarian peasant provides for his modest needs from the produce of his farm. This form of life which tends to make him self-sufficing and independent of his neighhours has rendered him self-reliant and self-centred to an extreme degree and has militated strongly against the development of social virtues in him. He is capable of submitting to extreme privations, he scoffs at physical suffering, and is almost insensible to pain. He detests affectation and bragging, and takes pride only in collective achievements, national or military. In this he displays a striking similarity to the Japanese whom he 181

181 rivals in thriftiness and economical living. Such qualities render him a formidable competitor for his neighbours, all of whom he surpasses in these virtues, and who knowing that separately they can not hold the field against him, have leagued themselves together, to hold down this over-energetic and tenacious rival. Such qualities as the Bulgarian possesses do not win or attract, and consequently he has failed to inspire affection; he has only succeeded in securing the respect and esteem of the positively minded American and British, who refuse to be beguiled by superficial appearances and who by temperament are better able to appreciate such positive attributes as the Bulgarian has been endowed with.

This hard-toiling mode of life led for centuries by the Bulgarian peasantry has habituated them to live solely for themselves, to depend only on their own efforts, to be suspicious of those about them. They are stoics, without pity for themselves, whose sealed springs of sensibility cannot be set flowing for others. Their sense of sympathy seems blunted and the apathy they display for the wrongs suffered by others explains their inability to feel indignation at the committal of injustices when they are not personally affected. Such lack of sympathy and tenderness for others, is incompatible with the formation of an alert public opinion and the exercise of collective volition, which characterises nations endowed with better developed social instincts. The harshness and dourness which characterises the Bulgarian, implies an inherent weakness of what psychologists designate as the Tender emotion.

000 Tender emotion, which is closely related to the parental instinct, must be considered as one of the primary factors in our evolution. As we pass from the lower to the higher types of animals, we indiscriminately find that this instinct becomes more and more powerfully deve-

loped, and we must therefore come to the logical conclusion that its relative eminence and strength in any species or society must be taken as a criterium of the latter's inherent capacity and superiority. 000

This altruistic, or benevolent impulse which is a deeply rooted element of normal human nature is the source of all morality and therefore a puissant contributor to progress and to civilisation itself, and such an eminent psychologist as Al. Sutherland has given prominence to this aspect in his work on „The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct" p. 367. In his concluding remarks he states:

„History will serve to show that in the main it has been the story of the subservience of races too litle sympathetic to form powerful unions and the emergence to power and dominance of peoples more capable of hearty consolidation. The law of sympathy has therefore been that of progress".

Kropotkin too, in his „Mutual Aid" lays equal stress on the benevolent impulse as a factor in human advance, for he affirms:

„Compassion is a necessary outcome of social life. it means a considerable advance in general intelligence and sensibility. It is the first step towards the development of higher moral sentiments and a powerful factor in further evolution".

The social importance of Tender Emotion is made evident by the following authoritative comment of Wm. McDougall:

„This intimate alliance between tender emotion and anger is of great importance for the social life of man and the right understanding of it is fundamental for a true theory of the moral sentiments; for the anger evoked in this way is the germ of all *moral indignation*. and on all *moral indignation justice and the greater part of public law are in the main founded*".

The importance of sympathy for our ethical, advancement has been stressed also by Max Nordau, who in his „Morals and the Evolution of Man", (p. 142) says:

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

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„To be moral we must feel in our own being at the time, or retrospectively, the subjective experiences of our neighbour, with the same quality of emotion that he feels; his pain must be our pain, as his pleasure must be our pleasure. For the man who cannot do this — who realises in his mind the circumstances of his neighbour only as an image, and without the concomitant note of feeling — it is impossible to rise to the height of morality . . . The lack of sympathy is a pitiable infirmity".

This infirmity was well known to Stoyan Mihailovski who never ceased to urge his compatriots to pay more heed to their moral education. He was wont to say:

„The Balkan people are capable of feasting by the side of the dead body of their starved neighbour. Turkish slavery has deprived them of self respect and left on their souls the seal of such vices as: selfcentredness, self-love and avidity. Though the emblems of Turkish dominion have vanished from the Balkans, the psychical stains caused by this slavery have not disappeared. So long as this selfcentredness is not changed to sympathy, self love to solidarity, and avidity to brotherly love, the foundations of a powerful community, can not be laid. Every reform must begin by that of the soul and of the conscience. Internal reconstruction must precede the creation of outward order. Without morality there can be no political liberty, and morality postulates emancipation from such sentiments as hatred and avidity. Reforms in government are useless, what is necessary is to hasten the psychic maturity of the people and this is a task of centuries. There can be no real democracy in Bulgaria so long as the Bulgarian does not feel love for his neighbour and has no sense of solidarity".

These were some of the hortatory counsels this great moralist and thinker kept giving to his countrymen, but apparently with little success. If we take into consideration the estimate Mihailovski formed of the Balkan peoples and the definition of democracy as expounded by the French historian Michelet, namely that „La démocratie, c'est la solidarité absolue, le devouement de chacun pour tous et de tous pour chacun", we can easily realise that democratic forms of government are not those best suited for the Balkan nations at their present stage of evolution

and shall then be better able to appreciate Wm. Mc Dougall's pronouncement „that this ideal of political liberty is in a fair way to wreck certain of the less firmly organised nations." („The Group Mind" p. 185.) 000

The national poet and eminent author, Ivan Vazov, has depicted this trait of harshness in several of his short stories, namely in „An obscure hero", „A great man-bearing epoch." or „A corner of calmness and forgetfulness". he was painfully conscious of this defect for we find him declaring: „Oh; unfeeling people, the heroism of mercifulness is unknown to thy Soul; harshness is an inherent element in our nature, it has penetrated into our blood and flesh with the first breath of life".

Some years ago the opinion expressed by Dr G. le Bon that: La férocité est un élement de race, spécial à certaines peuples et que les siècles n'éffacent pas", was prevalent and apparently justified such pessimism as was expressed in a forceful apophthegm of Mihailovski which may be rendered by:

„Neither can dove ravens lead,
Nor bad peoples good leaders breed".

It also explains the not less pessimistic opinion held by P. R. Slaveikov of his countrymen, as expressed in his poem entitled the „Last Resolution".

The science of psychology however has made immense strides and to-day instincts which are socially undesirable are suppressed by building up sentiments incompatible with them, or alternative modes of expression for instinctive tendencies are provided. This is the process of deflection and psychoanalysts have used the word sublimation for a socially desirable deflection.

Harshness must have been originally of great survival value in a primitive and wild environment and this explains its persistance. One can easily realise that in a community

000 in which each member had to fend for himself, and could not reckon on public assistance, it was the most selfish who was bound to succeed best, and that altruism in such circumstances, was a great handicap, and a source of weakness. We should be able therefore to explain why Bulgarians do not show sensitiveness to other persons' feelings and why they are more or less guided in their conduct by the maxim „Everyone for himself and the devil take the hindmost", and not attribute such natural propensities to any viciousness of character. This egoistic trait has now outlived its usefulness; in our modern societies such a quality is destructive, for society can only continue to exist if individuals learn to be considerate and benevolently disposed towards each other. It is necessary therefore to adopt measures by which these unsocial instincts are deflected, a task which is certainly difficult but not insuperable to an expert psychologist. And Bulgaria possesses in the person of Dr. N. Krestnikov an expert on this question, whose advice and guidance would be of immense value to the nation. His „Psychological analysis of our public life", lucid and masterly in its exposition, dwells at length on such unsocial instincts as distinguish the Bulgarian, and the treatment to which he as a psychiatrist subjected most of the extreme cases which came under his care. It is a book which ought to be in the hands of every educated Bulgarian, for besides its clear interpretation of the subject, it also contains valuable directions as to the remedies which should be adopted. Dr Krestnikov dwells mainly on avariciousness, or rather the acquisitive instinct, from an hypertrophy of which the great bulk of his countrymen suffer. In most of them the pursuit of wealth has become the dominating incentive in life, what Wm. Mc Dougall calls the master instinct, with the grievous consequence that other mental faculties, have been atrophied and the person suffering from

such a taint shows a one sided development, a state equally prejudicial to the person affected and to a community composed mainly of individuals whose instinctive equipment is not properly balanced. Avarice is common to all peasant communities and is the natural consequence of this mode of life. People who are exposed to the fickleness of the elements have to be provident and parsimonious if they are to survive, and since individual innate tendencies are the natural outcome of the physical and social envinronment of the group and in harmony with them, it is obvious that in the course of centuries, individuals with altruistic tendencies should have been gradually weeded out in such an ethnical group as the Bulgarian. A curb to this tendency could be sought in legislative measures, such as the placing of a limit to private fortunes. If the British Labour Party thought fit to put forward such a scheme a few years ago and fix £5000 as the maximum amount of wealth to be held by an individual why should not such a device be resorted to in Bulgaria, where its application would encounter little opposition and cause no disorganisation in private enterprises since they are all built on a modest scale? Such a plan would bridle politicians and prevent them from embezzling public funds, for it may be said that most of the large fortunes existing in Bulgaria have been acquired by diverting money in one way or another, from the State coffers to private ones. And it would be highly serviceable to the community at large that the activities of such persons should be curtailed, for by flaunting their ill-gotten wealth and their luxurious living, they not only incite others to imitate them but they set up an example of loose living which is highly demoralising and pernicious among a poor and austere people such as that in the midst of whom they live. It is largely the attempt to live after the higher standards set by those possessing ill-gotten

000 wealth that has corrupted a large number of the „intelligentsia". In their efforts to satisfy this insensate craving of altering their style of living and adopting luxurious manners, they have not hesitated to make a litter of all principles. Bulgaria being a poor country, there is no room within her precincts for Sybarites. In Spartan austerity and simplicity will she alone find salvation, for it is such qualities that breed the social virtues and devotion necessary for her renovation.

Of course there are other ways of attacking the evil spirit of acquisitiveness, namely by changing those parts of the social fabric which promote its growth, which is the socialist or communist way, or by setting an example of complete disinterestedness and the military who have been brought up in the stern school of austerity, living ascetic lives of service to the community, and who are in charge of the Government are just the most suitable men for this purpose. There is some chance therefore for them to succeed seeing that both Hitler, and Mussolini, owe mainly their success to their disinterestedness and not only to their effective leadership. It is the combination of both these qualities that have raised them in popular estimation in their respective countries, and it is to be hoped that Bulgaria's leaders will not fail altogether where others have triumphed.

181 Much has been said of the dourness, and suspicion of the average Bulgarian, but these traits are also due to the social environment in which he has hitherto grown. He necessarily had to hide his thoughts, and desires from his Turkish overlord, and keep these to himself. He thus became unsociable and uncommunicative, a world to himself, and even to-day his social self-consciousness does not extend beyond the narrow limits of his family. What is indispensable is the gradual extension of this sentiment of devotion beyond the family, in order that it might emb-

race a larger group, such as the nation. For much of the corruption, and avarice arise from a genuine conviction that one's first duty is to one's own family, a trait which the Bulgarians share with the Chinese, among whom owing to the Confucian philosophy, the same view prevails, and has done much to stunt the growth of public spirit. (see Bertrand Russell's, „The Problem of China"). 181

As the Bulgarian is certainly not defective in his attachment to his near kin, and this is patent by the extreme sacrifices which he readily makes in order to provide for the education of his children, the expansion of this existing sentiment so as to comprise the nation as a group would be possible, and the value of such an expanded sentiment can be easily grasped. Group self-consciousness and a sentiment developed about the idea of the group becomes a power capable of holding the group together in spite of all physical, and moral difficulties. It is indispensable therefore that such a socially valuable sentiment should be cultivated to the utmost, all the more so since even such an eminent psychologist as Wm. Mc Dougall („The Group Mind" p. 79) does not hesitate to declare: 000

„The group spirit destroys the opposition and the conflict between the crudely individualistic end the primitive altruistic tendencies of our nature. — This is the peculiar merit and efficiency of the complex motives that arise from the group spirit; they bring the egoistic self-seeking impulses into the service of society and harmonise them with the altruistic tendencies. The group spirit secures that the egoistic and the altruistic tendencies of each man's nature instead of being in perpetual conflict, as they must be in its absence, shall harmoniously co-operate and re-enforce one another throughout a large part of the total field of human activity.

For it is of the essence of the group spirit that the individual identifies himself with the group more or less; that is to say, in technical language, his self-regarding sentiment becomes extended to the group more or less completely, so that he is moved to desire

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000 and to work for its welfare, its success, its honour and glory, by the same motives which prompt him to desire and to work for his own welfare and success and honour.. . In this way, that is by extension to the group, the egoistic impulses are transmuted, sublimated and deprived of their individualistic selfish character and effects and are turned to public service".

517 565 M. I. P. Kepov, a noted Bulgarian educationalist in his very informative book „Our actuality", not only sets out to lecture the intellectuals for their shortcomings pointing out to them several of their defects and the unfortunate concequences they have hitherto produced, but also dwells on their envy, their vindictivenecs, intolerance of others, their lack of idealism and attachment to traditions, their self-sufficiency and extreme materialism, and their contempt of the peasant class out of which they have all sprung. He has arraigned a formidable indictement against them, and he shares the view prevalent among the peasantry who ascribe to the intellectuals the main cause of their country's disasters. The book draws a very black picture of the social life of the Bulgarian, and unfortunately it can not be said that the author exaggerates. Such poverty in emotional life, mistrustfulness and self-centredness cannot but be devastating to the soul, and some device must be found to blow up the Chinese walls with which every Bulgarian seems to have encased himself. By participating more largely in social life, he might be made to share the satisfactions and enjoyments accruing to every participant in active group life, for nobody will dispute Wm. Mc. Dougall's (op. cit. p. 68.) statement that:

„The consciousness of the group and of oneself as a member of it brings a sense of power and security, an assurance of sympathy and co-operation, a normal and physical support without which man can hardly face the world".

It is sad to record that the political institutions borrowed from the West, the extreme centralisation of the administration have been altogether uncongenial to the

Bulgarian and have stifled what public spirit existed among them at their liberation. The Turk was not the hard task-master he was reported to be, on the contrary he was tolerant enough to permit the Bulgarians to conduct their communal life on the lines they thought best. This communal semi-independence fostered the growth of a group spirit that readily manifested itself during the early years of the country's independence, examples of which have been often noted. M. Kepov also alludes to the kindly and well-meant efforts of the teaching profession in those years, to the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice they showed in their attempts to spread education amongst their countrymen, but the blight of politics soon froze this budding sociability. The politician in his endeavour to become omnipotent persecuted the teachers as likely to work up public opinion against him, and any manifestations of independent thought on their part was punished by dismissal. Thus the teaching profession was alienated and turned for consolation to socialism. Instead of working for the spread of views likely to strengthen the prestige of the State, they started spreading subversive notions utterly foreign to the traditional conceptions of the community they lived in and which the peasantry could not assimilate. Thus those who ought to have guided the people in their upward path completely estranged themselves both from those in authority and from the popular masses. The peasantry, as was to be expected, could not at all appreciate the Marxian gospel and began to view very suspiciously these missionaries in their midst especially when they attempted to undermine the national religion and customs, by the weapon of ridicule. The rest of the intellectuals looked upon the peasant masses with the same contempt and lack of interest. They took no notice of them until elections were drawing near when politicians would start visiting the

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village and start inundating them in a spate of demagogic rhetoric. The orators of each political group would start vituperating and abusing their rivals, thus undermining completely the prestige of the intellectuals until the peasantry came to look on all with undisguised hatred and contempt. There has not been an example of such a deep cleavage within a people in recent times except in Tsarist Russia, with the well-known consequences, and if something is not done to assure the peasantry that the State will henceforth uphold and protect their interests, and instil in them the conviction that the abuses of the past are definitely over, we may well be anxious as to the future, for however self-sacrificing and patriotic the rulers of Bulgaria may be, the task they have shouldered is a stupendous one and the organs they must depend on for carrying it out are not as reliable as could be wished. And yet it is through the efforts of this „intelligentsia" that the country will have to work its way upwards, for the salvation of countries, the evolution of which has been retarded, depends on the predominance of urban civilisation over rural backwardness.

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It is of undoubted interest to record the views of one of the leaders of the sole political party which was actuated by a true conception of democratic principles and which persistently upheld them, but which failed to rally round it sufficient supporters to impose them because the Bulgarian elector expected to get some direct advantages in exchange for his vote, a practice the Bulgarian Radicals always denounced and fought against.

Thus M. Kosturkov speaking in the Sobranye on December 21, 1926 said among other things:

„We are with servile souls. A nation impregnated with a sense of freedom and having a sense of self-respect does not allow the authorities to usurp its liberty and its rights. It is always ready to place its rulers in their due place. I am not indignant at the servi-

lity of the masses but at that of the greater part of the intelligentsia, and it is in disgust that I hear their servile speeches when in presence of influential men. According to me none can equal our average man for his envy and our demagogues exploit to the utmost this sentiment. Instead of combatting this inherent defect we make capital out of it in our political struggles. Another national defect is our greed which we exploit and excite. We lack all sense of measure, we are extremists with an anarchic individualism that has no equal. All these defects are being fostered by our politicians and the Bulgarian who is by nature most peaceful is being made pugnacious by our dremagogues who rouse his low instincts and incite him against his brethren. Bulgarians love science and knowledge and they should be guided towards this goal, for while absorbed in creative work their bad instincts will slumber. Although very suspicious, if once confidence is instilled they become extremely credulous. So long as a government uses force there will be no pacification in Bulgaria. Only democracy will give a government of order. Violence and hatred does not create anything lasting but on the contrary will further deepen the existing chasm between rulers and ruled".

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Unfortunately M. Kosturkov's prognostication as to the efficacy of democracy was wrong. Bulgaria secured in 1931 a really democratically elected government which to all appearance was perfectly democratic in its composition yet it brought and engendered disorder, and what was most surprising, it encompassed the overthrov of M. Kosturkov himself, who as all will admit, was the only true representative of democracy in the Cabinet. M. Sakuzov, the veteran leader of the Social-democrats was apparently better inspired when he admitted in the Sobranye on December 24, 1926: „Such popular forces as come to the surface are incapable of coordination and harmonious co-operation. The Agrarian regime dealt a stuning blow to the conception of a government by the popular masses".

The Bulgarian is characterised by a sense of fairness and honesty in his dealings with his fellow-men, this is in striking contrast with his attitude towards the State which he does not scruple to cheat or despoil because he believes

181 641 that he need not stand on ceremony with it since it has mercilessly exploited him. He is generally a man who will abide by his promise but he expects that others will likewise do so, and it is very often disregard for assumed obligations that leads the Bulgarian to wreak savage vengeance on the person who breaks a compact.

181 157 In spite of the fact that the Bulgarian people have been subjected for centuries to a rigorous negative selection, for all outstanding personalities were either exterminated by the Turks with whom they necessarily entered in conflict, or became denationalised by offering their services to more advanced nations, in the midst of which they alone could exert their talents, they, nevertheless may be considered as intellectually one of the most gifted of the Balkan peoples.

The value of a people is not gauged by the level of the average individual, but by that of the exceptional men belonging to it; such at least is the opinion of leading sociologists such as Dr. G. le Bon, and Wm. Mc. Dougall so that in this respect Bulgarians have little cause to envy their neighbours. The appearance of exceptional individuals amongst the Bulgarian people has been noted even by Prof. Jovan Cvijić, who writes in his „La Peninsule Balkanique", p. 479:

„De cette très ancienne histoire il y a un fait à retenir, c'est l'apparition d'individus doués d'une volonté extraordinairement puissante. . . La prépondérance de ces fortes individualités nous frappe encore dans les époques plus récentes de l'histoire bulgare. même après la liberation. Le personnage le plus representatif à cet égard fut Stefan Stambulov. Les politiciens bulgares paraissent doués d'une force de volonté plus agissante que ceux des autres types yougoslaves etc"

If in one generation from amongst five million Bulgarians, arose at least three men of genius such as Slaveikoff, Vazoff and Mihailovski this proves that the Bulgarians are a stock worth conserving, not only for

itself, but also on account of the good that humanity might ultimately derive from the flowering of such genius as may arise from its midst. Many will retort that the above mentioned men though talented can in no way be considered as geniuses, but this assertion is obviously refutable, for one in forming a true appreciation of their value should first of all take into consideration the environment in which these men were nurtured. If in spite of the stunting influences which they encountered in the midst of which they have developed, they nevertheless attained such an indisputable preeminence, it cannot be denied that these men must have possessed exceptional mental attainments.

LITERATURE AND ART

There are few peoples who in such a brief space of time have equalled the achievements of the Bulgarians in the domain of literature. Without any literary or artistic traditions, except perhaps for the writings of the poet-revolutionary, Christo Botev, without even a literary language, the Bulgarians within the half century of their independent existence as a State, have attained to a level of development in the realm of letters of which many older nations would have justly been proud, and which more than the remarkable material progress accomplished by them, marks them out as a higly endowed people worthy of our admiration and esteem..

Several decades ago, the translation into English of Ivan Vazov's novel "Under the Yoke", proved a revelation and evoked the unstinted applause of all critics. No less a person that Edmund Gosse wrote a most eulogious preface to the book. Yet this was one of Vazov's early works, written at a time he had not yet attained maturity,

538 nor the perfection which distinguish some of his later productions, Vazov excels in those short stories of his in which he depicts nature and the lives of the common people His sincerity, outspokeness. vividness of delineation and absence of all pretentiousness, render his writings delightfully refreshing, and in full harmony with the simple, unadorned subjects on which he loves to dwell. It is impossible to resist the charm of his narrative, or the enchanting flow of his verse. Of course, one must not seek in his works any high flight or flow of ideas, but for simplicity, naivety, and a genuine portraiture of nature, he may be considered as a master, and as such he will ever retain his due place not only in Bulgarian, but also in international literature.

He was devotedly attached to his country, and the whole of his poetry has a living backround of Bulgaria. He never tired of singing his country's sorrows and woes, nor ever wavered in defending its cause. When during the world war, Bulgaria was stigmatised for entering the field against Russia, he vindicated his country's honour in a poem that will ever be remembered by his countrymen. and which ended with the following stanza:

„Wicked in her madness, guilty«
Rings the verdict far and wide:
But I see thee pure and holy
As the Saviour crucified.

Many of his short stories have been translated into several languages, even into Japanese. The following example of his poetry, translated in a masterly fashion by the late American missionary, Dr E. Haskell, the much regretted founder of the Pordim Folk School, will permit readers to appreciate the stirring, vibrating harmony, and simplicity of Vazov's verse

„Do they ask me where the dawning
Glinted first upon mine eyes?

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Do they ask me where's the country
That of all on earth I prize?

There, I'll answer, where the Danube
Rolls along its shining way;
Where the Black Sea to the eastward
Tosses up its gleaming spray:

Where, with head uplifted proudly,
Towereth Balkan's lordly chain;
Where Maritsa floweth softly
Through the level Thracian plain:

Where twixt flowery banks the Vardar
Doth its cool flood ever pour;
Where old Rila's summit shineth,
Where Lake Ochrid's blue waves roar.

There to-day injustice reigneth
O'er a race in bondage flung:
There they weep, and pray for freedom
In our common Bulgar tongue.

O Bulgaria, land beloved,
Land with every good replete,
Land that nursed me, my devotion
Lay I gladly at thy feet.

How I love thy mighty mountains!
Love thy forests and thy streams,
Love thy smiling dales and meadows
Where the Lord's abundance teems.

Love I thee in loss and anguish,
Cherishing thy past renown,
Hoping that a brighter future
May thy glorious mem'ries crown.

Wheresoever I may wander
Thoughts of thee within me burn:
As a free man in my birth-land
May my dust to thine return".

In striking contrast with Vazov is the poet Pentso Slaveikov. He has remained to this day unappreciated by his countrymen, owing to his extreme intellectualism and

538 his disparagement of the school of literature founded by Vazov. His poetical, and artistic conceptions were too far in advance of his time. He attempted to transpose German poetical conceptions in Bulgaria, and to raise the level of the native literature by creating a poetry of epics based on folklore, and popular songs. He succeeded in this latter object and his "Song of the blood" will remain a standing master piece, though both this, and his several volumes of lyrical poems, entitled "Songs", and "Dreams" make intolerable demands upon the reader's intellect and aestheticism.

He was "discovered" by that erudite scholar, Dr E. J. Dillon, when on a visit to Bulgaria in 1903, in company with Henry Bernard who were so impressed by Slaveikov's poetical talents that they translated a large section of the Bulgarian folksongs collected by him into English, and published them some thirty years ago in a now almost forgotten book entitled "Shade of the Balkans". Both these authors higly appreciated Slaveikov's talent and deplored the poverty of the environment in which he moved, a matter which obviously was an obstacle to the full flowering of his poetical genius. Such sentences as "curiously pathetic to see P. Slaveikov chained to the smallness of Sofia", or "the caged lion of Sofia" express the opinion they formed of him, which is likewise shared by a leading contemporary Serbian poet, Jovan Ducić, who states: "Slaveikov is the man of the future, a poet for future generations".

The outstanding personality in the world of Bulgarian letters remains the poet philosopher, Stoyan Mihailovski. Of him Prof N. C. Derjavine wrote in the Year book of the Leningrad Academy of Science (1932): "By the originality of his satyrical talent, by the sharpness of his writings and his thought, by his broad knowledge and interest in present day problems, Stoyan Mihailovski takes

up in Bulgarian literature an exclusive and particular position". 538

Mihailovski was an intellectual giant, a man of untiring energy, who spent his life in unstinted efforts to purify public life. He was as fearless as he was scathing in his attacks on the corrupt practices ex-Tsar Ferdinand was fostering in Bulgaria, and most of his works, especially the one entitled "Book for the Bulgarian people", is an impetuous denunciation of a system which was undermining public morality. He possessed a profound knowledge of French literature, and of French political and social thought which he deftly made use of to educate his countrymen.

The impression his articles in the press (mainly the *Napred*), and his public lectures made, will ever remain memorable in Bulgaria. In a public lecture delivered before the Balkan wars he roundly denounced Ferdinand as an agent of Austria-Hungary. He trounced mercilessly politicians, journalists, intellectuals, and all and sundry, who showed signs of pandering to the wishes of the Crown, and for this reason he did not enjoy popularity among the leading official circles. Mihailovski was too engrossed in his self-imposed task of lecturing his misbehaving countrymen and chastising with his piercing satires the worst miscreants, and for this reason his literary creations are not as numerous as one would have expected and wished from such a powerful individuality. He has nevertheless left several admirable novels, as well as a drama which was staged at the Sofia National Theatre. Among his poems there are some which may be compared in profundity of thought with those of a Tennyson, or a de Vigny. Some of them are veritable gems, namely, "The incompleted temple" and "Onward". The latter has a certain resemblance with Longfellow's "Psalm of Life", and in it Mihailovski expresses in forceful rhyme the cult for labour which is a common Bulgarian trait.

538 The following verses written by him in French, depict the deep religious inspiration which urged him on in his thankless task of a moralist, and which may rank on a level with de Vigny's „Moïse".

PRIERE

Ta main s'est abattue, O Seigneur, sur ma vie
Et tout ce qui fut beau rêve et jeunesse — en moi,
Tout s'écroula soudain! Frappe encore, chatie
Mon orgueil, Dieu puissant, mais donne-moi la foi.

Car tout me manque, espoir et courage, à cette heure,
Car je sens comme un vide immense dans mon coeur,
Car la haine, parfois m'obsède, et ma demeure,
Sombre prison a pour geôlier la douleur.

Ah, donne-moi la foi, Seigneur, la foi profonde,
Fais que je m'agenouille, humble, devant ta croix,
Afin que, sans abris, sans appui, seul au monde,
Je dise, triomphant: Je suis fort, car je crois!

Another work which has won a lasting place in the world of letters is that of Aleko Constantinov's "Baï Ganio". It is the Balkan counterpart of Cervantes "Don Quixote", and together with the latter has attained immortality. It is a satire on the national defects of the Bulgarians, and was written with the purpose of correcting these shortcomings by exposing them to ridicule. The book abounds with descriptions of local customs, humorous incidents deftly and cleverly portrayed provoke readers to laughter. The part depicting the political activities of the hero is unique in its kind as it opens up an inexhaustible mine of local wit There are excellent French and German translations, and even Greek and Serbian, the work in fact being the most popular Balkan literary production. "Baï Ganio" has a certain resemblance also with Alphonse Daudet's masterpiece, "Tartarin de Tarascon", but while the latter occasionally verges on buffoonery, "Baï Ganio"

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A GROUP OF PEASANT WOMEN

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From left to right: Dr. T. Yankov, M. Ilia Gheorgov, and the author

[facing p. 257]

538 does not transcend the limits of what is comic and humourous, and remains from beginning to end thoroughly realistic.

Another distinguished prose writer is Eline Peline. His stories descriptive of rural life reveal not only his powerful narrative qualities, but also his ability to sketch in a few sentenses lasting portraits of the characters he depicts. He makes us live and share with the peasantry, their humour, their sentiments, and their preoccupations. Although Eline Peline paints nature as a poet, he does not idealise the peasantry. His portraiture of them is as realistic and true as it is vivid. He helps us to discover the ever-changing diversity of rural life and admire the sterling qualities of the Bulgarian peasantry, their devotion to duty and to work, though he doet not gloss over some of their defects which he delineates with an exquisite sense of humour. It is regrettable that none of his works has been translated into English, though several of his short stories equal in rank and resemble in style some of those of Alphonse Daudet.

Iordan Iovkov is another talented painter of rural life and scenes, which he describes with a true poetic sense and artistic sensibility that render them pregnant with reality.

Another group of writers has specialised in the portraiture of urban life. G. P. Stamatov is their most noteworthy representative. He has been likened to Guy de Maupassant, but he, unlike his French prototype, occasionally indulges in overt criticism of some of the ugly aspects of town life, which he sketches in a most realistic and attractive fashion. Tsilinghirov and Vlaikov are two other notable novelists who are, however, better known by their more serious contributions to Bulgarian letters.

Quite a number of men of letters, like D. Shishmanov, P. Djidrov, Strashimirov, and Dr T. Yankov, have

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538 distinguished themselves by portraying the political life, and morals of the country under the guise of historical novels. In this they fully succeeded, especially the latter, who was the only prominent supporter of Radoslavov to side openly for the Entente, and who was in the secret of all the Palace's and cabinet's intrigues. His novel, „In the folds of life", is a faithful narrative of a period of Ferdinand's rule in which the leading political figures of the time are thinly disguised under assumed names. He also wrote a drama which met with great success when staged at Sofia, but though all the above mentioned writers have compiled historical, literary, and dramatic works of merit, owing to the restricted reading public, it is not surprising that they have not secured the recompense and appreciation they deserved. It would make a very long list indeed if one were to mention all the noteworthy works of Bulgarian historians, scientists etc, who have attained world-wide recognition, such as Prof Zlatarski, Boyan Penev etc., one however may be allowed to make a brief allusion to Symeon Radev's „Creators of Contemporary Bulgaria", a perusal of which is indispensable to those interested in Balkan affairs, and which, from both a literary, and a historical point ot view, may be said to be one of the most excellent productions in the Bulgarian language.

There has also been quite a flowering of lyrical poets of real distinction like Constantine Velitchkov, who among other things translated Dante into Bulgarian and Cyril Christov, who after enriching Bulgarian literature with his own productions, in which he reveals himself as a first class lyrical poet, has added to his merits that of a translator of Shakespeare's Henry IV, of Schiller's William Tell, of Byron's Manfred, and of Silvio Pelico's Francesco of Rimini. Peyu Yavorov should likewise be mentioned among the best poets of Bulgaria, since his

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poetry approaches to some extent the perfection and emotional intensity of that of Slaveikov. 538

Another estimate of the literary activities of the Bulgarians may be formed by the number and serious character of the books that are being published. Thus in 1931, a total of 2222 different books was printed, of which 1782 were original productions, and 229 translations, some 201 of the former being in languages other than Bulgarian. The bulk of the works published dealt with scientific subjects. Thus 591 books were on economics, sociology and politics, 349 on culture and pedagogy, 301 on literature, 262 on applied sciences, 175 on medicine, 131 on religion, 97 on law, 84 on history, 44 on art, and 39 on geography and ethnography. 214

The number of newspapers which appeared in 1931 was stated to be 571, and the number of periodicals 352 of which 26 appeared in foreign languages.[1] The largest newspaper circulation was that of the *Utro*, a morning newspaper, which reached daily 60,000 copies, while that of its rival, and the more serious, *Zora*, attained 40,000. The *Mir*, under its able editor, Peev-Platskov, a graduate of Robert College, and an accomplished English scholar, is admittedly the leading newspaper with a daily sale of 20,000 copies. From among the periodicals the *Bulgarski Voin* had the largest number of subscribers, namely 41,300 (mainly reserve officers), while other excellent reviews, such as the *Philosophski Pregled*, and the *Journal of the Economic Association* boasted 3000 and 1400 subscribers respectively. 204

[1] Among these is the „Bulgarian-British Review," a monthly periodical published in English chiefly aiming at promoting cultural and economic intercourse with Anglo-Saxon countries. This review offers to its American and English readers an accurate survey of Bulgarian life, and constitutes a much appreciated means of approach between the English-speaking communities and the Bulgarian people.

536 The theatre too has its votaries, and not only many prominent men of letters have contributed dramas and plays. but there are even some like M. Kostov, who devoted themselves exclusively to playwriting. The latter has won a well-deserved reputation as a comedy writer, which has transcended the narrow limits of his country, for such has been the success of his plays, that they have been translated into Rumanian and Serbian, and successfully staged both in Bucharest and Belgrade.

545 It would not be amiss to mention that the Bulgarians have succeeded in creating an opera and a theatre which compare very favourably with those of any of the larger provincial towns in western Europe, and this with an annual subsidy from the State of barely 12 million leva which is a most noteworthy feat. For a modest fee of one shilling, one may secure a most comfortable seat, and enjoy an excellent rendering of Wagner's Lohengrin, Verdi's Aïda, or Gounod's Faust, etc. It is regrettable that the best Bulgarian singers are often attracted by the lure of higher pay and appear more often in the opera houses of Prague and Paris, than that of Sofia, but the rendering of the choruses is always admirable. and compensates to a certain extent for the occasional absence of the protagonists. The staging too is perfect, and most modern, and is far ahead of what the average London theatre can offer.

532 In painting also, the Bulgarians have produced quite a number of really talented artists. The paintings of Mitov, Mirkvitska. etc were greatly admired at the Paris exhibition of 1900, and secured most flattering distinctions. It is to be deplored that few have kept to the real path of art and not gone astray allured by modern tendencies which have revolutionised artistic conceptions after the world war. Artists, like the portraitist Nicolaï Mihailov, who has not sacrificed his artistic convictions to these modern ideas has won a well-deserved international reputation

both in Europe and in America, those, however, who have set their sails to these withering winds have lost themselves in a maze of eccentricities which may be permissible on occasions to a genius, but which discredit the artist of average ability and expose him to be taken for an impostor and a charlatan. 532

Annual autumn shows are held in Sofia in which a picked review of total activity in painting is obtained, but except for a few gifted and devoted poets of colour and design, as well as for a few honest portraitists, exhibitors seem to excel in a sloppy diffuseness in still-life and landscape. Foreign visitors, who have no predilection for 'impressionism' or 'futurism', generally come away from these shows with the impression that they are rather exhibitions of misdirected energy, which for the very sake of the exhibitors themselves, a poverty-stricken community should not encourage.

ETHNOGRAPHY

000 In a chapter of Prof. Wm. McDougall's book the „Group Mind". consecrated to the study of the Mind of a Nation, the eminent sociologist dwells at length on the importance of both mental and racial homogeneity of a population as a condition for a harmonious development of national character and collective mental life. It must be regretfully admitted that in the case of the Bulgarian people, the conditions are extremely adverse and this will go a long way to explain its chequered historical career, the rather volcanic character of its politics, and the difficulties which wrecked the disinterested efforts of its patriots to appease and unite ever-warring and contending factions.

144 Prof. Pittard of Geneva, a reputed anthropologist, affirms:

„Au point de vue anthropologique les Bulgares ne constituent pas nulle part, pas davantage dans le royaume que dans le Dobroudja une 'race' pure. Par tous leurs 'caractères morphologiques: la stature, le crâne, la face, ils marquent une hétérogénéité que les autres Etats balkaniques ne montrent pas au même degré. La nation Bulgare est un complex ethnique qui semble avoir été formé avec les éléments humains de toute la péninsule. „La Roumanie". p. 229).

Dr. Krum Drontsilov in his Etudes Anthropogéographiques, p. 136, published by the Sofia University 1923 admits: "The natives of western Bulgaria (Dragoman) like Bulgarians of other regions, do not represent a homogeneous group so far as their corporeal characteristics are concerned. One remarks among them several distinct national elements which have been mixed". In another essay published also under the auspices of the University of Sofia in 1921 he affirms:

The Bulgarian people present a very great mixture, the crossing of types still continues but it has not yet created a uniform physical type. Observations and measurements show that in bodily

144 structure Bulgarians of different regions show great, even striking difference".

141 The author presents the results of his observations in Macedonia which show a very great variety in measurements as have been ascertained among the 491 cases which form the basis of his data. Natives of Western Macedonia are according to him distinctly brachycephalic, and differ considerably from those of Eastern Macedonia among whom the dolichocephalic predominate as may be seen form the appended table:

Dolichocephalic		Mesocephalic		Brachycephalic		Huperbrachycephalic	
Index: 68·3 to 75		75·1—80		80·1—85		85·1—98·1	
Western Macedonia	Eastern Macedonia	W.M.	E.M.	W,M.	E.M.	W.M.	E.M.
Cases		Cases		Cases		Cases	
3	37	15	126	79	75	146	10

It is worth comparing these figures with those of A. C. Hadon, ("The races of man") who states that the cephalic index of the Bulgarians varies from 78 on the coast to 85 in the west, and gives as their average stature 1·69 m.

144 175 These views ars confirmed by Prof. A. Ishirkov, who in his "Etude historicoethnographique sur la population du royaume de Bulgarie", remarks that there is no distinctive Bulgarian type and that the people are extremely differentiated. In his survey, he refers to some of the racial elements which have served to build up the Bulgarian people. Thracians, Greek settlers on the Black Sea coast and banks of the Danube, Persians who invaded and occupied Thrace as far as the Struma in 513 B. C., Scythians and the Ghettae, Macedonians, who under Lysimachus occupied all Danubian Bulgaria and the Dobrudja. In the 3rd century B. C. came an invasion of Celts who settled south of the Balkans and built their principal town Tile, in the valley of roses. (this settlement survives under the name of Tulovo) They gradually fell under Hellenic influ-

144 175 ence, their last king, Kavar, minted coins with Greek inscriptions. Some 100,000 Bastarni, a Germanic tribe were settled in Thrace about 280 A. D. by the Emperor Probus. For centuries Roman influence was predominant in the Balkans having penetrated into western Bulgaria as early as 229 B. C. The country was permanently occupied by 5 legions and as many auxiliary troops and many Roman towns founded. Bulgaria to the north of the Balkans was completely Romanised and a further influx of Romans took place on the evacuation of Dacia by the Emperor Aurelian. The historian Priscus affirms that Latin was widely spoken in Danubian Bulgaria in the 5th century. Later came the Goths and Slavs, who overran the whole peninsula, closely followed by the Bulgarians who gave their name to the country. There were two streams of Bulgarians one under Asparuch from Bessarabia and which settled in 679 in North Eastern Bulgaria, and another under Kubert from Pannonia, which settled in Macedonia near Monastir about 670 to 675.

Prof. Ishirkov's analysis is far from complete. Invasions of Moesia by Bulgarians are recorded by Theophanes (Bonnae p. 338/9) in the year 531. While in Marcellini Comitis Chronicon, Migne LI. and Theophylact Simocat VII. 4. references are made to Bulgarian settlements in the valley of the Yantra river in Northern Bulgaria about 535 and 585 respectively. This is explained by the fact that the Emperor Zeno according to John of Antioch, called in the Bulgarians to his help when at war with the Ostrogoths and that subsequently Vitallian also appealed to them for help against Anastassius. It is recorded that in 517, Kutrigurs or Bulgars, had appeared as far south as the Thermopylae, and Justinian is said to have received 2,000 of them, and to have settled them in Thrace. Towards the end of the first Bulgarian Empire however, still greater and more fundamental changes occurred in the ethnogra-

144 phic composition of the population so that one may safely
173 declare that the Bulgarians have nothing Slavonic except their language, and that they are in an overwhelming proportion descendants of various Hunnish tribes. On his advent in Bulgaria, Asparuch found it occupied partly by Slavs, of whom there were to all appearances seven small tribes (Theophanes, De Boor 359.12) which were finally subjugated by the Bulgarians. But the ranks of these Slavs must have been very much thinned since the Emperor Justinian II transferred some 30,000 to Asia Minor, while the Byzantine historians Nichephorus and Theophanes reported that in 761 another body of 208,000 Slavs also migrated from Bulgaria to Asia Minor. While the Slavs were being removed, numerous Syrian and Armenian colonists were being settled by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine V in Thrace and the plain of the Maritsa. Later in the 9th century, some 200,000 Armenians were settled around Philippopolis (Jovan Cvijić: "La Peninsule Balkanique" p 476).

The Slavs did not find in the Bulgarians congenial companions and they preferred to trek elsewhere because on the whole the Bulgarians were extremely warlike, while the Slavs were a pacific folk. In a letter of the Emperor Romanus Lecapenus to the Tsar Symeon, in which the former was advocating the necessity of concluding a treaty of peace between their respective countries, he stresses the fact that some 20,000 Bulgarians had fled their country in a year and sought refuge in the Byzantine Empire as they were disgusted with Symeon's warlike spirit. The weakening of the Slav element was further intensified by the policy of colonisation of the Slavonic districts in Macedonia by peoples from all parts of the Byzantine Empire which was inauguratsd in 809 by the Emperor Nicephorus. (Theophanes p. 486 10—23).

After the death of Symeon, Bulgaria completely

144 exhausted by the wars she had waged, rapidly collapsed.
175 Five Magyar incursions completely ravaged the country. On their heels came Sviatoslav's Russians in 967 who captured the great Bulgarian stronghold of Silistra and decimated the Bulgarians. It was only with the help of John Zimisces that they were finally driven off two years later and Bulgaria south of the Danube became a Byzantine province, and only the western part under the Tsar Samuel where the Bulgarian element survived in force, was able to ward off the Byzantines until 1018. But submission to the Byzantines did not secure for Eastern Bulgaria exemption from further invasions. In 1048 some 800,000 Petsenegs crossed the frozen Danube and the Byzantines settled them in the region around Sofia and Nisch and Ovtse Pole in Macedonia. In 1064, some 600.000 Kumans invaded Bulgaria and advanced into Thrace and Macedonia. These were veritable migrations affirms M. Yanko Sakuzov in his history of the Bulgarians (p. 121). He derives his figures from the eminent Russian historian Wassilievsky whose two book „The 2nd Bulgarian Empire", and „Byzantia and the Petsenegi" are the best documented on this particular period. In 1079 a yet further invasion of Petsenegs and Kumans took place, they penetrated into Thrace and even threatened Constantinople The Emperor Alexis Commenus was so alarmed that he appealed to the west for help. These Petsenegs and Kumans must have completely swamped the Bulgarians and what few Slav remnants had survived until then in Bulgaria. The Crusaders when traversing Bulgaria in 1096 had to battle mainly with Petsenegs. Albertus, Bishop of Aix, who compiled a history of the expedition to Jerusalem from the year 1095 to 1121 makes vivid allusion to the „Petsenegs who live in Bulgaria".

This explains why the Byzantine chronicler Nikita Akominat who is the main source of documentation con-

147 cerning the period relating to the restoration of the 2nd
175 Bulgarian Empire, refers to Bulgarians as living mainly in Macedonia, while the inhabitants of present day Bulgaria he refers to as Vlachs or Wallachs. Other Byzantine writers however, such as G. Acropolites and G. Codinus mention that the population was composed of both Bulgarians and Vlachs, and this is to some extent confirmed by such chronicles as have been left by the Crusaders. Such as Ansberte's „Ystoria de expeditione Friderici imperatoris", though Ansberte in a passage referring to the military help which Tsar Peter offered to Frederick Barbarossa against Constantinople mentions only 40,000 Vlachs and Kumans and no Bulgarians Villehardouin again calls tne ruler of Bulgaria: „Johanis le Blac; li reis de Blaquie et de Bogrie", Professor Zlatarski, in a study published by the Bulgarian Academy in 1933 rightly expresses the view that the Assenide dynasty was of Kumanian stock. It was certainly owing to their close relationship with the Kumans that they were able to appeal for assistance to their kinsmen across the Danube, And it was only with their support that they successfully revolted against the Byzantines. Naturally the question arises whence this sudden apperance of Vlachs in Bulgaria? Must we accept as likely Weigand's theory that the Rumanian nationality was formed in Bulgaria between 600 and 900 and then gradually moved north across the Danube and that therefore these Vlach subjects of the Assenide dynasty were but a rearguard which had not yet trekked northward? It would be rather more logical to explain the use of the term Vlach as a synonym for Kuman, owing to the long cohabitation of these two peoples in Wallachia and to their being mistaken for one another.

The advent of the Petshenegs and Kumans in Bulgaria relegated henceforth the original Bulgarian invaders

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to a back place, for the Kumanian Assenides were followed yet by other Kumanian Tsars on the throne of Bulgaria, those of the Terter dynasty and finally the Shishmans. The Dobrudja too, became an independent Kuman fief under the Kuman boliar Balik, from whom the Black Sea port Baltchik derives its name, as does the whole province from that of his son Dobrotitch. Other invasions of Kumans are recorded, in 1233, and still later after the Tartars had begun pressing them in their homeland in Wallachia. In their wake the Tartars too made their appearance in Bulgaria and repeatedly invaded the country, a son of the famous Han Nogai, Tsaka, was crowned in 1299 at Tirnovo as Bulgarian ruler though his reign was ephemeral. Soon after came the Turks who dominated the country for five centuries. It is strange that students of Bulgarian history have not taken seriously the irruption of the Petsénegs and Kumans in Bulgaria in the 11th century and still nourish the illusion that the Bulgarians are Slavs these mass migrations must have completely metamorphosed the ethnic basis of the population. There are no estimates of the Bulgarian population of that period, but the first Turkish census reported by Ubicini places the total population of the Danube vilayet in 1876 at 2,591,116 of whom 1,535,466 were recorded as Christians; this after five centuries of relative peace and prosperity, so that it may be easily assumed that the population of Bulgaria prior to the irruption of over a million and a half of Petsenegs and Kumans in the 11th century must have been extremely sparse and practically overwhelmed by such an influx. The greatest marvel is the survival of the Slav tongue in their midst but this must be ascribed mainly to its use in the Church, the clergy being the only cultural force in existence at the time. We can easily gauge its influence by what happened in Rumania where the Slavonic liturgy had been adopted and used until the 18th

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197 century. As a consequence the Rumanian language was slavicised to the extent of 2/5, while the Latin element was reduced to the proportion of only 1/5 of the total. (Cihac, „Dictionnaire d'étymologie Daco-Romane". Francfort S. M. 1879. Cf. its preface).

197 The irruption and settlement of the Petsenegs and
103 Kumans as was to be expected, left numerous traces in the topography of the country both to the north and south of the Danube. Such names as Petsenoge, Petsenevtse, Petseniaga, Petseneshka, Koman, Kumanitsa, Kymanovtsi, Comanca, Comani, Comanitsa, Comanesti, Comanca, Kumanovo and Gumendja abound and clearly indicate their origin. The Kuman tongue was akin to Turkish, and there is a written M. S. in it in Venice, the study of which would reveal that many words used in the Bulgarian and Rumanian languages and supposed to have been adopted from Turkish, were more probably borrowed direct from the Kuman tongue. This would be more evident in Rumanian where there was no direct contact between Rumanians and Turks, but where on the contrary Wallachs and Kumans lived side by side for centuries

162 According to the census of 1926 the ethnic minorities in Bulgaria were classified as follows according to race, language, and faith. At the time the total population was 5,478,741, including 4 3,011 foreigners, (mainly White Russians, 19,000).

Turks:	577,552	Turkish-Speaking:	588,105	Orthodox:	4,568,773
Gipsies:	134,844	Gipsy „	134,844	Moslems:	789,296
Rumanians:	69,080	Rumanian „	70,631	Jews:	46,431
Jews:	46,558	Judeo-Spanish „	46,322	Armeno-	
Armenians:	27,322	Armenian „	27,322	Gregorians	25,402
Greeks:	10,564	Greek „	10,564	Protestants	6,735
Tartars:	6,191			Various	1757
Gagauses:	4,362				
Kutso-Vlachs:	1,551				
Total	878,024				

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THE FIRST BULGARIAN EMPIRE

101 The name Bulgarian originally designated some of the Turki tribes which were component parts of the Hunnish Empire, and which were also occasionally known as Kutrigurs and Utrigurs The terminal of these two appelations has a close similarity with the term „Ugri", from which the Hungarians derive their name. The latter too formed part of the same Hunnish Empire and lived in close contact with the Bulgarians, who seem to have been at a much higher state of development since it was from them that the Hungarians, according to Prof. Geza Feher mainly derived their culture. Etymologists differ as to the interpretation of the term Bulgar. Some explain it as being derived from the name of the river Volga, and the word ur (är) signifying man, hense man of the Volga; others trace it to the syllable „bulg", the radical of the Turki verb „bulgamuk" meaning to mix, to trouble. This survives in the modern Turkish verb „bulamak" which has the same meaning. Both the Hungarian Orientalist Vambery, and the Rumanian Prof. Pârvan, interpret the word Bulgar as being an adjective in the Turki dialect and meaning mixed up, troubling, disturbing, an interpretation which will undoubtedly delight Bulgaria's neighbours since it offers a justification of their unneighbourly attitude towards her. The Czech historian W. Tomaschek holds that the word Bulgar means mixed, since the Bulgarians are a residuum of various Turki tribes which invaded Europe at different times. At any rate there is little doubt that Bulgar was a comprehensive term which covered both the Kutrigurs and Utrigurs, under which names the Bulgarians first appear in the records of Byzantine chroniclers The Bulgarians lived originally in the southern part of the Russian province of Perm. By the 5th century they had moved towards the Northern Caucasus, settling between the rivers Volga and Don.

THE FIRST BULGARIAN EMPIRE

Procopius (Caesariensis Opera Omnia, ed J. Hanry 1905 p. 501/3) as cited by Zlatarski, refers to Hunnish people east of the river Don and of the Caspian, and to a ruler among them who had two sons Utrigur and Kutrigur, between whom the kingdom was subsequently divided. These names came subsequently to designate these peoples. Prof. Zlatarski opines that this division which occurred about 438 caused the momentary suspension in the use of the name Bulgar by some of the Byzantine chroniclers, as the term was a generic one and applied to both branches of the same people. The Kutrigurs crossed the Don and moved west to the river Dnieper where they were in close touch with the remains of Attila's Huns after the latter's death in 452 and which thay incorporated. This would explain why the names of Huns and Bulgars were so often mixed up during the 6th century, as well as the increased activity of the latter and their spread both to the Balkans and Pannonia. 101 175x

It was during the reign of the Emperor Zeno (474—491) that the Kutrigur branch of the Bulgarians made its first appearance in Moesia, where they were invited by the Byzantines as allies against the Ostrogoths. In this capacity they repeatedly crossed the Danube and having learnt the way continued to come even uninvited, their incursions extending as far south as the Thermopylae in 517. It was mainly in order to protect the suburbs of Constantinople from these foraging expeditions of the Kutrigurs, that the Emperor Anastasius (491—518) built the Long Walls forty miles to the west of the city, accross a territory 54 miles broad from the Black Sea to the Marmara. Outside this Long Wall the country seems to have passed mainly into the possession of the Kutrigurs early in the 6th century. Theophanes, Bonnae p. 338/9 relates that in 531 there were two Bulgarian kings in Scythia and Moesia, that the Romans besieged and killed 175x

175 them, but that on their return another body of Bulgarians waylaid them, captured two Roman generals one of whom was subsequentl ransomed. In Marcellini Comitis Chronicon, Migne LI., mention is made of Bulgarians who inhabited the upper reaches of the river Yantra a tributary of the Danube at about 535.

In Justinian I's reign (527—565) the Kutrigurs seem to have been in close relations with the ruler of Constantinople. Their leader Grod was received there and baptised, while a body of his subjects were settled in Thrace apparently as allies. On his return to his homeland, north of the Danube, Grod was assassinated. His successor waged war with the Byzantines and captured from them the town of Kertch in the Crimea. After this exploit he continued to harass the Empire, carrying off in 539-40 as many as 120,009 prisoners. In 558 under their leader Zaberghan they Kutrigurs even proceeded to lay siege to Constantinople but were driven away by Belisarius who was especially recalled at the time from his enforced retirement. In order to secure some respite, Justinian appealed to the Eastern branch of the Bulgarians, the Utrigurs, and by promises and gifts succeeded in inducing the latter to invade the homeland of the Kutrigurs and inflict a serious defeat on them.

Theophylact Simocat VII. 4, writing about the Emperor Mauricius' (582-602) brother, Peter, who in the year 585 was heading an expedition against the Avars, mentions that after passing Novae (Svistov) he met and fought Bulgarians who protested that they were at peace with the Empire and who were finally allayed with presents. The Bulgarians seem to have been in force not only in Moesia, but even in Pannonia. Thus Cassiodorus (Migne LXIX 1274) states: „*Hoc Cos. virtute D. N. regis Theodorico victus Bulgaribus Syrmium recepit Italla*". and Jordanis („Romana & Getica, Monumenta Germaniae" p. 47) mentions

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the Bulgarians as devastating Illyrium in Justinian's reign: „*Illiricumque saepe ab Herulis Gipidisque et Bulgaris devastantibus per suos indices frequenter obstit, viriliterque cecedit*". Enodius, Vicar of Ticino, also refers to Bulgarians in his panegyric to Theodoric and praises him for his victories on these so far unconquerable foes.

Owing to the rising power of the Avars, who extended their rule to Pannonia, the Kutrigurs fell under their domination, and it is recorded that in 569 the Avar Khan organised an expedition of 10,000 Kutrigurs, whom he sent against Dalmatia.

While the Kutrigurs had definitely passed into Europe, the Utrigurs remained in their homes in the Western part of Northern Caucasus, falling under the yoke of other Turki or Tartar tribes towards the seventh decade of the 6th century, but with the assistance of the Byzantines recovered their independence towards its close under the leadership of Kurt, better known as Kubrat, who united all the Bulgar tribes under his rule. According to a statement found in Nicephori, archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani, Opuscula historica, edit. C de Boor, Lipsiae 1880, p, 24, Kubrat had revolted against the Avars and had succeeded in driving them away westwards. He concluded an alliance with the Emperor Heraclius with whom he remained in close comradeship to the end of his life.

Prof. Zlatarski cites the Chronique of Jean, évèque de Nikiou, in which reference is made of Kubrat as having been baptised and educated in the Imperial Court at Constantinople. He remained in close comradeship with Heraclius (610—641) who had covered him with honours and awarded him the title of patrician so that even after his death, Kubrat remained attached to Heraclius' children and wife Martina. Probably Heraclius found in Kubrat a very useful ally against the Avars who had been devastating his Thracian provinces while he was engaged in his campaigns against the Persians

175 Kubrat died in 643 and left five sons. The elder, Bayan or Batbayan, remained to rule over his father's dominion, while the other brothers set out in different directions. The second son, Kotrag, went northwards along the Volga and founded a kingdom between it and its confluent, the Kama. By the 9th century these Bulgarians had adopted Mohamedanism and were using Arabic in their official writing. Most of their tombstones of the 12th and 13th century are in Arabic mixed however with words of the old Bulgarian language. These Volga Bulgarians seem to have exerted a considerable influence on the surrounding peoples. The „Tsuvaski" dialect spoken in that region may be said to be the modern form of old Bulgarian. The Agricultural terms it contains are distinctly old Bulgarian. They prove its ancientness, for the information can be traced prior to the settlement of the Bulgarians in Northern Caucasus, which tends to show that the Bulgarians ceased to be nomades from a very remote time.

Another son, Kubert, moved to Pannonia among the Avars. There is quite a legend woven about the doings of Kubert. While some assert that after revolting against the Avars he moved southwards with his followers and settled in Macedonia, in the Cormessian plain near Monastir, between 670 and 675 A. D., others see in him the founder of Croatia and the leader from whom the Croats or Hrvati, derive their name. Probably the Bulgarians of Pannonia under Kubert played the same role in Croatia as those under Asparuch in Bulgaria. In a paper due to Mr H. H. Howarth F. S. A and published in the journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland Vol. XI 1882 on „The spread of the Slavs", Mr. Howorth in part IV deals with this subject, but unfortunately he seems to mix up the name of Kubert with that of his father Kubrat, and while giving certain highly interesting

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data yet owing to the lack of coherence in his narrative he fails to satisfy the curiosity he arouses in his readers. The following passages seem however worth reproducing:

"The native name of the Croats, given variously as Hr-wati, Horwati, cannot be surely a derivative of Khrebet, a mountain chain as often urged, but is clearly the same as the well known man's name Horvath, familiar to the readers of Hungarian history and no doubt the equivalent of the Khrubat or Kubrat of the Byzantine writers, which name is given by them not only to the stem father of the Bulgarian Kings, *but to one of the five brothers who led the Croat migration.*

I have also shown in previous papers of this series that the Croats were led by a caste of Hunnic race. These facts are very curious, and make it 'a priori' not improbable that they may have taken their names from Kubrat (Kubert) the leader of the Bulgarian revolt himself, and were in fact his subjects".

The youngest son, Altchek, moved on to Italy and took Pentapolis, near Ravenna, submitting finally to the Romans Towards 663 he migrated to the territory of Grimwald, the Longobardian King, who settled him and his followers in the district of Benevento, assigning to them the three villages-Sepinum, Bovianum, and Isernia.

It was the third son, Asparuch or Eshberuch, who was destined to found what we know as Bulgaria. Prior to his crossing the Danube in 679 he and his followers settled in Bessarabia and vestiges of their occupation still exist, such as that of an earthen wall running from the village of Leova on the Pruth to as far as the river Dniester, near Bender. The remains of another wall and ditch may be traced from a point to the south of the town of Cahul on the Pruth to the north western extremity of lake Conducul, leaving Bolgrad to the south, while traces of yet another wall may be found between the Pruth and Sereth, north of Galatz. These walls were considered until recently as having been erected by the Romans and in some maps are indicated as 'Roman walls'. Prof. Geza Feher has shown that the Bulgarians always contructed such walls along the

X175 frontiers of their State, and that they took great pains to prevent anyone from crossing them, those guards who allowed people to make good their escape being punished with death. The Bulgarians after having occupied Bulgaria as far as the Isker erected similar walls and ditches from the Araba-Konak pass in the Balkans, to the village of Ostrovo on the Danube (to the west of the estuary of the Isker) traces of which are still visible in certain defiles. When the frontier was moved further west, a similar wall was constructed terminating at Kozlodyi, and subsequently another one ending at Lom on the Danube. They completed the defences of their realm by erecting in Rumania a similar wall running from the river Jiul, in a radius, to a point south of Braila. which was extended later from the river Jiul to the town of Turnu Severin on the Danube. Further extensive remains of fortifications covering an area of some 48.3 sq.klm. are to be found near the village of Nicolicel, which were erected preparatory to the Bulgarian invasion of the Dobrudja. It was the siege of Constantinople by the Arabs which lasted four years, which encouraged and enabled the Bulgarians to cross the Danube and conquer Moesia. The Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, though he armed a numerous expedition which he led in person against the Bulgarians who had fortified a position at the mouth of the Danube failed to dislodge them. The Byzantine Empire apparently being too exhausted after its long struggle with the Saracens under Moawiah to attempt such a task. It therefore acquiesced in their settlement and concluded a treaty in 679 ceding them the provinces of Moesia and Scythia Minor (the Dobrudja), even agreeing to paying a yearly tribute.

Prior to the arrival of Asparuch's Bulgarians in Moesia, the whole Balkan peninsula including the Peloponnesus had been overrun by various Slav tribes, but so far as Moesia itself is concerned, the Byzantine chhonicler Theo-

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phanes (De Boor 359·12) states that there were only seven small tribes, and there is nothing to warrant us to conclude that the numerous settlements of Kutrigurs in the peninsula made in the 6th and 7th centuries had disappeared. The presence of the latter would explain the rapid expansion and consolidation of Bulgarians in Moesia where they found remnants of a kindred population already established, and should be attributed to this fact, rather than to the supposed co-operation between Bulgarians and Slavs which Bulgarian historians like to emphasize. They thus unduly stress Theophanes' statement (Chronographia p. 359) that the seven Slav tribes were in alliance with the Bulgarians (ὑπὸ πάκτον ὄντας) while they pass over in silence the Tsatalar inscription in which Khan Omortag refers to the building of Plisca as intended to hold „both Greeks and Slavs" and which seems to be in contradiction with the former.

It seems also very difficult to admit as correct Prof. Zlatarski's view that the followers of Asparuch did not surpass 25,000, though his opinion is shared by most Bulgarian historians, some of whom go even to the extreme of asserting that this was a mere marauding band not more than 10000 strong and composed of both Slavs and Bulgarians. Such a contention is untenable, for obviously it is not such a threat that would have incited the Byzantines to arm and dispatch a powerful expedition under the leadership of their Emperor, and which Theophanes in his Chronographia p. 358 describes as numerous and multitudinous (ἀθρόον καί παμπληθές), while Nicephorus in his Opuscula historica p. 35 alludes to the hosts of cavalrymen and sailors it contained (ἱππικῶν καί πλοΐμων τὰ πλήθη) In spite of their numbers, the Byzantines were unable to storm the fortifications which the Bulgarians had erected at Nicolicel on the Danube south of Isaktcha, and which were of an area of 48. 3 sq. klm (yet another

175 proof that the Bulgarians were well organised and numerous), and allowed themselves to be beaten and driven away to their ships. Tke ruins of Pliska and Preslav, the first capitals of the Bulgarians, also testify that the latter were a well organised people possessing a fairly advanced civilisation and that they had come in fairly large numbers.

At Pliska remains of a fortress of a trapezoid form of ½ klm. sq. in area with a round tower at each corner, a pentagonal tower at each of its four sides and each gate protected by two square towers have been unearthed. The walls are 2.6 m. in thickness, built of big square block stones and reminding one of the Persian Sassanid style of building. This fortress is in the centre of an entrenched camp 23·3 sq. klm. in area. The ruins of Preslav, the second capital, cover an area of 3½ sq. klm. with an interior fort of an area of ¼ sq. klm, with walls 2·10 m. in thickness.

The period from 679, the date of Asparuch's (644 – 702) crossing of the Danube to 688, the Bulgarians employed in consolidating and extending westward their dominions and no trouble arose with the Byzantines until 688 when the Emperor Justinian II (685—695 & 705—711) refused to continue the payment of tribute. A war followed in which he was defeated, and having been equally unsuccessful in his wars with the Saracens, was dethroned and expelled from his domains. In his peregrinations he found refuge with Khan Tervel, (702– 718/9) the successor of Asparuch, the latter having died in 792. Tervel lured by the promise of Justinian's daughter and of a monetary recompense, besieged Constantinople and restored it to its former master. In recompense the title of Caesar was bestowed on Tervel as well as considerable riches. Justinian however, soon forgot the aid he had received and declared war on Bulgaria, only to be defeated once more. In 716 Tervel concluded another treaty with Theodosius III (715—717)

the latter ceding a portion of his Thracian domains to the Bulgarians, whose western frontier in Moesia, now was the river Timok. It was most fortunate for the Byzantines to have secured the friendship of Khan Tervel, for in 717 the Saracens once more, under Moslemah, the brother of the Caliph Suleiman, laid siege to Constantinople. The city was completely isolated by land and sea, the Saracens relying more on starving it out than on taking it by storm. In the spring of 718 a fresh fleet came up from Egypt to help the besiegers, while a large army arrived from Tarsus and occupied the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus. But at that critical moment Khan Tervel appeared on the scene at the call of the besieged Emperor Leo the Isaurian (717-740). The Bulgarians routed the covering army which protected the siege on the western side, killing more than 22,000 Saracens, by the testimony of the Arab historians themselves, and inspired such terror to the survivors that Moslemah ordered his fleet to ferry the rest of his army across to Asia. By delivering Constantinople and turning back from the East of Europe the tide of the Arab invasion Khan Tervel struck as hard a blow for the preservation of European civilisation and of Christendom as his contemporary, Charles Martel on the battlefield of Poitiers, though few have ever thought of giving him his due. Judging from the mighty controversy which arose between Prof. Yorga and Prof. Moutaftchiev concerning Khans Sabin and Pagan, both of whom the former declared to be of Latin ancestry, a fact the latter strongly contested, aligning a series of formidable arguments in opposition in a most interesting and readable treatise „Bulgares et Roumains dans l'histoire des Pays Danubiens", one is inclined to ask how no other Trans-Danubian historian has had the ingenuity to claim Tervel, or Trebel, as a Latin compatriot, especially after his illustrious exploit. For the name has a striking similarity with that of Trebellianus, a

x 175 name borne by two well known individuals (C. Annius Trebellianus, a contemporary of Gallian and of Trebellianus Pollio who lived in the reign of Constantine). It is strange how certain historians should allow a free rein to their fancy and proceed to build up a whole system on fantasies, to wit such Russian historians like Uria Venelin, P. Butkov or Sergi Yvarov,[1] who by hook or crook wanted to make the Bulgarians pass for Slavs, and who have so much impressed modern Bulgarians with the myth of their supposed Slav origin that they are still unable to use their critical faculty on the subject and persist in upholding and defending an indefensible theory.

After the death of Khan Tervel an era of disturbances followed, the Bulgarians and Slavs far from living in harmony and concord, as Bulgarian historians would make us believe, started fighting each other. Even when collaborating with the Bulgarians they did not amalgamate with them. Theophanes states that Slavs and Bulgarians kept in distinct groups in Tervel's army. Apparenty the uncouth Bulgarians were too refractory and insensible to the mesmeric influence of the "charme slave" and 208,000 Slavs, in their disappointment at the rejection of their advances, turned their backs on Bulgaria and trekked to the Asiatic portion of the Byzantine Empire. These were not the first Slavs to cross over to Asia Minor, the Emperor Justinian II had facilitated another batch of 30,000 to do likewise. It appears that the Slavs were a pacific folk that resented the warlike policies which the Bulgarians wished to force upon them as confederates or allies and were inclined to remain at peace with the Byzantine Empire,

[1] The following lines of S. Yvarov's „De Bulgarorum utrorumque origine" will serve as an example of his prose., „Kubratus, cur Tataricum sonet nixio, quum jam cumulatae litterae consonantes idpotius slavicis vindicent dialectis, quae iis libenter utunturet potestas nominis slavica possit inveniri. Telizes sensum habet apertum — vitulem designat:"

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while the Bulgarians were desirous of pursuing an opposite policy. Most of the successors of Tervel, Sevar (725-740), Kormisos (740-756) Vineh (756-762), Telets (762-765), Sabin (765-767)) Toktu (767-772). and Pagan (772), followed a more or less pro-Byzantine policy and relied more on the Slavs for imposing it on the unwilling Bulgarian boliars or nobles. This led to feuds among the two peoples and revolts against the Khans who pursued this policy. The Emperor Constantine V Copronimus took advantage of these internal quarrels and undertook no fewer then eight campaigns against Kormisos and his successors, until finally he utterly routed the Bulgarians under Telets who was afterward killed, same as Kormisos, by his own subjects. Pagan was raised by the pro-Slav party to the throne, but as with Sabin, had to seek refuge finally in Constantinople. His successor Telerig (773-777) was elected by the Bulgarian boliars and by a cunning trick eliminated the pro-Byzantine sympathiters in Bulgaria. He wrote to the Emperor Constantine V in 774 pretending that he intended to seek refuge in Constantinople, and asked him to give him a list of his friends in order that he might warn them in time to flee with him. Constantine V unsuspectingly confided the names of his agents who were at once arrested and killed. By thus reducing the pro-Byzantine elements in Bulgaria both Telerig and his successor Kardam (777-803) were able to regain most of the influence their predecessors had lost. Kardam succeeded even in compelling the Empress Irene to renew the payment of an annual tribute to Bulgaria. So that Krum (803—814) on his advent to the throne found a consolidated realm and was able to turn his attention westwards and launch in a policy which, had it been persevered in, would have secured for Bulgaria an infinitely more important place in the history of Europe. The Avar Empire was collapsing under the advance

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175 of Charlemagne's Franks and its large mass of Bulgar subjects probably turned to Krum for help against these new invaders. The anonymous Magyar Chronicler who compiled his history in the first years of the 13th century relates that when the Magyars invaded Hungary they found the country between the Danube and the Theiss, and as far as the North-East Carpathians ruled by the Bulgarian prince Salanus (Zalan); another Bulgarian, Menumerout, ruled the country between the rivers Someş and Mureş. The former's country had been conquered by his grandfather „Keanus magnus, dux Bulgariae", who likewise settled in this region Bulgarians and Slavs from Bulria. This Keanus Magnus is no other than Krum. The Byzantine writer Suidas (Lexicon edition Bernhardi) likewise affirms that Krum conquered Eastern Hungary, and incorparated all the Avar lands to the east of the Theiss in his dominions.

Zalan when defeated by the Magyars under the leadership of Arpad, fled to Belgrade and sought the help of Tsar Simeon, but the latter dazzled by the mirage of Constantinople, the conquest of which he had set his heart on, paid no heed to these solicitations and unlike his great predecessor, Krum, permitted the Bulgar dominion in Pannonia to be brought to an end. Krum's chief preoccupation was the consolidation of his dominions in the West. While incorporating in them the Avars, he attempted

[1] The Abbé F. Dvornik in his „Les slaves, Byzances et Rome", affirms that: „Krum était chef des Bulgares de Pannonie". And Mr. S. Runciman in his „History of the first Bulgarian Empire" p. 51, after reiterating the same thing adds: „How it happened we cannot tell. Probably the Balkan Bulgarians had always kept in touch with their cousins. Since Asparuch's day the Khan of Pliska had controlled the plains of Wallachia and Moldavia, and the Pannonian Bulgars in Transylvania were not far off; only the Carpathians divided them". It is regrettable that both these authors should not mention how they have come to this conclusion since it is in opposition to Suidas' assertion.

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to subjugate the Slavs who until then had been subordinated to them. The Byzantines were pursuing a similar policy of conquest towards the Slavs of Macedonia. The Emperor Nicephorus had ordered in 809 the colonisation of the Slavovic districts in Macedonia by peoples from all the themes of the Empire, (Theophanes p. 486 10–23) and this brought them into conflict with Krum who had captured Sofia in 809. The Emperor Nicephorus invaded Bulgaria in 811 and after sacking Krum's capital allowed himself and his army to be annihilated. Krum, it is said, fashioning a drinking cup out of the Emperor's skull. The Bulgarian ruler offered peace to Nicephorus'successor, Michael, but this was rejected, whereupon Krum invaded Thrace captured Colonia Deultus and again made overtures for peace. These being declined Krum threatened to take Mesembria, and as his proposal remained unanswered, captured this town, inflicted a heavy, defeat on Michael I and proceeded to lay siege to Constantinople. The discontent in the Byzantine army caused by its repeated defeats found vent in a mutiny and Leo the Armenian was proclaimed Emperor. He opened negotiations with Krum, but attempted to assassinate treacherously the latter in a conference. Enraged by this act of treachery, Krum laid waste the outskirts of the city, captured Adrianople and retired with a host of captives, among them the future Byzantine Emperor, Basil I. While preparing for another expedition against Constantinople, Krum was seized with apoplexy and died on April 13,811.

The numerous prisoners Krum had captured in his campaigns in Thrace and whom he partly settled in trans-Danubian Bulgaria and in Bulgaria proper (Scriptor Incertus p. 344-6) seem to have contributed to a great extent to the spread of arts. Several disaffected notable Byzantines also sought a refuge at Krum's Court, such as Constantine Patchik, who married Krum's sister, and Spatharius Evmatii.

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The Greek inscriptions on Bulgarian monuments may be probably traced to Byzantine artisans, from whom the Bulgarians learnt likewise to construct siege machines, the possession of which enabled them to storm the stronghold of Adrianople and Mesembria. Krum is mentioned to have been at the head of 30,000 mailed warriors (Scriptor Incertus p. 346), a matter which presupposes a considerable development in arts and industry. This is confirmed by the find of the so-called Attila's treasure at Nagy Szent Miklós made in 1799, which has since been recognised as Bulgarian in origin and dating from Krum's time or that of his successors. Krum is likewise known by his legislation, mention of which is made in „Responsa Nicolai Papae ad consulta bulgarorum", as well as in Suidas' lexicon. The latter affirms that Krum was influenced in passing such Draconian laws to suppress calumny, lying, robbery and drunkeness, by the statement of his Avar prisoners, who attributed the fall of their kingdom to the prevalence of these vices. He, and his son and successor Omortag were undoubtedly the greatest of Bulgaria's rulers, endowed with a true stateman's insight into their country's real needs, which was displayed by their determination not to let themselves get entangled into purposeless struggles with their Byzantine neighbours, but to direct all their attention to the west in order to preserve the large Bulgarian population in Transylvania and Pannonia from denationalisation[1]. Omortag (814-831) succeeded in concluding a

[1] It seems strange, yet the remnants of these Bulgarians still survive in the region of Vinga, between Arad & Temesvar (see „Die Südungarischen Bulgaren" by Prof. Gesa Czirbusz). According to Mikloshitch the actual Bulgarians of the Banat are not newcomers but the descendants of those who lived there even before the arrival of the Magyars This is also confirmed by the local toponymy according to the Hungarian Slavicist Yanosh Melish. These Bulgarians when under Hungarian rule and prior to being incorporated in Rumania used to publish a paper at Vinga, „the Vingaska Narodna Nuvela", as well as a calendar the „Balgarski Denevnik".

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thirty years peace with Leo the Armenian soon after his accession to the throne and turned his attention to his dominions in the west, where he exerted himself to stop the encroachments of the Franks.

The Slav tribes of the Brenishevi and Timoshani, occupying the region between the Danube, Morava and Timok, had demanded the support of the Franks. Omortag sent a mission to Louis the Pious requesting that the frontier between the two should be defined, but as he failed to secure an answer he invaded Croatia and replaced the dukes appointed by the Franks with Bulgarian chiefs. Owing to the internal struggles in the Carlovingian Empire following on Charlemagne's death, Omortag was able to install himself firmly in the plains of Slavonia and in Sirmium, and turn henceforth his attention to more peaceful tasks. Most of the surviving ancient Bulgarian monuments belong to the reign of Omortag. He enlarged the old capital of Pliska, built a fortress at Preslav which was subsequently chosen as capital by Tsar Symeon. A column with a commemorative inscription of the period and which was afterwards placed by the Tsar Ivan Assen into the church of Forty Martyrs in Tirnovo, where it is still extant and bears an inscription in Greek relating how Omortag erected a new palace on the Danube (near the village of Kadikey between Silistra and Tutrakan) and midway between this new palace and that of Pliska a famous hill (The Tumulus of Mumdjilar, which is supposed to contain Omortag's grave) and is at a distance of 42·5 k. from either of the two points mentioned. Another inscription discovered at the village of Tsatalar, now removed to the Sofia Museum and dating from 821—2 commemorates the building of a fortified palace on the river Titsa, near Pliska, destined to "hold both Greeks and Slavs" and refers to the placing of two lion statues and four columns in the fortress at Pliska. Several other tombal inscriptions

x175 commemorating the death of military commanders who perished on the rivers Theiss and Dniester in defence of Omortag's domains, prove beyond doubt how extensive the frontiers of Bulgaria were at the time, incorporating as they did the whole of present day Rumania. The inscription concerning Omortag's palace on the Danube which is at its shortest distance from the old capital Pliska, shows that is was used as a place of transhipment of the salt carried from the Transylvanian mines, by way of the Danube and from the disposal of which the Bulgarian State drew a large source of revenue. Another impressive monument is the equestrian statue of Krum engraved in the rock cliffs of Madara, near Shumen, the Greek inscription of which has been deciphered by the Hungarian Prof. Geza Feher.

In 1926 several gold ornaments similar in style to those found at Nagy Szent Miklós were unearthed in north-eastern Bulgaria, and in 1927, two stone statues, similar to those placed on tombs in South Russia by the ancient Bulgarian settlers in the region of the Volga. The old Bulgarian letter signs found on bricks, tiles, blocks of stone and on the articles of the so-called Attila's treasure are similar to runes, but have not yet been diciphered, the sculptural inscriptions however, are all in Greek, with occasional old Bulgarian words mixed in the sentences. Prof. Feher has spent years in the study of the ancient Bulgarian culture and his books contain the most recent and best information on the subject. He considers the ancient Bulgarians to have been „the first settled people among uncultured nomad tribes", and to have formed „the basis of present East European culture". The explanation of their success in establishing an enduring State in Moesia, where none had existed before is to he found, according to him, in their developed organisation and material culture.

The successors of Omortag, Malamir (831-836) and

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Precian (836-852), continued to give most of their attention to the west. It was in the latter's reign that the Peace of Paderborn was concluded in 845, when the Emperor Louis of the Franks renounced his rights on Sirmia and part of Pannonian Croatia in favour of Bulgaria. The conquest of Serbia was attempted in order to secure easier communications between the Eastern and Western portions of the Empire, but Precian after waging a three years war and losing most of his troops gave up the attempt. (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Admin. Imp.) An inscription relative to Precian was unearthed by the Ecole Francaise d'Athènes near Philippi, solemnising the successful campaign against the Slav tribe of Smolenes in the defile of the Struma about 847 when the Bulgarians advanced towards Salonica. Another similar Greco-Bulgarian inscription was found by the same archeologists in 1924, which Prof Iordan Ivanov in his „Bulgarian Antiquities of Macedonia" attributes likewise to Precian and which according to him establishes the fact that the Bulgarians had successfully penetrated to the Aegean seaboard, though only for a brief period, since by the beginning of the 10th century Philippi had again reverted to Byzantine rule.

The next Bulgarian ruler was Boris (852—889). The most important event of his reign was his conversion and that of his people to Christianity. The exact date of his baptism has now been established as having accurred in 866, a tablet bearing an inscription to this effect, having been unearthed at Balshi, 25 klm. south of Berat, in South Albania during the world war. Christianity had continued to spread in Bulgaria since the time Krum had settled thousands of Byzantine prisoners in his domains and since the time of his legislation which had tended to weaken the traditions and customs of his Bulgarian subjects. A brother of the Khan Malamir was put to death for having adopted Christianity. Boris first turned to Louis Germanicus, with

175 whom he had concluded a treaty in 862, asking him to facilitate his conversion, and Pope Nicolas I was notified the following year about Boris'wish. In the meantime the Byzantine Emperor Michael III taking advantage of a great famine which raged in Bulgaria invaded the country. Boris not being in a position to resist sought peace and accepted Michael's terms which among other conditions stipulated for Boris' conversion to Christianity. Boris desired to create a native priesthood so as to eliminate the danger of the Grecisation of the clergy, but though the Greek Patriarch, Photius, agreed to the creation of an independent Bulgarian church, he insisted on being its supreme chief. This did not entirely please Boris who again turned to Rome and demanded that a Bulgarian patriarch should be ordained. The Pope replied by sending two bishops but no patriarch; Boris drove away the Greek priests hoping that eventually the Pope would yield on this point but the latter remained inflexible. Pope Nicolas' I decease and the accession of Basil I who had spent his youth in captivity in Bulgaria and was anxious to promote an understanding between that country and his, induced Boris to turn once more to Constantinople, all the more since an oecumenical council had been convoked in Constantinople in 869 to consecrate the Union of Rome and Byzantium and at this council it was decided that Bulgaria was to be attached to the Eastern Church, though with the right to possess an independent archbishop whereupon Boris opened anew Bulgaria to the Greek priesthood.

Both the Byzantine Emperors Michael III, and later, Basil I, had attempted to proselytize on a large scale the Slav tribes in Macedonia and further west so as to win them to their Empire. In this task they were seconded by the two brothers Constantine, better known under his monachal name of Cyril, and Methodius. The latter before becoming a missionary had been appointed Governor of the

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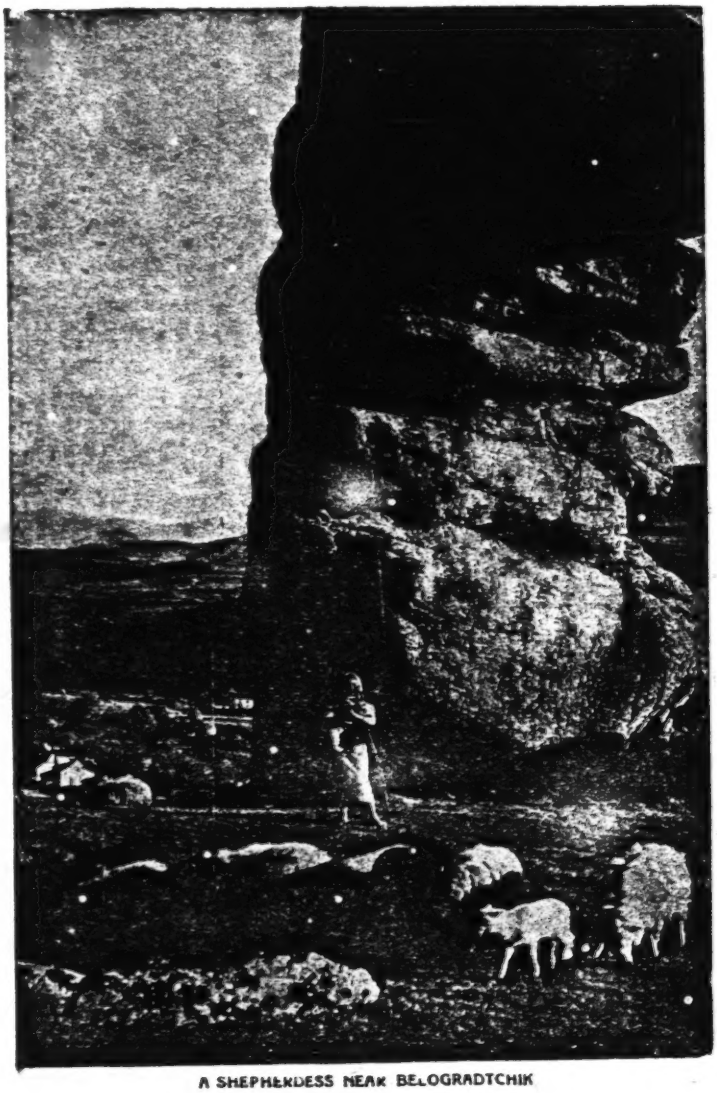

A SHEPHERDESS NEAR BELOGRADTCHIK

[facing p. 289]

175 theme of Strymon in Macedonia and thus had come in close contact with the Slavs. In 862 Ratislav of Moravia after having unsuccessfully implored from Rome the dispatch of priests to hold the Christian rites in Slavonic, sent a mission on a similar quest to Constantinople and as the use of foreign languages in the church service was not prohibited in the Eastern Church, Michael III prevailed upon the two brothers Constantine and Methodius to undertake this mission, having already employed them on a similar errand among the Khazars. For this purpose Constantine devised a special alphabet, the glagolythic, and employed it in his translation of religious books into Slav. After an initial success in Moravia, Constantine and Methodius roused the opposition of the Germans who threw them into prison. They took refuge in Rome, where Constantine died. Pope John VIII sent Methodius anew to Moravia hoping that from there he could more easily succeed in winning over Bulgaria to Rome and to this effect he addressed several letters to Boris, the last dated 882, but without evoking a response.

Finally John VIII had to comply with the request of the Germans who insisted on Latin being used in the liturgy in Moravia, and expelled Methodius and his disciples. After the death of Methodius in 885, his disciples took refuge in Bulgaria, and Boris entrusted the most famous of them Clement, Naoum, and Anghelarii with the task of organising the Bulgarian Church. Clement was sent to evangelise Macedonia in 886, and it is mainly to the efforts of these missionaries that the Slav language which they used for officiating in the churches, became the dominant one in Bulgaria. As the Abbé F. Dvornik, the best authority on the life of Cyril and Methodius affirms:

„Grâce à cette activité des prêtres slaves formés par les disciples de St. Methode, la Bulgarie devint peu à peu un pays com

175 pletement Slave, independant même au point de vue religieux. Simeon put enfin réaliser le rêve de son père et proclamer la fondation du partriarchat bulgare, le pays ayant desormais tous les élèments qui lui étaient necessaires pour cela". (Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome) p. 317.

The Emperor Basil I did his utmost to assist in this work of slavisation by inviting Methodius to Constantinople in 882 to consult with as to the best methods, after having helped in the work of converting the Serbs which took place in 879. He also opened a special church for the Slavs in Constantinople in 883, and in 887 he secured the release of another batch of Methodius' pupils who had taken refuge in Venice. But this missionary work of Methodius owing to the opposition it aroused in Rome after the advent of Pope Stephen V, would have given very meagre results had it not been for the support it obtained from Bulgaria, and to which the Abbé Dvornik attributes the maintenance of the majority of the Slavs within the fold of the Eastern Church[1]. The Bulgarians

[1] The service thus rendered by Bulgaria is of very questionable value; on the whole, the attachment of the major part of Slavdom to the Eastern Church is to be regretted, for it hindered their cultural development and the only thing it furthered was Panslavism. As the distinguished French sociologist Alfred Fouillée wrote in his 'Esquisse psychologique des Peuple Européens' — „Les consequences de cet évenement sont bien connues, d'une part l'esprit Byzantin implanté en Russie, d'autre part, la civilisation romaine et occidentale fermée pour des siecles, le rite se substituant à tout le reste, l'orthodoxie jalouse étouffant l'essor de la pensée etc." The author then proceeds to draw a parallel between backward Orthodox Russia and progressive Catholic Poland, the varying degree of development attained by each being attributed to the different civilising currents which have fertilised these, two countries. „là byzantin et infécond, ici gréco-romain et de fécondité infinie. . . La lutte de la Russie et de la Pologne, c'est celle de deux civilisations contraires chez deux peuples de même origine, tant il est vrai, que les influences morales et sociales sont supérieures aux influences éthniques." (p. 421).

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claim both Cyril and Methodius as of their own nationality and they base their claim on the fact that they had a profound knowledge of the Slav language as revealed by their translations of the ecclesiastical books; but this can hardly be said to be a convincing proof. The case of the writings of the late Joseph Conrad may be cited in support, who being a Pole by birth yet had a perfect command of the English tongue. Besides, the Abbé F. Dvornik who is the historian „par excellence" of the two missionary brothers, affirms in his newer book published in 1933 (Byzantinoslavica):

„Constantin et Methode sont des Grecs passés au slavisme par l'amour de la langue et de l'âme slaves."

and judging from such existing records in Byzantine history and of the close association of Constantine with Mihael III and the Patriarch Photius one can hardly entertain any doubts on this matter.

Boris retired in 888 to a monastery; his son Vladimir (889-893) who succeeded him, sought to form an alliance with the Germans who had sent an embassy to win him over in order that Svetopol, King of Moravia, might be jointly attacked. The Germans demanded that the Bulgarians should cease supplying Svetopol with salt from the mines in Transylvania, which shows that the Bulgarian dominions still extended considerably to the north of the Danube, Vladimir desired to sunder all ties with the Byzantines and revert to Paganism. It is this which compelled Boris to leave his monastery and after crushing the boliars who had rallied round Vladimir, to place his younger son, Symeon on the throne. He then returned to his cloister and died in 907.

The reign of Symeon (893-927) is considered as the golden age of the Ist. Bulgarian Empire. Symeon, owing to his having been educated in Constantinople proved a patron of letters and with the assistance of the disciples

175 of Methodius, translations of works of ecclesiastical character continued. In this respect one must concede that Gibbon was right in stating that under Symeon's reign „Bulgaria assumed a rank among the civilised powers of the earth". Symeon however was devoured by an insensate ambition, that of overcoming the Byzantine Empire and creating a new Greco-Bulgarian realm, of which he himself would be the head. In the realisation of this highly ambitious plan he used up all the vital forces of his nation, which soon after his death, collapsed. No sooner was he on the throne than he picked a quarrel with the Greeks and proceeded to lay waste the whole of Thrace and Macedonia, plundering and killing the inhabitants and contemptuously restoring the Greek prisoners to their sovereign with their noses cut off. Mr. S. Runciman in his history of the „Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his reign" (p. 91) writes: „Symeon, whose veneer of culture was always rather thin, had an attack of barbarism. He could not resist it, shocking and terrifying the Greeks by ravaging the countryside and burning one of their holiest sanctuaries, the Church of the Virgin at Pegae, built by Justinian, four centuries before", The Emperor Leo VI, the Wise, summoned to his aid the Magyars, who were living in Bessarabia and in 895 sent his fleet to transport them across the Danube. They attacked and defeated Symeon, forcing him to take refuge in Silistria while they ravaged the whole of Eastern Bulgaria. On their return march, Symeon, inflicted a defeat on them and with the help of the Petsenegs in the succeeding year proceeded to lay waste their homes while they were away on a campaign. This incited the Magyars to abandon Bessarabia and wander further west into the so far Bulgarian Pannonia in 896 which they subjugated and where they founded the kingdom of Hungary.

In 914 Symeon demanded that the young Emperor

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Constantine Porphyrogenitus (912-958), a child of ten, should marry his daughter, hoping that by thus securing the title of Vassilopator he would obtain a dominant influence in Constantinople. His offer having been rejected, he undertook a fresh campaign, but in spite of his successes in the open, the walls of Constantinople proved an insuperable obstacle to his ambition. In order to satisfy this yearning he did not even hesitate to send emissaries to the Fatimite Caliph Al-Mahdi, urging him to send a fleet against the Imperial city which was to be attacked simultaneously by the Bulgarians by land, and the booty to be divided evenly, between the two The Arabs accepted these terms but on their return, the Bulgarian delegates were captured by the Byzantines who sent straightaway an embassy and dissuaded the Caliph from embarking on this project. The warlike policy of Symeon was so distasteful to the bulk of his subjects that a serious revolt broke out in Bulgaria in 923. As soon as it was stamped out, Symeon launched a campaign against Serbia with the object of placing a nominee of his, Tseslav, son of Klonimir, on the throne. He invited the Serbian Zupans to meet and confer with their new leader and when they came unsuspectingly to the conference put them treacherously to death and devastated the whole of Serbia, turning the land into a veritable desert. In 925 Symeon proceeded to proclaim himself Caesar and Emperor of all Bulgarians and Greeks, and demanded that this title should be recognised by the Greeks and that he should be allowed to enter Constantinople in triumph. The co-regent Emperor Romanus Lecapenus (919-945) answered these insolent demands in a most dignified manner. His letters to Symeon which were published in the „Δελτίον τῆς ἱστορικῆς καί ἐθνολογικῆς ἑταιρίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος", as well those of Nicholas the Mystic, the contemporary Patriarch who had acted as teacher to Symeon, exhorting the latter to conclude peace and give up his

175 desire of conquest, are models of patience, humility and common sense. Thus in one of his letters Romanus Lecapenus tells Symeon that he may call himself as he likes but that he had no right to the title of Caesar of all Greeks which he assumed, and that though he may call himself Emperor of those Greeks who have fallen into captivity the other will have nothing to do with him, that his occupation of Byzantine towns will only be a burden as he will be obliged to supply the inhabitants with food. Even Bulgarians flee from him and seek refuge in the Empire in numbers as great as 20,000. Such coolness seems to have enraged Symeon, for in answer to one of Nicholas the Mystic's letters, he stated that peace was possible only if Romanus Lecapenus would descend from the throne, and if the rulers and the people of Constantinople would acknowledge him as master. Unable to sooth his boundless ambition in this direction, he turned west and invaded Croatia in 925, but his armies were annihilated it 926 and Symeon appealed to Pope John X to intervene and conclude peace, demanding at the same time regal recognition from the latter. This supreme consolation was finally granted to him by the Greeks prior to his death in 927. It may be admitted that the epithets awarded to Symeon by the Byzantine chroniclers were well deserved. „ Ἡγεμὼν ἀλαζών, ἄνομος, ἄδικος, δόλιος, ἐπίορκος, θηριογνώμων, αἱμόδιψος, ἁρπαξ, χρημάτων ἄπληστος". He proved a veritable scourge both to his neighbours and to his people. In order to secure the support of his nobles for his warlike policy he extended their privileges as well as those of the priesthood; and these two classes proceeded to despoil the peasantry of their lands and turned the masses into helots. The Church grew too wealthy and became demoralised. The monasteries with their immense revenues attracted large numbers of people, who sought shelter from the difficulties brought on by Symeon's endless campaigns.

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The exhaustion and wretchedness of the masses and the demoralisation of the Church furthered the spread of the Bogomile heresy which completed the undermining of the foundations of the State and prepared its ruin.

It is strange that the Bulgarians should have commemorated a few years ago the millenium of Symeon's death with such great ceremonial, and honoured the memory of a man whose sole distinction was vaunting and boundless ambition and whose unique achievement was the securing of the title of Tsar for himself and his successors. This empty distinction was paid by the final loss of Bulgarian Pannonia and that of the dominions to the north of the Danube,and by the creation of an inveterate enemy in the person of the Serbs, who until then as Constantine Porphyrogenitus writes in his book „On the Administration of the Empire", had lived peacefully with the Bulgarians and had loved each other as neighbours etc.

Viewing the recent history of Bulgaria, an unbiassed observer cannot but be struck by the peculiar repetition of a series of events that are singularly remindful of those which occurred in Symeon's reign. Then as now the burning ambition to secure the title of „Tsar" roused the suspicion of all neighbours of Bulgaria, Then as now the lure of Constantinople overclouded a ruler's intelligence and caused the prolongation of a campaign that exhausted Bulgaria, and when the morbid hankering after Constantinople could not be satisfied, it was sought to be appeased with the possession of Salonica, the „Bulgarian Mecca", involving Bulgaria in a conflict with her western neighbours which caused her to crumble to the ground. Theosophists who believe in the doctrine of reincarnation and profess that the human soul after a thousand years of Devachanic repose reappears again in another body, would probably attribute these coincidences to Symeon having again reappeared on the scene of his old exploits

X 175 under the guise of Ferdinand. We can only pray for Bulgaria that this demoniacal soul, either in its present or future embodiment will never come near her again, and all Bulgarians will probably join in an unanimous and heartfelt Amen!

Prior to his death, Symeon had appointed as his heir Peter (927-969), his eldest son by his second marriage, to the exclusion of Michael, his son by his first wife. Peter concluded an alliance with the Greeks, married the granddaughter of Romanus Lecapenus and secured the raising of the Archbishop of Silistra to the dignity of a Patriarch, The warlike nobles, however, were displeased with this pro-Byzantine policy as well as by the displacement of the rightful heir and fomented a revolt and attempted to place first Michael, and then Peter's younger brother on the throne; the movement however miscarried. Another revolt however broke out in 963 in Western Bulgaria led by a noble, Nicholas Shisman, who succeeded in forming a new State.

In 965 the Magyars began pressing on the frontiers of Bulgaria. Peter unable to defend himself, concluded an arrangement with them by which they secured the right to cross unhampered his domains and invade Thrace. The co-regent Emperor Nicephorus II Phocas (963-969) resented these incursions and unable to secure satisfaction from the helpless Peter, incited Svetoslav of Russia to invade Bulgaria. In 967 Svetoslav captured Silistra and made short work of such resistance as the Bulgarians could offer. Such was the progress of the Russians however, that Nicephorus hastened to conclude peace with Peter and help him to drive away the Russians. Boris II who succeeded his father Peter in 968, had to face another more formidable Russian invasion as this time Svetoslav came with the intention of staying. Both Boris II and his brother Romanus were taken prisoners by the Russians when they seized Preslav

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in 970. They then crossed the Balkans and captured Philippopolis after massacring 20,000 of its inhabitants. John Zimisces (969-976) who had just succeeded to the Byzantine throne hurried to the assistance of Bulgaria, laid siege to Preslav and after rescuing Boris II, laid siege to Silistra behind the walls of which town Svetotlav had sought shelter. He was finally forced to yield himself up in 971 on the terms that he and his men might return to Russia; whereupon John Zimisces deposed Boris II, who was offered as a consolation the post of an Imperial Magnate. It was only the western part of Bulgaria which under the four sons of Shisman retained yet its independence. By 976 only the younger brother, Samuel survived; two brothers having been killed, while the third, Aaron, had been assassinated by Samuel's orders because of his sympathies with the Greeks. Samuel began waging war against the Empire, invading Thessaly and capturing Larissa. The new Emperor Basil II (963-1025) determined to put a stop to this new threat to his Greek provinces, the insolent behaviour of Symeon had convinced the Byzantines that the existence of a strong Bulgaria was incompatible with their security and for forty years Basil II devoted all his energies to secure the complete subjugation of the Bulgarians. A series of campaigns in which victory inclined alternatively to the one or other side was waged, until finally Basil II was able, owing to the superior resources at his command, to deal a final blow in 1014 to his strenuous adversary near the Belasitsa mountains, when more than 15,000 prisoners fell on his hands. Basil had their eyes put out, allowing every hundredth man to retain one eye in order to guide back his mutilated comrades to his sovereign. When Samuel perceived this lamentable procession he was overpowered by the spectacle and fell in a swoon, dying a few days later. For a year Samuel's son Gabriel-Radomir courageously attempted to

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X175 make a stand, but finally he was assassinated by his cousin Vladislav, the son of the murdered Aaron. The few surviving nobles endeavoured to prolong the uneven struggle in the mountains of Western Macedonia and Albania, but by 1018 Basil II, called the „Bulgarslayer" overcame all resistance and achieved the conquest of all Bulgaria.

THE BYZANTINE DOMINION AND THE BOGOMILE HERESY

Basil II did not deal harshly with Bulgaria after obtaining her submission and as he publicly proclaimed he maintained the existing order. Even the Bulgarian Church retained its independence with the difference that Basil II altered the title of its head from Patriarch to Archbishop. A few insurrections which broke out were easily suppressed except that of 1040 which was headed by Peter Delian, son of Gabriel-Radomir and which made considerable headway. But Vladislav's younger brother having gained Peter Delian's confidence invited him to a feast, during which he was seized and blinded, whereupon the movement deprived of its leader, collapsed. Except for these initial risings, Byzantine rule was comparatively undisturbed, it was characterised however by the irruption into Bulgaria and the settlement within her precincts of two numerous invaders, the Petsenegs and the Kumans, who appeared to have radically transformed the ethnic composition of the country except in the south western part.

The Bogomile heresy of which we first hear during the reign of Tsar Peter continued to spread and extended far beyond the frontiers of Bulgaria, making its way into Bosnia, Italy, and southern France. It may be traced to the Paulicians, a sect accused of Manicheanism, as well as to the presence of certain Syrian and Armenian colo-

nists who were settled by the Byzantines in Thrace and southern Bulgaria in 755, during the reign of Constantine V Copronymus and subsequently. Theophanes even affirms that a whole colony of monophysites had been transferred from Syria to Thrace in 745 by the same Iconoclast Emperor as a consequence of his campaigns against image-worship. Bogomilism is a mixture of Persian, Syrian, Greek, and Christian religious tenets and its appearance was a natural reaction against the corruption of the Church. It was opposed at first to the State, because Tsar Peter was considered as an unlawful and an unjust ruler, favouring unduly the nobles and the clergy to the detriment of the people. The sect which continued to develop in strength ceased its opposition to the State when later a capable and just ruler like Ivan Assen (1218-1241) mounted the throne.

Pope Bogomil's creed was conceived in a true Christian spirit, it aimed at the spiritualisation of life and the soul of all that is material. Its cardinal doctrine was based on the dualism of a good and an evil deity, both emanating from God, personified by his two sons Satanael, master of the material world, and Christ, Lord of the spiritual. Satanael had been excluded from heaven owing to his vanity end exiled to the earth which he himself fashioned. He made a figure of a man but could not infuse life into it. Satanael implored God to help him, whereupon God agreed, on condition that he would retain command over the soul, God wishing to utilise the souls of men for the purpose of replenishing the ranks of his angels, while Satanael would dominate the body only. Satanael, however did not keep his word, and seduced by Eve, he became the father of Cain who murdered Abel, the son of Adam. From that time on, the children of Satanael persecuted and destroyed the children of God and the human species remained under the influence of Satanael during the

X175 whole period covered by the old Testament, (and for this reason probably, the Bogomiles rejected its teachings). God at last took pity and sent Christ who overcame Satanael, deprived him of his powers, and changed his name to Satan. Humanity had thereby secured the possibility of entering Heaven provided it chose to combat on earth what remained of evil influences. The perfect Bogomile might not destroy plants or kill animals for fear of hurting a particle of the holy Spirit which was incarnated in them and which might be the soul of a sinner completing the expiation of his sins. Death permitted the true Bogomile's soul to be absorbed into the eternal Spirit, the soul returned to its source and individuality ceased.

The Bogomiles considered the orthodox churches as the refuge of devils. The Church of Jerusalem was inhabited by Satanael, but when it was destroyed he took up his residence at St. Sophia.

On the whole this religious system was highly virtuous, it condemned slavery, tyranny and serfdom and stood up for the down-trodden. It is the Bogomiles who set in motion Western thought in the middle ages and forced Catholicism to reorganise and purify itself. And as that indefatigable worker, Prof. Iordan Ivanov, asserts in his most instructive book „Bogomile books and Legends" it equally gave rise to the foundation of the Dominican Order established to fight the Albigeois, and to the Inquisition which led to the Reformation. (There is an excellent study on Manicheism and the Bogomiles by V. N. Sharenkov, published in New York in 1927).

THE SECOND BULGARIAN EMPIRE

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The revolt which led to the reestablishment of the Bulgarian State in 1186 was led by three brothers, Assen, Peter, and Kaloyan.

It was the weakening of the Byzantine Empire brought about by the Selzouk invasions, its struggles with the Crusaders, and the drain of its resources by Manuel I Comnenus, as well as the presence of such feeble and despicable rulers as Isaac and Alexius Angelus on the Imperial throne that made the restoration of the Bulgarian State possible. The military and financial disorganisation of the Byzantine realm, as well as the deplorable condition of the the civil administration provoked the rebellion, which if firmly treated would have been crushed with ease. The general sent to command the Imperial troops, however, instead of quelling the outbreak took advantage to revolt against his own sovereign. In spite of the concurrence of such fortuitous circumstances, the movement during the first year made little headway, and its leaders were obliged to appeal for aid to their Kuman kinsmen across the Danube, and it was with the support thus obtained that they finally succeeded in their object of overthrowing the Byzantine rule. Assen and Peter were assassinated ten years after they had raised the standard of revolt, but the third brother, Kaloyan, succeeded by his victories in imposing peace on the Greeks and forced them to give up formally the territory which he had captured from them.

Kaloyan's attempt to acquire recognition of his title by the Pope, and Innocent's III flattering allusion to the supposed Wallach, or Latin speaking, origin of Kaloyan as well as the assumption by the latter of the title of „Tsar of Bulgarians and Wallachs" has led to the inference that the founders of the second Bulgarian realm

X/75 were of Wallach origin. Prof. Zlatarski, in a close study of the ancestry of the Assen family, published by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in 1933, and crammed with a wealth of documentation that is an enduring monument to this historian's untiring zeal, opines that they were of Kuman extraction. He seems at a loss to explain the wide use of the term Vlach by Byzantine and other chroniclers of the time whereby the then inhabitants of Bulgaria were designated, and interprets it as a pejorative term for Bulgarian. In support of this contention he discloses what a poor estimate the Byzantines had of the Vlachs, and cites in support the following passage from Cecaumeni Strategicon, edit. W. Wassiliensky and Jernstedt, Petropoli 1896 p. 74/5."

„The lineage of the Vlachs is that of a false and degenerate people, which does not keep faith either with God or with the Emperor, with kinsman or with friend, but which tries to cheat everyone. The Vlachs are great liars and consumate thieves; they are ready to take the most solemn oaths to their friends and to repudiate them with the greatest ease. In order to cheat the foolish they conclude alliances and kinship but with none do they ever keep faith".

This argument of Prof, Zlatarsky does not appear valid, for the names Bulgar and Vlach are used concurrently by most of the authors cited. The inference to be drawn from all these writings is rather that the ethnic composition of the people inhabiting Bulgaria at the time had radically changed, and that the bulk was constituted of Vlachs and no longer of Bulgarians, the main body of the latter apparently being confined to Macedonia. It is questinable however, whether these reputed Vlachs were such. To all apperances, and judging from the vast migration of Kumans into Bulgaria which had recently occurred, the name Vlach or Wallach must have been used to designate the Kumans, who had lived previously in Wallachia. Such a view would be more in conformity wich the fact that the rulers of Bulgaria were of Kuman stock, and

that the succeeding royal dynasties of the Terters and Shismans were likewise of Kuman lineage. If the majority of the people were not Kuman, it is not likely that they would have repeatedly chosen such for rulers. the Kuman people being newcomers and hardly enjoying sufficient prestige to impress and impose themselves on the Bulgarians. 175X

Kaloyan's overtures to the Pope gave no practical results though he was crowned by a cardinal and the Bulgarian church was actually allied with Rome for a brief time. Koloyan offered to assist the crusaders, but they spurned his proposal and after their capture of Constantinople claimed for themselves Bulgaria as a constituent part of the Byzantine Empire. This led Koloyan to sink momentarily his differences with the Greeks and make common cause with them. In the battle of Adrianople fought on April 1205, Kaloyan, assisted by the Greeks, won an overwhelming victory over Baldwin of Flanders, the Emperor of the newly constituted Latin Empire of the East, whom Kaloyan captured and imprisoned in a tower on the ramparts of his capital of Tirnovo, Kaloyan was to succumb two years later at the hands of an assassin while laying siege to Salonica. He was succeeded by his nephew Boril who allied himself with the new Frank Emperor, Henry of Flanders, and undertook a fruitless campaign against Serbia; but by 1218, the son of Kaloyan, John Assen II, was able to drive him from the throne and assume his lawful heritage.

Under his rule, Bulgaria became the foremost State in the Balkan peninsua equalling that of Symeon in extent. Her trade must have been considerable, as a treaty was cancluded with Ragusa and both Venice and Genoa entertained commercial relations with her. John Assen II denounced the allegiance of the Bulgarian church to the Pope and raised the Primate to the dignity of a Patriarch, thus

175 refounding the National Church of which he proved a most benevolent patron, building monasteries and endowing churches, but his devotion to the National Church did not prevent him from displaying extreme toleration for Bogomiles and Catholics. Among the monasteries he endowed is that of Vatoped, at St. Athos, which possesses a royal bull dating from about 1230 in which the donation is delineated, the edict bearing his name and the title of Tsar of Bulgars and Greeks. A somewhat similar document was granted to the Ragusans, consecrating their trading rights in Bulgaria soon after 1230 and likewise bears the royal name accompanied by the pompous title of Tsar of Bulgars and Greeks.

From John Assens's death in 1241 dates the gradual decline of the second Bulgarian Empire. His eldest son Kaliman I, (1241-1246) a boy of seven is said to have been poisoned, probably at the instigation of the second wife of John Assen II, who succeeded in placing her own son Michael Assen (1246-1257) on the throne. During their reigns Bulgaria was invaded by the Tartars who had already captured Kiev and Cracow, and was forced to pay tribute to them. At the same time the Greeks profited by the weakness of these rulers and captured back most of Macedonia and Thrace. Michael Assen was assassinated by his cousin Kaliman II, who endeavoured to consolidate his position on the throne by marrying the wife of his victim, but her father the Russian prince, Rostislav, who was in the employ of the Magyars, with their assistance invaded Bulgaria in order to free his daugther. Kaliman II was obliged to flee from Tirnovo sharing the usual fate of the Assen famiiy, violent death. Rostislav with the help of the Magyars was able to install himself as overlord of western Bulgaria, styling himself „Imperator Bulgarorum". Another pretender to the throne, Mitso, the boliar, and son in law of John Assen II proclaimed himself Tsar but

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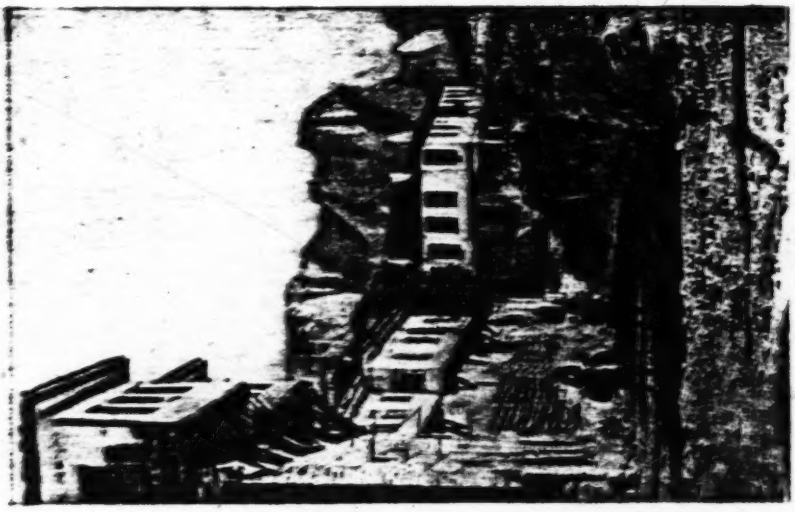

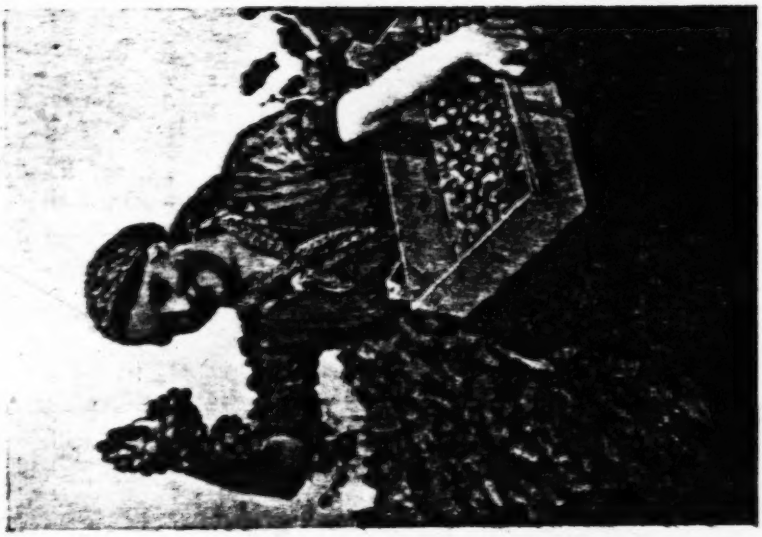

[facing p. 305]

175 failed to secure the throne to which the nobles elected Constantine, (1257-1277) a cousin of King Urosh of Serbia. In order to add to his prestige he married a grand daughter of John Assen II and began styling himself Constantine-Assen. His reign was spent in barren wars with the Magyars who invaded Bulgaria, defeating the Bulgarians at Pleven and advancing as far as Tirnovo, and overcoming the opposition of the boliar Mitso, who finally sought refuge with the Nicaean Emperor, Theodore I Lascaris, after handing over to the latter the town of Mesembria. Besides Rostislav, whose fief extended from Belgrade to Vidin and southwards to Nisch, the Magyars, had set up another Russian, Svetoslav, as overlord of the lands around Vidin, who likewise styled himself „Imperator Bulgarorum" Not content with all these troubles, Constantine was ill-advised enough to embark on a war with the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII, after the latter had regained Constantinople and in the course of which the Byzantines occupied all the lands to the south of the Balkans. To revenge himself on Michael VIII, Constantine sought the alliance first of the Tartars, and then of the King of Naples but without any beneft to his cause. Disabled in an accident, Constantine was obliged to leave the conduct of State affairs to his crafty wife who sowed intrigues among the nobles in order to secure the election of her boy, Michael to the throne. These internal divisions facilitated the attacks of the Tartars who began plundering Bulgaria. To repel these invasions the people gathered round Ivaïlo, a peasant leader whom they believed to be divinely inspired and whose successes against the Tartars rallied the whole country to his side. He marched against Tirnovo, and after defeating and killing Constantine laid siege to the town. The latter's widow surrendered it and agreed to marry Ivaïlo, his successes however, were at an end. A new pretender, a son of the boliar Mitso,

X175 supported by Greek troops invested Tirnovo, and the people believing that Ivaïlo had been killed while repulsing a Tartar invasion, opened the gates to him whereupon he was proclaimed Tsar, under the name of Ivan Assen III, (1278-9). His reign was soon over, Ivaïlo suddenly reappeared, and in spite of Byzantine reinforcements sent to succour Ivan Assen III, the latter gave up the struggle and sought shelter in Constantinople. Ivaïlo, however, was unable to regain the throne and fled to the Court of the Tartar Nogai who murdered him. The boliars chose from among themselves George Terter, a Kuman noble, noted for his bravery, and proclaimed him Tsar, but he was unable to stem the tide of Tartar invasions and in order te maintain himself on the throne he sent his son to the Court of the Tartar Nogai. and his daughter to the harem of the latter's son, Tsaka, and thereby obtained their favours. In the meantime the unity of the State disappeared, powerful nobles set themselves up as independent chieftains, thus Bulgaria was divided at the time among the following semi-independent rulers. 1. — Eltimir, brother of George Terter, in possession of a fief extending from Sliven to Kazanlik, south of the Balkans. 2. — Smilets, whose domain was conterminous on the west with that of Eltimir, and extended along the valley of the river Topolnitsa. 3. — Shisman, ruler of Vidin, and a Kuman by birth, who had replaced the Russian Svetoslav, and whose son eventually became the founder of the last Bulgarian royal dynasty. 4. — The brothers Derman and Kudemin, likewise of Kuman birth, who ruled over the Branitsevo region to the west of Vidin, and the valley of the Morava. 5 The Kuman chieftain Balik who ruled over the whole Dobrudja. With these various nobles intriguing against one another it was easy for the Tartars to impose themselves, and Tsaka soon invaded the country and got him-

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self crowned in Tirnovo, His powerful father Nogai however, had been overthrown and the son of George Terter, Todor Svetoslav, who had married the daughter of a Tartar chief succeeded with the support of Toktai Han to overthrow Tsaka and mount the throne, after acknowledging the supremacy of the Tartar Golden Horde.

Todor Svetoslav (1295-1322) waged continuous wars against the various Bulgarian feudal chieftains, as well as against the Byzantines, and in the main was successful, until his uncle Eltimir made common cause with the Greeks. The appearance of the Frank Mercenaries of the „Grand Company" in Thrace after the long war of the „Sicilian Vespers" was over, put a stop to the fighting between Greeks and Bulgarians, and Todor Svetoslav was able to spend the last part of his reign in comparative peace. His son, George Terter II, began his rule by capturing Philippopolis from the Byzantines, but died within a year and Bulgaria was plunged once more in civil war. While the nobles elected Michael Shisman, son of the chieftain of Vidin as Tsar, Voislav, brother of the boliar Smilets, sought the support of Andronicus II and overran the whole of southern Bulgaria. Michael did not waste time but hurried with his troops across the Balkans and after a series of victories concluded peace with the Byzantine Emperor in 1323. Counting on the support of the latter, he got entangled in a war with the rising power of Serbia and was defeated and slain at the battle of Kustendil in 1330, before the Greek army sent to his support could arrive on the field of battle Bulgaria for a time became dependent on Serbia, and she imposed Stephen Shisman II as ruler who however, was unable to maintain himself. Ivan Alexander (1331-1371), a nephew of Michael Shisman and a brother-in-law of King Dushan of Serbia, finally secured the throne. He proved a capable ruler who enjoyed the reputation of an assiduous patron of literature. Translations

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of various theological works were undertaken, as well as those of several Byzantine chronicles and romances, such as the Trojan War, Aesop's fables, Oedipus' story. The flourishing of this literature enabled the Bulgarians to exert subsequently a certain cultural influence in Wallachia, Serbia, and Russia. It was under the reign of Ivan Alexander that the Turks began their incursions in Bulgaria, capturing St. Zagora and Philippopolis from them in 1362. Before his death, Ivan Alexander, divided his realm between his two sons, giving Vidin to Ivan Strashimir, and Tirnovo, to Ivan Shishman. Within a year from his ascension to the throne the latter after being defeated at the battle of Tsermen became a vassal of Sultan Murad, whose favour he obtained by sending his sister as a hostage to the Imperial harem. This semi-independence was retained until Serbia was overthrown at the battle of Kossovo (1389), soon after the Turks laid siege to and captured Tirnovo in 1393. The Tsar Ivan Shishman withdrew to Nikopolis where he was captured and sent under convoy to Adrianople, but died on the way there at Pleven in 1395. In the following year the Hungarians and the Wallachs under the leadership of Sigismund and Mirtsea hastened to the succour of Bulgaria, but were defeated on the battlefield of Nikopolis, the Turks being supported by the Serbs under Stefan Lazarevitch. This foreign intervention helped to prolong the maintenance of Ivan Strashimir at Vidin until 1398, when he was expelled from his domain by the Turks, who thus completed the conquest of Bulgaria.

Bulgarian historians are unanimous in ascribing their country's fall to the disunity of the feudal nobles, who by leading a life of luxury completely estranged themselves from the mass of the people and readily lent themselves to foreign intrigues, to the corruption of the Church and the lamentable state of the peasantry, which caused the masses of the people to acclaim any foreign overlord who

would secure to them a larger measure of justice and better and more peaceful administration. 175

BULGARIA UNDER THE TURKS

It is customary to depict the period of Turkish domination as one of oppression and exaction, but such a view is far from tallying with such records as subsist, at least in so far as the earlier centuries of Turkish rule are concerned. The Turkish conquest put a stop to a state of anarchy and oppression and its rapid spread is to be explained by the preference the local populations showed for the foreign invader, who was welcomed in order that an end might be put to the perpetual internecine wars, the revolts, the destructive rivalries of the nobles from which the peaceful toilers of the soil were continuously suffering. A very instructive narrative as to the conditions prevailing during the 15th century in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire is furnished by Michael Konstantinov's „Turkish History", originally published towards the beginning of the 16th century in Polish. The author was a Serbian, born in 1430 at Ostrovitsa. In 1454 he was taken prisoner by the Turks and made a janissary, and as such, participated in their campaign against Bosnia in 1463. A year later he was captured by the Hungarians and freed, when he wrote his memoirs in order to enlighten the Christians about the customs of the Turks. He describes them as equitable and just rulers, severe but humane; the taxation they imposed on their Christian subjects was much lighter than what the latter were used to pay to their own rulers prior to the Ottoman conquest. He ascribed the rapid expansion of the Ottoman dominion to the peace and security these conquerors brought in their wake. So that far from being disastrous, Ottoman

x 175 rule permitted the Bulgarian people to reconstitute itself after the centuries of internecine wars inflicted on it by its native rulers and allowed it to recuperate, both materially and spiritually in an atmosphere of comparative peace. So long as the Ottoman Empire was in a prosperous condition all its subjects participated in its prosperity, it was only after the deflection of the trade routes to the Indies which brought about the simultaneous decline of the Italian city-States of Venice and Genoa, that the Ottoman Empire deprived of the main source of its revenues, the transit trade from the East, began to decay, disorganisation and corruption set in, and this brought as its natural repercussion a worsening of the condition of its Christian subjects. The most oppresive measure which Christians had to support was the carrying off of their boys every five years, to be trained for the corps of Janissaries, one out of every five Christian boys between the ages of six and nine being taken away.

After the unavailing effort of the Polish King Vladislav III to emancipate the Christians, which ended disastrously at the battle of Varna in 1444, Turkish dominion was consolidated, security increased and conditions improved. The Bulgarians retained for a time certain semi-independent rulers, a fresque drawing of one, the Voevod Radivoi, dating from 1493 is still visible at the Kremikovski Monastery, according to Prof. Zlatarski, who also mentions several other names of such notables.

Several classes were exempted from taxation, and retained considerable privileges, such as the population of certain villages which served as auxiliaries with the Turkish troops. And there were a few towns which were awarded the right of not allowing Moslems within their precincts, such as Gabrovo, Kotel, Kalofer, and Panagurishte. Certain artisans, comprising bridge-builders constructors of fountains, guides, rice-growers, miners, and

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ferry-men also enjoyed certain prerogatives. Certain communities retained all their privileges by accepting Islam. Whole districts in the Rhodope mountains were converted and left practically undisturbed, retaining still their native Bulgarian tongue in all its purity. Extensive trading facilities were also granted to the Ragusan traders, who exerted an immense cultural influence on the Bulgarians, with whom they were in intimate contact. They established depots at Varna, Provadia, Shumen, Tirnovo, Razgrad, Rustchuk, Silistra, Vidin, Sofia, Adrianople and Mesembria, and many Bulgarians who co-operated with these Ragusan traders enjoyed the privileges extended to their patrons. Prof. Zlatarski affirms that during the 15th and 16th centuries Bulgaria enjoyed, relatively, peace and prosperity and the Bulgarian language was even employed by the Turks as the official one both locally and in their correspondence with neighbouring countries. Pavel Georgitch of Ragusa writing in 1580, affirms that the Turks did not persecute the Bulgarians, but that they enjoyed a fair amount of liberty and that they were well off. If Bulgaria declined culturally this was due largely to the fact that after the fall and sack of Tirnovo in 1393, the most learned of the Bulgarian church dignitaries abandoned their flocks and sought refuge in Wallachia, where they founded several monasteries. Prof. Xenopol in his „Istoria Romanilor" vol. II p. 245 asserts that the monasteries of Voditsa, Neamts, Prislop, Motru and Tismana were founded during the 14th century mainly by emigrants from Bulgaria. The monastery of Bistritsa which was founded by Prince Alexander the Good of Moldavia (1400-1432) was built on the insistence of monks who had come from Bulgaria. This exodus resulted, as Prof. Bogdan remarks in his book „Romîni si Bulgari", p. 20, in a literary flowering that recalled the influence exerted by the Greek *emigrés* in Italy after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, Ru-

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X 175 mania becoming a centre of refuge and dissemination of Bulgarian culture and Slav Orthodoxy.

Towards the end of the 16th century the heroic exploits of Michael the Brave, prince of Wallachia, encouraged the Ragusan Georgitch to prepare a revolt. Seconded by the Greek Bishop of Tirnovo, Dionisius Rallis, who obtained the concourse of Michael the Brave, Georgitch and another Ragusan, Sarkotsevitch, solicited the aid of the Austrian Emperor Rudolf, who promised to dispatch 6000 men. Michael the Brave crossed the Danube at Nikopolis in 1598 and captured Vidin, Vratza, Rahovo and proceeded to march on Sofia. Under pressure from the Turks however, he was obliged to withdraw to Wallachia and the movement deprived of leadership flickered out, all hope of success vanishing by his untimely assassination in 1601. It is from the beginning of the 17th century that the situation of the Bulgarians began to grow worse as taxation increased, and the Greek clergy after the subordination of the see of Tirnovo to the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1394, began gradually to displace the native priesthood and exploit the peasantry. The victorious campaigns of Austria against the Turks in the course of the 17th century secured a privileged position for the Catholic Church and this led to its acquiring a certain influence in a few centres in Bulgaria where it succeeded in making converts, especially amongthe Paulicians. Catholic priests, in the absence of an educated native clergy contributed largely to the spread of knowledge, and even more than the Orthodox clergy to the awakening of the national conscience.[1] They intervened repeatedly on behalf

[1] These villages which have adopted Catholicism show even to-day, a marked advance on those of the Orthodox faith. Their local life is more progressive, they possess more social amenities, and there is a more developed sense of solidarity among the villagers. The village priest enjoys a prestige of which his Orthodox colleague has been completely shorn and consequently is in a position to

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of Bulgaria's emancipation with the Austrian Emperor, the King of Poland, the Pope and with Venice. They opened schools in several places and often officiated in Bulgarian in their churches in order that they might be understood. The leading figures among them were Peter Partsevitch and Peter Bogdanov, who worked indefatigably for Bulgaria's cause, soliciting foreign aid, and preparing a revolt, the outbreak of which occured at Tsiprovets in 1688 after their death. The movement proved abortive owing to the Austrians withdrawing their troops from the western confines of Bulgaria which they had invaded. In 1689, the Austrians again advanced, occupying Nisch, Pirot and Dragoman, and with the help of the Serbians and Bulgarians, captured Kumanovo and Kotsani in Macedonia. At the time the Turks were also fighting the Venetians in Greece and Albania, and the Russians were engaged in a struggle with the Tartars of the Crimea; circumstances were extremely propitious for the occupation of the whole Balkan peninsula by the Austrians, which would have taken place to the great benefit of all the Balkan peoples and of the cause of peace. but for Louis XIV of France declaring war on Austria, in order to prevent the undue strengthening of the House of the Habsburgs.

Thus the intervention of the French prevented a timely and facile solution of a problem which has ever since troubled Europe. The Sultan Selim whose army had been reorganised by French officers (Ranke's History of Serbia p. 62) encouraged by the attitude of France succeeded in driving the Austrians beyond the Danube and put an end to the hopes of Austrian expansion in the Balkans

exert his authority for the wellbeing of his flock all the more so since he is better educated for his task than the average Orthodox priest. Even the manners of Catholic villagers contrast with those of their Orthodox neighbours, they are kindlier, gentler and less suspicious.

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X 175 after the peace of Carlovitch in 1699. During the 18th century Turkey waged almost continuously wars against Austria and Russia with the results that the situation of the Christians grew steadily worse owing to the fact that the burden of the upkeep of the Turkish armies chiefly devolved on them. The success of Russia, consecrated by the peace of Kutchuk Kainardjik (1774) brought no amelioration to the lot of the Christians, but it made them look henceforth to Russia for freedom, since Russia had been acknowledged as the protectress of Orthodoxy and had assumed the right of interceding on their behalf. The wars undermined the Turkish Empire and the attempt of the Sultan to introduce certain reforms helped to spread anarchy, semi-independent Pashas, like Pasvantoglu and Ali, at the head of the redoubtable Kirdjalis who lived on plunder, established themselves at Vidin and Yanina, provoking conflicts with the central authorities and adding to the existing disorganisation. The increase of insecurity led to a great number of peasants giving up rural life and seeking refuge in towns many of which now became preponderately Bulgarian The worsening of the economic conditions was accompanied also by a gradual weakening of the national consciousness. The Patriarch Samuel succeeded in suppressing the Bulgarian archbishopric of Ochrida in 1767 and subordinating it to the Greek Patriarchate. He initiated a campaign of persecution against Bulgarian priests and notables, replacing Bulgarian by Greek priests. Greek schools were opened in the larger towns and with the preponderance the Phanariots acquired in Turkey, the knowledge of Greek became indispensable. Municipal and commercial affairs were conducted in Greek and since the leading ecclesiastic authorities were ignorant of Bulgarian the local notables were constrained to learn Greek in order to intercede with the clergy, until finally the better educated began to consider it a disgrace

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to name themselves Bulgarians and began letting themselves be assimilated by the Greeks. The taunt which was levelled at these Hellenised Bulgarians „Greeks from Gabrovo", is still remembered in Bulgaria. This Hellenising process provoked a reaction which grew with the appearance of the „History of the Bulgarian People", published by the monk Paisi in 1762 and which finally roused the dormant patriotism of the nation giving an impetus to the opening of Bulgarian schools which preceded the national awakening. The Greek education foisted for a time on the Bulgarians, was not without its good side however, in that it prepared men capable to serve as leaders.

The Bulgarian notables who co-operated with the Greek clergy and who were slowly being Hellenised by this contact, acquired a certain privileged situation, being often shielded against Turkish persecution by the all powerful Phanariots. Most of those who initiated the work of Bulgaria's emancipation had received their education in Greek schools and were actuated by the ideal they had acquired in that environment. Such were the brothers Miladinov, well known folklorists, H. Makariopolski, and Grigor Perlitchev, the latter an accomplished poet, who obtained a prize from the Athens Academy for his Greek epic poem „Ἁρματωλός" in 1860 and who translated the Iliad into Bulgarian. The attachment of the Bulgarians to the Greek cause became manifest on the outbreak of the Greek revolution in 1821. Prof. St. Bobtchev who wrote an essay on the participation of the Bulgarians in the Greek war of Independence gives in it an impressive list of names and further cites Jean Filimon, the author of a „Δοκίμιον ἱστορικόν τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐπαναστάσεως" who asserts that of the 15,000 insurgents who rose in arms in February 1821, some 8,000 were Serbians and Bulgarians, and that the lieutenants of Sava Kamenare, their leader, were the Bulgarians.

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×175 Hadji Gentso and Hadji Prodan, both natives of Shumen. J. Filimon further affirms that the Greek revolutionary organisation, Φιλική ἑταιρία, had many branches in Bulgaria and tens of thousands of associates. Among them was the noted Bulgarian patriot Vasili Aprilov of Gabrovo, who subsequently devoted all his fortune to the endowing of the schools of his native town, and who acted as treasurer to this Greek revolutionary Committee in Odessa. Sp. Trikoupis in his history of the Greek revolution extols the Bulgarians Hadji Christo and Hadji Stefco as leaders of the Bulgarian cavalry and infantry, who interceded with the Greek leaders when the latter were quarrelling among themselves, and who prevented the outbreak of civil war among them. Later this Hadji Christo became an aide-de-camp to King Othon. The participation of the Bulgarians in the Greek revolution was far from being negligible, for as Cyprien Robert writes in his „The Slav Provinces of Turkey." (London, Harry G. Bohn. p. 491).

„The Bulgarian Haiduks did not reappear until the noise of the Greek insurrection of 1821 reached their caverns. Suddenly aroused from their slumbers, they inundated Macedonia; whole battalions of those independent warriors were seen in the Morea, and it was they who by a final assault took the Acropolis of Athens. Botchar, one of these Slavs who was born at Vodena and had emigrated to Mount Sulion, has become famous throughout Europe under the Greek name of Botzaris."

Another Bulgarian Dr. Ivan Seliminski, who participated in the Greek struggle of independence and who left his memoirs, written in Greek, also alludes to Marko Botzaris as being a Bulgarian. The Bulgarian contribution to the Serbian wars of liberation against the Turks was equally notable. The legendary chief Haiduk Velko was a Bulgarian.[1] He was born in the region of Zaitchar which

[1] The Serbians are justified in claiming him as a Serbian since his birthplace is now in Serbia, but at the time of his birth this region was peopled solely by Bulgarians and Wallachs. The

was originally Bulgaria and was only annexed by Serbia in 1833. 175

Other Bulgarian revolutionaries like Rakovski, Hitov, Luben Karavelov, took an active part in the struggles between Serbians and Turks in 1862-1867 and the legion of Bulgarian volunteers which was under their command often distinguished itself. Rakovski's secretary, Ivan Kurshovski, has left some graphic details of these rude combats; he regretfully notes, that the Serbians though always professing a desire to help the Bulgarians to secure their independence, made use of them to consolidate their patrimony at their expense. Serbia and Rumania even concluded a Treaty in 1867 which provided for the eventual partition of Bulgaria between these two States after a common war against Turkey, as has been revealed by the French diplomat Enguelhart in the „Revue d'histoire diplomatique" in 1892.

It may be said that the revolutionary activities of the Bulgarians contributed a great deal more to further the independence of their neighbours than that of their own. It can hardly be said that they were encouraged to engage in revolutionary activity either by their neighbours or even Russia. After the Russo-Turkish war which ended by the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829, the Bulgarian Mamartshev cammanding the Bulgarian volunteers who had joined the Russian army, attempted to raise the standard of revolt

town of Zaitchar was founded by a Turk. a notable of Vidin, Said Vachar who settled there Bulgarians from the Balkan townlet of Teteven. The late Serbian Prime Minister Passitch was also a native of Zaitchar and he himself admitted when living as an emigrant in Sofia, that his parents were Bulgarians from Teteven, but he having received his education in a Serbian school felt a Serbian. This explains why he often mixed up Serbian with Bulgarian words and expressions in his speeches in the Skupchina, for which lapses, he was often laughed at and taunted for being a „Bugarash" or Bulgarian, by his Serbian compatriots.

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175 supported by some 2000 men. He was arrested by the orders of the Russians and his volunteers forcibly disbanded. In 1835 he again succeeded in gaining the support of numerous Bulgarians and he contemplated organising an insurrection at Tirnovo, but someone betrayed the movement and he was arrested and exiled to Konia. The Sultan Mahmoud had an interview with him and asked him why he tried to foment a revolt. Mamartchev courageously replied that so long as the people were ill-treated they would always revolt. The Sultan was so surprised at this outspokeness that he granted him a pension but kept him in exile.

The few revolutionary bands which from time to time crossed the Danube from Rumania and attempted to instigate insurrections in Bulgaria always ended disastrously and had no other result than that of arousing the fanaticism ot the Moslem inhabitants. The latter vented their anger on the hapless villagers who had extended their hospitality to the insurgents, massacring them and burning their houses. It was in fact the height of naivety to imagine that a country with a population of 2·5 millions, of which over a million were Moslems, which was well garrisoned by Turkish troops, and the administration of which was in the hands of the dominant race, could possibly be wrested from it by a few hundred insurgents, however heroic they may have been. The failure of all these revolutionary attempts and the drastic punishments meted out by the authorities to all who attempted to aid them, rendered even the effort of that great heroic figure, Christo Botev, the poet-revolutionary, abortive. The local population had been cowed by the reprisals which such risings provoked and was afraid to extend its aid to him. The band Botev led across the Danule was only able to reach the Balkans where it was run to earth by the Turks and annihilated. One of Botev's companions, H. T. Ob-

retenov, has published his memoirs which he concludes with the remarks that; 175X

"In the fastnesses of the Balkans they did not meet wild beasts but the local inhabitants' attitude was worse, for they endeavoured by all means to lure them and hand them over to the infuriated Turks who proceeded to cut off their heads".

He himself was captured and subsequently set free, which proves that the Turks were not so vindictive and cruel as one is wont to portray them. In fact judging from the Memoirs of the late Minister P. Pechev, and similar writings, depicting the state of affairs preceding Bulgaria's liberation, it may be said that they generally describe Turkish rule on the whole as mild and benevolent. Pechev's brother took an active part in an insurrectionary movement and was sent to the gallows, his relatives however, were in no way molested, and he himself admitted that the Turkish authorities acted on the whole with justice. It was rather by working ploddingly for the cultural development of the masses that the Bulgarians were approaching the goal of national independence instead of by brilliant feats of arms. After the granting of a charter by the Sultan Mahmoud II and the establishment by his equally liberal-minded successor Abdul Medjid, of provincial councils on which Christians sat, which reforms helped to secure to the Bulgarian peasantry the fruits of its toil, an era of prosperity set in which culminated in the appointment of Midhat Pasha as Governor of the vilayet of the Danube. This record of progress was occasionally marred by the policy of settling Circassian and Tartar refugees from Russia in Bulgaria, who committed all sorts of depredations on the Bulgarian peasantry; but, on the whole the latter began to live a more intensive life, taking an active part in the conduct ot its local affairs founding rural co-operative societies, which the liberal minded Midhat Pasha made use of to transform later into an Ag-

X 175 rarian State Bank, establishing industries based on the guild system which helped to bring prosperity to the country and to create a numerous class of artisans and merchants, 80,000 strong, established by the middle of the 19th century in Constantinople, which resolutely assumed the spiritual guidance of the nation.

The communal councils of the Bulgarians began to take an active part in educational questions and religious matters. As early as 1828 those of Samokov and Uskub began manifesting their spirit of independence by protesting to the Greek Patriarchate against the illegal acts of their bishops and by demanding their replacement by Bulgarians. The spiritual awakening of the people may be gauged by the rapid increase of Bulgarian schools due to the communal councils which organised their functioning and provided their upkeep. By 1836 there were 233 Bulgarian schools in Bulgaria, Thrace and Macedonia. By 1862 their numbers had grown to 809, and by 1867 to 1479, while in the adjoining principality of Serbia there were only 388. The agitation for the use of the Slavonic liturgy in the Church gradualy grew more intense but met wich the stubborn resistance of the Greek Patriarchate. In order to attain their goal the Bulgarians started negotiating with the Pope for transferring their allegiance to Rome. Under the leadership of Dragan Tsankov, who was to distinguish himself later by his rabid Russophilism, and that of the abbot Sokolsky, the Bulgarian Uniate Church, which uses the Slavonic ritual and permits the lower clergy to marry, was founded at Constantinople in 1860. Sokolsky was askowledged by the Sultan Abdul Medjid on June, 1861 as patriarch of the Bulgarian Uniates, of whom there were already some 60000 adherents, mainly in the Macedonian districts of Kukush, Vodena, Salonika, and at Constantinople and Sliven. But the rapid growth of the movement excited the

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[facing p. 321]

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displeasure of the Russians who desired to maintain the Bulgarians in the fold of the Orthodox Church so as to be better able to exert their influence on them. By promising Sokolsky that they would also proclaim him patriarch, they enticed him to their embassy and thence kidnapped him to Russia.

The establishment of the Bulgarian Uniate Church and the threatened mass conversion of Bulgarians to Catholicism had thoroughly alarmed Russian political circles, and they set themselves to interfere with the Porte in order to obtain the recognition by it of an independent Bulgarian Orthodox Church This did not run counter to the interests of Turkey, for it was bound to weaken the Greek Patriarchate and curtail the privileges it had so far enjoyed, and as the Bulgarian notables professed implicit loyalty to the Sultan and even demanded that he should bear henceforth the title of Tsar of the Bulgarians, the Porte issued a firman on March 10, 1870 creating a Bulgarian Exarchate, the authority of which was to extend to all the territory inhabited by Bulgarians. No definite limits were fixed as to the dioceses it was to comprise, as is sufficed for two-thirds of the population of any commune to express its desire to adhere to the Exarchate for it to be included within the pale of the Bulgarian Church. However, on its formation, the Exarchate comprised the whole vilayet of the Danube, including the whole of the Dobrudja, and the dioceses of Rustchuk, Silistra, Shumen, Tirnovo, Sofia, Vratsa, Lovets, Vidin, Kustendil, Samokov, Veles, with only parts of those of Varna, Sliven, and Philippopolis, so that the Greek population in the last named regions was left under the authority of the Greek Patriarchate, as well as the dioceses of Pirot and Nisch which were then Turkish, without provoking a protest from Serbia. A fact which proves that the population of both Nisch and Pirot considered themselves Bulgarian at

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X 175 the time, a matter which the Serbians then openly admitted. (See the Serbian newspaper *Vidov Dan* of February 13th, 14th, and 18th, 1868, reproduced in the author's „Bulgaria, problems and politics", p. 246).

The creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate was an event of prime importance in the history of Bulgaria, it prepared and heralded the eventual emergence of Bulgaria as a political entity whenever its people would have acquired by gradual development sufficient strength to impose their recognition. Unfortunately these peaceful achievements were not considered sufficient by those who believed in the efficacity of violent acts. Desultory revolutionary outbreaks occurred at Panagurishte, Koprivtsitsa, etc, all of which were put down by the sword. Unfortunately they aroused the fanaticism of the Moslem masses already excited by the revolt in Bosnia and provoked the massacre of some 12000 peaceable people, the worst occurring at Batak. The cruelty with which these risings were suppressed aroused the indignation of Europe, Mr. Gladstone's famous pamphlet „The Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East". contributing more than anything else in acquainting Europe with a well-nigh unknown people, the liberation of which became the burning question of the day. The first intimation of these massacres was transmited by Sir Edwin Pears of Constantinople through the *Daily News* and the fearlessness with which he disclosed these crimes, exposing himself to the persecution of the Turks, constitutes the highest testimonial as to his nobility of character. The work begun by Sir Edwin was completed by Mr. Macgahan and Mr. Schuyler, the United States Consul at Continople, who proceeded to investigate on the spot the atrocities committed by the Turks. The horrors disclosed were such that public opinion forced the Powers to exert pressure on the Porte in order that a repetition of the massacres should be rendered impossible, and this

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resulted in the Conference of Ambassadors being held in November, 1876 at Constantinopie with the object of drawinq up a programme of reforms for Turkey, and checking misrule by introducing self-government in those districts which had a predominant Bulgarian population.

The Conference decided on the formation of two Bulgarian provinces. The eastern was to have Tirnovo for its capital and to include the sanjaks of Rustchuk, Tirnovo, Tultcha, Varna, Sliven, Philippopolis, and the cazas of Kirk-Klisse, Mustapha-Pasha and Kizil-Agatch; while the western province, with Sofia for its capital, was intended to comprise the sanjaks of Sofia, Vidin Nisch, Uskub, Monastir, (except two cazas on the south), the three northern cazas of the sanjak of Serres, and the cazas of Strumitsa, Kukush, Tikvesh, Doiran, Veles and Kastoria[1]. The inclusion not only of Macedonia, but even of the Morava district and the entire Dobrudja in the proposed Bulgaria at the free will of the delegates who had come to take such a decision mainly after consulting men thoroughly conversant with local questions, such as Dr. Albert Long, Dr. G. Washburn, Mr. Schuyler, and Sir Edwin Pears, and prior to the formation of a Bulgarian State which could not possibly have exerted an influence on their decisions, shows conclusively that sixty years ago all the e regions were indisputably Bulgarian in population.

The application of the proposed scheme of creating a semi-independent Bulgaria was unfortunately not carried out owing to the complications which survened. On March 1877 all the representatives of the Powers signed a protocol urging the necessity of carrying through the reforms. The Porte in its reply rejected it with contumely, which act compelled Russia to issue a declaration of war

[1] Blue Book, Turkey, No. 2, 1877 and Documents diplomatiques, Affaires d'Orient, 1875—6—7, Paris 1877, annexe III au compte rendu No. 8.

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X/75 on April 24 1877. Russia's intervention transposed the question of Bulgaria's independence from the „locus standi" of a mere local problem for which a satisfactory solution had been devised, to that of a complicated international problem entailing the ruthless sacrifice of the more humble local interests on the altar of the then guiding principle of European diplomacy, the principle of the Balance of Power.

THE LIBERATION OF BULGARIA

The success of the Russian armies compelled Turkey to sue for peace, and this was consecrated by the Treaty of San Stefano, signed on March 3, 1878. This Treaty provided for the creation of an independent Bulgaria, the frontiers of which were practically identical with those proposed by the Conference of Ambassadors of 1876 for their project of two Bulgarian provinces, and coincided with the limits assigned to the Bulgarian Church by the firman of 1870, and were therefore in conformity with the principle of nationality. It is most regrettable that the unreasoned dread of Russia which prevailed at the time in England should have led its government to infer that a Great Bulgaria would be a mere appanage of Russia, constituting a permanent threat to the British Empire in India and implying a non-distant Russian occupation of Constantinople. It was in the main such baseless cosiderations, concomitant with an utter disregard of the rights of the people concerned, that led to the Treaty of San Stefano being torn up and that of Berlin substituted in its place four months later. The delimitation of Bulgaria had been decided upon between Great Britain and Austria by a secret arrangement signed in Vienna on June 6, 1878 and which stipulated that the frontiers of the principality would not extend to the south of the Balkans, while

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Austria was assured of British support as to the attitude she would adopt at the Congress of Berlin as regards Bosnia. Both States pledged themselves also to oppose the transfer of the Dobrudja to Russia. Even prior to this date, Shuvalov, the Russian Ambassador in London, according to the Russian archives (№ 59), had agreed with Lord Salisbury and both signed a convention on May 29, 1878 by which the Balkans were fixed as Bulgaria's frontiers on the south, while an autonomous province was to be created in the valley of the Maritsa, but no mention was made of Macedonia as this interested more directly Austria. The Austrian archives disclose that while Count Ignatiev was in Vienna after the signature of the Treaty of San Stefano and prior to the signature of the above arrangement in London, he was sounded by Count Andrassy as to the creation of an autonomous province of all the territory peopled by Bulgarians in the valley of the Vardar, but that he rejected this proposal, fearing probably that it would result in Austria's securing a predominating influence in this region. This fact would conclusively prove that even the most Bulgarophile of Russians did not work for the liberation of Bulgaria for her own sake, but simply because of the hoped for advantages which would accrue to Russia from the creation of an extensive Bulgaria in the eastern part of the Balkan peninsula. The late Dr. George Washburn, director of Robert College, who was better placed than all the diplomats of the Berlin Congress to judge of the rights of this case wrote as follows in his „Fifty Years in Constantinople":

„The Treaty of San-Stefano was, of course a hard, one for Turkey, but it wou'd have been better for England and for all the peoples of Europe and Turkey if it had been allowed to stand.

The Sultan himself had no reason to thank England or Austria for their intervention. The secret convention by which England acquired Cyprus was little better than a theatrical trick of Lord Beaconsfield's. The Treaty of Berlin, which was signed on July 13, 1878, was one

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of the most, important events of the nineteenth century in European history, but it was not made in the interest of any one in the Turkish Empire. I do not know that it professed to be, although Lord Beaconsfield congratulated himself on having consolidated, the Empire, an euphemism for having reduced the size of it. Each Power sought only to further its own interests and ambitions, and for the people chiefly concerned the result has been a succession of wars, revolutions, and massacres, down to the present day.

. . . This is not the place to discuss the Treaty, but we may take a single illustration from the people in whom the College was most interested at that time, the Bulgarians. The Treaty of San-Stefano had created a Bulgaria essentially on the lines agreed to by the Powers at the Conference of Constantinople. The Treaty of Berlin divided the Bulgarians into five sections, giving one part to Serbia, one to Rumania, one to an autonomous province called East Roumelia, one to Turkey (Macedonia), and one to constitute the Principality of Bulgaria under the suzerainty of the Sultan; and it was England especially that insisted upon this and also upon the right of Turkey to occupy and fortify the range of the Balkans, all with the object of making it impossible for the Bulgarians to form a viable state which might be friendly to Russia. The Englishmen who know Bulgaria, all our friends, understood the folly and wickedness of this at the time. All England has learned it since.

Thus far the results have been the revolution of 1885, which resulted in the union of Bulgaria and East Roumelia, the war with Serbia, the insurrection in Macedonia and province of Adrianople, and all the massacres and unspeakable horrors of the last thirty-nine years in Macedonia, to say nothing of what Bulgaria has suffered from the intrigues of foreign Powers ever since the Treaty of Berlin. The awful massacres and persecutions from which the Armenians have suffered since 1886 have been equally the result of this Treaty".

This just criticism of British policy in the Near East has nothing untoward; unbiassed persons will generally agree that it has consistently distinguished itself by always „backing" as Lord Salisbury once affirmed „the wrong horse". It was certainly not consideration of the rights of Greece, or of any other Balkan State, that led to the curtailement of Bulgaria's frontiers, for in 1829 this same apprehension of Russia led Great Britain to reduce the territory assigned to Greece, as in 1877 it frustrated the

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Greek attempt to take advantage of the Russo-Turkish struggle in order to annex Thessaly and Crete. And this belief which was entertained in Great Britain that either Greece or Bulgaria would willingly further Russian expansion in the Near East, prior to the Russian revolution, only testifies to the utter lack of understanding of the ideals of Balkan nationalities by British politicians. 175x

The autonomous and tributary principality created by the treaty of Berlin was limited to the south by the Balkans, which separated it from the semi-independent province of Eastern Rumelia left under the suzerainty of the Sultan. The Bulgarian speaking districts of Macedonia were left outside its frontiers, as well as part of the Dobrudja which was handed to Rumania to compensate the latter for the loss of Bessarabia annexed by Russia, and the disricts of Nisch and Pirot were awarded to Serbia. Russian officials were dispatched to set up the administration of the newly established principality, while Russian officers were sent to organise its army. A Constituent Assembly met in 1878 to accept a Constitution presented by the Russian Commissary, Prince Dondukov-Korsakov, and based on extremely liberal principles which soon proved unworkable.

The Assembly, after deliberating for two months finally accepted the Constitution, and selecting Sofia as capital, was dissolved and an extraordinary Sobranye, or Chamber. was elected according to the new Constitution in order to proceed with the choice of a prince. The Tsar Alexander II privately intimated that he designated as candidate his nephew Prince Alexander of Battenberg who was accordingly unanimously elected. The choice was not particularly happy, for the prince was only twenty-two and utterly inexperienced in the conduct of State affairs. So long as Alexander II was alive, the Prince's position was comparatively easy, for he could always count

X 175 on his powerful patron for support, but after the accession of Alexander III to the throne, his position was rendered untenable by the growing hostility which he met from Russian Court circles. The Prince chose his first ministers among the few moderate Bulgarian politicians and ignored the more numerous section of his people which stood for a more radical policy. In the new Chamber, which was elected without pressure, the Opposition obtained an enormous majority and a deadlock ensued. This was in the main brought aboht by the tactlessness of the Prince. He insisted on being designated as Highness, while the Constitution stipulated that he would be addressed as Excellency. His Ministers submitted to this princely whim, but the War Minister, Perensov, a Russian, declared that he would not comply with such a caprice so long as the Constitution did not sanction this title. This furnished a weapon to the Opposition for launching a savage and utterly unjustified attack on the Ministry. The unfriendly attitude of the Russian member of the Ministry may probably be explained by other motives, than mere respect for the Constitution. The Prince had hinted that he desired to engage Prussian officers to organise his army, with the object of neutralising Russian influence and this had naturally evoked the resentment of General Perensov. Another cause of friction was the construction of railways. While the Russians were insisting on the laying of a line from Rustchuk to Sofia, the other Powers were demanding that the construction of the Bulgarian section of the international railway, Vienna-Contantinople should be first completed. The first Chamber proving unworkable, the Prince proceeded to dissolve it, and appointed bishop Clement, well-known for his pro-Russian sympathies as Prime Minister, in the hope this would assuage the Opposition. While the elections were being prepared the Prince visited Russia and obtained from Tsar Ale-

xander II the recall of his insubordinate War Minister. The elections however, brought a more numerous Opposition to the new Chamber and Clement handed in his resignation. The Prince was compelled to give way and he entrusted Dragan Tsankov, the leader of the Opposition, to constitute a government. The new government hastened to confer on the Prince his much coveted title of Highness, but was unable to co-operate harmoniously with him. Tsankov disagreed with Turkey as to the delimitation of frontiers, rejected England's demand for the purchase of the Rustchuk-Varna railway line, and provoked the hostility of Austria by his refusal to proceed with the construction of the Bulgarian section of the international railway as provided by the Treaty of Berlin, owing to which attitude, he was forced to resign.

Soon after, the liberty-loving Tsar Alexander II was assassinated, and the Prince hastened to Russia to take advantage of the discredit cast by this assassination on Liberal ideals in order to solicit from the new Tsar the right to suspend the Bulgarian Constitution, taking care to portray all Bulgarian Liberals as dangerous extremists, which was nothing short of calumny, since neither Stambulov, nor Karavelov were inclined to Nihilism. After securing Tsar Alexander's III consent, the Prince on his return to Bulgaria appointed a new Ministry and proceeded to convoke a new Extraordinary Chamber with the object of approving the suspension of the Constitution for a period of seven years. As the Prince had made it known that he would abdicate if his wish was not conceded, and as all Russian officials spread the rumour that the change was desired by the Russian Government and that if it were not carried through both Prince and Russians would leave the country and allow it to be reoccupied by the Turks, the Assembly passed the needed amendment, securing thereby full powers to the Prince. The Prince soon found

'x 175 out that the elimination of the natives merely strengthened the position of the Russians who were manoeuvring to take complete control of the country's affairs. Russian officials openly flouted him, declaring that they took their orders from the Tsar. The Prince's dislike of Russia was intensified by her attempt to thwart his projected marriage with the Princess Victoria of Prussia, for which purpose even the support of Bismarck had deen enlisted by Russia. The checkmating of this long-cherished matrimonial project may account for the Prince's growing estrangement from Russia and the manifest hostility with which he treated Russian interests. Both the people and the army were growing restive under their new Russian masters, and after an abortive attempt by Russian officers to kidnap the Prince, the latter decided to restore the Constitution but with certain restrictions. He accordingly entrusted once more Tsankov to form a coalition Ministry to carry though this project. At the elections which followed, the majority of Tsankov's followers disagreed with this programme, and instead, Karavelov, round whom rallied the greater number of deputies assumed the premiership. Karavelov had strongly disapproved of the suspension of the Constitution and had at the time been obliged to take refuge in Eastern Rumelia, where he had actively participated in politics and strenuously worked to further the union of this province with Bulgaria

On his assuming power, his friends in Eastern Rumelia thought that this was a propitious occasion for carrying through this scheme since they erroneously hoped that they could count on his support, and they straightaway took steps to proclaim the union without even consulting the Prince and his advisers. The initiators of the movement supported by the officer corps, militia and populace, seized Gavril Pasha, the governor of the province, on September 18, 1885, and proclaimed its union with Bulgaria under

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Prince Alexander. The movement met with no opposition, for even Gavril Pasha on being arrested had declared. „I am a Bulgarian and shall not call in the Turks. I wish happiness to the Bulgarian People". Prince Alexander who was staying at the time at Varna was completely taken aback. A few months earlier he had promised the Russian Minister Giers that he would not disturb the *status quo*, and at first he attempted to struggle against the popular resolve. but the enthusiasm which the proclamation had evoked throughout Bulgaria and the numerous deputations which flocked to him pressing him to accept the union convinced him that he could not oppose the national wish, though he could hardly have had any illusions as to the resentment such a decision would rouse in Russia after the promise he had given. In fact it was considered there as a case of gross insubordination which rendered henceforth his presence in Bulgaria highly undesirable from the Russian point of view, and everything was put in motion to have him removed. It cannot be denied that the proclamation of the union was a tactless act which served to arouse the suspicion of Bulgaria's neighbours. Russia was working at the time for the return of the Dobrudja to Bulgaria, and wished this to take place before the union with Eastern Rumelia (Cf. Geheime Dokumente der Russischen Orient-Politik 1881-1890, № 55). Isvolski and other Russian statesmen since affirmed that they were waiting to secure autonomy for Macedonia before furthering Bulgaria's union with Eastern Rumelia. By precipitating the conclusion of the union and by enrolling the interested support of certain Powers, Bulgaria alienated Russia without securing in exchange the permanent support of any other Power. Even such help as Bulgaria elicited had often to be paid for very dearly, and the case of the purchase of the Rustchuk-Varna railway line may be cited in support. So that the Russophobe policy foi-

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sted on Bulgaria can hardly be considered as having been advantageous. It finally led Russia to support Serbia as more amenable to her will

The Bulgarians were expecting that Turkey as suzerain Power would not acquiesce without a struggle in an act which impaired her rights; they set about mobilising their forces and concentrating them in view of an eventual encounter on the Turkish frontier. But Turkey did not show herself resentful and did nothing to oppose the movement; on the contrary it was Russia that manifested extreme disapproval, considering herself slighted by the independence shown by Bulgaria in this matter. To mark his displeasure, Tsar Alexander III struck Prince Alexander's name out of the army list and recalled all the Russian instructors in the Bulgarian army. In contrast, the attitude of the Western Powers was friendly to Bulgaria, their aim being to detach her from Russia and free her as much as possible from Russia's tutelage. The patronage they thus extended to Bulgaria however, was interpreted by Russian circles as an attempt to undermine their predominant position, and led to relations between Russia and Bulgaria becoming extremely strained, the former going even to the length of urging the Porte to re-occupy Eastern Rumelia. It was while the Bulgarians were anticipating a Turkish attack that Serbia suddenly declared war on Bulgaria, alleging as a pretext the aggrandisement of Bulgaria which tended to upset the existing equilibrium in the Balkans. King Milan of Serbia at the time of the coup d'etat was taking the waters in Austria and at the first news of the proclaimed union hastenend to visit the Emperor of Austria and his foreign Minister, Kalnoky, after which he left for Serbia and prepared the mobilisation of his troops.

Austria had concluded an alliance with Serbia in 1881 with the object of diverting the letter's attention

from Bosnia, and turning it to Macedonia, she therefore felt under an obligation to do something. In order to placate her protégé, Kalnoky hinted to the Powers that Bulgaria ought to grant the town of Vidin to Serbia as compensation for her annexation of Eastern Rumelia, but Russia, in spite of her displeasure at Bulgaria's act, vetoed the scheme, and this decided Milan to attempt to win Vidin by his own sword. In spite of the inexperience of the Bulgarian officers and the circumspection of Prince Alexander who had counselled even the evacuation of Sofia so as to give time to the troops from Eastern Rumelia to arrive, the Bulgarian officers disregarded this advice and attacked the Serbians at Slivnitsa constraining them to beat a hurried retreat. The Bulgarians invaded Serbia and after inflicting another defeat on their adversary at Pirot were preparing to continue their advance when Khevenhüller, the Austrian Minister at Belgrade, appeared, ordering them to stop as otherwise they would be confronted with Austrian troops. Bulgaria had to yield, and though she gained nothing from Serbia in the Treaty of Bucarest which was signed in March 1886 and restored peace between the two countries, her military success had solved the question of Eastern Rumelia. The Sultan had agreed in the meantime to recognise the Prince as Governor-General for five years and promised to reappoint him on the expiration of this term if peace and order were maintained. It was further agreed between Bulgaria and Turkey that they would mutually give each other military support if attacked by a third party, but this pact had to be annulled owing to the strenuous opposition it encountered from Russia and on its withdrawal, the union was finally recognised.

The economic crisis which the war had caused and which was accentuated owing to the inability of the Bulgarian Government to pay for what it had requisitioned

X 175 from the peasantry during the war, had engendered much dissatisfaction, and this was taken advantage of by Russian agents and the pro-Russians in the country to create a feeling of displeasure against the Prince who was pointed out as the obstacle to a close understanding between the two countries. The supporters of the Government on the other hand had begun quarrelling amongst themselves. The dissidents had grouped themselves around Radoslavov, and began criticising Karavelov for his ceding to Turkey the district of Kirdjali in the Rhodopes, and insisted on the representatives of Eastern Rumelia sitting henceforth in the Sobranye. Soon after elections took place in order that deputies from Eastern Rumelia might be sent to Sofia. In his opening speech the Prince made no mention of Russia and this excited the wrath of the Russians who began actively intriguing against him. The rumour that Milan was preparing actively for a new invasion of Bulgaria was circulated, apparently with some ground, and the pro-Russian elements took advantage of this to convince the people that so long as the Prince remained, no reconciliation with Russia was possible, and that the country would therefore be devoid of a protector and liable to foreign attack. These intrigues led some officers to conclude that the supreme interest of the State dictated the Prince's removal, and accordingly in the night of August 21, 1886, they broke into the palace and after forcing him to sign his abdication hustled him out of the country. These officers had acted thoughtlessly, but nothing warranted Lord Salisbury to denounce them as having been „debauched by foreign gold". Indeed, General Radko Dimitriev who was one of the ringleaders, was of a most chivalrous nature and was idolised by his troops. He was profoundly conscious of the services Russia had rendered to his country, and when Bulgaria sided with the Central Empires he offered his services to Russia rather than be obliged to fight against her or her allies.

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The conspirators soon perceived that they had no serious backing, and in order to mislead public opinion they issued a manifesto purported to be signed by Karavelov, informing the people that the Prince had abdicated and a provisional Government had been formed. Karavelov sharply reprobated them for their act and refused to have any dealings with them. Unable to gain the support of even a section of the population, the ringleaders fled within three days of the commital of their exploit. The President of the Chamber, Stambulov, and the commander of the troops at Plovdiv took easily control of the situation and got into touch with the Prince whom they at once solicited to return, On August 29 the Prince landed in Rustchuk but was prevailed upon by the Russian Consul of that town to address a telegram to the Tsar couched in abject terms and placing his abdication at his hands. This was a most inconsiderate and tactless move on the part of the Prince for he ought to have been aware that Russia would not tolerate him and that he would have to maintain himself henceforth in Bulgaria in opposition to Russia. As was to be expected, his supplication evoked a brutal reply from the Tsar who notified him that he disapproved of his return and counselled him to withdraw from Bulgaria. The Prince aware that his departure alone would appease the Tsar, and conscious that Bulgaria'e pacification and wellbeing could hardly be attained without Russia's assistance, resolved to renounce the throne, and after appointing a regency composed of Stambulov, Karavelov and Mutkurov, departed for Austria.

Bismarck for a time attempted to make capital out of Prince Bettenberg's abdication in order to bring pressure to bear on Russia and induce her to sign the secret Treaty of June 18, 1887, known as the Reinsurance Treaty. He sent delegates to Battenberg and to Stoilov, the Bulgarian delegate at Vienna, informing them that if

X 175 the Bulgarians wanted Prince Alexander they could choose him anew, and that Germany would, together with Austria, oppose Russia from occupying Bulgaria in order to depose him.

This proposal was approved by both the Prince and the Bulgarian regency, but the Prince insisted on Bulgaria declaring her independence prior to his return This condition was found unacceptable both by the Bulgarian regents and by Austria, as it constituted an infringement of the Treaty of Berlin, which neither would countenance at the time. This caused the scheme to be dropped, but it helped Bismarck to attain his end by threatening Russia with a possible change in the traditional Balkan policy of Germany.

The Reinsurance Treaty which was secured mainly by this stratagem contained an additional and very secret protocol which ran:

„Germany, as in the past, will lend her assistance to Russia to re-establish a regular and legal Government in Bulgaria and promises not to consent to the restoration of the Prince of Battemberg".

The regency acted very leniently towards those who had supported the conspiracy. It convoked the Sobranye, which at its request, addressed a telegram to the Tsar beseeching him to take Bulgaria under his protection. This elicited the dispatch of General Kaulbars as an extraordinary delegate of the Tsar to Sofia, who announced to the regents that Russia had not forgotten Bulgaria, but that she expected that the latter would now show her gratitude not only in words but also in deeds.

The Regents had decreed that an extraordinary Sobranye should be convoked in order to elect a new prince according to the stipulations of the Constitution, but this evoked a counter order from General Kaulbars who demanded that the carrying out of this decree should be postponed, and that his orders should be published in the

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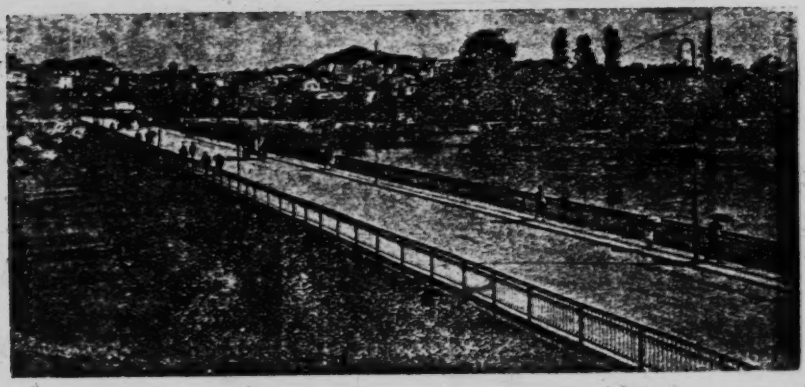
THE ROSE PLANTATIONS IN JUNE



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[facing p. 337]

175 local press. He further did not hesitate to organise meetings in order to stir up public opinion in favour of Russia and in support of his own views, but this did not prevent the announced elections from taking place. The people resenting the domineering attitude of the Russians, elected deputies who were in their great majority for the policy pursued by the regency; General Kaulbars failed to attain his end, but in order to cover his discomfiture he declared the elections invalid on the pretence that riots had occurred.

The Government however, took no notice, opened the Chamber and proceeded to elect Waldemar of Denmark as Prince, an honour which Prince Waldemar declined. Kaulbars considered himself slighted by this overt transgression of his orders and left in protest, followed by all the Russian officials.

It was with some difficulty that another candidate for a prince was at last found, in the person of Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, but the circumstances in which the Bulgarian delegation had made his acquaintance did not commend him to the regents who endeavoured to sound the Powers. Austria gave a half-hearted approval, but counselled procrastination. Russia, however, was inflexible in her opposition and further endeavoured to foment trouble in the principality in order to frustrate the prince's election. Russian agents provoked two serious military revolts in Rustchuk and Silistra which were quelled and the ringleaders shot, while in Constantinople, Tsankov at the head of other Russophiles emigrants, was inciting the Turks to take energetic measures against the Sofia government. It dawned on the regents that they could circumvent the difficulty by electing the Sultan as Prince of Bulgaria, and Stambulov instructed the Bulgarian representative in Constantinople to propose such a personal union to Abdul Hamid, which would have solved for good

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the Eastern question. After considering this plan for three days the Sultan rejected it owing to the likelihood of its provoking the hostility of Russia. Stambulov next turned to Rumania and offered the Bulgarian throne to King Charles of Rumania, but met with a refusal accompanied by a similar explanation, for Russia had intimated to Rumania that she would not countenance such a solution. The plan of electing King Charles of Rumania as Prince of Bulgaria had been already broached by Charles himself during an interview with Count N. P. Ignatiev on February 2, 1878 (Cf. the latter's memoirs p. 58—63), but this scheme was shelved owing to the conflict which arose between Russia and Rumania when the former proceeded to annex the Rumanian province of Bessarabia shortly afterwards.

It was only then that it was decided to proceed with the election of Prince Ferdinand. An extraordinary Sobranye was convoked in Tirnovo on July 7, 1887 which sanctioned the appointment and deputed a delegation to inform Ferdinand of his election. The Porte was also notified and asked to intervene with the Powers in order that the Prince might secure their recognition. Russia, however, refused to acknowlegge him and the other Powers took up a waiting attitude. Stambulov, harassed by the prevailing uncertainty threatened that he would proclaim a republic if the Prince was not forthcoming, and thereby forced Austria's hand. Kalnoky, after consulting with the German Emperor, advised Ferdinand to leave for Bulgaria where he took the oath to the Constitution on August 14, 1887, with the tacit consent of the Powers and of the Porte, but with the overt hostility of Russia which threatened to eject the Prince and appoint a Russian General in his stead, and it was only owing to the championing of the Bulgarian cause by Austria, England and Italy, which concluded a special convention on December 12, 1887, that the threat of a Russian intervention was removed,

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On the accession of Ferdinand the regents resigned, but at the insistance of the Prince, Stambulov was persuaded to remain in charge of the administration, and his first act was to convoke the Chamber. The election campaign showed that there was a considerable number of malcontents headed by Tsankov, who overtly sided with Russia and demanded the Prince's removal, while a more moderate group, presided by Karavelov agitated for reconciliation with Russia. Stambulov however had taken steps to secure the return of his candidates at the urns, so that his opponents were practically exluded from the Chamber.

Intrigues and conspiracies fomented by Russia followed one another, keeping public opinion in effervescence and exciting passions to paroxysm, a state of affairs that may be best gauged by the fact that even the bishops were drawn into the fray and openly refused to mention the Prince's name in the public prayers, but instead named the Tsar of Russia. This provocative attitude created scandals in the places of worship, to put a stop to which Stambulov had recourse to a high handed measure, that of interning some of these strong-headed ecclesiastics. What proved far more serious however, were the revolutionary outbreaks which were organised by Russian agents with the complicity of Bulgarian Russophiles. Those of the later who had taken refuge in Constantinople organised a filibustering expedition under the leadership of the Russian Captain Nabokov, who had previously planned an unsuccessful rising at Sliven. The expedition, after landing to the south of Burgas attempted to penetrate into Bulgaria but was overwhelmed by Bulgarian troops and dispersed. In 1890 a more serious conspiracy was discovered headed by Major Panitsa who had brought to naught Captain Nabokov's mutiny. Panitsa was supported mainly by Macedonians, dissatisfied with the Turcophile policy of

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X 175 Stambolov, and who aimed chiefly at furthering Bulgaria's reconciliation with Russia in order that Macedonia might be freed with Russian support. The ringleaders were promptly arrested and imprisoned while Panitsa was court-martialed and shot. [1]

Unable to attain their end by conspiracies Stambulov's adversaries next tried assassination. While he was walking with the Minister of Finance, Beltchev, several shot were fired at them killing the latter. Stambulov convinced himself that he was now a marked man. He had never been of a gentle disposition, but henceforth he showed extreme heartlessness in his conduct towards his political opponents and the utter brutality which he displayed in his relations to them explains the intense detestation with which he began to be viewed by all liberal minded and intellectual circles in Bulgaria. A year later another colleague of Stambulov, the Bulgarian representative at Constantinople, Dr. Vulkovitch, was shot by these terrorists. As a reply to these murders the former regent Karavelov and some eighteen of his supporters were thrown into prison and tortured in order to extort confessions. Though altogether innocent of the crime imputed to them, several were condemned to death, while others received lengthy sentences. Friends of Karavelov, who had been mercilessly beaten and tortured appealed to the legations of the Powers and begged them to interfere, but when the foreign representatives visited Karavelov in prison in order to ascertain the facts, he courageously denied having been maltreated, as he did not wish to cast a slur on his country's administrative methods. Among the friends of

[1] According to the 'Geheime Documente der russischen Orient Politik 1831-1890' edited by R. Leonov in 1893, Berlin, Panitsa was subsidised by the Russians, he wanted to foment a rising in Macedonia after overthrowing the Government and replacing the Prince by a candidate appointed by Russia. (Documents No. 171 and 213).

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Karavelov who were condemned to death was Ilia Gheorgov, one of the founders of the Radical party and a prominent parliamentarian, who is still alive and one of the most popular figures in Bulgaria, owing to the devotion with which he has served his country and the promptness and readiness with which he has helped all deserving causes. He owed his life to Stambulov's fall from power. 175

While seditions and conspiracies were being continuously hatched, and internal order was being maintained by growingly repressive measures, Stambulov obtained marked success in his foreign policy. His attempt to convince Turkey that it was to her interest to be on friendly terms with Bulgaria was approved by the Sultan who hastened to mark his appreciation by the appointment of Bulgarian bishops in Macedonia. Russia in order to thwart this growing understanding between them, dispatched the Serbian politician Passitch[1] in 1889 to Sofia in order to entice Stambulov into concluding an alliance between their two countries which would be primarily aimed against Turkey, on the basis of a partition of Macedonia. This offer was rejected by Stambulov who justified himself by saying that the fate of Macedonia should be decided by its own inhabitants and not by outsiders. A similar proposal made by the Greek Premier, Tricoupis in 1891 was equally declined. The following year Stambulov was received in audience by the Sultan to whom he again proposed a formal alliance and a customs union between their two countries und though he did not obtain the latter's adherence to the scheme, yet he succeeded in wresting several privileges for the Exarchate which facilitated Bulgarian cultural expansion in Macedonia. Prince Ferdi-

[1] According to Geheime Documente etc. Op. cit. № 91, the Rustchuk Russian Consulate was instructed to pay 6000 roubles to Passitch on December 3, 1885, which shows that he was in close contact with Russia.

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nand had simultaneously been received by the Emperor Francis Joseph and Queen Victoria. The Pope's consent to Ferdinand's intended marriage with Princess Marie Louise of Parma was made possible by Stambulov's intervention in the Sobranye, which was prevailed upon to consent to an alteration in the Constitution which would permit the heir to the throne to be brought up in the Catholic instead of in the Orthodox faith. But this last measure aroused intense opposition in the Bulgarian Church as well as in the mass of the public and did much to undermine what popularity Stambulov still enjoyed.

The birth of an heir to the throne in 1894 convinced Ferdinand that he was now secure enough to enfranchise himself from the tutelage of Stambulov, and in this he was naturally encouraged by the latter's ever growing number of opponents who poisoned the prince's mind against him. In this design Ferdinand received encouragement even from Kaiser Wilhelm who spurred him on by the remark „I got rid of my chancellor, when will you get rid of Yours?" Stambulov would have no doubt found means to checkmate Ferdinand, but in the rivalry which had developed between the two, Stambulov was handicapped by the fear of the prince threatening to abdicate. Ferdinand, believing that he could not secure his recognition from Russia without removing Stambulov from power, decided finally to compel him to give up his office by openly favouring the leaders of the Opposition and advising them to present a united front against Stambulov. A hint they could scarcely neglect since they knew that if Stambulov emerged victorious from his struggle with Ferdinand, he would not hesitate to crush them. Ferdinand started secret negotiations with Russia and when this came to the knowledge of Stambulov, the latter offered his resignation, hoping that the prince would not dare to accept it for fear of losing his

throne. Ferdinand had grown to have greater confidence in his powers however, for he had just worsted in a last passage at arms his premier. Stambulov foreseeing the inevitable struggle between himself and the prince, had attempted to curtail the latter's prerogative of disposing of all promotions and appointments in the army which helped Ferdinand to form a body of officers devoted to his orders. 175-X

This measure would have been carried out with the support of General Savov, the War Minister, and would have rendered the Prince a mere puppet, but a domestic scandal engineered by Ferdinand embroiled Stambulov with his colleague and was taken advantage of by Ferdinand to install at the War Office one of his own creatures, the notorious General Ratso Petrov, who was sentenced several times subsequently for embezzlement and who to the great misfortune of the country succeeded in obstructing the adoption of this measure which would have effectively removed the army from all Court influences. Stambulov was taken by complete surprise when notified that his resignation had been accepted, and in a fit of resentment attempted to overawe Ferdinand by organising meetings and demonstrations. But the police, was no longer under his control, and these manifestations were easily suppressed, all the more so since the whole populace arose to demonstrate its joy at the overthrow of the man who whatever his services, had marked his period of government by bloody terrorism. Stambulov shut himself up at his house and troops had to guard him against the attacks of the infuriated mob which sought to tear him to pieces. His fall was acclaimed as a second liberation of Bulgaria from a worse tyranny than that of the Turks, and Ferdinand for a brief time enjoyed great popularity for having dismissed him. Had Stambulov contented himself with undertaking a campaign

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against his successor in office and abstained from rousing the ire of Ferdinand by publishing violent diatribes in the foreign Press against him, it is possible that by biding his time he might have again been called to play a decisive part in his country's destinies, for the politicians Ferdinand had called to power were as disregardful of the law as Stambulov had been, and moreover were far from having anything like his ability. He chose, however, to take revenge on the prince by publishing a venomous attack on him in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, which provoked the implacable animosity of Ferdinand.

Stoilov, the next president ot the Council, attempted to create a powerful political party by fusing in one body all those who had opposed Stambulov, and who by their mutual antagonism had so far facilitated the latter's maintenance in power. This was an exceedingly delicate task owing to the mutual mistrust of the Russophobe groups of Radoslavov and Tontchev for the Russophile colleagues of Stoilov. The latter was soon to surpass Stambulov in arbitrariness; he began by dismissing en masse functionaries and the police, in order to replace them by people subservient to his will, who would assist him in securing the return of his candidates at the elections which were timed to take place in September 1894. He refused to amnesty Karavelov and Tsankov, and kept the former in prison for fear that he would supplant him, while Tsankov remained in exile. The latter was nevertheless returned at the elections in spite of the pressure exerted by the police, but his election was invalidated. The elections were marked by disgraceful excesses. The newspaper *Suglasie* of September 11, 1894, published the text of Stoilov's orders to the prefects urging them to use force and falsify the poll whenever it was unfavourable to the Government candidates. One of the Ministers, the poet Const. Velitchkov, was courageous enough to express his

regrets in the Sobranye at the writer Aleko Constantinov's partisans at Svistov, having been put to flight by the police instead of the electors showing more pluck and dispersing these over-zealous Government officials. Minister Pechev, in his Memoirs wrote: 175

„In 1896 soldiers of the Sevlievo artillery regiment drove us away with whips from the urns." p. 137.

The relentless determination with which Stoilov harassed his opponents may also be illustrated by his treatment of Kosta Arseniev, a friend of Karavelov.

Elected in 1894 his mandate was invalidated, when he presented himself anew at a by-election in 1895, his supporters were dispersed by troops, and he only succeeded in April 1899, after Stoilov's fall. to secure his return at Lom, 86% of the electorate voting for him, in spite of his belonging to the Opposition, which fact may serve to gauge the popularity Arseniev justly enjoyed. And Dragan Tsankov, another adversary, was treated equally shabbily. Stoilov hastened to enact a law for the prosecution of officials who had illegaly enriched themselves, the object of which was to persecute Stambulov's followers; it served as a pretext to government supporters to commit reprisals on their political adversaries and a whole series of crimes followed. Stambulov himself was prosecuted and his properties seized. One of the charges brought up against him was that he himself had engineered the murder of Beltchev in order to have a ready pretext for annihilating his political adversaries and it was only at the intervention of the foreign legations that this utterly baseless charge was withdrawn. The cynicism and unscrupulousness of the members of this cabinet may be gauged by the fact that while attempting to incriminate Stambulov for the murder of his colleague Beltchev, they kept in prison their opponent Karavelov who had been imprisoned by Stambulov for his alleged participation in this assassination, and who

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was obviously innocent. The latter showed a rare sense of dignity by refusing to sign a petition for his reprieve, and by insisting on being set free without having to humiliate himself. Stambulov's trial on the other charges which had been brought against him continued; it was revealed, however, thet several of the Ministers in office who had been also colleagues of Stambulov, would be equally incriminated if these charges were substantiated, and for this reason the Sobranye finally voted an amnesty on December 23, 1896.

In the meantime, Stambulov was endevouring to leave Bulgaria in order to recruit his shattered health at Carlsbad, but the Government refused to allow him to leave the country so long as his trial had not been concluded, fearing that he would start a press campaign abroad against them and the prince. It was under these circumstances that Stambulov was set upon and savagely murdered in one of the principal streets of Sofia on July 15,1895. He was wearing a mail shirt and his murderers were only able to hack off his arms and slash at his head with their yatagans. [1] He survived his wounds for three days and before expiring he [illegible]ed two Macedonians as his agressors and denou[illegible] the prince as the moral instrigator of the crime. He was not spared even when dead. There were scandalous scenes at his funeral. Hooligans thrice endeavoured to throw down and break open the coffin and dismember the corpse. Even a bomb was thrown at the funeral convoy creating a panic, in the course of which the Turkish consul, and the Rumanian and Greek vice-consuls were wounded, while subsequently the mob tried to rush the British, German, and Austro-Hungarian legations. There is not the slightest doubt that

[1] One of his death-bed remarks was that Bulgarians would forgive him for everything save for having brought Ferdinand to Bulgaria, a remark which subsequent events have fully justified.

the government was fully aware of the plans of the assassins and that it had given orders to the police to aid them in their gruesome task. This became evident by the facts revealed in the course of the interpellation deputy T. Tabakov addressed to Stoilov on February 3,1896, and Richard von Mach who was an eye witness of most of these events and in Stambulov's confidence, corroborates these facts in his book, 'Aus bewegter Balkanzeit'. 175x

Stephen Stambulov was undoubtedly one of the ablest statesmen Bulgaria has produced. He suppressed brigandage which was rife, created an efficient army, organised the basis of an educational system of which Bulgarians are justly proud, created order out of prevailing anarchy, maintained his country's independence by courageously warding off Russia's attack, the underhand policy of which was revealed to him by Jacobson, a dragoman of the Russian Legation at Bucarest, who communicated to him its secret archives which were later published in Berlin by Leonov under the title „Geheime Dokumente der Russischen Orient-Politik 1881-1890". He undertook the building of railways and ports and took steps to develop the resources of the country, the remarkable progress of which was fully recognised by all foreign visitors of the Plovdiv exhibition of 1892. Unfortunately his talents and qualities were marred by his boundless egotism and the utter brutality he displayed towards all who dared differ from him. He knew no measure in the ruthlessness he displayed towards his adversaries; he flooded the country with his spies and terrorised all opponents. At the elections, both army and police were regularly employed to dragoon the electors, and police prefects were held responsible for any weakness on their part in case government candidates were not returned. Such orders as these were responsible for some 35 people being fired at and killed at Pleven and Gorna Orehovitsa during the elections of 1887. He

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did not hesitate to interfere even with the course of Justice as the revolting procedure at the trial of the Metropolite Clement at Tirnovo revealed.

Certain Bulgarians[1] affirm that Stambulov's antagonism to Russia was not dictated by patriotism and that he was willing to compromise with her in order to get rid of Ferdinand. In support they mention certain documents issued by the Russian Asiatic Deparment, the genuiness of which could be ascertained now that the Russian archives are open to foreign Investigators. At any rate Stambulov had always affirmed that his main object was to maintain Ferdinand in power, but after his fall, he showed himself ready to overthrow the dynasty even with Russian help, and this proves that he had no scruples and was ready to sacrifice all for personal considerations. It is doubtful whether Russia would have shown herself so aggressive had she not been so heedlessly provoked. Indeed, had a more tactful politician, like Karavelov been in charge of Bulgaria's destinies many of these difficulties which Stambulov created by his own impetuosity and at the instigation of other foreign Powers would have been avoided. In spite of the eminent services Stambulov rendered to his country at a time of great stress and continuous upheavals, which may be invoked as attenuating circumstances in his favour, the utter disregard of the law, the lack of fairness and the abuse of justice by which his administration was characterised, completely undermined the prestige of the State in the eyes of the people, and created most deplorable precedents. These disreputable methods, copied as they were by his successors, all of whom were by far behind him in experience and ability, came to be taken as a standard after which the administration was conducted. The disregard of principles which followed depraved the politicians, who

[1] Cf. Veltso T. Veltchev's „Stambulov and Ferdinand". Sofia 1922.

lost all moral authority and sank to the rank of mere pawns in the hands of Ferdinand, who then assumed complete control of the State This will go some way to explain why Bulgarians who have made such remarkable progress in so many directions, have so far shown themselves incapable of creating a decent administrative machine worthy of a civilised State. 175 X

The one noteworthy success of the Stoilov Cabinet was to have obtained Russia's recognition of the Prince. This was rendered easy by the demise of Tsar Alexander III on November 1, 1894, and the accession of a less acrimonious monarch to the Russian throne. Tsar Nicholas II agreed to recognise Ferdinand on condition that the heir to the Bulgarian throne should be received into the fold of the Orthodox Church, and this price Ferdinand showed his willingness to pay, even at the risk of excommunication with which the Pope threatened him. The conversion of Prince Boris was followed by the granting of an amnesty to all Russophiles who had taken refuge in Russia, and who hastened to return to their country headed by the politician Dragan Tsankov.

As a counterweight to this success the friendship with Turkey cooled off very perceptibly. Turkey felt she could no longer rely on Bulgaria and instead she sought to gain the friendship of Serbia, by inducing King Alexander Obrenovitch to visit Constantinople. The Greco-Turkish war of 1897 was not taken advantage of by Bulgaria, though Greece attempted to purchase Bulgarian help by the offer of a partition of Macedonia and the granting of the port of Cavala. The Sultan staved off this threat by the timely granting of the bishoprics of Deber and Strumitsa to the Bulgarian Exarchate, which concessions proved sufficient to quieten Sofia at the time.

A notable improvement set in in the relations between Bulgaria and Serbia, King Alexander Obrenovitch visited

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Internally, the Stoilov administration proved itself more corrupt than that of Stambulov and given to the committal of even worse abuses. The Cabinet resigned in January 1899, Stoilov vacating his post eight days after the publication of the budget, yet he did not hesitate to appropriate from the secret funds allotted to his Ministry 74,500 gold leva, leaving at the disposal of his successor for the rest of the year the meagre sum of 5,000 gold leva.

His colleagues in the Cabinet did likewise. Their successors in office were in a fume and the acrimonious discussions which followed on the opening of the first session of the tenth Sobranye do not make very edifying reading. Naturally the new Ministers hastened to vote new credits to replenish the emptied ministerial coffers, and passed a Bill enacting that the money which Stoilov and his colleagues had so hastily pocketed should be paid back to the State, this resolution however was never enforced, though the inculpated Ministers could have easily been constrained to disgorge these misappropriated funds, since they had voted to themselves the respectable sum of 700,000 gold leva also in 1898 in the guise of secret funds. Yet another case of peculation was committed by Stoilov's Cabinet which was revealed in the Sobranye at the end of 1897 by one of the most chivalrous politicians Bulgaria has ever had, the deputy Naitso Tsanov, who exposed how it had been decided to create a Bulgarian Navy with the apparent object of abetting the embezzlement of public money.

:THE LIBERATION OF BULGARIA

It was while the Stoilov Ministry was in power that another heinous crime was committed by government adherents, namely the shooting ot one of the most gifted of Bulgarian writers, Aleko Coestantinov, while he was driving with a political friend, M. Takev, both being supporters of Karavelov. Subsequently it was revealed that the fatal shots were intended for Takev. The committal of this crime stirred up intense indignation. The *Missel* in its May, 1897 number did not hesitate to write:

„Of the thousand crimes committed by Bulgarian Governments on the Bulgarian people, this was if not the greatest, at least the ugliest".

A somewhat premature verdict, for alas, worse things were to follow. The Stoilov regime was depicted by Daniel Yrukov in his „Souvenirs from the political life of Bulgaria", as follows:

„Stambulov governed, while Stoilov was governed. Stambulov had all the courage of a gentleman-bucaneer and the severity of a tyrant, while Stoilov was a mere courtier, an unscrupulous weak-willed vizier".

There were harsher critics, for we read in the *Sfoboda* of December 11,1896:

„Our country is not a State but a nest of brigands and bloodsuckers. What is called the Government, those who are lauded as rulers are hangmen. They are more loathsome and terrible than the most notorious brigands".

In short, the Government, if it did help by some measures to advance the material prosperity of the country neglected entirely its moral improvement. And the example of corruption it set, unchecked owing to the absence of an educated middle-class. helped to undermine public morality, and facilitated the assumption of all real authority by the Crown.

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THE POLITICAL PARTIES

The attempt of Stoilov to merge into one body all the opponents of Stambulov did not meet with success. The various groups were too heterogeneous to coalesce, and the national or popular party into which they had been fused, soon broke up again into its constituent elements.

It was in the Constituent Assembly of 1879 that the first manifestations of differences of opinion took place. One group headed by the clergy, and those who had received a more advanced education, or had lived abroad, such as Natsevitch, Grekov, Balabanov, Burmov and Stoilov, advocated the granting of more restrained rights to the people, the adoption of a property or educative qualification for electors, and the creation of a senate. These were opposed by Karavelov, Dragan Tsankov, and Stambulov, all of whom insisted on the people being endowed with full sovereign rights without any restrictions whatever. They were supported by the revolutionaries, teachers, functionaries and the mass of the people and completely dominated the assembly, as they were both more numerous and more noisy than the few educated and more refined conservatively minded individuals who opposed them. It is this multitudinous mass, which styled itself Liberal, that was responsible for the adoption of a Constitution extremely liberal in form, which was soon to prove both inappropriate and unworkable.

These two groups originally designated as Conservatives and Liberals, soon broke up into a multiplicity of fractions, bitterly opposed one to another, and incapable of co-operation except for the sole purpose of overthrowing the party which happened to be in office. In 1884 the first scission was recorded in the Liberal ranks, giving rise to two parties led respectively by Karavelov and

[For history of background of this period see Cat. no. 17-524-351 - Analysis]

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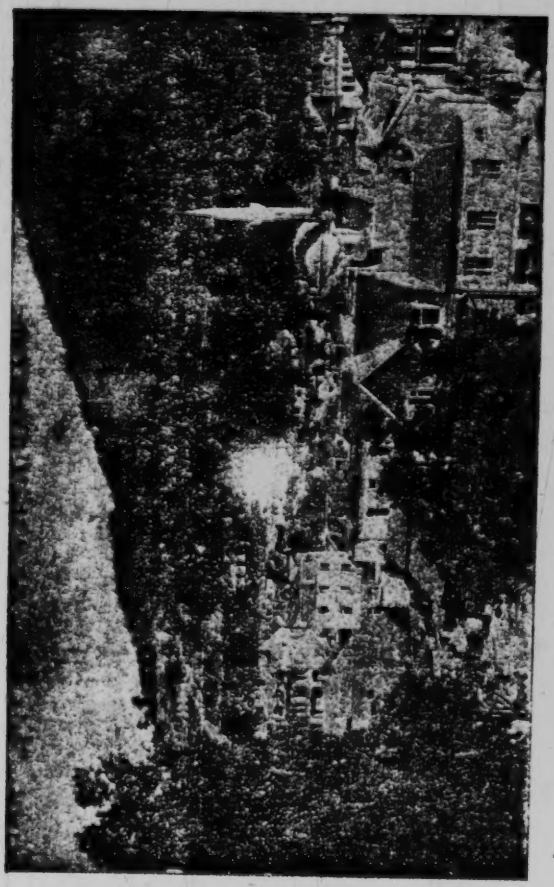

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[facing p. 353]

665 Dragan Tsankov. The former was to become known subsequently as the Democratic party under the leadership of Malinov, while the latter assumed the title of Progressive with Danev at its head. After the dethronement of Prince Alexander and when Karavelov was unjustly cast into prison his followers split up into two sections, one headed by Stambulov, and the other by Radoslavov. The first group styling itself national-liberal, and the second liberal. The latter was soon to give birth to an offshoot in the form of the so-styled Young Liberal party under Tontchev.

All these three groups were characterised by their anti-Russian attitude, and by their utter disregard of constitutional methods. They hesitated at nothing in order to secure their return to power, and whenever they were in office and their organs supervised the election, they were distinguished by extreme acts of brutality and violence. They were several times indicted and condemned for illegalities and embezzlements, but always amnestied because ex-Tsar Ferdinand found in them the most subservient of tools wherewith to carry on his personal policy; for unable to depend on popular support they were obliged to seek that of the Crown, which they elicited through their abject servility. The programmes of these three groups had no fundamental differences and they co-operated whenever Ferdinand expressed such a desire.

The reason for the inordinate subdivision of Bulgarian parties was the desire of the politicians to secure Ministerial seats. As the number of such posts was limited, whenever a group grew to have an undue number of aspirants to these honours which it could not satisfy simultaneously, it split and a readjustment was effected based on a more equitable proportion of the number of posts and favours available for distribution to the number of candidates enrolled in the party. This

665 fissiparous tendency was naturally greatly encouraged formerly by Ferdinand, who was not slow to realise that the weakening of the political parties and their mutual hostilities constituted the best guarantee for the maintenance of his dominating position in the country.

Party spirit was extremely virulent and political intrigue had no limits; antagonism between political parties and politicians was bitter and uncompromising because their conflicts were not due to divergences in ideals, but mainly caused by sordid material interests or personal animosity. The mainspring of political activity consisted in the quest of well paid posts and sinecures which provided means for amassing fortunes. Such base and narrow aims engendered venomous rivalries and mortal envies, because politicians aware of the motives which impelled them, could hardly ascribe to their antagonists any higher aims, which could command respect. As Dr. Seton-Watson remarked very appropriately in his „Europe in the Melting-pot, p. 358:

„The secret of Ferdinand's power has lain in his skill in calculating the psychological moment for driving each batch of swine from the trough of power and still more in his policy, pursued with a relentless and uncanny mastery of detail, of supervising their diet".

What rendered these politicians still more contemptible, was their readiness to hire themselves indiscriminately to the service of any foreign bidder. A foreign bank or industrial establishment would appoint a prominent politician as director or legal adviser, and in exchange for the emoluments he received, he would lend his support and that of his party to further the interests of the institution, however these might clash with those of his wretched country. Though a law had been enacted forbidding deputies to participate in the management of enterprises likely to have dealings with the State, the law was seldom respected. M. Tsolakov-Zarin, a former director of the

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National Bank, in one of his numerous writings („Dans le tourbillon de la Haute Spoliation") cites several cases of infringement by prominent members of the Democratic party.

The leadership of the National or popular party was assumed by I. E, Gueshov after Stoilov's death, and its foreign policy was characterised by a moderate friendship for Russia. Some of its prominent members were the veteran politicians, M. Madjarov, St. Bobtchev and the late T. Todorov. Political parties in Bulgaria were, prior to the war, mainly distinguished by the measure of sympathy or suspicion they professed for Russia. The Democratic party avowed itself equally Russophile, but was more amenable to Court influence and on occasions ready to follow a pro-Austrian policy at the request of Ferdinand. In a public address its leader had declared to Ferdinand that he was the party's load star and that its programme could be summarised in the following words: „With you, by you, and for you."Some of its best known members were. Malinov. the late Liaptchev, Mushanov, Dr. Ghirghinov, and Stefanov.

While the Democratic party was still presided over by Karavelov, its most idealistic followers seceded on a question of principle and formed the Radical party, which together with the Socialists, formed what may be styled as the „ginger" groups in the Sobranye, Both, leaders and rank and file of this party were distinguished by their integrity and idealism. Its founder, Naitso Tsanov, was the noblest political figure Bulgaria possessed, and his attractive and kindly personality was assisted by powerful gifts of reasoning and exposition. He was the only politician who declared that he would refuse to accept office from Ferdinand if this request did not emanate also from a majority in the Chamber. He never wearied in his scathing condemnation of the arbitrary and unconstitutional acts of

665 Ferdinand, but in spite of the exemplary attitude of its leaders, the Radical party failed to attract the masses to its orbit, because it was always opposed to the practice followed by the other parties, which promised favours and offices in advance to those who would support them at the elections and secure their return to power. The existence of the Radical party proves that it was not for lack of leaders that parliamentarism failed in Bulgaria, but owing to the unwillingness or inability of the masses to perceive where their true interests lay. They preferred to sell their votes to the higher bidder, and naturally it was the bigger demagogues who imposed themselves by their cleverness and astuteness. M. Naitso Tsanov was supported by some very able colleagues among whom were, Ilia Gheorgov, Stoyan Kosturkov, Dr. Patev, Anghel Stankov, G. T. Vlaikov and Ivan Kepov, the distinguished writers, Dr. Burilkov, the president of the Temperance League, Peter Todorov, former Minister of Finance, and one of the most promising young intellectuals and parliamentarians, Prof. G. P. Ghenov. It is sad to reflect that the centrifugal forces so conspicuous in Bulgarian politics, made themselves felt even among this group of idealists, and that dissent was not always absent from their ranks. Discord, the cardinal vice in Bulgarian politics could not be eradicated even emong those whose programme was based on harmony and co-operation and who were the pioneers of true democracy in Bulgaria. And if this most progressive and idealistic party succumbed to this canker, one may justly infer that the democratic form of government is not the appropriate one to the Bulgarian temperament.

The Progressive party led by Danev was distinguished by its extreme Russophilism. „We have no secrets from Russia". Danev used to affirm, he however, does not seem to have kept consistently to this principle at the time of the Balkan wars and this would go a long way to explain

the disaster which followed and which made him then declare that his „policy had gone bankrupt". 665

Just as the despotism of Stambulov brought into being the Socialist party, so the oppressive measures adopted by the Radoslavov, or Liberal party, caused while it was in power during the years 1899/1901, the formation of the Agrarian. The Radoslavov Government unable to raise a foreign loan attempted to introduce anew the tithe in 1900. The country had suffered from a series of bad harvests during the preceding years, and the peasantry was expecting to make up for its losses by the abundant harvest of 1900 when it learnt to its consternation that the government had decided to divest it of the fruits of its labour. Incited by the Opposition parties the peasantry rose in several districts and the Government had recourse to violence in order to crush the outbreaks. The disorders which ensued caused such indignation that the Cabinet had to resign. Having thus taken cognizance of its force, the peasantry started to organise itself under the guidance of certain teachers, like D. Draghiev, Tsanko Bakalov and Zabunov. Despised, exploited, imposed upon by the political parties, which only thought of the peasantry when elections were approaching in order to wrest from them their votes throught the most misleading promises and ensnaring artifices, the peasantry attempted to free itself from this political and economic servitude by creating an organisation which would defend its rights. At first it was in the form of a strictly professional or syndicalist organisation, aiming at the defence of the interests of the rural population, and it did not at all aim at securing office. Their desiderata were: the curtailment of the growing powers of the Crown, retrenchment and economy in all branches of the administration, the disbanding of the army, the creation in its stead of a militia and the relinquishment of Ferdinand's Imperialistic policy. So long as the move- 665 668

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ment was in control of Draghiev, a man of the most austere morality, and leading the life of a Christian apostle, the agrarian movement could be regarded as the most hopeful portend in the public life of the country, as it seemed capable of regenerating the body politic by the eventual dominating position which the Agrarian party would have obtained owing to its vast numerical preponderance. Draghiev, and some of those who seconded him, like St. Montchev, were protestants, and lived a life of Spartan simplicity and of exemplary virtue, which enabled Draghiev to exert, owing to the respect and prestige he enjoyed, a strict discipline on his followers. Unfortunately when the world war broke out, the Entente Powers attempted to suborn some of the Agrarian deputies by commissioning them to buy up the wheat supply on their behalf. The cupidity of these peasant deputies having been aroused, it continued to be exploited by the then Radoslavov Government, with the object of enlisting their support. Those among the Agrarians who had had dealings with the Entente agent, Des Closiéres, were threatened with being courtmartialed if they would not agree to support the Government, while if they did not show themselves recalcitrant, they were offered opportunities for participating in profitable speculations. Intimidation and cupidity thus brought about disintegration in the party. The Spartan Draghiev refused to tolerate these manifest infractions of the moral principles and rigorous discipline he had imposed on the party, and finding himself in a minority seceded and established a new party. Though many of the inculpated members offered to make amends, Draghiev was adamant and refused to readmit them to the fold, declaring that after their moral degradation they could no longer represent the Agrarian organisation and that their fall should be judged by the Party Congress at the end of the war.

A party tribunal was in fact set up, and it passed severe sentences on those inculpated. Had the verdicts been upheld, the Agrarian party, cleansed of all tainted elements might have proved a decisive factor in regenerating public life in Bulgaria. Unfortunately Stambuliiski, the former secretary of the party, who had been imprisoned during the war, and who was making capital out of his incarceration by assuming the aureole of a martyr, thought it opportune to make use of his influence to mitigate these sentences in order to gain the support of the incriminated members and of their sympathisers, and oust Draghiev and his adherents from the party. This unhappily was achieved, and the Agrarian party having thrown overboard its moral ballast, rapidly degenerated into an organisation of professional office-seekers and demagogues, who while in office outdid all their predecessors in the committal of excesses and abuses. All right-thinking men in Bulgaria are at one in admitting that the Agrarian regime of Stambuliiski completed the work of demoralisation introduced by Ferdinand, and that the havoc and devastation it has caused are such that the work of moral recuperation now requires superhuman energies if it is to be tackled with some chance of success. When after Stambuliiski's death, Draghiev was approached and invited by the Agrarians to re-organise the party, he blankly refused to have anything further to do with them, declaring in their faces that they were:

> Without Christian and civic consciousness, that they placed above all their personal ambitions, interests and happiness, and that if Stambuliiski was gone, new adventurers were ready to spring up from among their ranks rendering his immixture in their affairs superfluous."

The autocratic regime of Stambulov brought into being in 1890 the Socialist party, the founders of which were Sakuzov and Blagoev. They initiated a spirited campaign

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against the dictatorial methods in vogue at the time, and rallied a large number of intellectuals around them. The doctrine of Karl Marx, however, was not appropriate to Bulgarian conditions owing to the lack of an industrial proletariat. In its absence, the Socialists attempted to recruit adherents from among the State functionaries. The class which showed the greatest proneness to support this movement was the teaching profession which embraced the new doctrine with enthusiasm and became fanatical votaries of this new gospel. These well meaning but uncritical enthusiasts in their zeal to spread their new faith met with the stolid opposition and incredulity of the peasant mass, among whom they lived, and to whom these strange new doctrines appeared more than heretical. In order to make these tenets acceptable to the mass it was thought that the best method was to undermine existing beliefs and traditions, and the teachers thus began sowing the seeds of disintegration instead of working for the awakening and consolidation of the national consciousness. They heaped ridicule and abuse on the Church, the State and such „bourgeois" conceptions as duty and morality, and thereby contributed to arouse the suspicion and hatred of the peasantry for all intellectuals. Even among the urban working classes, the influence of the Socialists was nefarious, for they endeavoured to indoctrinate their supporters with a savage hatred for the bourgeois, denouncing the present order and holding it up to execration as the only obstacle to the realisation of the messianic conditions which were to prevail on the advent of the Socialist State. The adoption of such wild beliefs by an uncritical and uneducated mass had on the whole a disintegrating effect on the nation, and though most of the leaders of the Socialist movement hold leading places among the elite of the Bulgarian intelligentsia, they were too far removed above

the level of the mass of their supporters to make themselves understood. They rather chose to leave the task of guiding their partisans to the more demagogically inclined among them, who excelled in the art of invective, and abuse [1] while they themselves reserved their exertions for parliamentary work. In this their activity was both commendable and fruitful, and their criticisms mostly opportune, and helped to raise the general level of the debates in the Sobranye. Sakuzov and his colleagues, Dr. Djidrov, Assen Tsankov, and Yannulov have equally distinguished themselves in the literary field, especially Dr. Djidrov who is the editor of one of the leading Bulgarian reviews on economics. Other prominent adherents of the party were Pastuhov and Kazazov, the latter having played a prominent part in the coup d'état of June 9, 1923 and having since persistently worked for a rapprochement between his country and Yugoslavia, owing to which he has now been fittingly appointed Bulgarian Minister at Belgrade. Long before the suppression of the parliamentary regime in Bulgaria, dislocation set in among the ranks of the Socialists and its most prominent members seceded from the party, which was weakened to such an extent that it practically ceased to exert any influence on politics. Already in 1903, a cleavage had taken place in the party and the more doctrinaire partisans seceded to form the group of the so-called „Narrow" socialists under Blagoev, and who gradually merged themselves with the communists. Their influence from every point

[1] This explains how campaigns of slander and diffamation against political opponents who were on the whole respectable, were often indulged in by the Socialist party, though they often ended to the clear injury of the initiators. The most resounding one, was the electoral campaign against Prof. P. Stoyanov, a radical candidate, when the Socialists did not hesitate to publish on the eve of the election a forged letter purporting to be his, giving him no time to dispel the imputations levelled at him.

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of view was disastrous, for instead of lending their support to the more progressive elements in the country, they sided with the most disreputable, in order to enhance disorder and dissatisfaction and thereby hasten the advent of the proletarian revolution.

"The worse, the better for us", seemed to have been their motto. The impact of these advanced doctrines on half-cultured and uncritical minds has been most detrimental to the latter, They consider themselves as outright enemies of the community within which they live and they work for its destruction instead of for its advancement, and this forces the authorities to deal drastically with these fanatics. Their ranks were swollen by a large proportion of the teaching profession and of the lower grades of public functionaries. In the revolutionary outbreak of September 1923, over 1000 teachers joined the revolutionary bands. M. D. Kazazov, who for a short time acted as Minister of Railways, declared in the Sobranye on February 27, 1925 that prior to the revolutionary outbreak of September 1923, the railways and the telegraphs were in complete control of the communist party and that some 700 functionaries had to be dismissed from these State departments owing to their fanaticism which rendered them unreliable. Many among the teachers, and even women teachers, are fanatical converts of communism. One often hears of teachers who forbid their pupils to read the works of the poet Vazov, as being too patriotic, or who make blasphemous discourses to the students. One should not feel surprised at the astounding spread of Communism in Bulgaria, because all idealistically minded young people have nothing else to turn to. The corruption, venality and debasement of the political parties repelled all but the most prosaic. The only other focus of attraction, the Radical party, abstained from all misleading propaganda, and instead of holding out the

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lure of an early advent to power, openly prepared for a long peregrination in the wilderness, which was enough to benumb the enthusiasm of the less intrepid. The intensive propaganda carried on by the Russian Bolsheviki, the close relations existing between Bulgarian Communist leaders and their Russian colleagues[1], the similarity of the language, and the immense influence which Russian literature has exerted on the Bulgarian intelligentsia for generations, makes the Bulgarians the most promising adepts of Bolshevism. Except for a mere handful of the well-off, all the rest of the people are either fervently hoping for the advent of Bolshevism or indifferent to its coming. They are convinced that the present system has brought only disillusion; Bolshevism, even if it did not improve matters could hardly make them worse, and it would certainly bring in its wake a much needed relief, that o the emancipation of a third of the Bulgarian people from the intolerable foreign servitude it has been placed under. The existing 'Bourgeois' regime has no countervailing attraction to offer. Maladministration, crushing taxation, and exploitation, not only by the local pillars of the bourgeoisie, but also by the representatives of the Western States. French bondholders extort from the starving Bulgarian peasant five times more for what he owes them than they are permitted to exact from their own co-nationals. And this crying injustice is complacently looked upon by the League of Nations, which equally tolerates the persecution and victimisation of the Bulgarian minorities incorporated in the adjoining Balkan States, despite the Treaties which

[1] One of the moving spirits of the Russian revolution was the Bulgarian Rakovski. The Russian *Pravda* recently confirmed that there were over 600 Bulgarians occupying responsible posts in the Russian administration among whom may be cited, Stomaniakov, assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Telalov, adviser of the Soviet Minister in China, Peitchev and Petrunov, secretaries of the Soviet Legations in Paris and London etc.

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guarantee certain elementary human rights, the enjoyment of which the League of Nations has never attempted to secure for these minorities.

At the elections of 1931, in spite of the fact that the Communist party had been outlawed and the endless persecution it was exposed to, yet it succeeded in sending 12% of the deputies elected to the Sobranye camouflaged as working men.

The extreme wretchedness of the bulk of the nation and the mass of destitute refugees have created new foci for Communist proselytism, and the country is to-day literally honeycombed with Bolshevism which only awaits a favourable opportunity to break out. Until quite recently, Communism was openly professed to be the coming form of government, and both peasant families and bourgeois, hastened alike to enroll officially some of their members in this party in order to secure an eventual protector on its advent which was considered imminent.

FERDINAND AT THE HELM

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Having with the support of the united Opposition got rid of the man who brough him to Bulgaria and who consolidated his throne, and having in turn made use of its services in order to reconcile himself with Russia, Ferdinand hastened to sow discord and suspicion among the members of the Stoilov Cabinet, so as to get rid of them now that with their help he had achieved his purpose. He thus intrigued against Gueshov, Madjarov and Stoilov, complaining alternatively to each of his other colleagues, using insinuations, slander and insult.[1]

In 1899 Grekov was entrusted with the formation of a new Ministry with the support of the Radoslavovists who far outnumbered his adherents. At the elections the Rado-

[1] Cf. V. T. Veltchev's: „Pages of our new political history".

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slavovists secured a big majority and they insisted on Radoslavov becoming Prime Minister. Ferdinand however, in order to disunite the party insisted and obtained the nomination of Todor Ivantsev to the post. This administration was characterised by the boisterous atmosphere it created both internally and externally. By its financial measures it provoked the peasantry to revolt, while in its foreign relations, Bulgaria was involved in a very severe conflict with Rumania which brought the two countries to the verge of war. The dispute arose through the activities of the Macedonians in Rumania. They murdered in Bucarest a Rumanian propaganda agent who worked in Macedonia against the Bulgaro-Macedonians. Another incident provoked by these same Macedonians intensified the dispute. In order to raise funds for their revolutionary campaign in Macedonia they rifled the safe of a wealthy Rumanian, but were unable to utilise the stolen banknotes and bonds in Rumania. They then hit on an ingenious though sacrilegious device for smuggling their booty out of the country. They approached the Bulgarian Government and persuaded it that it was highly desirable that the remains of the revolutionary Rakovski which were lying in Bucarest should be transported and interred in Bulgaria. This demand when formulated by the Bulgarian authorities was readily conceded by the Rumanian Government. The Macedonians hid in the coffin under the remains of Rakovski the stolen valuables and safely transferred them to Bulgaria, whence they attempted to negotiate them, but were found out by the police and arrested. The Bulgarian Government, by refunding the amount involved, finally put an end to the incident.

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Early in 1901 this Ministry was dismissed, and Ferdinand confided to General Ratso Petrov the task of supervising the holding of elections in order that a new

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661 government should be formed. Petrov attempted to form a party of his own, but his right hand man, Yovev, became compromised in a shady affair together with other would-be supporters who had organised the emission of spurious revenue stamps and the evolution of this highly „progressive" party was thus nipped in the bud. Thus unable to elect his own men, Petrov thought it expedient to allow full liberty to his opponents, and for once free elections were held in Bulgaria. They resulted in the formation of a coalition government composed of the followers of Karavelov and Danev, the two most numerous parties. Owing to the opposition which the projected creation of a tobacco monopoly aroused, Karavelov resigned and Danev assumed sole control after holding fresh elections which secured for him a majority in the Sobranye. He instituted proceedings against the Radoslavov administration and secured the condemnation of Radoslavov and of several of his colleagues for the abuses they committed during their short term of office. He enacted a law guaranteeing stability in the tenure of office for public functionaries, a measure which had it been maintained would have rendered the parliamentary regime operative in Bulgaria by eliminating most of the disadvantages it otherwise gave rise to.

648 During Danev's tenure of office, a military convention was signed with Russia in 1902, clearly defined as a counter measure to the one concluded between Austria-Hungary and Rumania in 1901. It was stipulated that the convention was not aimed against any other State save the above two, Russia guaranteed the integrity of Bulgarian terrritory and Bulgaria agreed that the Commander-in-chief, and chief of the general staff, of the Bulgarian army, would be nominated with the approval of the Tsar, while a Russian staff officer would be attached to every Bulgarian army corps.

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FERDINAND AT THE HELM

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The 25th anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation was celebrated with great ceremony, and a magnificent church erected at the Shipka Pass, was consecrated in the presence of Russian dignitaries and veterans of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, in honour of whom an extensive concentration of Bulgarian troops had taken place. The Macedonians were hoping that after the Shipka ceremonies the signal would be given for the troops to invade and liberate Macedonia, but Danev at the instigation of the Russian Minister, Lamsdorf, took measures to repress this agitation since Russia was unable to lend her help while entangled in the Far East.

The unconditional subjection of Danev to Russian guidance was not requited by Russian support to the Bulgarian cause. Lamsdorf attempted to win over Serbia by pressing the Sultan to nominate a Serbian bishop at Uskub and this was considered in Bulgaria as a formal abandonment by Russia of the programme she had set forth in the Treaty of San Stefano. When the edict announcing the appointment of the new Serbian bishop was issued, mass meetings were held all over Bulgaria and Danev was forced to resign in May 1903, having lost much of his popularity. Ferdinand, perceiving that besides his recognition he could not extort any other advantage from Russia, executed a complete political somersault by placing the Austrophile Stambulovist party in power, then under the leadership of Stambulov's lieutenant, D. Petkov, though for the first few years Ferdinand imposed as Prime Minister his favourite, General Ratso Petrov. The Stambulovists unable to secure a majority at the polls now that the police and State functionaries could not be dismissed without cause, thanks to the law passed by Danev, rescinded this measure with the approval of Ferdinand, and after filling the administrative posts with their nominees, proceeded to carry elections according to the old system.

648 At the request of Ferdinand, the new Sobranye hastened to vote an amnesty, exonerating Radoslavov and his colleagues of the delinquencies for which they had been condemned. Hardly had the elections taken place than a revolution broke out in Macedonia. Measures had been taken by the Powers to introduce certain reforms in Macedonia and by 1903 the Sultan appointed Hilmi Pasha as inspector-General. These concessions made by the Turks brought no amelioration and in July 1903 the Macedonians rose in revolt, in the hope of forcing the hand of Europe for they were conscious that without outside support they stood no chance against the Turks. This decision was taken by the revolutionaries in the absence, and against the desire, of the great Macedonian chief, Gotse Deltsev, who considered such an insurrection as inopportune. Some 12000 Macedonians and 2000 Thracians took up arms, and after obtaining certain initial successes were completely crushed by the Turkish troops. The outcome was that 201 villages and 12,444 houses were burnt, 4694 people killed, 70,835 rendered homeless, and 30,000 forced to seek shelter in Bulgaria. (Cf. Chr. Silianov: „The 1903 Revolution in Macedonia"). After this disaster, the Powers decided to impose the so-called Mürzsteg programme of reforms in Macedonia, which was divided into five zones each of which was placed under the surveillance of a great Power.

661 The turmoil in the Turkish provinces provided an unprecedented opportunity to Ferdinand for indulging in his petty scheme of creating an enriched class on whose support he might count in exchange for the favours bestowed on them. Large orders for war material were placed, out of which the favourites of Ferdinand reaped big profits in the form of bribes or commissions. The chronicles of those years are filled with the echoes of a resounding affair known as the „Charles-Jean" trial, which revealed the

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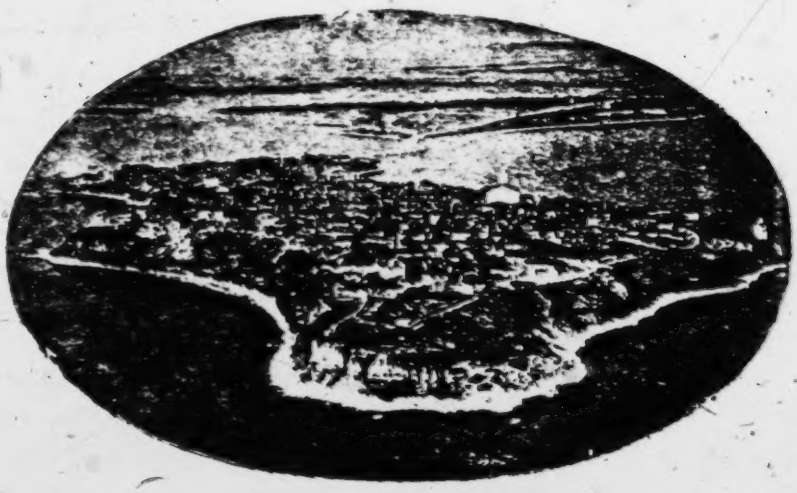

MESEMBRIA

IN THE PIRIN MOUNTAINS

[facing p. 369]

661 extensive malversations committed at the expense of the State by two favourites of Ferdinand, Generals Ratso Petrov and Michael Savov, who were however left to enjoy undisturbed their ill-gotten wealth. It could hardly be otherwise, for in this matter Ferdinand himself set the pace, as General Savov affirmed to a personal friend of the writer, Ferdinand always insisted on retaining for himself 90 % of the bribes given whenever State loans or armament supplies were being negotiated, and only handed the balance of 10 % for distribution among his Ministers. This princely practice was often complained of by the late Generalissimo of the Bulgarian armies, who found that the percentage allotted to him was not commensurate with his rank, and it is probably the stinginess of his sovereign that must have goaded General Savov to supplement this source of revenue by indulging in a series of embezzlements.

General Ratso Petrov became such an expert in the art of prevarication and collusion, that his achievements formed the subject of the ribald songs in vogue at the time. In one of them the General was described as making out of the horses supplied to the army a gold napoleon apiece, and out of every fortification erected on the frontiers of the country a prop for himself;

(„отъ конче — по наполеонче. И отъ всѣко укрѣпление — подкрѣпление")

Misappropriation of public funds and peculation in connection with Government contracts were rampant. A premium was set on dishonesty by the knowledge that all crimes committed by supporters of the Government would eventually be reprieved by a timely amnesty voted by the Sobranye. Thus by widespread corruption, and by making promotion in the army and in the civil service conditional on the amount of servility displayed, Ferdinand succeeded to a large extent in rendering a numerous class subservient to his will. His success in this respect could be gau-

661 ged by the rapid growth of the Bulgarian capital, which was built mainly by those who enriched themselves at the expense of the State. As Stoyan Mihailovski made one of his figures remark at the time:

„Do you see this pretty, coquettish Bulgarian capital? It it built out of plunder and robbery! Do you recollect what a dirty village it used to be some twenty-five years ago? Now it shines, it attracts like a Parisienne. . . Well, to me, it is a thousand times filthier, filthy in the purity of its atmosphere, foul in the cleanliness of its streets and courtyards, foul because it is a living proof that the history of young Bulgaria has begun by spoliation".

The Stambulovist regime of 1903-8 was characterised not only by an orgy of peculation and abuse, but by a violent persecution of the Greek element throughout Bulgaria in 1906, organised mainly by Macedonian refugees at the instigation of the late Minister Ghenadiev. Greek churches, schools and property were ruthlessly seized and the town of Anhiallo completely destroyed. These pogroms were followed by a general strike of the railway men supported by other functionaries who went out on strike in order to force the government to improve the situation of its employees. The Socialists and students sided with the strikers with the result that noting occurred, followed by student demonstations against Ferdinand, who had to be appeased by the closing of the Sofia University and the dismissal of all its professors. The manifold misdeeds of the Government provoked widespread indignation. Stoyan Mihailovski foreseeing the deplorable trend politics were taking had appealed to Ferdinand, exhorting him to introduce real parliamentary methods in the governing of the country, but as his appeal remained unanswered he delivered a public address on March 7, 1904, emphasizing the necessity of bringing up the people democratically, and adjured the political parties to refuse to accept office direct from Ferdinand without previously obtaining the support of the electorate. His admonitions which were

reinforced by the countless derelictions committed by the Government, brought about the creation of a strong coalition block composed of the greater part of the Opposition forces, which finally succeeded in bringing about the fall of the Stambulovist regime a few months after the assassination of the Prime Minister, Petkov in 1907. 661

Except for the Macedonian revolution and the ensuing straining of Turco-Bulgarian relations, the only other event with regard to Bulgaria's foreign policy was the conclusion of an agreement with Serbia in 1905. Both countries feeling isolated while Russia was engaged in a war with Japan, sought to protect themselves mutually. Bulgaria facilitated the access of Serbian goods to the sea through her territory, and in exchange obtained a mitigation of Serbian propaganda in Macedonia. Austria-Hungary however, did not at all approve of this rapprochement between the two Balkan States and persuaded Serbia to abrogate the convention with Bulgaria in exchange for facilities for her imports of cattle in the Danubian monarchy. 648

Early in 1908 the Democratic party under Malinov, who had succeeded to the leadership after Karavelov's death, assumed power. This party though it formed part of the Opposition block, which had pledged itself not to accept office direct from the palace forgot all about this solemn pledge when it was invited to assume power. The most noteworthy occurrences during its stay in office were, the Young Turk revolution which was precipitated by the Anglo-Russian agreement at Reval, and the emergence of a nationalistic government in Turkey which stultified all efforts at a rapprochement between it and its Balkan neighbours. By their arrogant attitude and by threatening to incorporate anew both Bulgaria and Bosnia within the Ottoman Empire, the Young Turks forced Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria to concert together and decide on the formal annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria and on

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648 Bulgaria declaring its independence. This course of action was probably decided on between the Emperor Francis-Joseph and Ferdinand at a meeting in Budapest on September 22, 1908, where Ferdinand had been received with royal honours.

The slighting of the Bulgarian envoy at Constantinople furnished a pretext for Bulgaria to proclaim her independence at Tirnovo on October 5, 1908, when Ferdinand assumed the title of Tsar of all Bulgarians. The Turkish Government at the instigation of its French creditors demanded that the tribute payable by Bulgaria should be paid in order that her independence should be recognised. This brought on a retort by Malinov that "one's independence is not purchased with money". Ferdinand hastened to disavow his Prime Minister by instructing his envoy in Paris to declare that "Bulgaria was a good payer". This calmed the Turks, and negotiations were opened as to the amount to be paid. The divergence of opinions seemed unbridgeable, Turkey began demanding territorial concessions and Bulgaria decreed a partial mobilisation of her army, fearing a Turkish attack. It was then that Russia intervened in Constantinople agreeing to pay to Turkey the sum she was claiming from Bulgaria and reducing the Turkish debt to Russia by an equivalent amount, while accepting from Bulgaria the sum the latter was offering, namely 82 million leva. The incident was thus settled, and Bulgaria's independence acknowledged first by Russia and then by all the other Powers. The service rendered by Russia encouraged the Malinov Ministry to make overtures to the Russian Foreign Minister, Izvolsky, for an understanding between the two countries which would eventually facilitate the realisation of Bulgaria's aspirations. Izvolsky submitted a scheme according to which Bulgaria bound herself to place at the disposal of Russia all her military forces in case of Russia being

at war with Germany, Austria, Rumania and Turkey. In case Rumania or Turkey attacked Bulgaria, she was to be succoured by Russia. In the event of a successful war against Austria and Rumania, Russia bound herself to help Bulgaria to recover all the Dobrudja, in case of a war against Turkey, Bulgaria could count on Russia's support for securing territorial expansion within the limits fixed by the San Stefano Treaty. 648

In the beginning of 1910 Malinov visited Izvolsky at St. Petersburg and the negotiations were pursued. Malinov demanded the inclusion of Adrianople and Salonica within the territory claimed by Bulgaria. Izvolsky, while agreeing to the inclusion of Salonica, rejected the demand for a Bulgarian expansion to the east, and this caused a hitch in the negotiations which were not resumed. The Bulgarian Government desired that a date should be fixed for declaring war on Turkey as it could not wait indefinitely and see its co-nationals exterminated in Turkey. Russia however, was not prepared for a war in the near future and demanded that the moment should be chosen by her. The Malinov Cabinet simultaneously made efforts to come to an understanting with Greece and Serbia about Macedonia, but without any practical results. Serbia wished for its partition, while the Bulgarian Government aimed at merely securing autonomy for it. Subsequently, Ferdinand attempted to negotiate on his own accord with Austria, but as these dealings were violently denounced by Izvolsky in the Duma, they were discontinued.

Internally there was an improvement in the administration, though the partisan spirit was alway manifest.* 661 The Minister of the Interior, Takev, did not hesitate to tout electors with such promises as: "Vote for us and we shall give you free access to the forests to cut down as much timber as you like". An incident of small impor-

* [During the administration of the Malinov Cabinet — Analyst]

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661 tance which occurred at Rustchuk in 1909 led to the army being ordered to fire and sabre the civilian population, over thirty innocent people being killed and a hundred wounded owing to the crazy orders issued by the Government. A strike which occurred on the Oriental Railways was taken advantage of by the Government to take over the lines in south Bulgaria and henceforth these were exploited in common with the State railways. The elevation of Bulgaria to the rank of a kingdom postulated certain alterations in the Constitution of the country which had to be legalised by an extraordinary Sobranye, and a coalition Cabinet presided over by Gueshov and Danev was entrusted with the task of convoking it in the summer of 1911 in order to approve of the changes and simultaneously to concede to the King the right to conclude secret treaties with foreign States. This last measure was deemed necessary for a satisfactory conclusion of the negotiations the Balkan States were pursuing amongst themselves for the purpose of putting a stop to the persecution of their co-nationals in Turkey. For since the advent to power of the Young Turks who aimed at the forcible denationalisation of the Christians in Turkey, the lot of the latter had become intolerable and had convinced the rulers of the Balkan States that it was imperative to arrive at a common agreement whereby their interests might be properly safeguarded.

THE BALKAN ALLIANCE AND WARS

648 Bulgaria had always been a partisan of the indivisibility of Macedonia and as she was unable to annex it without coming to a clash with her neighbours, she staunchly supported the plan of creating an autonomous Macedonia in which the prepoderance of the Bulgarian element would

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assure her mastery. This was the reason why the repeated advances made so far by Greece and Serbia as to undertaking a joint action against Turkey had always been cold-shouldered by Bulgaria, who preferred instead to be on good terms with Turkey and to cultivate friendly relations with the Sultan in order to secure for her Bulgarian co-nationals in Turkey fair treatment and better chances for their cultural development.

The change of regime in Turkey and the Bulgarian declaration of independence rendered the pursuit of the policy hitherto followed, almost impossible. The close commercial relations between vassal and suzerain were sundered. Turkey, which was the best market for Bulgarian produce was closed, while persecution to which Bulgarians in Turkey were subjected grew daily worse. The Greeks who were among the most numerous ethnic minorities in the Ottoman Empire were likewise oppressed, and with the advent of Venizelos to power in Athens, who had taken an active part in emancipating his native Crete from the Turkish yoke, it was not surprising that he should have done his utmost to approach Bulgaria in order to convince her of the advisability of united action against a common foe. Taking advantage of the presence in Athens of Mr. Bourchier, the *Times* Balkan correspondent in the spring of 1911, Venizelos submitted to Ferdinand and Gueshov a proposal for a defensive alliance between Bulgaria and Greece. Serbia, since the Bosnian crisis had repeatedly sought the support of Bulgaria, but it was only in October 1911 that Gueshov responded to the advances made by the Serbian Premier Milovanovitch. The two rival theses, autonomy and partition, each stubbornly supported by Bulgaria and Serbia seemed irreconcilable, though Milovanovich did his utmost to win Gueschov to his view by holding out to him the assurance that Bulgaria would only have to cede the Uskub district to Serbia and would retain

648 for herself the larger part of Macedonia and the whole vilayet of Adrianople. It was then that another factor, the influential Russian Minister at Belgrade, Hartwig, intervened and made agreement possible after months of stubborn negotiations. Russia, through her ambassador Tsarykov had proposed to Turkey in the autumn of 1911 a scheme under which she would influence the Balkan States to maintain friendly relations with her and would equally guarantee her capital in return for which she asked of Turkey to open the Straits to Russian warships. This proposal had been turned down by Turkey, and this prompted Russia to seek another solution by furthering an understanding between the Balkan States wherely she might reach a more favourable settlement of the question of the Straits. A treaty between Bulgaria and Serbia was signed in March 1912 promising mutual support and providing for common action against Turkey. The distribution of territorial gains was specified.

All territory to the east of the Struma was to revert to Bulgaria, and that west of the Shar mountains to Serbia, while Macedonia proper was divided into three zones; two zones respectively Serbian and Bulgarian, and a contested one which would be subject to the arbitration of the Tsar. A Treaty with Greece was concluded in May 1912, but the mutual claims of the two contracting parties were not defined. These arrangements were completed by an agrement with Montenegro, Bulgaria engaging herself to pay for the upkeep of the men Montenegro would mobilise. It appears that the conclusion of this Balkan league was not to the liking of Tsar Ferdinand owing to the fact that it was distinctly anti-Austrian, and he had to be cajoled into accepting it by the granting of a solatium in the guise of an advance of 3,000,000 francs by Russia, which were secured by a mortgage on his country estate at Vranya. This was revealed by deputy N. Harlakov in the Sobranye on

March 3,1918, and reiterated by a communist deputy on May 25,1932. Ferdinand did not sign the mobilisation order until the money was advanced to him.[1] 648

The Powers to whom the existence of the Balkan Alliance had become known, made a belated attempt to impose the acceptance of reforms on Turkey in order to avoid the threatened war, and even Sazonov, at the instigation of France ,did his best to restrain the combative mood of the Balkan States which he had encouraged, but an Albanian revolt, and a massacre of Bulgarians in the Macedonian town of Kotsana, followed by tbe massing of Turki h troops in Thrace, forced the hands of the Balkan States, which replied by hurriedly mobilising their armies. On October 8, Montenegro declared war on Turkey, the Porte followed by declaring war on Serbia and Bulgaria on the 17 th, and finally Greece declared war on Turkey on the 18 th. The Bulgarian victories in Thrace were not utilised to the full owing to tne mutual jealousies of the commanding generals. General Kutintchev, the commander of the first army refused to lend his support to the third army under General Radko Dimitriev at Lule Burgas because he had been frustrated in his hopes that both the first and third army 721

[1] A few years ago a Communist interpellated the German government in the Reichstag as to the disbursements which were being made to Ferdinand, and it was then revealed that this modern Judas had received thirty million marks in order to involve Bulgaria in the world war on the side of the Central Powers, and that moreover he was drawing a yearly allowance. In a resounding interview published in the Austro-German press immediately after his abdication, Ferdinand had boasted that for thirty years he had faithfully served the interests of the Central Empires so that there is nothing untoward if the Germans are now granting him a pension.

Madol in his "Ferdinand of Bulgaria" p. 233 attempts fo dispel the depressing impression caused by these revelations of the contemptible behaviour of his patron by offering what could only be a very lame apology.

721 would have been placed under his command. After the fall of Kirk-Kilisse, General R. Dimitriev was prevented from pursuing the retreating enemy, and instead was ordered by Head Quarters to stop and entrench. This permitted the Turks to make a further stand at Visa and Lule Burgas. After defeating them at the latter place he was again prevented from following them up and ordered to entrench in spite of his assurances that the Turks were in full flight. The Turks themselves admit that had the Bulgarians followed up their success at Kirk-Kilisse they would have reached Constantinople before them. (Cf. Sherif Pasha's „Quelques reflections sur la Guerre." p. 28) Bulgarian Head Quarters could not forgive General R. Dimitriev his brilliant victories. (Cf. V, T. Veltchev's „Towards the Pogrom").

728 The Turks had been so cowed by their defeats that their ambassador in St. Petersburgh demanded on October 22, Russia's mediation in order that the Bulgarians might not enter Constantinople. The Ministerial Council received on October 29 from the Grand Vizier Kiamil Pasha an offer for the conclusion of an armisrice and preliminary peace, approved of it and transmitted it to Ferdinand who replied only on November 1, forbidding them to transmit it to the allies of Bulgaria, and only allowed this offer to be communicated to them after ordering the attack on the Tchataldja lines. The megalomania of Ferdinand may be gauged by the text of his reply: „Deeply grieved by the Grand Vizier soliciting peace, I, as leader of the victorious and indomitable Bulgarian armies encamped under the walls of Constantinople in the name and for the honour of our country forbid the government to communicate the Turkish offer to our Allies. No steps to be taken until I consult with the leaders of the army . . . no one can oppose the desire of a 300,000 army". The Bulgarian staff however, was able to restrain to some

extent Ferdinand's vanity and the Bulgarian Government was accordingly allowed to negotiate with the object of gaining time; thus, instead of submitting its terms to the Turks who were asking for peace, it asked for them to enunciate their conditions. When asked to give his approval as to the terms on which the preliminary peace was to be concluded Ferdinand kept silent and the Government, though it had received from Serbia her answer to the Turkish demands, kept on waiting for Ferdinand's condescension to send it on! In spite of the fact that General Fitchev was opposed to an attack being delivered on the Tchataldja lines, Ferdinand, having made up his mind that he must enter Constantinople, ordered General Savov to launch an assault. The latter was bound to humour his master because his fate depended sojely on his good will. In his late capacity of War Minister he had been gravely inculpated and was awaiting trial. According to the law, he ought not to have been placed on activve service until he had been amnestied by the Sobranye, for his nomination to the post of assistant commander-in chief paralysed the prosecution against him.

On November 5, after the failure of the attack on the Tchatatdja positions Tsar Ferdinand wired to the Government to accept the Turkish offer. The Bulgarian delegates were not empowered to conclude peace, but only an armistice, for Ferdinand still cherished the plan of entering Constantinople.

The Government had notified him that he was free to renew operations against Turkey if he so approved. When the armistice was finally signed by Turkey with Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro-Greece refused to sign before she occupied Yannina — the whole of European Turkey, except the four towns of Adrianople, Constantinople Scutari, and Yannina, were in the possession of the Balkan Allies. The negotiations for peace were transferred

728 to London, where the Balkan delegates were convened owing to the simultaneous sitting of the delegates of the Great Powers. As early as December 19, the Bulgarian delegates were instructed by their Government to insist on the cession of all territory by Turkey to the west of the line Midia-Rodosto, and if necessary to break off negotiations. On December 14 the delegates were informed that the Bulgarian army was in a position to renew military operations in four to five days and that there was no reason to fear the breaking off of the negotiations. All this however, was bluff. Generel Fitchev, the head of the General Staff came to see Gueshov and reported to him that it would be senseless to expose the army by renewing the war. Gueshov immediately communistated this to the Bulgarian delegates in London, who protested at not having been informed earlier of the situation. When Ferdinand came to hear of this he expressed to Gueshov.

"His profound indignation of the unworthy and treacherous declaration of General Fitchev, which you had the weakness to communicate to Danev. I foresee that the honour of our country has been irreparably compromised. I demand the return of our delegation from London" (Cf. Peter Todorov: "The pogroms of Bulgaria" vol. p. 158).

This will go a long way to explain the obdurate intransigeance of the Bulgarian delegates and the breaking up of the Conferance in spite of the counsels for moderation bestowed on Bulgaria from all sides. Sazonov wired to Nekludov, the Russian Minister in Sofia on January 18:

"Sofia does not follow our advice. We shall be unable to save her from all the misfortunes whichw ill follow through her disobeying us. She does not heed our insistent warnings to avoid taking the initiative of a rupture with Turkey. A new war with Turkey will bring no advantages to Bulgaria but only sacrifices".

In spite of the uncompromising attitude of the Young Turks who had turned out the Old Turk Cabinet of Kiamil

Pasha on January 24, an arrangement with Turkey was possible as may be surmised from General Savov's reply to the Bulgarian Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry, had the Bulgarians showed themselves moderate in their demands. But as Peter Todorov remarks in his most informative work on this period of Bulgarian history, cited above: "modesty and restraint were not the characteristic traits of our politicians at the time". (p. 160) And he rightly defines the resumption of hostilities on February 3, 1913 as „a war on behalf of foreign interests", After their defeat at Bulair, the Turks became more resigned to make concessions and with the pressure exerted by the Great Powers to bring the campaign to a close, there were no obstacles to the conclusion of a peace save the immoderate demands of Bulgaria, which was now claiming an oultlet on the Marmara, at Rodosto, in spite of the opposition of all the Great Powers to this extravagant demand. By the middle of February, in their earnest desire to put a stop to the war, the Great Powers were assuring Bulgaria that she could reckon on their support for securing the line Midia-Enos, but Ferdinand had not yet given up all hope to make a victorious entry into Constantinople, and the claim to Rodosto consequently would not be waived, while thousands of lives were needlessly sacrificed in undertaking an attack on Adrianople, the attribution of which to Bulgaria had already been decided by the Powers. The irrepresible lure of Constantinople seems to have utterly blinded Ferdinand and led him on to perdition, just as it did his prototyre, Tsar Symeon. It was in vain that Sazonov warned the Bulgarians after the battle of Lule-Burgas not to seek to enter Constantinople as they would thereby raise innumerable difficulties, and even when Russia clearly intimated in March 1913 that she could not countenance Bulgaria obtaining an outlet on the sea of Marmara, Ferdinand and his entourage still remained obdurate.

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

728 The thwarting of Ferdinand's ambition led to the engineering of a bitter and most unjustifiable campaign among the military circles devoted to Ferdinand against Russia, in spite of the fact that Russia had done both diplomatically and materially a great deal to assist Bulgaria in her struggle against Turkey.

The outcry against Russia was provoked not only by her not countenancing Ferdinand's desire to enter Constantinople and secure an outlet at Rodosto on the Marmara, but also because Russia was unable to hinder Rumania from putting forth claims against Bulgaria. The latter pretended that the 1902 convention was in force, though the Russians had warned her that it had lapsed and that short of provoking a European war they were not in a position to exert pressure on Rumania.

After the first Bulgarian successes Rumania had begun pressing for the cession from Bulgaria of the whole quadrilateral, delimitated by the towns of Silistra, Rustchuk, Shumen and Varna, apparently as compensation for her inactivity. It was with the utmost difficulty that Russia through her intervention succeeded in whittling down these demands and settling them with the cession of Silistra only. With the temporary removal of the Rumanian menace, the Bulgarians became more exacting in their demands, and when the peace negotiations were renewed in London on April 16, progress was exceedingly slow. Both Serbia and Greece encouraged Bulgaria to make excessive demands on Turkey so as to protract the negotiations and utilise the time thus gained in strenghtening their respective positions in the territories occupied by their armies, while the Bulgarian army was engaged in facing singlehanded the Turks in Thrace.

These diplomatic intrigues finally exhausted the patience of Sir Edward Grey, who, in order fo secure the signing of the preliminary treaty had to intervene and forcibly intimate to the delegates that:

THE BALKAN ALLIANCE AND WARS

"Those who are willing to sign without any alterations should do so immediately. Those who are not disposed to sign had better leave London". 728

On May 30 the Treaty was signed, Turkey ceding all territory to the east of the Midia-Enos line to the Balkan Allies.

Long before the settlement with Turkey was arrived at, it became evident that there was a serious threat of conflict breaking out among the Allies over the spoils. The Serbians had first excited the distrust of Bulgarian circles when Passitch sent a circular letter on September 28, 1912, to Serbian representives in the European capitals, urging them to make known to the governments to which they had been accredited, that the term "Old Serbia" included the towns of Uskub, Kumanovo, Tetovo, Deber, Prilep and Ochrida. The first four of which were in the contested, and the last two in the incontested zone. It was a clear indication that certain Serbian circles did not mean to abide by the treaty and this propensity was intensified when it became evident that Austria-Hungary and Italy would not permit Serbia to secure an outlet on the Adriatic. The Serbians when they found that Bulgaria was harbouring the ambition to enter Constantinople and was for this purpose unduly protracting the war instead of concluding an advantageous peace with Turkey, suggested a revision of the Treaty in their favour. So justified did they consider their demands, and in this they were encouraged by Mr. Hartwig, the Russian Minister at Belgrade, that they proceeded to expel the Bulgarian priests and schoolmasters in that part of Macedonia which according, to the Treaty was to revert to Bulgaria.

This behaviour of the Serbians naturally incensed the Bulgarians, who, though hard bargainers, are in contrast with other Balkan peoples, most scrupulously strict in fulfilling any undertaking they assume, and naturally expect 648

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648 that others should carry out their part of the bargain. Passions would certainly not have flamed up as they did if it had not been for the Macedonian immigrants in Bulgaria, who exerted themselves to their utmost to incite the Bulgarians against their allies, rejecting every idea of compromise and insisting on the integral attribution of
563 their native country to Bulgaria. It should be remembered that the Macedonians formed a most influential element in the political life of Bulgaria. They occupied commanding posts in all the branches of the administration and in the army, in which were some 800 officers of Macedonian origin, while the number of those who enlisted for service in the war against Turkey reached 15,000. They had always carried on a persistent propaganda in favour of involving Bulgaria in a war for the liberation of their country and the most arduous task of Bulgarian governments has been to bridle their attempts to brew trouble with the suzerain Power in Macedonia. Fanatically inspired by the idea of liberating their native country, they were utterly deaf to all counsels of prudence. Having been driven away from their native land their sole aspiration was to see it liberated so that they might return to it. Their uncompromising spirit may be gauged by the attitude of D. Rizov (the Bulgarian diplomatic agent in Rome at the time, and later nominated to the same post in Berlin), which is revealed in the Report of the Parliamentary Commision of inquiry, vol. I p. 455. He wired to Gueshov on April 25, 1913, not to concede anything to the Serbs and repulse them to the north of the Shar mountains even though this was to be achieved through a war with both Serbians and Greeks. Other Macedonians did not hesitate to threaten both Danev and Ferdinand with death whenever the former showed himself inclined to accept Russia's arbitration. There were hotheads even among the Bulgarians, like the national poet

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TSAM KORIA

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A PLOUGHMAN

[facing p. 385]

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648 Vazov, who published a fiery poem invoking eternal damnation on "the hand which would sign away Macedonia."

The unpardonable error of the Bulgarians was in neglecting to come to an understanding with the Greeks, especially since Venizelos showed himself most conciliatory towards the Bulgarians and repeatedly offered to cede Cavalla to them, and only insisted, on retaining Salonica for Greece. Even Sazonov warned Bulgaria to hasten and conclude an agreement with Greece as this would facilitate him in his efforts to render Serbia more amenable to reason. The Greek Government, as early as November 18, invited Bulgaria to submit the question of the repartition of territories to the Entente Powers, but Bulgaria answered evasively. Before the dispatch of the Balkan delegates to London, Venizelos offered to meet Gueshov, but the latter declined. When the Greek Premier learnt in London that Bulgaria was claiming Salonica, he endeavoured to meet all the Bulgarian demands, and only refused to yield up that town. But the Bulgarians were unyielding on this point and not only refused to negotiate with the Greeks but even rejected Sazonov's expostulations to allow this matter to be arbitrated on. The pig-headed Danev threw all restraint to the winds and dared declare to Sazonov at St. Petersburgh on March 13, 1913, „that we shall take Salonica in spite of the opposition of Greece and Serbia." (Report of the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry vol. I. p. 590.) In a conversation with Izvolsky in Paris, T. Todorov, the then Minister of Finance, declared that the Bulgarian Government had decided not to resort to the services either of Russia or of the Entente Powers for arbitration with Greece, while Danev informed Isvolsky that Bulgaria would accept to resort to arbitration only in case Russia would guarantee beforehand the award of Salonica to Bulgaria. (Op. cit. vol. I. p. 481 and 493). Such intransigeance on

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648 the part of the Bulgarian Ministers is explained by the fact that Ferdinand having lost all hopes of capturing Constantinople had set his heart on securing Salonica which hs declared to be the Mecca of the Bulgarians. This helped to throw the Greeks into the arms of the Serbians, to the despair of Venizelos, who was ready to make the utmost sacrifices in order to maintain the Balkan League. [1]

The secret Greco-Serbian protocol signed on May 19, which resulted, stiffened the obduracy of the Serbians and further exasperated the Bulgarians who looked on it as an open plot to deprive them of the fruits of their victory. Each side made feverish preparations for war. Gueshov in his deposition to the Commission of Inquiry (op. cit. vol. I. p. 145), asserts that prior to deciding as to whether Bulgaria was to accept arbitration the Ministerial Council convoked early in April the military chiefs in order to consult them as to whether the Bulgarian army was in a position to overcome the united forces of the Greeks and Serbians. All answered affirmatively, except General Fitchev. Venizelos likewise sounded the Greek Staff as to the chances of Bulgaria's success in a struggle against the united Serbian and Greek army and it is reported

[1] Prince Nicolas of Greece who is a confirmed adversary of Venizelos wrote in his "My fifty Years": The intolerable arrogance of Bulgarian pretentions, experienced by Greece and Serbia, brought about as a natural consequence a closer understanding between Greece aud Serbia, and these cordial relations grew stronger as the Bulgarian attitude grew more agressive. Baluktsitch (the Serbian Minister in Athens) came to see me and stated the necessity of an alliance. When Venizelos returned from London he was painfully surprised. Though desiring to ward off a rupture he was averse to any secret intelligence with Serbia and was disposed to make all kinds of concessions to Bulgaria in the hope of appeasing her insatiable demands. Venizelos had shown considerable reluctance to the idea of a secret alliance with Serbia; his one desire was that of maintaining at all costs a permanent Balkan coalition". p. p. 236—244.

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that these were assessed at 60%, which may account to a certain extent for his moderation. The Bulgarian Premier, from the first, did nothing to curtail the interference of the Crown in the conduct of the military operations and in the diplomatic negotiations. Instead of taking advantage of Kiamil Pasha's offer of peace on October 29, to put a stop to the war, he allowed Ferdinand to intervene and protract it needlessly, wasting thereby Bulgaria's manhood and encouraging her allies and neighbours in their desire to despoil her. He did not react when Ferdinand sent secretly a delegate to treat with the Turks in December 1912, behind the backs of the Government and without consulting it.[1] He did nothing to bridle the warlike incitings of Ferdinand to prolong the war with Turkey even when Rumania was threatening to invade Bulgaria. On December 28 1912 Ferdinand grandiloquently declared to his ministers: "the threats of Rumania may frighten you, but not me . . . salvation lies in our renewing military operations against Turkey", etc. All this proves that the Ministers were mere puppets in Ferdinand's hands. Even the quiescence of Gueshov did not suffice to placate Ferdinand and was tolerated only up to a certain time.

When he could not be coerced into emitting more strident war cries in harmony with the diapason adopted by the military orchestra under the command of the Tsar of the Bulgarians, the latter and General Savov intimated to Gueshov that he had better get out of the way and make room for an instrument capable of vibrating in response to the tunes emitted by them. Gueshov retired without uttering a warning or a protest, apparently pleased at being relieved of such responsibilities for which

[1] It would appear that Ferdinand offered to sign an alliance with Turkey in order to chain down the Serbs, and this was mentioned by the German Emperor in a telegram to the German Foreign Office.

648 he was obviously not cut out, and with the advent of Danev, whose intractability and pig-headedness have seldom been equalled, every moderating influence in Bulgaria disappeared. The perusal of the books [1] which best describe how Bulgaria was driven into the maelstrom of the second Balkan war under the direction imparted to her policy by her maleficent ruler and his crew of hellhags, makes exceedingly sad reading. Such utter lack of αἰδώς (moderation), and consideration for the feelings, claims, and rights of other men, such ὕβρις (arrogance) was bound to bring on the inevitable νέμεσις (retribution) and the denouement was a tragedy worthy of Aeschylus and his immoral theology, for the ire of the Gods vented itself on the innocent, while the culprits escaped scatheless in order to repeat their sinister exploits. Hardly had Danev been nominated as Premier on June 2, than he started bombarding the Russian Government with his impudent notes:

"The full application of the Treaty by Serbia is the sole means of avoiding war". "If Serbia does not accept the Treaty, war is inevitable". "If Russia does not force Serbia to accept the terms of the Treaty, Bulgaria declines all responsibility for the consequences".

The culminating point of this spate of insolence was reached on June 22 when the Tsar of Russia was informed that he was given seven days within which to issue his arbitral decision. Dr. A. Ghirghinov in his "National Catastrophe", p. 352—366 unequivocally recounts how the attack of June 29 which precipitated the second Balkan war, was staged. It was an effort to "Copenhagen" the Serbian and Greek armies, somewhat after the manner Canning dealt with the Danish fleet in 1807. A paralysing blow was to be dealt simultaneously at both the adver-

[1] Peter Todorov's: The Pogroms of Bulgaria.— Dr. Alexander Ghirghinov's: The National Catastrophe, — V. T. Veltchev's: Towards the Pogrom.

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saries and certain strategical points seized on the very day the Tsar of Russia was timed to issue his verdict which naturally would be influenced thereby, but if contrary to expectations, the award had gone against Bulgaria, then the situation created would be such that she could dispense with the necessity of bowing to an unfavourable decision. On June 28, Danev was still undecided as to his going to St. Petersburgh. On the 30th, he handed the Bulgarian memoir to Nekludov, the Russian Minister in Sofia, with the request that it be forwarded at the earliest, and made it known that he was ready to leave for Russia on the following day. This was wired to the Bulgarian Legations in Paris, London, Vienna, Berlin and St. Petersburgh. It was a diplomatic move to mask Danev's real intentions and minimise his responsibilities for the starting of military operations. The order to begin the attack was issued on June 28 with the consent of the Cabinet, otherwise Danev's change of view within two days concerning his visiting St. Petersburgh is incomprehensible. He only decided to go when he had made sure that the attack had been launched, and that the successes he was discounting would force the Tsar of Russia to support Bulgaria's standpoint. For this reason the Cabinet, which knew what was going on took no action when the Greek and Serbian verbal notes of protest against the Bulgarian attack were delivered to it on June 30, and it was only on the following day when it was advised that the 4th Bulgarian army did not attain its objectives that it took notice of them. Dr. Ghirginov depicts how Danev spent the day of June 30 in hiding a few miles out of Sofia at the headquartes of the 3rd army corps.

Danev entered the office of General Dimitriev where Colonel Jostov was also present, smiling and exclaimed: 'Be glad, the advance has started this morning, and in two days I shall accompany Tsar Ferdinand to Salonica. There, let the Greek and Serbian Pre-

648 miers come and meet me, instead of their dragging me to Petersburgh... I have come here, because I am hiding to day from the representatives of the foreign Powers, because we wish to deceive them and make them believe that we did not start a war against the Greeks and Serbians, and that it was the commander-in-chief who began it without the consent of the Government".

There were no divergences between the views of General Savov and those of the Cabinet, for on July 1 the latter wired to Savov in most polite terms, instructing him to stop the military operations without addressing him a single word of reprimand. .The Bulgarian Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry, in spite of its desire to whitewash the responsible persons, had to conclude that the fatal order to attack was issued *Not without the knowledge of Danev.* General Savov testified that Ferdinand had commanded him to order the attack, and as the latter was, according to the Constitution, irresponsible, no one was prosecuted. It must not be thought that the wily Ferdinand embarked on this adventure without having received certain assurances and encouragements from Austria. General Savov affirmed to Von Mach, (Op. cit. p. 235) that Ferdinand had assured him that as soon as Bulgaria declared war on Serbia, an Austrian army corps would cross the Danube into Serbia. This is why Ferdinand made light of the Rumanian threat of invasion, and scoffingly remarked to his ministers "this may frighten you, but not me". Nor should it be forgotten that on the eve of the second Balkan war the Hungarian premier, Count Tisza, declared that Austria-Hungary stood for the independence of the Balkan States, that they were "free to choose their own methods of settling their differences and that no other State would be allowed to acquire special prerogatives in the Balkans". This resounding speech further confirmed the warlike in their decision to have recourse to the sword. M. P. Todorov, in his "The Pogroms of Bulgaria vol. I p. 182/3, narrates at length

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the efforts of Austria[1] to convince the Bulgarian Cabinet that she would support the Bulgarian claim to Salonica, that Rumania would take up a friendly position, that in case of a conflict with Serbia some 50,000 Albanians would invade the latter country and that if Bulgaria showed herself disposed to cede Ochrida and Struga to Serbia, Austria would proceed to include them in Albania. On June 28, Tochev, the Bulgarian ambassador at Vienna wired to his government: „From a most authoritative source I learn that Rumania will not mobilise against Bulgaria nor will she act conjointly with Serbia and Greece against Bulgaria". That Austria was premeditating an attack on Serbia conjointly with Bulgaria becomes evident from San Giuliano's (the Italian foreign Minister) telegram to Giolitti, the Prime Minister, who was absent at the time from Rome. „Austria has informed us and Germany of her intention to take action against Serbia and describes it as defensive, hoping to establish the *casus foederis,* which I consider inapplicable I am trying to concert with Germany to prevent this action". etc.

When Austria perceived that her allies were not supporting her she was obliged to postpone her reckoning with Serbia and could not do otherwise than leave Bulgaria in the lurch That Bulgaria was following the bid of Austria had become evident from the arrogant demeanour of the upstart Danev, for obviously he was not of the stuff to hold such provocative language to

[1] „Shortly before resigning, Gueshov sounded the Austrian Minister in Sofia, Count Tarnowski, as to what would be Austria's attitude in case of a conflict breaking out between Bulgaria and Serbia. On June 2 the same question was put to the Minister. Tarnowski read a report from Vienna according to which Austria would support Bulgaria to take all lands in Macedonia, but that she should come to an understanding with Rumania, For some of our responsible governing circles this assurance was sufficient", (op. cit. vol. II p. 91).

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648 Russia if he felt himself unsupported, and Sazonov readily sensed this when he replied on June 25 to Bobtchev, the Bulgarian Minister in St. Petersburgh:

„You are following Austria's counsels, you are free... The Emperor did not expect an ultimatum as to a time limit in his decision in the dispute. After your declaration, expect nothing from us, forget that some responsibility may devolve on us through the Treaty of 1902".

In fact Russia had clearly intimated to Bulgaria as late as June 24, that she would not arbitrate in the Bulgaro-Serbian dispute so long as Bulgaria refused to submit to arbitration her difference with Greece (Russian Orange Book, document No. 251). Danev as late as June 28 wired to Bobtchev: „I shall negotiate alone if I come. Please do not talk of any arbitration concerning Greece." This shows that Danev had never accepted Russia's conditions and that he was playing for time. In fact the Bulgarian Cabinet had agreed on June 22 that it would accept Russian arbitration provided the Tsar agreed to issue his verdict by June 29, and within the stipulations of the Bulgaro-Serbian Treaty, and these conditions Russia declined to comply with, so that Gueshov's contention that Bulgaria had accepted the arbitration of the Tsar of Russia can not be upheld. Events would certainly have taken another turn if the arbitrator had been a more energetic person that the late Tsar Nicolas II and if he had interceded firmly and not allowed the quarrel to drag on and become envenomed.

648 721 In a public lecture delivered in Sofia on April 23, 1933, General Kovatchev, the commander of the 4th Bulgarian army, which attacked the Serbians on June 29, 1913, gave some striking details which illustrate the morbid ambition which haunted Ferdinand concerning Constantinople, his abnormal treatment of his subordinates, and a narrative of the events which led to the issuing of the

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fatal order to attack Though his version does not agree in all particulars with others. General Kovatchev also concluded that Danev was bound to know of what was brewing. The lecture may be summarised as follows:

The General began by narrating how Ferdinand attempted to excite the anger of the officer corps against Russia, presenting the latter as the sole obstacle to Bulgaria's securing an outlet on the sea of Marmara. In an interview which Kovatchev had on February 8, 1913, Ferdinand complained to him of Generals Savov, Nikiforov and Fitchev and made most disparaging remarks about them. At a Cabinet meeting held after the Easter holidays, all the army commanders save Fitchev expressed the opinion that the Bulgarian army was in a position to wage war on Serbia and Greece, and that while Gueshov's partisans were for a peaceful solution, Danev's supporters were warlike. General Savov related to the speaker that the conflict which arose between him and Tsar Ferdinand was due to the latter's resolve not to end the war without securing Rodosto on the Marmara Ferdinand ordered him on April 8 to write to the Prime Minister, Gueshov, in the name of the army, that it refused to conclude peace until the above object had been attained. Savov answered that he could not agree to this demand and expose the army's prestige needlessly. Ferdinand reiterated his demand which Savov again categorically rejected, whereupon Ferdinand convoked him in his presence and began reprobating him for his insubordination reviling him and accusing him of ingratitude, since he had taken him out of the dock and placed him in this high post, and instead of showing gratitude, he was discrediting him in the eyes of the army. This flow of invective put Savov out of humour and he coolly replied that when he would be tried he would not hesitate to unravel matters which would clearly reveal who of the two was responsible for the misdeeds which were being ascribed to him, after which Savov bowed and withdrew. Kovatsev met Savov again on May 31 and was told that the army was now being moved to the west in order to impress Russia, France and England into coercing Serbia to accept the Treaty stipulations, as these three Powers were most anxious to maintain the Balkan Alliance. Concerning the issuing of the order to attack, General Kovatsev affirms that both Ferdinand and Savov did not want to provoke war, but that they were seeking to impress not only the Serbians and Greeks, but also the Tsar of Russia, in order that the latter might arbitrate in favour of Bulgaria. Savov had not informed Danev of the intended attack, but he supposed that

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Tsar Ferdinand had done so. Savov could hardly assume that the two had not acted in concert, for Danev was kept imformed of matters of even a more delicate nature, so that he could not be ignorant of what was happening, since Palace circles were cognisant, and they would have reported it to him. Another proof that Danev was acquainted with what was occurring, was the telegrams which he addressed on the morning of June 30 to the Bulgarian representatives abroad to the effect that the attack had been started by the Serbians and Greeks and not by the Bulgarians, and secondly the order Danev transmitted simultaneously to the military censors to prevent the publication of any news concerning what was happening at the front.

When the attack miscarried, the Cabinet attempted to disculpate itself by showing that it knew nothing of the attack. After consulting with the Russian Minister in Sofia, it ordered the suspension of hostilities, without making sure whether the Serbian and Greek armies would condescend to do likewise. Russia promised to put a stop to the fratricidal war if Bulgaria would accept the territory between the Bregalnitsa and Vardar, the Belassitsa Mountains and the Struma, with the towns of Kotshana, Radovitch Pehtsevo, Drama, Cavalla and possibly Serres, but Danev refused and resigned, declaring that „his policy had gone bankrupt". His resignation and the advent of the Austrophile Cabinet of Radoslavov brought about the failure of Russia's effort to help Bulgaria out of the mess she had got in. Tsar Ferdinand immediately suspended General Savov from his functions for having obeyed the injunctions of the Government. The Serbians who were so long spoiling for a fight, now that they had been offered an excellent justification for doing so [1] rejected all offers for

[1] The Serbian military circles had formally declared to the Serbian Government that they had definitely resolved to retain the lands they occupied and that they would not yield them up. Proclamations declaring war on Bulgaria in which the date was left blank were seized on Serbian prisoners and this shows that the Serbians were contemplating to declare war on Bulgaria and were waiting for a favourable occasion; the Bulgarians merely forestalled

an armistice, and turned a deaf ear to Russia's injunctions counterattacked the Bulgarians who had been ordered to cease fighting and badly mauled them. It took some time for the Bulgarian army to recover from these initial rebuffs, but in a few weeks under the able leadership of general R. Dimitriev, the situation had been retrieved. The Bulgarians were advancing on Nisch and threatening to cut the communications of the Serbian army in Macedonia, while the Greek army seemed as if it would suffer a Sedan in the Kresna defile but all these efforts of the troops were unavailing. The Rumanian army unrestrained by Russia, which could not allow Serbia to be crushed, had invaded Bulgaria and was advancing unopposed on Sofia, while Turkey, following the example set by Rumania, reoccupied Adrianople. Bulgaria was forced to capitulate and throw herself on the mercy of her vindictive enemies.

By the ensuing Treaty of Bucarest signed on August 10, Bulgaria was deprived of all share in Macedonia save the upper part of the valley of the river Struma, and received as her share of the spoils wrung from Turkey, a short stretch of coast line of the Aegean, between the rivers Mesta and Maritsa with its hinterland, the mountainous region of the Rhodopes. She was obliged to cede to Rumania the whole of the southern Dobrudja in spite of the fact that this region of 7609 sq. klm. with a population of 290000 souls contained only 2.2% of Rumanians One would have expected that both the Balkan States and the Great Powers would have at least exerted themselves a little in order to secure for Bulgaria that part of Thrace up

an attack on their allies. Sazonov in his „Fateful Years", p. 95, admits that it was Russia who prevented Serbia from opening hostilities: „The army was confident of success. I replied that I did not consider myself in a position to offer strategic advice, but from a political no less than a moral point of view.such a policy would cause irreparable damage to Serbia, damage for which no military success could compensate her.

to the Midia—Enos line, which had been ceded by Turkey to the Balkan Allies, as this territorial acquisition might console to a certain extent the Bulgarians for their losses in other directions. But in her hour of need and humiliation no one would do anything for Bulgaria. Only Russia, in spite of the provocations and insults she had received from the puny politicians of Sofia, endeavoured to succour Bulgaria by offering to coerce Turkey into evacuating that part of Thrace which she had ceded by the Treaty of London, provided another Power seconded her in her efforts But none would do so, not even England who had a moral obligation to insist on the upholding of a Treaty concluded under her sponsorship. Sir Edward Grey was busy negotiating with the Grand Vizier over the Bagdad railway, and the Turks had to be humoured, for economic considerations take precedence over moral in politics. Dr Seton Watson, in his „Europe in the melting pot" p. 96, rightly remarks:

> This abandonment of Bulgaria, rankled fatally in the minds of king Ferdinand and his statesmen, and explains as much as anything else, the distrust with which they have regarded British diplomacy, and which finally decided them to adhere to the Central Powers".

Even the Greeks attempted to create additional difficulties for the Bulgarians. They evacuated Western Thrace without waiting for the Bulgarians to take over the administration and encouraged the local Turks to set up an autonomous government with the purpose of eventually transferring this region to Turkey, Politis[1], that pillar of the Geneva Assem-

[1] This was revealed in the Bulgarian Chamber on March 29, 1928, by the Macedonian deputy Kulishev. Greece may well ponder over the advisability of retaining in her employ such an astute and clever personality utterly devoid of moral scruples, whom S Cosmin in his „L'Entente et la Grèce" (vol II. p. 133 & 193-4) has not hesitated to denounce as a turncoat and a falsifier of dispatches and documents. Sir Basil Thompson in his „Allied Secret Service in

bly, in order to win the goodwill of Turkey, advised in August 1913 the Turkish representative at Berne that it would be politic to take advantage of Bulgaria's difficulties in order to expel from Thrace the Bulgarian element which would always be a menace to the retention of this province by Turkey. This „humane" advice was communicated in code from Berne on August 21 to the Grand Vizier, Said Halil, and promptly acted upon; a large section of the Bulgarian population being uprooted and driven out from Eastern Thrace into Bulgaria. 728

The indifference shown by her former Allies and the Powers of the Entente for Bulgaria's rights in Thrace, constrained her to come to terms with Turkey and even to begin negotiations with her for the conclusion of a treaty of alliance, the object of which was to attack Greece. In the autumn of 1913 General Savov was dispatched to Constantinople to conduct these negotiations and arrive at an arrangement concerning the delimitation of the Bulgaro-Turkish frontier. It may be affirmed that the disregard of Bulgaria's rights in Thrace imparted the first impetus to the policy of collaboration between Bulgaria and Turkey. Had Russia, on the other hand been supported in her attempt to champion Bulgaria's claims against Turkey, it is certain that there would have been little cause for Bulgaria being drawn into Turkey's orbit, which paved the way for her adhesion to the Central Alliance. 648

Tsar Ferdinand hastened to replace Danev by Radoslavov, supported by Tontchev and Ghenadiev. Radoslavov on June 22 had convoked a big public meeting, which passed a resolution in favour of declaring war on Serbia

Greece", also refers to „the mischievous tendency to distortion which characterised that gentleman", p. 103. The advice Politis so readily proffered to Turkey, was acted upon not only in connection with the Bulgarians, but later also with regards the Greeks, and Greece has to a certain extent to thank Politis for the million and a half of hapless refugees who were dumped a few years later on her soil.

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648 and Greece. These three politicians, in an open letter dated July 5, 1913, addressed to Ferdinand, had declared: „We think to-day, as we thought then, that the salvation of our State can only be found in a policy of intimate friendship with Austria-Hungary". This was a clear avowal that Bulgaria would henceforth pursue an Austrophile policy. This was rendered possible by the lack of coherence among the remaining political parties, which at that critical moment declined to sink their differences and impose on Ferdinand a national policy

THE WORLD WAR

The mischievous and equivocal declaration made by Danev on resigning, namely „that our policy has gone bankrupt" was interpreted by all in Bulgaria as a public avowal that the friendliness displayed to Russia was the cause of the disaster which befell Bulgaria. Such a statement coming from the leader of the most Russophile party in the country helped to lend colour to the insinuations circulated by the circles devoted to Tsar Ferdinand, to the effect that Russia had sought to thwart the realisation of Bulgaria's aspirations. Danev's policy, it is true, had failed disastrously, but the cause was that he had swerved from the Russophile policy he had always declared to have pursued. This deviation, however, he would not acknowledge, as it implied his assumption of a great share in Bulgaria's catastrophe. In order to exculpate himself, he preferred to throw the onus of the disaster on the pro-Russian policy which he pretended to have followed devotedly. This pusillanimous attitude helped to intensify the eclipse which the Russophile elements suffered after the Balkan wars, and facilitated Tsar Ferdinand's task of maintaining in power the Radoslavov Cabinet, composed of some of the

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worst blackguards Bulgaria had produced This Ministry was entirely out of sympathy with the nation, and in spite of all the terrorism it exerted repeatedly at the elections, was unable to secure a majority at the polls. Thus at the elections, which took place in December 1913, the votes cast for the Government and the Opposition numbered respectively 202,363 and 329,320. Unfortunately the Opposition was divided into seven antagonistic groups and was unable to impose itself, in spite of the fact that it had 110 deputies against 94 belonging to the Government in the Sobranye. Radoslavov took advantage to dissolve the Chamber and to hold fresh elections early in March 1914, after having recourse to an artifice, that of extending the franchise to the inhabitants of the territories allocated to Bulgaria at the conclusion of the Balkan wars This was a clear infringement of the Constitution, for the incorporation of this territory had not yet been voted by the Legislative Assembly. This stratagem permitted Radoslavov's supporters to secure the return of 126 deputies to the new Sobranye, while the Opposition deputies numbered only 119, though the votes cast were 345,730 for the Governent and 418,058 for the Opposition. Among the Goverment deputies were forty Moslems, thirteen of whom had been returned from the newly annexed territories in Thrace and who were subservient tools of the Young Turkish party holding power in Constantinople, and who naturally were able to exert their influence on Radoslavov and impose on him the adoption of a pro-Turkish attitude. The conclusion of a loan in Germany, further strengthened the ascendancy the Austro-Germans were beginning to exert, and though it has been repeatedly asseverated that no political clauses were attached to the conclusion of the loan, yet it may be assumed that certain tacit assurances were given. This is corroborated by a statement made by von Tschirsky to the Bulgarian Ambassador in

Vienna, which is recorded in the Bulgarian Orange Book (Document 735): „Even when the loan was advanced to you, it was understood that your policy would assume an unhesitating course". A similar affirmation is ascribed to Radoslavov who assured the German ambassador in Sofia on July 15, 1914, after the voting of the loan, that the Cabinet felt itself secure and that it would begin to plan Bulgaria's attachment to the Triple Alliance. („Kautsky's documents vol I. p. 162). While Peter Todorov affirms:

„The political character of the financial assistance secured from German capital is emphasized by the instructions sent by our Finance Minister when he directed our Minister in Vienna (in 1913) to request the Austrian Banks not to charge more that 8% interest because the service rendered was also of a political character". (op. cit. vol II p. 229).

The new Chamber[1] hastened to appoint a Parliamentary commission to inquire into the activities of the Gueshov and Danev Cabinets. The government accused them of being responsible of the misfortunes which befell Bulgaria in the late wars. This was clearly a clever ruse of Radoslavov aimed at discrediting his political opponents and curtailing their activities, for he himself being devoid of all popular support, was fearful lest his opponents by arousing the slumbering consciousness of the nation should come to dislodge him from office in which he was maintaining himself uniquely with the patronage of the Crown. Radoslavov was not even sure of all his supporters. The Stambulovists, comprising 28 deputies, and the second group in numbers supporting the Goverment, was headed by Ghenadiev, one of the most clever and unscrupulous politicians Bulgaria has had, who was playing a double game. The Stambulovists had been indicted for a series of illegalities committed by them while in office during the period 1903—8, and were awaiting trial. Radoslavov, whenever Ghenadiev showed any sign of resisting the pro-German policy which was being foisted on the Bul-

[1] Elected in December 1913, see cit. 116,

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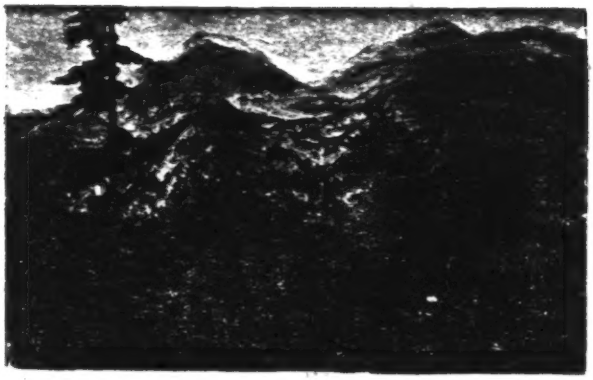
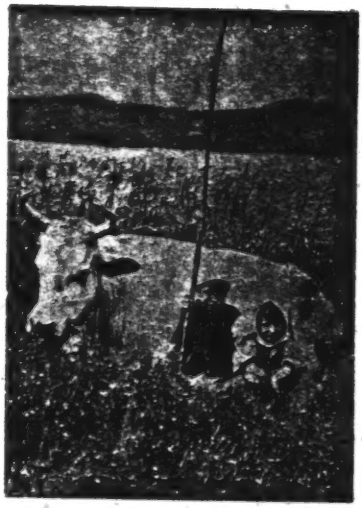


THE RILA MOUNTAINS

THE RILA AND ONE OF ITS LAKES



SHEPHERDS IN THE MAKING

[facing p. 481]

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661 garian people, used the expedient of intimidation and by threatening Ghenadiev and his friends that he would order the resumption of their trial, coerced them into submission with this handy weapon. This state trial eventually took place, and several Ministers, among whom were Generals Ratso Petrov and Savov, Gudev, Ghenadiev, Payakov, etc, were arraigned.

The most piquant fact revealed in its course was that the Finance Minister Payakov, in collusion with the delegate of the French bondholders in Bulgaria, Bousquet, [1] whose mission was supposed to consist in looking after their interests, an employee in the French Legation, and the chief secretary of the Ministry, had conspired to defraud the Bulgarian exchequer. (T. G. Vlaikov, „Functionaries and Rulers." p. 135).

After the signing of the Treaty of Bucarest, Ferdinand did everything to foster the campaign of mutual recrimination which broke out among Bulgarian politicians each of whom endeavoured to ascribe to his adversaries the major part of responsibility for what had happened. After the loss of prestige he had suffered, Ferdinand grasped that his sole chance of maintaining himself on the

[1] There is nothing surprising in this, for the venality of the French politician does not lag behind that of his Bulgarian confrere; It may even be affirmed that the latter has simply copied the former. In the winter of 1934 some leading functionaries of the French Legation in Sofia were apprehended carrying on an extensive smuggling enterprise. Early in 1935, a former French Premier, Francois Marshall, was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment for embezzlement, and Mr. Sisley Huddlestone, writing in the Contemporary Review about recent events in France, (January 1935) affirms: „the complacency and complicity of Ministers, of Deputies, of Senators, in crooked financial affairs, has been vastly increased., official or near-official connections and approval have made possible the career, of notorious swindlers. It has been shown that the police of the Sureté are involved. That there are lawyers who use their influence in Parliament to obtain immunity for their clients is amply proved".

661 throne lay in sowing discord among his subjects, and he devoted himself wholeheartedly to achieve this aim by encouraging mutual distrust and enmity both in political and military circles. He incited General Fitchev to murder General Savov, he upbraided Minister Ghenadiev for not permitting the murder of Minister T. Todorov, while he condemned the war Minister K. Naidenov for not arranging the assassination of Ghenadiev. (Protocols of State Trials pp. 596-601-979) While he[2] thus set his politi-
648 cians and officers by the ears, he applied himself to come to a close understanding with the Central Empires, these being the sole Powers which would condescend to support him in his morbid desire to wreak vengeance on Serbia and Russia, which in his imagination had dared interfere with the realisation of his ambitious aims. During the prolonged stay he made in Austria-Hungary in the autumn of 1913, it seems that the Emperor Francis-Joseph must have given him assurances that he would soon have an opportunity of retrieving his ill-luck. Ferdinand in exchange pledged himself to support the policy of the Central Powers. This accounts for his determination to persist in the pro-Austrian policy he had initiated, and in maintaining the Radoslavov Cabinet, the only one amenable to such a course, in spite of the repeated rebuffs it suffered when the electorate was consulted. On March 1, 1929, the *Mir* published an article signed by I. St. Gueshov, a former Bulgarian diplomat. who affirmed that in the autumn of 1913 Ferdinand at Vienna, and General Savov and Natsevitch at Constantinople, had promised Francis-Joseph, and the Grand Vizier, that whatever would happen, Bulgaria would support the Central Powers and Turkey, and Gueshov even affirms that draft treaties to this effect were signed. That the Emperor of Austria fully relied on these promises of Tsar Ferdinand becomes obvious from the handwritten letter the former addressed to the Kaiser

[i.e. Tsar Ferdinand — Analyst]

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on July 4. 1914. and which he entrusted to Count Hoyos to convey to Germany. In it an important role was assigned to Bulgaria as a thoroughly reliable element in the impending struggle with Serbia[1]. (Austro-Hungarian Diplomatic Documents 1919 № 1) As soon as Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, the Emperor called upon Ferdinand to co-operate at once with him as if he were a trusty ally, and Ferdinand hastened to instruct Radoslavov to begin negotiations for the conclusion of an alliance with the Central Empires, as is confirmed by a report addressed to the German Government by the German Minister in Sofia on August 2, 1914. (Die deutschen dokumente zum Kriegsansbruch Vol. III and IV Nos. 673 and 697) These negotiations were pursued and Bulgaria given a free hand to annex all territory she claimed from those of her neighbours who had not adhered to the Central Alliance; while Radoslavov and his colleague Tontchev, gave assurances that Bulgaria would not undertake anything against Rumania if the latter performed her duty to her allies. (Kautsky's Diplomatic Documents Vol. III. pp. 55 & 143) On October 9, 1914, Radoslavov sounded the War Minister, Fitchev, as to the conclusion of a military convention which was to complete the Treaty of Alliance, and a few weeks later Ferdinand hinted to the same person that he ought to learn German because Bulgaria's place was with the Central Alliance. (Protocols of the State Trial of the Radoslavov Cabinet p. 453.) The reason why Bulgaria was not involved in the struggle at that early date may be inferred from a telegram addressed by Radoslavov to the

[1] The following passage from it is indicative of the reliance Austria placed in the Radoslavov Cabinet: „The efforts of my Government must in future be directed towards the isolation and diminution of Serbia. The first step in this direction should be to strengthen the position of the present Bulgarian Government, in order that Bulgaria whose real interests are identical with our own. may be preserved from a relapse into a Russophile policy".

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648 Bulgarian Minister in Berlin in December 1914. (Bulgarian Orange Book, Document No. 593)...

„It is not yet time for Bulgaria to infringe her neutrality, because materially she is weak, and also because our military supplies are not being delivered, even Austria-Hungary having placed an embargo on our rifles. Greece and Rumania, as in 1913, are awaiting our intervention in order to attack us".

Though no formal alliance was signed until September 6, 1915, Bulgaria's adhesion to the Central Alliance was a foregone conclusion, and this is confirmed by her Government's divergent attitude towards each of the two groups of Powers. While everything was done to facilitate the passage through Bulgarian territory of army supplies destined to Turkey, Russian requests for dispatching help to Serbia through Bulgaria were rejected on the plea that they would constitute an infringement of Bulgarian neutrality. The protocols of the State Trial of the Radoslavov Cabinet abound with evidence as to the systematic smuggling through of armaments to Turkey. The act of accusation itself cites an official letter of Radoslavov in which he affirms that at the beginning of 1915 relations between Turkey and Bulgaria were not only friendly but those of two allies. Richard Von Mach in his „Aus Bewegter Balkanzeit", affirms that these States had bound themselves to assist each other against an attack by any Balkan State, on August 1914. And minister Pechev in his diary, notes, August 7, 1914:

„My colleagues remained in the Ministerial Council until after 1. a, m. and together with Talat and Halil Bey signed a treaty between Bulgaria and Turkey".

Diplomatist of the Central Alliance in their conversations with their Bulgarian colleagues refer to a concluded pact between their respective countries, much to the surprise of the latter who ignore, or pretend to be ignorant of it. (Bulgarian Orange Book. vol. I. Documents 772,

782, 799, 860, 998) Both Ferdinand and Radoslavov did 648
their utmost to withhold from the public all knowledge of the contents of the offers the Entente Powers were making, while they persistently magnified any corresponding offer the Central Powers would put forth.

In spite of the pro-Russian feelings of the masses, which Savinsky, the Russian Minister in Sofia repeatedly alludes to in his „Recollections of a Russian Diplomat", pp. 203 and 250, the national will remained voiceless, for the political parties, the function of which was to give expression to it, were too disunited and too absorbed in the campaign they were conducting of mutual recrimination and vituperation. Whatever a politically untrained community could do[1] to prevent itself being drawn into a struggle against its will, appears to have been accomplished, but the masses, devoid of capable leaders and receiving no outside support, had to bow down before the organised forces of the State and follow meekly along the path that was being traced for them. Only on one occasion did Bulgaria's rulers vacillate in their resolution to side with Germany, and that was in the spring of 1915, when there was a fair prospect of the Dardanelles being forced, and when the Russian successes in Galicia made even the most Germanophile among them begin to entertain serious doubts as to the invincibility of the Central Powers. At that crucial moment Radoslavov intimated unequivocally to Savinsky that Bulgaria would side with the Entente if she were aided in taking this step.

„I sent to Sazonov a personal telegram on April 7, stating: Radoslavov assures me he was only waiting for a favourable moment to join in with Russia.... he then gave me to understand that he

[1] For a fuller narrative of the events leading up to Bulgaria's intervention in the World War and after, see the writer's, „Bulgaria, problems and politics", and his contribution to „Bulgaria and Rumania", in the Series of the „Nations of To.Day", published by *Hodder and Stoughton.*

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would prefer Bulgaria to be forced into action and the Government to be placed before an accomplished fact. Seeing what he was driving at, I asked him what the Bulgarian Government's answer would be if a definite reply-„yes or no" was now demanded from them by the Allies? To this he said that he would answer 'yes'. I then asked him to what extent the words of his brother-in-law, (a member of the Nationat Assembly) had heen correctly reported to me. namely, that if the Russians landed on the Black Sea coast .and the French and British at Dede-Agatch, Bulgaria would immedietely join them? To that Radoslavov answered: „Two landings would be unnecessary, the Russian landing should suffice. Knowing it was not directed against us, we would accept it gladly and leave the details to be settled later on of a common accord.'" (Recollections of a Russian Diplomat. Op. cit. p. 259/61).

What was most symptomatic was that Ferdinand repeatedly dispatched his private secretary and Count Marshal to affirm to Savinsky that „Bulgaria was only waiting for the moment she could repay to Russia her debt of gratitude". The Russian Minister further wrote:

„Seeing the reversal of attitude that had taken place both in the Palace and in Government spheres, I telegraphed to Sazonov on April 10, that just now we have reached the psychological moment when it is necessary to act,,., I believe that further hasitation might be dangerous to success... the position of the King and of the Government would be made easier by the accomplished fact, whereas the people and the army would enthusiastically hail the appearance of Russian uniforms. The presence of a comparatively small contingent would draw out the whole country against Turkey". etc. Op. Cit.).

Unfortunately Savinsky's recommendations were not followed. Sazonov at the prompting of his western Allies requested his Minister in a telegram dated April 20, to shut off steam: „Conforming to the desire of Delcassé refrain from the prescribed action pending further instructions".

At that critical period Radoslavov even approached the late Mr. Bourchier and commissioned him to transmit to the British Foreign office an offer for Bulgaria's co-ope-

ration on terms remarkable for their moderation. The draft of this telegram was published in Lady Grogan's „The Life J. D. Bourchier", p. 165: 648

„If three Powers give mandate Bulgaria occupation Serbian Macedonia to lme treaty 1912 with guarantee against molestation part Rumania Greece Bulgarian premier declares Bulgaria would place forces our disposal would acquiesce similar guarantees to Rumania Greece (against Bulgarian aggressicn) thus liberating respectively Rumania for invasion Transylvania Greece for operations Asia Minor".

Instead of taking the bull by the horns however, the propitious moments were allowed to pass by irremediably:

„Entente diplomacy was placing great hopes on the impending Italian intervention and on the success of the Dardanelles campaign. Under these circumstances it felt in a position to dispense with the help of the Balkan States, and accordingly treated them with scant courtesy. The prospect of acting without the co-operation of these greedy, clamorous, intemperate, would-be customers must certainly have proved alluring to many politicians". (the writer's „Bulgaria, problems and Politics", p. 117.)

According to an article which appeared in the *Revue de France* (September 15. 1933) „L'intervention Bulgare dans la Grande Guérre" Russia had decided to land troops at Burgas, this plan having been approved by Sazonov and Delcassé, but Sir Edward Grey expressed himself on March 19, 1915, that this was undesirable without Bulgaria's explicit consent, and that Sir Edward persisted in his opposition even when Radoslavov had declared to the Russian ambassador in Sofia that Bulgaria would close her eyes to such action. The attitude of Sir Edward at this period is indefensible, his angle of vision must have been utterly distorted if he came to consider that it did not matter substantially on which side Bulgaria threw her weight. And to all appearance he displayed supreme indifference for Bulgaria when she came knocking at our door. A few phrases from the note he transmitted to Sofia

648 on April 15 1915 (Bulgarian Orange Book vol. I No. 801) could hardly be surpassed in effectiveness as a damper:

„Le Gouvernement Britannique avait reçu des indications que Sa Majesté Ferdinand regardait la Triple Entente avec malveillance et il ne pouvait ni inviter le concours de la Bulgarie ni formuler des offres précises avant de recevoir une assurance définitive que le roi des Bulgares et le Gouvernement bulgare étaient prêts à s'allier avec la Triple Entente sous des conditions raisonnables."

The Bulgarian Minister in London having expressed certain apprehensions as to an eventual hostile attitude of Greece and Rumania towards Bulgaria, Sir Edward concluded his dispatch with this patronising assurance:

„L'Angleterre désirait une entente balkanique: elle ne désirait pas une nouvelle guerre balkanique. Tant que le Gouvernement bulgare se montrerait bien disposé envers l'Angleterre, le Gouvernement Britannique refuserait de s'associer à des dispositions hostiles à la Bulgarie".

Prior to the receipt of this impressive diplomatic missive, Ferdinand had sent an autograph letter to King George, probably in order to confirm Radoslavov's overtures, but according to Dr. Seton Watson, it was not answered, and the distinguished historian appositely depicts what ensued by remarking:

„For the next six months Sir Edward Grey played with the idea of a Serbo-Bulgarian Agreement; and after the Russian retreat and the Suvla Bay disasters, the Bulgarians responded by playing with Sir Edward Grey". (Europe in the Melting pot. 110).

It was a great misfortune for Great Britain that at this critical period of the war her Foreign Secretary should have been so ill advised as to have deliberately cold-shouldered both Bulgaria and Greece when they were most anxious to join us, and from prospective willing allies to have turned them into open or covert enemies. When reading Sir Edward's „Twenty five Years", a student of history is astounded at the lameness of the de-

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fence he puts in for his policy towards these two States. (Vol. II pp. 172 and 197) and marvels at the utter ignorance of local conditions which he displays. A Minister of Foreign Affairs should know better than affirm that: 648

„Bulgaria had in 1913... been deprived of any outlet on the Aegean", (vol. II p. 174). „Bulgaria wanted a port on the Aegean and her claims in Macedonia". (vol. II p. 194).

For Bulgaria had a stretch of coast line on the Aegean at the time. One however, can not help admiring Sir Edward's frankness when he proceeds to admit that the inducements offered to Bulgaria at a later period for her participation in the war on our side were inadequate:

„The utmost, then, that we could say to Bulgaria was, that if it came to be in our power to win great gains for Serbia, we should make it a condition of her acquiring those gains that she should concede what we thought fair claims of Bulgaria. This still left it open to Serbia to say that she would rather not have the new gains that give up Monastir". Vol. II p, 197.

Serbian intractability, however, to which allusion is made in the above text should to a large measure be ascribed to the concessions which were being made to Italy at the time. Lloyd George in his „War Memoirs" Vol. I p. 400 cites a letter of Mr. George Trevelyan dated Sofia Jan. 15 1915, in which that eminent historian affirms:

„In general, however, we can say from numerous conversations with Serbians from the Crown Prince downwards that the more Yugoslavia and Adriatic expansion are dwelt upon the more Serbians will be willing to concede to (in ?) Macedonia".

An Sazonov likewise. wrote on the subject in his „Fateful Years". p. 264:

„It cost me a great effort to sacrifice to the advantage of the Italian Alliance the interest of the Serbian people, whose desires could be realised only through the Great War. Serbia would, in any case have an outlet to the sea, but a considerable part of the Serbian population would be excluded from their own country"

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

648 Had the Entente, early in 1915 attempted to win over Bulgaria and even Greece instead of Italy, it would have found that this could have been done with less concessions, fewer difficulties, and incomparably more conclusive results. Within a week of its conclusion, the Treaty of London, signed on April 28 1915 became known to the Serbians, and they were justly furious at the transfer of Jugoslav territory behind their backs. M. Passitch declared that Serbians were being treated worse than Africans.

The coolness with which the Bulgarian advances were received in London confirmed the Bulgarians in their doubts as to our sincerity concerning our alleged readiness to award Constantinople and the Straits to Russia. They came to infer that our aloofness was dictated by duplicity, and that secretly we were doing our level best to prevent such a consummation, and that we really did not wish to see them intervene on our side. This view probably gained ground also through the attitude of our official representative, Sir Henry Bax-Ironside, of whom Lieut. Colonel the Hon. H. D. Napier wrote in his „Experiences of a Military Attache in the Balkans" (p. 28): „was of opinion at this time that it was not only impossible but also undesirable to win her (Bulgaria) over to our side." Minister Pechev. the only honest person in the Radoslavov Ministry, has two entries in his diary concerning Sir Henry Bax-Ironside, which throw much light on the mentality of Bulgarian official circles and which permit us to grasp the beliefs they were then entertaining about British official policy, February 4 (O. S.) 1915:

„Bax-Ironside stated to Radoslavov that Sir Edward Grey was content with Bulgarian neutrality, and he added that personally he considered that Bulgaria should not let herself be influenced by advice emanating from Russia and France aiming at involving her in the war".

THE WORLD WAR

June 26, (O. S.) 1915: „Bax-Ironside leaves for England. After expressing several times England's desire to see Bulgaria participate in the war, he privately, and intimately spoke to Radoslavov that Bulgaria did well to remain neutral. He gave the same advice to Agrarian deputies who came to visit him".[1] 648

From this it was easy for the Bulgarians to infer that so far as England was concerned, Byron's exhortations still held good: —

„Better still serve the haughty Mussulman.
Than swell the Cosaque's prowling caravan;"

The Bulgarians who had seen their country dismemberd in 1878 at the instigation of Great Britain, in order that Russia might not secure an outpost towards Constantinople, could not come to believe that in 1915 England would so completely alter her point of view as to permit and even facilitate her rival's instalment at such a post of vantage. Even the failure of the Dardanelles expedition was not interpreted as such in Bulgaria, and to-day there are intelligent Bulgarians who still uphold that it was a staged up affair and that the British really never seriously tried to force the Straits, because they did not wish to hand them over to Russia.[2]

[1] Madol in his „Ferdinand of Bulgaria" p. 285 writes: „Ironside feared Anglo-Russian complications on account of Constantinople if the Bulgarians were to aid in the conquest of Turkey. Thus to the surprise of Radoslavov, Ironside advised him, when the Entente issued their ultimatum to Bulgaria, not to make a rash decision as no one could foretell the issue of the war; he added that Bulgaria was not in a fit state to undertake a war. Radoslavov, who was unable to explain the Briton's visit, consulted the leaders of the Opposition. The latter mobilised the French and Russian representatives who protested against Ironside's action, and obtained his recall. Whether Ironside's attitude has been dictated by Downing Street or not, this incident shows the nature of British thoughts and misgivings with regard to Constantinople".

[2] It seems strange, but the attitude of certain British circles towards Turkey during the war had something mysterious about it.

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This conviction which was largely held in Bulgaria, and which we were unable to shake subsequently, when we started rather late in the day to win over Bulgaria with offers, explains how we helped to pour grist into Ferdinand's mill and facilitate his task of involving his country on the side of Germany. Far from being justified in charging Bulgaria with duplicity, as some persons have done, it is rather the Bulgarians who with some apparent justification might accuse us of inducing them into a fatal error. This belief in our insincerity was further confirmed by an article in the organ of the Russian War Ministry, the „*Ruski Invalid*" in August 1915, in which bitter complaints were made against the British and French for their inactivity at a time when the Russian front in Poland was collapsing under the hammer blows delivered by Hindenburg and Ludendorf. Russia, it was declared had sacrificed the flower of her troops in Masuria, in order to prevent the fall of Paris in 1914, but now her allies did nothing to succour her in her hour of need. This was an excellent opportunity offered to the pro-Germans and they made the most of it to convince the Bulgarians that the Western Powers were leaving Russia to exhaust herself in order that at the end of the war

Mr. Lloyd George in his War Memoirs, Vol. IV, p. 2247 writes: „It was part of the War Office game to pretend that the Turks had formidable forces with ample reserves and if they were attacked seriously the Germans would rush to their succour and beat us off. They may have believed it, but if so, either their information was defective or they were easily taken in. In either event it was a failure of intelligence". Mr. Lloyd George lays stress on his affirmation by publishing a report by the military council at Versailles drawn up at the end of 1916, in which it was stated that the condition of Turkey was one of almost complete material and moral exhaustion etc. The Bulgarians naturally were quite aware of Turkey's weakness and inability to defend herself, and they could not interprete the Allies lack of enterprise in the Near East except by ascribing it to England's unwillingness to hand over the Straits to Russia.

they might deprive her of Constantinople. And if Russia was thus left in the lurch it was easy to infer what would happen to Bulgaria if by misfortune she joined the Entente and was simultaneously attacked by both the Austro-Germans and her neighbours. 648

The first concrete offer to Bulgaria was made on May 29, but it was an aleatory one since in exchange for her intervention, the territorial gains promised in Macedonia were to materialise only when, and if, Serbia received Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Central Powers responded by a counter offer of the whole of Macedonia in exchange for Bulgaria's neutrality. A further offer by the Entente was made on August 3, and a final one on September 14. The latter guaranteed the 1912 incontested zone in Macedonia to Bulgaria at the end of the war, the Enos-Midia line in Thrace, and diplomatic support for the transfer of the Cavalla region and southern Dobroudja; but when Serbia's consent to these concessions became known, it was found that they were hedged in with certain reservations which robbed the offer of most of its value. However, it came too late, for Ferdinand had already signed on September 6, an alliance with Germany and pledged himself jointly with the Central Powers to attack Serbia. If this Bulgarian attack was staved off for so long it was solely owing to the doubts the Bulgarian Government entertained as to the attitude of Greece and Rumania, both of which had at first declared that they would not countenance a Bulgarian aggression on Serbia. Later, however, their attitude radically changed, and both encouraged Bulgaria to attack her western neighbour. (Cf. Bulgarian Orange Book vol. I. Nos. 347, 381, 577. 1099, 1107). King Constantine's assurances that he would allow a free hand to Bulgaria were transmitted through German official circles; he had telegraphed to the Kaiser that he would not attack Germany's allies unless they attacked him, but

648 subsequently his messages to Bulgarian representatives were marked with such cordiality that Ferdinand annotated one with the significant words: „La conduite du roi Constantin est vraiment irreprochable". (Bulgarian Orange Book vol. II, No. 108. In an interview with Major Kableshkov, the Bulgarian military attache in Athens, Constantine affirmed:

> That he was not opposed to the entry of Bulgarian troops in Greece, that their conduct was excellent and that he had complete confidence in the Bulgarian Government. The good conduct of the Bulgarian troops would prevent Venizelos making capital out of their presence in Greek territory. The Entente was all talk and no action, it was Germany alone that showed initiative. As for the English army, it was a mob of undisciplined and untrained men. His brother Prince Andrew had bought a horse for fifty drachmae from a British soldier. others had bought motor cycles for twelve drachmae, British soldiers would sell thair pants in order to procure drinks. (Bulgarian Orange Book vol. II № 220).

In a previous interview with Passarov, the Bulgarian Minister in Athens, on August 19, 1915, Constantine had stated:

> „According to the information I possess, you will side with Germany. We shall follow the same policy, because I shall not permit a different one, since both our nations will be with Germany, even this most difficult question of Cavalla will be solved satisfactorily for both sides".

The King had begun his conversation with a long diatribe against Serbian intransigeance, and by expressing his conviction that Serbia was by far a more dangerous neighbour than Bulgaria. (Bulgarian Orange Book. vol. I. No. 1049).

No one was ever deluded about the professed Ententophilism, either of King Constantine or of the sundry Rumanian politicians [1] who at different times made fle-

[1] Rumania, on September 11, 1914 had actually offered to take an active part against Russia if the territory of Suczawa were ceded

eting appearances on the political chess-board, and no one should be surprised at their efforts to involve Bulgaria on the side of the Central Powers; for the elimination of a rival among those who curried the favours of the Entente would correspondingly enhance the price of those who still remained neutral. After the fiasco of the Dardanelles expedition, there was no apparent reason for being in a hurry; on the contrary, the more the Great Powers exhausted themselves, the greater became the market value of each prospective ally, and each of these could bide its time. What, however, provokes the indignation of all honest men is that Greece and Rumania should have been allowed after the war to make capital out ot their pretended Ententophilism to the detriment of Bulgaria, when it is they who by the encouragements they gave to Bulgaria enabled the latter to launch her attack on Serbia and protract the war by at least two years.

The negotiations with Germany were conducted in complete secrecy and behind the backs of most of the Ministers. General Fitchev, the Minister of War, was dismissed from his post on August 17, 1915 in order that he might not be apprised of the activities of those of his subordinates who owing to their devotion to Ferdinand had been entrusted with the drawing up of the military convention. Chief among these was Gantchev, an officer compromised in several disreputable affairs and a criminal, who owed his position and liberty to his master. (Protocols of the State Trial p. 660 etc.) All the military leaders who had distinguished themselves during the Balkan wars were replaced by younger officers, who had actively encouraged Ferdinand in attacking Serbia and Greece in 1913, like Generals Jekov and Jostov, the new comman-

to her in reward. After the battle of the Marne the offer was suppressed, before it could be accepted. (Cf. Winston S. Churchill. The World Crisis, the Eastern Front p. 222).

648 der-in-chief and chief of the army staff, whose participation in enginering the attack on June 29, 1913 is graphically described in Minister Pechev's Memoirs. Some 30,000 Macedonians were enrolled and trained long before the publication of the mobilisation decree on the night of September 21, in order that they might be used if necessary as a bludgeon to overawe the Bulgarians into accepting the policy which had been decided on. The Macedonians had made repeated efforts to convince the Allies of the necessity of transferring their native land to Bulgaria, but disgusted at the irresoluteness the Entente displayed, they finally threw in their lot with the Germans and actively assisted the latter in putting into operation their plans. Dr. Vladov one of their leaders had approached at an early date Savinsky, the Russian ambassador in Sofia and told him:

„If only you succeed in obtaining for Bulgaria the Macedonian territories which should be hers according to the Bulgaro-Serbian agreement of 1912, the whole country will be up in arms and fight at your side. Should the Government try and oppose us, we would force them to desist: as to the King, we who have more than once faced death, would not hesitate to do away with him should he attempt to thwart our political ambitions". (Recollections of a Russian diplomat. p. 204).

648 721 The ministers of the Triple Entente presented an ultimatum on October 4 summoning Bulgaria to break off relations with the Central Powers, to which Radoslavov replied with an indignant protest of innocence that could hardly be surpassed in duplicity; this having been considered as unsatisfactory, the Entente representatives severed diplomatic relations with Bulgaria and left on October 7. A few days later the Bulgarian army, as it had been prearranged, crossed into Serbia in order to support the Austro-German attack on that country which had already begun.[1]

[1] (For details of the military operations see the writer's contribution to „Bulgaria & Rumania." in the Nations of to-day series, published by Hodder & Stoughton).

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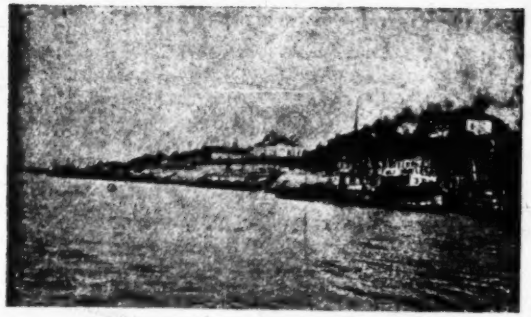
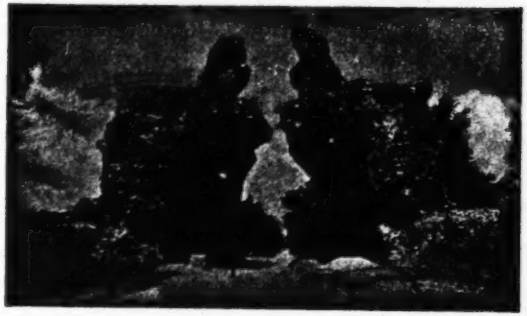
A DEVIL'S HEAD TREE



RUSTCHUK, FROM THE DANUBE



A ROMAN GATEWAY AT HISSAR

[facing p. 417]

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721 The occupation of Macedonia did not render the Radoslavov Gevernment any the more popular in the eyes of the people. The chief brunt of the fighting fell on the Bulgarians, because the Germans after reaching Kragujevats withdrew their forces and left only one army corps to support Bulgaria. This relieved to some extent the pressure on the Serbian army and enabled it to retreat through Albania to the Adriatic. Apparently von Mackensen's plan was to open up communications with Turkey and did not consist of annihilating the Serbian army which would have involved much greater sacrifices for the Germans. After completing the conquest of Macedonia, the Bulgarian army leaders insisted on occupying Salonica, so as to eliminate an eventual enemy thrust from that quarter in order that they might then proceed to the partial demobilisation of the army; to this demand, however, the Germans opposed a resolute refusal. They considered that the maintenance of the Salonica front suited best their purpose, for the Bulgarian army which could not be employed in th west, could be used to tie down a corresponding number of Entente troops which would necessarily be detached from the Western front where otherwise they would have to be faced by Germans. Radoslavov in his „Bulgaria and the world crisis", p.137/8, affirms that:

„The attack on Salonica was not undertaken because it was believed that Greece would eventually join the Central Alliance. She had already permitted the taking of Rupel, Drama, and Cavalla according to a written prearranged plan. Early in 1916 von Falkenhayn decided not to take Salonica and was supported by Hindenburg though General Conrad von Hötzendorf held the contrary view. Soon after the occupation of Serbia, serious divergences arose between Bulgaria and Austria over Prizren and Prishtina, both States demanding their incorporation into their respective territory".

724 648 Serious difficulties were created also through the Germans attempting to lay hands on all available supplies in Bulgaria and through their forcing the Bulgarian army

724 648 commissariat to furnish provisions far beyond those necessary for the limited number of German troops on the Macedonian front. In the State Trial of the Radoslavov Cabinet it was revealed that while the Germans had between 16,000 and 18,000 troops on the Southern front they were drawing rations for over 100,000 men. The balance above their requirements was sent to Germany. Each German soldier had the right to send 5kg of foodstuffs a week home, and for this purpose there was a perpetual stream of German soldiers arriving in Bulgaria from occupied Serbia buying up provisions and returning. This extensive draining of the resources of Bulgaria, increased through the illicit export of provisions systematically undertaken by the Ministers and their supporters, caused a serious dearth. Minister Pechev notes in his Memoirs, 22. XII. 1935:

„To Ghendovitch and other deputies was being granted a licence to export 200 truck-loads of flour. Shameful. Often the names of Ministers figure in the minutes of Cabinet sittings at which export licences have been granted, though the Ministers were not present"

These malpractices took such a scandalous form that they even impressed a former Prussian Minister of War, General Dr. Stein, who alludes to them in his „Erlebnisse und Betrachtungen aus der Zeit des Weltkrieges", published in Leipzig in 1919. In order to protect the food supply of the troops, General Jostov, the chief of the Staff, notified von Mackensen, without consulting the Government, that no more German troops were to be sent to Macedonia owing to the difficulty of providing them with supplies. Radoslavov in his book (Op. cit. p. 139) affirms that this was a pretext, and that Jostov considered that the aim of the war having been attained, Bulgaria ought 721 648 to seek to conclude peace with the Entente. When Rumania declared war against Austria-Hungary, influential circles in Bulgaria attempted to maintain Bulgaria neutral

in the conflict. The Rumanian Minister in Sofia gave assurances that Rumania would support Bulgaria's claim to Macedonia, that she would retrocede southern Dobrudja, and that she would intervene in order that a separate peace be concluded with the Entente, and that finally, Bulgaria would secure the Midia-Enos line in Thrace. The Opposition did its best to convince Radoslavov of the expediency of this policy, it also sent delegates to Ferdinand to plead in favour of the adoption of this plan, but Ferdinand rejected them with contumely and ordered Radoslavov to declare war on Rumania which was done on September 1, 1916, four days later than Germany. 721 648

After the occupation of the Dobrudja, the Germans started requisitioning all the available supplies and this gave rise to continuous incidents between the Bulgarians and the Germans The occupation of the railway lines and the installing of German administrative authorities in certain parts of the Dobrudja which was claimed in its entirety by Bulgaria, caused a very grave conflict between the two allied governments, and strained relations almost to breaking point. 727

In the early spring of 1917, General Sarrail showed activity on the Salonica front and on July 2, Greece, after King Constantine's expulsion, officially declared war on Bulgaria. The Bulgarians appealed for assistance to Germany but received nothing save the advice to shorten their front by retreating. The dearth of foodstuffs and the ever-increasing pressure of the enemy on the Salonica front was rendering the situation in Bulgaria desperate. General Jekov was often in complete disagreement with the Government and refused to take orders from it. On September 20 the Agrarians sent a letter to the commander-in-chief proposing to him to overthrow the Radoslavov Government and assuring him of their willingness to continue the policy of co-operation with Germany. 722

722 The manifesto was signed by Tsanko Bakalov, Omartsevski, Al. Dimitrov and N. Atanassov. subsequently appointed ministers in the Stambuliiski Cabinet, This was not the first manifestation of open revolt against Radoslavov. In July 1916, while the budget was being voted, the Opposition and the adherents of Ghenadiev declared themselves against it and the Government would have been overthrown if Gueshov's party, bribed by the promise of securing the amnesty of three of its prominent members, compromised in the Des Closières, affair, turned round and voted in support of the Government. At the end of 1917, the Stambulovist wing had openly seceded from the Government and the latter was barely maintaining itself by various artifices. The conclusion of peace with Bolshevik [728] Russia on February 9, 1918, did not improve the situation, for a grave conflict arose over the Dobrudja and the signing of peace with Rumania was being purposely postponed. The Germans refused to concede Northern Dobrudja and the Turks were demanding the retrocession of Western Thrace up to the Mesta river. When peace was signed at Bucarest on May 6, 1918 Northern Dobrudja was adjudjed a condominium until the disputes between the allies were settled.

This temporary solution exacerbated to the utmost the army circles and the civilians against Radoslavov. After the military success obtained by the Greek troops on May 30, General Jekov presented a scathing report on the administration accusing it of demoralising the army through its incapacity, corruption and inability to impose on the Germans the carrying out of their promises to support Bulgaria. The Bulgarian soldiers were described as being clothed in rags, destitute of food and short of artillery munitions. Ferdinand, in view of the seriouseness of the situation was forced to part with his favourite and on June 21 a coalition Cabinet headed by Malinov and Kosturkov, the leaders

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of the Democrats and Radicals was constituted in the hope of appeasing the army and public opinion. It was generally believed that the new Cabinet would attempt to conclude a separate peace with the Entente, but this was not within the domain of the possible, for the Cabinet could not count on the army which was entirely in the hands of the Germans and of Ferdinand. Besides, the railways were practically under the control of the Germans who could easily have flooded the country with their troops quartered in the adjoining regions. All Malinov could do was to insist on the Germans carrying out the stipulations of the Treaty, in order to secure some relief for the Bulgarian troops, and to improve the food supply while endeavouring to promote the conclusion of peace by supporting Austria in her endeavours. To this effect Malinov addressed on August 12 1918 a strongly worded note to the Central Powers complaining that since February, Bulgaria had ceased receiving war supplies, protesting against the stopping of the subsidy of 50 millions which had been so far granted to Bulgaria every three months, and demanding the dispatch of Germans reinforcements in order to strengthen the Salonica front where the Entente was continually massing troops. This note met apparently with some success since the Bulgarian representative in Berlin advised Malinov that the Germans would resume payment of the subsidy, forward munitions, and would despatch one German division to Macedonia. (Bulgarian Orange Book. vol II № 1542).

Ferdinand was resolutely opposed to the conclusion of a separate peace with the Entente. According to the deposition of the Bulgarian Minister in Vienna, Tochev, at the State Trial of the Radoslavov Cabinet, Ferdinand had declared to him in 1916: „That the war was lost, but that he would not conclude a separate peace and become a traitor to his allies".

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Ferdinand had no illusions about the outcome of the struggle: On June 11, 1918, he addressed a telegram to General Jekov expressing his forebodings as to the impending close of his activity in the Near East. Jekov replied that a change in the Government might raise the drooping morale of the troops, but the newly constituted Malinov Cabinet, though it was aware of the difficult position the army was in, was not helped by Ferdinand in its desire to conclude a separate peace. It would perhaps have acted more energetically if it had been a broad coalition Cabinet instead of being composed of two parties only, the remainig parties not appearing desirous of assuming any responsibility at the time. In spite of the reluctance of Ferdinand to the conclusion of a separate peace, the Cabinet entrusted seveval persons abroad with the task of sounding Entente circles as to the possibility of coming to terms. President Wilson was the only person to respond favourably to these advances by dispatching Mr. Murphy to Sofia in order to facilitate the Bulgarian Government's task in its efforts to conclude peace. Both Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Robert Cecil were favourably disposed to the conclusion of a separate peace with Bulgaria and at the conferences which took place in Paris during July 1918 expressed themselves in support of this idea, but the French, were utterly opposed; General Guillaumat, who had a short time previously been relieved from his post of commander of the Salonica army, expressed the view that the Bulgarians could be easily beaten and that it was useless to make concessions to them. Mr, Lloyd George was finally won over to the opinions of General Guillaumat, and early in September the British, who were previously opposed to the undertaking of an offensive in Macedonia, gave their consent and General Franchet d'Esperay, the new commander-in-chief, hastened to carry out the plan which had been prepared by his predecessor several months previously.

THE WORLD WAR

Though the situation of the Bulgarian army was known to be critical, yet no one in Sofia foresaw that disaster was imminent. The offensive, undertaken in September 15, against the Bulgarian positions at Dobro Pole met with complete success, the defence was overwhelmed and a complete breach through secured, which permitted the Entente troops to advance unopposed up the Vardar valley, attaining Veles by September 26. But apparently the extent of the disaster was not fully realised in Sofia. Malinov telegraphed to the Bulgarian representative in Berlin on September 19, insisting on the Germans conceding the Bulgarian demands on the Dobrubja in order that the morale of the troops might be raised. On September 21 Ferdinand who was in Uskub, was advised of the critical position of the army and that there was little hope of help arriving from Germany in time to retrieve the situation. It was only on September 23 that the Bulgarian army Headquarters informed the Government that some 10 divisions with artillery would be needed to stop the gap made by the enemy. A ministerial council was convoked, and on September 23 without the consent of Ferdinand, decided to demand the cessation of military activities. A Bulgarian delegation left for the front and on September 29 an armistice was concluded at Salonica. Malinov hastened to advise the German Minister in Sofia on September 26 of these intentions of his Government, and that it was useless to send help from Germany as it would arrive too late. Demoralisation had set in meanwhile in the army;the Government attempted to induce the troops to hold their positions until the conclusion of the Armistice by dispatching certain Agrarian deputies to the front headed by Stambuliiski who was purposely set free from prison, where he had been kept since the beginning of hostilities, and on September 27, Stambuliiski proclaimed a republic and made preparations for overthrowing the Go-

728 669 vernment, but was unable to carry through his plan for lack of support. People were averse to any change in the Government at this critical time fearing lest the delegates sent to Salonica might be prevented from coming to terms with the Entente through the invalidation of their credentials brought about by such a change. In spite of the disapproval of this plan, the mutinied troops headed by Stambuliiski's colleague, R. Daskalov, attempted to march on Sofia but were dispersed on its outskirts by the few loyal troops which rallied to the support of the Government and with the assistance of some Germans who had just arrived from Odessa. On October 1, the delegation sent to Salonica returned; on the following day a conference of the leaders of all the political parties took place and Malinov was commissioned to inform Ferdinand that he owed a certain reparation to Bulgaria. With great reluctance and after vain pleading Ferdinand was persuaded to abdicate in favour of his heir, signing a manifesto to this purpose on October 3 and left for Germany followed by Radoslavov under the protection of German troops.

728 The demobilisation of the army to some extent appeased the existing discontent, in spite of the difficulties the Government was meeting through the exhaustion of foodstuffs. The dearth was relieved through the timely arrival of flour from the United States. The Malinov Cabinet resigned on November 19 as a protest against the Entente's decision to cede southern Dobrudja to Rumania, contrary to the stipulations of the Salonica Armistice. It was succeeded by a broad coalition ministry presided over by T. Todorov. In May the Cabinet was reconstructed with the participation of Stambuliiski in view of the holding of elections on August 17 at which however, no party obtained a majority. The Agrarians being the most numerous party in the new Chamber assumed the task of con-

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stituting the new Cabinet with the support of Gueshov's and Danev's parties. On October 6, Stambuliiski assumed the Premiership and subsequently left for Paris where he signed the Treaty of Neuilly on November 27, 1919. 728

THE TREATY OF NEUILLY

The terms imposed on Bulgaria constitute a negation of all the principles for the triumph of which the best part of the youth of the western democracies had been sacrificed during the terrible yet expectant years of the Great War. The greatest evil wrought by the imposition of such a Treaty, was the destruction ot the indispensable basis of peace — the mutual trust of the peoples in each other which would have been secured by the application of stern justice in the settlement of their claims. Not only the principle of nationality was completely disregarded, but concrete promises such as were made to Bulgaria on the signing of the Salonica Armistice, were ruthlessly repudiated and the country delivered over helpless to the greed of its predatory neighbours.

It was expected that Macedonia, for which Bulgaria had repeatedly gone to war would be definitely lost to her, in spite of the fact that, had a plebiscite been held, the bulk of the population would have elected to remain Bulgarian. But on the outbreak of the war, Macedonia was a constituent part of Serbia, and the Serbians had preferred to undergo the horrors of an invasion and run the risk of annihilation, rather than give up this debatable region. It could easily be grasped that in their hour of triumph, none of their allies would be willing to bring pressure to bear on the Serbians to restitute to a beaten foe a territory they had defended with such determination and such valour. This was well realised in Bulgaria, for when the late Liaptchev returned from signing the Salonica Ar-

728 mistice, he declared: „I, the son of Macedonia, have inscribed the tombstone of my motherland." What the Entente Powers were morally bound to do in order to mitigate this unavoidable wrong was to insist on the safeguarding of that minimum of elemental rights which the Minority Treaties were supposed to secure to ethnic minorities. This however, was never done, and the League of Nations, which is supposed to supervise the execution of these Treaties, by the passivity it has shown in the matter, and despite the numerous protests lodged with it by the various oppressed minorities, has largely contributed in encouraging the denationalising policy followed by certain States. The callous indifference it has shown for the sufferings endured by the minorities largely justifies such severe pronouncements as that of Prof. F. C. S. Schiller, of Oxford, passed on it, namely „that it serves to disguise by its chicaneries and makebeliefs the violence of the strong and the subservience of the weak".

The greatest obstruction to an amelioration of the status of the minorities was the attitude of France and its satellites as the *Manchester Guardian* aptly remarked on October 3, 1930:

> „France has played the part of a wrecker . . . The French delegation has led the opposition to any improvement in the procedure concerning minorities".

What are crying wrongs utterly unjustifiable in themselves, because they could have been easily avoided, if the slightest sense of justice had prevailed among those who drafted the Treaties, were the amputation of Southern Dobrudja, that of Western Thrace and of certain frontier districts in Western Bulgaria.

These territorial mutilations became all the more rankling because, owing to remissness and indifference shown by the League of Nations, the cultural life of the Bulgarian minorities was completely suspended by the closing of both

their schools and churches. And these schools and churches were in most cases extant prior to the emancipation of the Bulgarian State in 1878, so that their functioning can not be imputed to propaganda purposes. The following table shows what a heavy and unjust blow the Treaty of Neuilly has dealt to the Bulgarian people as a whole, and what a retrograde instrument the Treaty has proved, since some of its direct and immediate consequences have been the closing of some 1,594 schools and the forfeiture of the right of 97,720 children to study in their mother tongue. 728

	In Yugoslav Macedonia	In Greek Macedonia	In Greek Thrace	In the Dobrudja	In the Western Confines	Total
Schools . .	641	340	215	276	122	1594
Teachers . .	1013	750	333	584	269	2949
Pupils . . .	37000	19000	11877	21951	7892	97720
Churches .	761	378	326	125	45	1635
Priests . .	833	300	238	[1]	42	1413

The Dobrudja which had been ravished by Rumania in 1913 and which contained a Rumanian minority of only 2·2% in its population, had been restored to Bulgaria by the Treaty of May 7, 1917, and Rumania given Bessarabia in compensation. (Cf. Nowak's „Collapse of Central Europe") The Allies had no moral right whatever to act unilaterally and constrain Bulgaria to renounce the benefits which this Treaty had conferred on her, without simultaneously demanding of the other contracting party an equivalent renunciation. The Rumanian Government when declaring for a second time war on Germany, on November 9, 1918, alleged that the latter had violated this Treaty, admitting thereby that it was a valid instrument. Besides, when the Salonica Armistice was signed, Bulgaria was distinctly given to understand that she would retain the Dobrudja. When

[1] In the Dobrudja, the Rumanian authorities permitted the Bulgarian clergy to remain, but at their death they are replaced by Rumanian priests.

728 she was finally ordered to hand over the Dobrujda to Rumania, the Bulgarian Government resigned in protest at this manifest violation of the pledges it had received.

Lieut. Colonel the Hon. H. D. Napier, in his „Experiences of a Military Attachè in the Balkans", affirms:

„Certain promises and hopes were held out to the Bulgars at that time (Salonica Armistice) which little by little were gradually whittled away, thereby damaging the reputation of the Entente for honest dealing".

Other well-informed writers also affirm that we have treated the Bulgarians unfairly. Thus, Colonel Repincton in his „After the War" p. 368 asserts:

„Colonel Baird", (the British military attaché at Sofia) deplores our propaganda at the end of the war. He has some of the leaflets dropped by our airmen and says that they told the Bulgarians that if they stopped fighting they would be given the territory that was Bulgarian, whereas, what with Macedonia, the Dobrudja, Tsaribrod, Thrace, and other places, nearly as many Bulgarians were now under alien rule as there were in Bulgaria herself, and unfortunately all the people in these parts were totally devoid of the faculty of conciliation. and not one of them could rule over another".

The Dobrudja, from the time of the foundation of the first Bulgarian Empire, had always been considered as forming part of Bulgaria. When after the Russo-Turkish war its northern part was forced on Rumania by the Russians in exchange for Bessarabia which the latter detached from Rumania, all Rumanians were united in decrying the injustice which was being committed. The Senate and Chamber passed resolutions in protest and the Press unanimously declared that Rumania was opposed to annexing a region which was utterly foreign. The *Steaua României* in its issue of June 23, 1878 wrote:

„Geographically and etnographically, the Dobrudja does not form a part of our territory; being on the other side of the Danube it is a prolongation of Bulgaria,.. In the future the Dobrudja will be an open wound, a cause of discord between Rumania and Bulgaria, which will be made use of by those who have an interest to embroil the two countries".

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Could not these facts have been recalled, and the Rumanian delegates confronted with these when they were claiming the possession of the Southern Dobrudja at the Peace Conference? Bessarabia had been restored to Rumania, no one disputed her retention of Northern Dobrudja, why then permit her to incorporate Southern Dobrudja after she herself had restored it to Bulgaria by the Treaty of May 7, 1917? 728

Southern Dobrudja had formed part of the Bulgarian body politic for some forty years, and it was a case of supreme injustice to thrust it under an alien rule without regard to the wishes of the native population. At a time when Rumania was invoking the principle of nationality in order to secure her ethnic unification, her Press did not hesitate to declare:

„Sooner or later in applying the principle of nationality on which we ourselves rely for the realisation of our nation's unification we shall have to return to the Bulgarians the quadrilateral (Southern Dobrudja) which we took from them. This is a certainty." (The Bucarest *Universul*. June 15, 1915.)

Unfortunately for Bulgaria, and also for Europe, the men whom we entrusted with the task of preparing the Peace Treaties were moved by passions and prejudices, which blunted whatever native discernement they had, and made them act as if they were completely devoid of all moral sense; though some are inclined to take a more lenient view, and like the *Manchester Guardian* (May 18, 1918) explain such regrettable shortcomings by the admission that: „Diplomatists are men who seem to specialise in ignorance of foreign countries." That Great Britain is to a large extent responsible for the injustices inflicted on Bulgaria is obvious since she apparently neglected to appoint as her representatives, or delegates, to the Paris Conference men who could act without bias and who had a sense of fairness. It is a painful surprise to

728 find out that one of the leading functionaries of our Foreign Office portrayed his emotions at the time as follows:

„For the Bulgarians I cherished feelings of contempt. Their traditions, their history, their actual obligations should have bound them to the cause of Russia and the Entente. They had behaved treacherously in 1913, and in the Great War they had repeated this act of perfidy. Inspired by the most material motives of acquisition thay had joined with Germany and by so doing lengthened the war by two whole years. I did not feel that Bulgaria deserved more mercy than she would herself have been prepared, in similar circumstances, to accord." (Harold Nicolson: „Peacemaking 1919" p. 3 /5.)

A person actuated by such sentiments could not possibly act with sufficient detachment and impartiality, in adjudicating problems relevant to Bulgaria, yet he was allowed to influence such decisions as were taken in connection with that country, and one may well express doubts as to the fairness of the verdicts arrived at. Had Mr. Nicolson been a disciple of von Treischke, and like the latter treated all the Balkan peoples with the same all embracing contempt („und wie diese Schweintreibende Völker alle heissen mögen") one would have nothing to say; but that he should single out and vent his ill humour on the Bulgarians while heaping favours on their neighbours, is hardly a mark of the fairness by which the British are usually distinguished.

Mr. Nicolson finds that their traditions, history, and the actual obligations of Bulgarians should have bound them to the cause of Russia and the Entente. All these captious assertions show that „Diplomatists are men who seem to specialise in ignorance of foreign countries". Russo-Bulgarian antagonism in the Balkans dates back from 967,. and Mr. Nicolson's predecessors at the Foreign Office took a hand at fomenting and fostering this latent and slumbering antithesis at the time of Stambulov, so that if it ever reappeared, British diplomatists ought rather

to congratulate themselves on the belated fruition of their own efforts. As to the Bulgarians' obligations which should have bound them to the cause of the Entente, Dr. Seton Watson whose perspective and outline have always remained unclouded, and who is our standing historical authority in East European questions, takes a diametrically opposed view to that of Mr. Nicolson, since he justifies the distrust with which British diplomacy was regarded in Bulgaria (Cf. p. 396). Another authority, Sir Thomas Holdich, in his „Boundaries in Europe and the Near East" p. 84, writes: „Bulgaria undoubtedly had a justifiable grievance" and referring to her adherence to the Central Powers he adds: „no other course would possibly have been expected of her". Mr. Nicolson in contrast with another leading man of letters, Mr. Harold Spender, who in his „Cauldron of Europe" speaks of „the community of characteristics which draws Briton and Bulgar together", is far from ascribing as Mr. Nicolson does, treachery and perfidy to the Bulgarians. This is nothing short of slander, for among Balkan peoples, it is the Bulgarians who possess the most developed sense of fairness, and it may be asserted that it was the Serbian disregard of solemnly assumed pledges which aroused the righteous indignation of the Bulgarians in 1913 and made possible the fratricidal second Balkan war. To attribute it to mere treachery is a gross travesty of truth, as is that of accusing Bulgarians of perfidy for siding with the Germans in 1915. Bulgaria was a free factor, bound by no Treaty as were Greece and Rumania. The former was bound by Treaty to succour Serbia and yet she left her ally in the lurch, while Rumania was attached to the Central Powers by an Alliance which was valid until 1920, yet she treated it as a scrap of paper. Prof. Harry N. Howard Norman in his „The Partition of Turkey", p. 176, does not hesitate to denounce Rumania's disloyalty as follows:

728 „The formal assurances which Bratianu and King Ferdinan gave to the Central Powers only two days before they entered th lists against them are a worse blot on the Rumanian scutcheon tha their exaggerated claims to the Banat and the Tisza frontier".

Why then distort events and impute treachery and perfidy to Bulgaria, when these charges should be levelled rather at her neighbours? Is it in order to obscure public discernement and justify an altogether indefensible verdict, which Mr. Nicolson contributed in bringing about? The undisguised truth is that in dismembering Bulgaria at Neuilly, not only did we commit a crying injustice at the expense of the Bulgarian people, but we went out ot our way and recompensed Greece and Rumania, both of whom manifested in their behaviour during the World War, a greater disregard for solemn compacts than Bulgaria.

It is clear that if Bulgaria was deprived of Western Thrace and of her free access to the Aegean it was merely to placate M, Venizelos. Lieut. Colonel the Hon. H. D. Napier relates (op. cit. p. 243) how he remonstrated with Mr. Philip Kerr, Mr. Lloyd George's secretary, over the threatening exclusion of Bulgaria from the Aegean and how Mr. Kerr justified himself by replying that:

„M. Venizelos had done more that any single person to further Entente action in the Near East during the war, and intimated that whatever he asked for must be granted". [1]

[1] Mr Robert Lansing in his "The Big Four & Others at the Peace Conference" p. 148 writes: "the American position was frankly adverse to the Greek claims, not because of any unfriendliness for Greece or of friendliness for her enemies, but because the cession of areas inhabited by large hostile populations creates conditions which threaten the future peace of the world... Except for the personal influence of M. Venizelos. I am convinced that the extention of Greek sovereignty could not have been so great as it was under the treaties. What he asked was granted because *he* asked it". Obviously, if the personal factor was allowed to play such a prominent part, principles did not weigh heavy in the balance,

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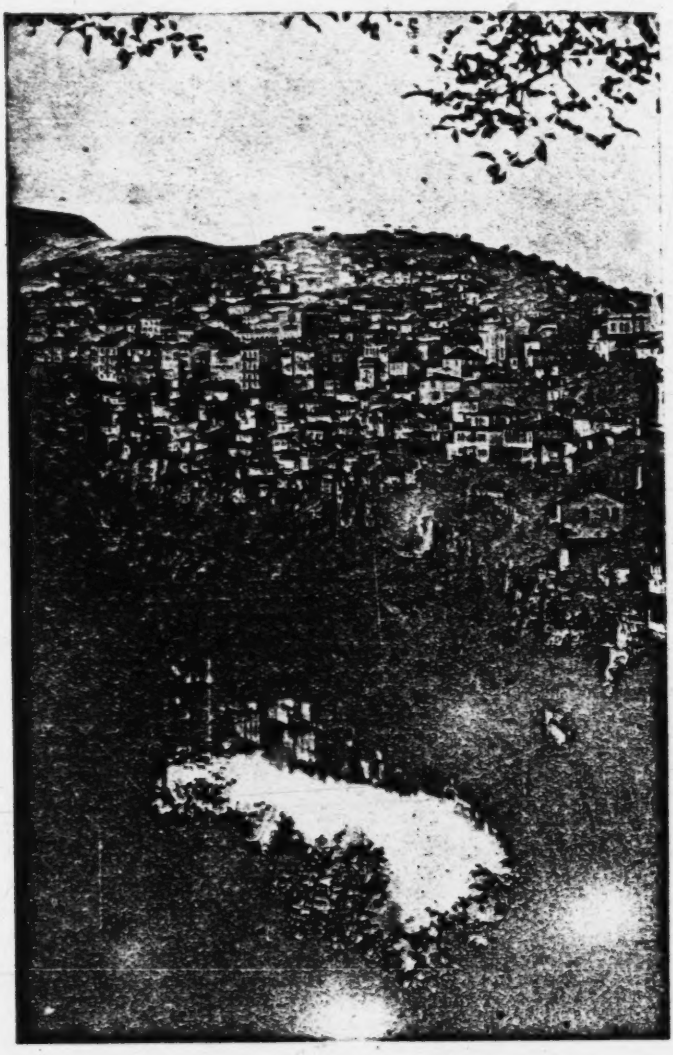

TIRNOVO AND THE RIVER YANTRA

[facing p.433]

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728 A singularly lame justification. For if there was a man who made possible Bulgaria's adherence to the Central Powers that person was Venizelos. He had issued orders for the coaling of the Goeben and the Breslau which enabled these German ships of war to escape pursuit and arrive safely at Constantinople.[1]

This secured the mastery of the Black Sea to Turkey and removed the threat of a Russian descent on the Bulgarian coast, which constituted the strongest deterrent to a Bulgarian attack on Serbia. Sir Basil Thompson published in his book a facsimile of M. Venizelos' autograph order and adds that it brought Turkey into the war against the Allies. We must agree with Mr. Kerr that no single person stimulated the Entente to such intense action in the Near East as M. Venizelos, but all these sacrifices and efforts would probably have been avoided but for that mischievous order of his. Those who are so ecstatic about this supremely clever man had better consult M. Frangulis' richly documented work „la Gréce et la Crise Mondiale", or Cosmin's „L'Entente et la Gréce pendant la Grande Guerre", 1914-1917, or a more recent book by S. Cosmetatos, entitled „The Tragedy of Greece", in which its author has effectively proceeded to the debunking of the Cretan Statesman.[2] Assuredly, and setting all morality

[1] Cf. Sir Basil Thomson's „The Allied Secret Service in Greece" p. 39.

[2] The following incident related in the latter book (p. 305) is sufficient to prove that M. Venizelos was a narrow-minded partisan rather than a Patriot. „The offensive against Kemal in June 1920 was singularly fortunate. The Greek troops advanced rapidly. They were on the point of dealing the enemy a decisive blow when France and Italy alarmed at their success. demanded from Venizelos, on penalty of withdrawing their mandate, the immediate suspension of military operations. The purpose of the demand was to save Turkey, for the partition of Turkey constituted according to the *Temps*, a diminution of the French estate in the East. Venizelos, instead of simply considering his country's interest and ridding it for ever of the Kemalist peril by sacrificing himself, if necessary, preferred to bow to the wishes of the French, whose help was indispensable to him in the civil conflict in Greece".

728 aside. it was not worth while inflicting a wrong on Bulgaria in order to recompense M. Venizelos for his disputable services to the Allied cause, for if all of them could be assessed at their true value it would be found that the debit side of the account somewhat exceeds the credit one.

The amputation of Western Thrace from Bulgaria was apparently dictated by purely mercenary considerations. Venizelos must have secured French support in exchange for the aid of a few Greek brigades at Odessa. Mr. Nicolson (op. cit. p. 260) notes in his diary February 9, 1919:

„The Italians are really determined to a separate deal with Greece by which they will obtain for their Albanian protectorate the Greek districts in the south, thereby covering the Corfu Channel. The Americans are determined not to accept this deal which to them savours of the Congress of Vienna. As regards Thrace they are still pro-Bulgar".

We may be allowed to presume that the „deal" referred to was the acceptence by Greece of the Italian point of view in Albania against Italian support for the Greek claim to Western Thrace, for diplomats excel in such underhand transactions One wonders what were the considerations which made British politicians dispose so generously of Bulgarian teritory at the time. Mr. Nicolson speaks of *his* „Arda line", (op. cit. p. 272) so that he wanted to foist on the Greeks more territory than they eventually got. His own appreciation of the manner in which his chiefs were attending to their work is illuminating:

„It is appalling that these ignorant and irresponsible men should be cutting Asia Minor to bits as if they were dividing a cake. And with no one there except me, who incidentally have nothing whatsoever to do with Asia Minor. Isn't it terrible, the happiness of millions being decided in that way, while for the last two months we were praying 'and begging the Council to give us time to work out a scheme". (op. cit. p. 337).

It is with such levity that supreme decisions, involving the future destiny of whole peoples were taken. And all

this triviality, paltriness and inanity, wrapped up in diplomatic flummery, was presented to the deluded peoples as the quintessence of the wisdom of the denizens of the new Olympus. Secrosanct covenants, indeed, before which the nations should kneel for all eternity![1] 728

[1] The disreputable methods used at the Peace Conference make revolting reading. To wit, the mean manoeuvres employed to defraud the Italians of their promised share in Asia Minor as revealed in Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson's Diary, Vol. II. pp. 189 191, — „Lloyd George got hold of me and Venizelos and told us the three Frocks (President Wilson, Clemenceau. & Lloyd George) had just decided to put the Greeks into Smyrna at once. . . and they are not going to tell either Italy or Turkey until the whole thing is well on the way. . . I begged Lloyd George to tell the Italians. I told him that nobody could understand our not telling one of our greatest Allies, and that no one could defend the three Frocks having secret meetings to carry out this coup. . . What rotten behaviour to a friend and Ally".

Another unedifying chapter is that of the sordid Franco British wranglings over Arabia and the oil fields of Mossoul which estranged the two allies and made them wage a war by proxy, using the Turks and Greeks as such. Even Mr. Nicolson in his latest book „Curzon", p. 104, admits: „that the British Government had drifted over the Arab question into a position which was very false indeed". This initial disloyalty led France to make light of her commitments to her Ally and treat her with the same disregard as she had experienced. The pan-Arabic agitation of some British circles and their intrigues against the French in Syria still continue, as has been revealed in P. Coblentz' „The silence of Sarrail," pp. 250—1. France was not slow in responding by committing as big a perfidy. Mr. E. H. Bierstadt in his „The Great Betrayal„ writes: „France in handing Cilicia to Turkey did not even consult her allies though she held this territory under a mandate from the League of Nations. She betrayed her trust for the sake of economic gain and then she herself was betrayed". As for the pretended humanitarianism which actuated our dealings with regard to the Arabs, Mr. Alexander Powell in his book „The Struggle for Power in Moslem Asia," says: »The people of Mesopotamia were tricked and deceived from the very beginning and forced to accept as their King an alien, belonging to another creed etc".

Mr. Oliver Baldwin, the son of our Prime Minister, in his

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

728 The Americans who are at a distance which permits them to judge dispassionately of our shabby squabbles, and who desired above all to establish an enduring foundation for the pacification of Europe, had an altogether different conception as to the treatment which should have been meted out to Bulgaria. The „Outline of a Tentative Report", prepared by the American experts under Prof. Munro, discloses that not only did they insist on the holding of a plebiscite in Macedonia, but also recommended that both Western Thrace and Southern Dobrudja should be left to Bulgaria, while her southeastern frontier should be extended to the Midia-Enos line. When they could not carry their point with regard to Western Thrace, they insisted on this region being made into an autonomous province, like the Saar, or Dantsig, and this is the reason why in the Treaty of Neuilly. Section III art. 48, Bulgaria

book „The Questing Beast" writes thus about our activities in the Near East: „We were so busy at the Versailles Conference that we forgot all about Turkey, and when it was obvious what had happened we told the Armenians to attack them (the Turks) from the east, and the Greeks from the west. Certain of our support, these two nations did so with disastrous consequences... To some it may now be clear why the phrase „Albion perfide", was coined... General Agha Petros, commander-in-chief of the Assyro-Chaldeans in 1915 had been promised independence for his country by the British, French and Russians on condition he threw in his lot with the Allies instead of the Turks. This he did, and the result is that to-day he has been exiled by the British from his own country, denied repayment of money owed to him by the British Government, etc". After these innumerable examples of chicanery on the part of the supercilious „Kulturträger", to pick out the Bulgarians, who have not yet mastered the A. B. C. of diplomatic astuteness and craftiness, and to express contempt for them on account of their alleged „perfidy and treachery", is nothing else but another instance of brazen-faced, flippant swagger. Obviously, Prof. Gilbert Murray was right when he stated that: The greatest distinguishing characteristic of our modern civilisation was its hypocricy" and this applies more to the West than to the semi-primitive Balkan communities.

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was asked to renounce in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights and title to this territory. Later when the Americans had departed from the Peace Conference and in contravention to the decision taken in common, the Entente decided in April 1920, at San Remo, to transfer Western Thrace to Greece. This was a clear breach of the pledges given both to the Americans and to Bulgaria and was not warranted by any ethnological considerations whatever, for according to the census taken under the supervision of the French, who were in occupation prior to the handing over of the territory to Greece, its population comprised: 69,155 Bulgarians, 11,739 Pomaks or Bulgarian Mohammedans, 73 220 Turks, 51,706 Greeks, 3000 Jews, 1,969 Armenians and 1,834 Gipsies. It should be noted that among the 51,706 Greeks there must have been a large percentage of Bulgarian patriarchists, who owing to their allegiance to the Greek Partiarchate, could, with the latitude inherent in elastic consciences be made to figure as Greeks. Indeed, according to the Bulgarian census taken during the world war, the Bulgarian Patriarchists figure as 30,374, while the Greeks as only 9,600.

Though by the Salonica Armistice, Bulgaria was to retain the Strumitsa valley, yet at Neuilly she was forced to cede it to Serbia, with certain other regions in Western Bulgaria, of a total area of 2,566 sq. klm. with a population of 91,888 which Serbia claimed for strategic reasons, a most flimsy pretence, since Bulgaria had been completely disarmed and rendered defenceless. Most of this territory is cut off from Serbia by inaccessible mountains and has its natural outlets in Bulgaria from which it has been severed, to the immense suffering of the local population, which has been cut off from its markets.

According to the secret clauses of the Salonica convention Bulgarian troops were assigned certain definite

728 aims in view of an eventual co-operation with the Entente troops. M. Poincaré in his Memoirs (p. 374) related a conversation he had with Clemenceau in 1918 in which reference was made to three Bulgarian divisions and to Greece's unwillingness to make use of them. M. Poincaré concluded with the remark: „Pour y reussir, il ne faut pas laisser les Bulgares se mêler à notre expédition contre la Turquie". Bulgaria was to be treated as a benevolent neutral and even as a prospective ally. Had these views prevailed, both Great Britain and Greece could have reckoned on Bulgarian support. Mr. Lloyd George would not have then had to suffer the fiasco of his Grecian policy, nor Greece to rue the Asia Minor disaster.

It was indeed a great pity that the example set by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman towards the Boers was not followed anew towards the Bulgarians. Both Mr. Lloyd George and M. Venizelos would have found out that there is some fundamental truth in the golden old maxim „οὐδέν γὰρ οὕτω μεγαλοφροσύνης ποιητικόν". Or in Burke's words, „Magnanimity is not seldom the truest wisdom". Had it been applied, Great Britain would not have had to abandon the dominant position she occupied at the Straits which had cost her so much blood and treasure to acquire and she would not be to day on sufferance at Mossoul, the precarious hold on which she owes entirely to the oportune dispatch of a few Italian brigades to Rhodes by Signor Mussolini at the time Mossoul's fate was hanging in the balance.

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THE AGRARIAN REGIME

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Stambuliiski on his return from Neuilly was confronted with a serious situation. The Opposition parties at the end of December 1919 organised demonstrations against the Government, and certain parties fomented a general strike of the railway and telegraph officials which paralysed the transport service for two months. In order to curtail this agitation against his Government, Stambuliiski proceeded to dissolve the Chamber though its mandate had not yet lapsed and ordained new elections to be held on March 28. In spite of the intimidation and violence used by Government agents, only 38 % of the votes cast were in favour of the Agrarians, and in order to obtain a fictitious majority in the new Chamber, the Government had to have recourse to the device of invalidating the election of certain Opposition deputies, but even this expedient only secured them a majority of two. The Agrarians who had already arraigned the members the Radoslavov Cabinet before a State Court for declaring war without consulting the Sobranye, and for their corrupt practices during their tenure of office, now decided to put out of action the rest of the Bourgeois parties. In order to impart an air of popularity to the prosecution a referendum was instituted as to whether the members of the Gueshov, Danev, and Malinov-Kosturkov Cabinets should be indicted or not, the former two for embarking on the Balkan Wars, and the last for not concluding a separate peace in time. This was an altogether arbitrary and unconstitutional procedure. The Balkan Alliance had been applauded at the time of its conclusion in the Sobranye by all, save M. Sakuzov, the Socialist leader, while the report of the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry clearly indicated that the responsibility for the second Balkan War weighed mainly on Tsar Ferdinand

661 who issued the order to attack Bulgaria's quandam allies on June 29, 1913. As for the accusation brought against the Malinov-Kosturkov Ministry, it was simply preposterous, for they had not assumed office for the express purpose of concluding a separate peace, and no one had entrusted them with such a mandate. This last indictement did not lack a certain gusto, for some of the Agrarian Ministers in power had themselves written in 1917 to the Commander-in-chief advocating the continuation of the struggle on the side of Germany. Stambuliiski had recourse to the referendum in order to throw all blame for prosecuting his adversaries on the people, by pretending that the masses demanded their punishment. He further made it known that those electoral constituencies which would vote for the acquittal of these politicians would alone have to defray the costs of reparations imposed on Bulgaria by the Entente, and this naturally influenced the electorate to vote to the extent of two-thirds in favour of the ex-Ministers being tried for High Treason. As a consequence, the leaders of the Opposition were arrested in September 1922 and thrown into the Shumen prison. where they were confined under miserable conditions. Most of the legislation passed by the Agrarians, aimed at ruining or despoiling their political adversaries, and the details revealed by a perusal of the minutes of the Sobranye disclose an unparalleled brutality without the slightest trace of idealism to temper or redeem it, as is wont in the case of certain fanatical doctrinaires of certain political faiths, of whom it may at least be pleaded in extenuation that their discernment has been obscured by their extreme devotion to their creeds. It is true that the peasantry had been shamefully exploited by the urban classes, which had so far battened on their toil, but the remedy of this evil was not the committal of a greater and worse wrong, that of inflaming the lowest passions of the peasantry and letting them loose on the urban classes.

THE AGRARIAN REGIME

As an example of the confiscatory legislation enacted 661
the law allowing the State and Municipal bodies to expropriate any building may be cited. The law was made use of by the Agrarians to seize the property of their adversaries and to ruin them. Prof. Stainov, speaking in the Sobranye on March 17, 1924 gave details of a building in Gabrovo fetching an annual rent of 120,000 leva, which had been expropriated for merely 68,000, though the State immediately insured it for 500,000. An hotel at Shumen which had cost 8 millions had been expropriated for 370,000 leva, though the owners had been told that if they paid over 500,000 leva to the then Minister of the Interior (Al. Dimitrov,) the expropriation order would be rescinded. For the sake of an Agrarian partisan any building could be expropriated, concluded M. Stainov. The crowning injustice of this confiscatory measure was that a mortgage on such an expropriated building had still to be paid off by the original owner, as was explained by M. Madjarov in the same sitting of the Chamber. In fact, Agrarian deputies, such as Duparinov and Thomas Veltchev had unequivocally declared in the Sobranye: „The time has come for us to take from the rich whatever thay have, after they had lived for forty years on the sweat of the people". But robbery and spoliation was nothing in the face of the campaign of organised assassination and the deliberate policy of extermination of their adversaries pursued by the Agrarians. The application of such unjust laws and the disrespect of the rights of property they entailed, fostered communism. At the last elections held by the Agrarians in 1921, when the election of Communists was not hindered, the latter secured 21 % of the total poll, coming second after the Agrarians, who obtained 38 % of the total votes cast. The success of the Communists was remarkable in comparison with that of the Agrarians, for the latter held power, and this implies a great access of neutral votes.

661 In Bulgaria a considerable number of constituencies invariably return Government nominees, such electoral divisions being mainly composed of Moslem or Jewish electors, whose chief aim is to secure a representative enjoying the Government's goodwill. For favouritism is so deep-seated in the State organism that an electoral district lacking a political intercessor can have little hope of receiving help from the State. The constituencies voting invariably for the Government are collectively designated by a very appropriate term, that of „the Government's dowry." If we deduct the number of votes representing the „dowry" from the percentage accruing to the Agrarians, it would probably be found that the Communists polled more votes than the Government.

When in prison, Stambuliski had made the acquaintance of a certain Prudkin, whom he nominated as police prefect of Sofia. Prudkin set about to prepare outrages and plots in order to do away with the bourgeois politicians. The worst plot was that of the attempted blowing up of the Odeon theatre in Sofia, on March 3, 1920, when a Russian journalist intended to lecture, and at which it was known that Gueshov, Malinov, Liaptchev, T. Todorov and Burov would be present. The bombs exploded prematurely before the arrival of the ex-Ministers and only innocent people were killed and wounded and the Sobranye on April 23, 1926 had to vote pensions to some of the relatives of the victims. Prudkin had likewise attempted to blow up railway bridges, certain railway sidings, and to destroy the electric light installation of Sofia at the time of the big railway strike early in 1920, in order to compromise the strikers and justify the carrying out of retaliatory measures by the Agrarian Government He likewise set bombs to explode at two churches in Sofia as was revealed in the Sobranye on June 26, 1924. Minister Pechev in his „Historical Events and Actors", p. 719 records that when

he was thrown into prison he came to know several criminals whom the Agrarians employed at times to murder or terrorise their political adversaries. The Agrarians would recompense them by granting them temporarily freedom and monetary gifts, but later they always arrested and executed them lest they should divulge the crimes they had been incited to commit. The Agrarians sought equally to circumcribe the influence of the Macedonians and accordingly had deputy Meltsankov and the Voivod Kotsanski assassinated, in retaliation for which the Agrarian Minister Al. Dimitrov was murdered on October 22, 1921. The late Minister Pechev also accused them of organising the murder of Alexander Grecov, the editor of the *Slovo*, and of a judge, for criticising and denouncing their crimes (op. cit. p. 377) and this was confirmed in the Sobranye by deputy G. Vassilev, May 26, 1924.

The Agrarian Ministers were nothing else but a gang of confirmed criminals ready to commit any crime. They quarrelled once among themselves and Al. Dimitrov, Stambuliiski and Stoyanov decided to assassinate their colleagues Manolov and Tomov. They set hired assassins to way-lay them while they were driving back from the mineral-bath establishment of Bankia. The assassins however, fired on the wrong car, and an innocent woman was killed instead. (Parliamentary minutes, June 26, 1924).

Having no partisans among the State functionaries they set about to nominate a vast number of new public servants wholly unfit for such an occupation and recruited from among the riff-raff of the population after offering their allegiance to the Agrarian organisation. Stambuliiski, not being oversure about the army set about organising an armed force recruited from among the peasantry. These so-called Orange guards were called out to oppose the Macedonians who had seized Kustendil on December 1922, for the purpose of dealing stern justice to some traitors

661 to their cause. The Macedonians after carrying out their aim, dispersed within two days, the Orange guards, however, took advantage to plunder shops at Mezdra, Tserven-Breg and Sofia, and subsequently the Sobranye had to vote indemnities for the sufferers. Dr Rumenov described in the Sobranye on May 28. 1924, how the staff of the Alexandrovska hospital in Sofia, composed at the time mainly of Agrarian partisans, joined the pillaging bands and how they brought the loot to the hospital to divide it among themselves. Excepting those who derived directly some benefits from the spoils of office, all felt a profound aversion for the system introduced by Stambuliiski. Not only the urban classes, but even a section of the peasantry, the more independently minded and those less addicted to partisanship felt they had enough of it as may be inferred from the following resolution passed at the general congress of the Socialist party held in Sofia on September 1922.

"All labouring people feel crushed by the growing cost of living due to the remissness of the authorities who do nothing to check speculation. The Government is sunk in vice, crime and peculation and has provoked the aversion of all classes and professions. Stambuliiski's government represents the predatory instincts of an uncultured band of corrupt office seekers, bribed renegades and amnestied criminals. In order to maintain itself in power, the government is decided to resort to blood and fire. in order to crush every national movement, etc.

The Sofia population declares that it will continue its struggle and will not hesitate to sacrifice everything until this Government is overthrown".

Stambuliiski had a domineering and brutal temperament which brooked no opposition. He persecuted all outside the Communists, whom he called his "faithful hounds"; the Church, the army, the Macedonians, the political parties, the intellectuals and the mercantile classes. He owed his strength to his ability to pander to the lowest instincts of the peasantry and inflame them against the intellectuals and

the officials, whom he denounced as social parasites. He 661
hated and envied all who were his betters; he refused the admission of intellectuals to the Agrarian party "because they could at a certain moment abandon it and go elsewhere", "we shall guard our union from that demoralising element, the barrister profession". Stambuliiski who had been supported by his wife while studying had a very poor opinion of the fair sex. He affirmed that:

"Marriage, woman and family are thraldom to man: a mass of heroes succumbs daily owing to their being led astray by woman, who may be likened to a veritable floating mine placed in the stream of life".

He earnestly believed that Europe had only two courses to follow, either to adopt Bolshevism or copy Agrarian Bulgaria. His self-complacency had apparently no bounds since he stated that:

„My profound belief is that the Bulgarian peasantry with its sane spirit of reform will set an example to great nations, which though they may possess a great economic culture are nevertheless very backward in political conciousness".

He certainly showed signs of unbalanced judgment in 661
his last years. He proceeded to subsidise an Agrarian 648
party newspaper in Bucarest, giving thereby offence to the Rumanian Government. He dispatched a certain Groskov to conduct secret pourparlers with Angora, arousing the suspicion of the British Government, which had not yet settled its differences with Kemalist Turkey; nominated relatives and acquaintances to the post of Ministers abroad who were utterly unfit for the missions entrusted to them etc. The one sensible idea he seemed to have at heart was that of working for a close understanding whith Yugoslavia, but even this may have had an interested motive, for frindship with this country was incompatible with fraternisation with the Communists, and Stambuliiski had often declared that if he were ever forced to yield up

661 the reins of power he would only hand them over to the
648 Communists, „my faithful hounds", as he aptly styled them. This open flirtation with the Soviets estranged him from the more sensible leaders of the Green international and this prevented him from heading this movement. When the Bolsheviki were on the outskirts of Warsaw in the summer of 1920, he became so elated at their success as to remark to a group of intimate friends that it would not be long before he would administer to the Entente the lesson it deserved. In April 1923 it became known that he contemplated celebrating his jubilee on August 30, when an extraordinary congress of the Agrarian Union was to be convoked for the purpose. In May he declared that he was about to convene an extraordinary Sobranye for the purpose of altering the Constitution and proclaiming a republic. He withdrew secretly 100 million leva from the Bulgarian National Bank for the pretended purpose of bribing the members of the Reparation Commission at Sofia and obtaining their consent. The threat of a repu-
669 blican move was taken advantage of by Stambuliiski's numerous opponents to persuade Tsar Boris to give his consent to the overthrow of his too domineering Prime Minister, and on June 9, 1923, the Agrarian regime was unexpectedly overthrown, after Tsankov, Smilov and Kazazov had obtained from Tsar Boris the signature of the decrees appointing the new Government, (Cf. Gr. Tsesmedjiev's", Rays of light on the mystery of the conspiracy").

No one was averse to this consummation, and even foreign governments made it known that they would acquiesce in this move owing to the deplorable effects the Agrarian regime was having on such foreign capital as was invested in Bulgaria as well as on the public finances of the country. In fact after the fall of the regime, criminal proceedings were instituted against practically all the members of the Agrarian Government, who were indicted for

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appropriating public funds, issuing false documents and violating the Constitution. The minutes of the Sobranye sittings of July 1924 are full of details about the malpractices committed by the Agrarian regime. When the budget for 1924 came up for discussion, the Minister of Finance, M. Peter Todorov, announced that 70 million leva had been found in Stambuliiski's home, but that Stambuliiski must have appropriated at least 120 millions. That there had been an item of 6 million gold francs in the budget of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, destined for propaganda, (this will explain the dithyrambic peans sung by foreign journalists on the activities of these *sui-generis* Agrarian reformers) and what of this sum was not spent abroad was divided up among the Ministers. It was stated that Stambuliiski was shot down on June 14 while trying to flee from his capturers. Minister Pechev in his „Historical Events and Actors", relates that he was cut down in his own vineyard where he was buried. In order that his corpse might not be found it was subsequently removed and hidden on the banks of the Maritsa, from which hiding place his father was allowed later to fetch it and bury it at the village of Tsangarly.

Stambuliiski had attempted to oppose the coup d'état According to the version of deputy S.Vassilev, he rallied some peasants to his support and marched at their head to seize the town of Tatar-Pazardjik where regular troops easily overwhelmed him, for most of the peasantry made common cause with the army and turned against him. He was being convoyed to Sofia and while traversing his village was killed in a fray provoked by the villagers, but it is not known whether they had sought to kill or to liberate him. The only other place where the Agrarians displayed some resistance was at Pleven, under the leadership of Obov, a colleague of Stambuliiski. A few weeks previously, so sure was the latter of his posi-

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669 tion that he had declared: „The Agrarian Union will govern Bulgaria for at least forty years more".

It must not be thought that Stambuliiski remained to the last the favourite of the peasantry. His popularity was on the wane. The relative freedom from taxation enjoyed by the rural masses under his regime was offset by the arbitrary exactions of his local henchmen. What kept him in power so long was his reckless appeals to the prejudices of the ignorant rural masses and his reiterated bombastic assurances that they were predestined to break up and replace the collapsing urban culture through the Green International, (the international peasant federation).

RECENT HISTORY: 1923—1935

The coup d'etat of June 9 1923 was brought about by a handful of patriots supported by the army with the object of restoring the political liberties of the population which had been suppressed by the Agrarians, and one of the first acts of the new Government, presided over by Prof. Alexander Tsankov, was to release all the incarcerated politicians from their prison at Shumen. The Tsankov Government believed that it could achieve the pacification of the country by restoring constitutional methods and on its advent to power, it went out of its way in endeavouring to govern according to prescribed parliamentary forms. For this reason, it wasted most of its energy in attempting to fuse under its sponsorship the various political parties into one and thus obtain an imposing majority in the new Chamber. It overlooked however, one essential fact, namely that the masses after having tasted power would no longer allow themselves to be governed by a small minority, such as the urban po-

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pulation, however well intentioned the latter might be. The rural masses had got drunk on the spoils of office and were decided not to renounce such advantages as detention of power conferred on them. Democratic government was no longer possible in Bulgaria, now that the masses had become conscious of their power, except in the form of a semi-Bolshevik dictature as had just been experienced, (the writer does not wish to cast a slur on the Russians by comparing them to the Bulgarian Agrarians, for the former are certainly idealists and therefore worthy of respect even if we do not share all their views), or in that of a Communist commonwealth. Had Tsankov attempted to govern as a dictator, and proclaimed martial Law at the time of his advent to power he would have discouraged both Agrarians and their friends and allies, the Communists, from lifting their heads; but by reiterating as he did, his devotion to constitutionalism he simply incited Agrarians and Communists to regain office.

Tsankov and his colleagues among whom the most prominent were the Radical Peter Todorov, Minister of Finance, and the Socialist D. Kazazov, Minister of Railways, were still convinced devotees of democratic forms. They had not yet drawn the logical inferences from recent events which had effectively demonstrated the dangers inherent in the exercise of power by an untutored democracy and they had evidently not heard of the salutary counsel Sir Norman Angell had recently dispensed, namely that: „We may hope to make democracy safe if we face squarely the fact that the voice of the people is usually the voice of Satan."

If Democracy were to be maintained in an undiluted form, the Agrarians and Communists forming the vast majority of the people. had every title to the privileges of office, and consequently Tsankov and his supporters were simply wasting their time in a vain attempt to clothe them-

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669 selves in the garb of legality. So sure were the Communists of securing with the support of the Agrarians an overwhelming majority at the new elections which had been fixed to take place in November, that Vasil Kolarov, the secretary of the Moscow International, and a Bulgarian by birth, who had been dispatched by Zinoviev to stir up a revolution in Bulgaria, on the fall of the Agrarian regime disregarded these orders, for Bulgarian Communists convinced him that the eventual triumph of the social revolution in Bulgaria was assured of itself. The growing agitation of the Communists, finally alarmed the Tsankov Government and induced it to arrest the leaders, and the Communists fearing they would thereby be seriously handicapped in the approaching electoral struggle decided to revolt in September 1923. The movement miscarried because the bulk of industrial workers as well as its intellectual urban leaders refused to rise[1] and only the rural teachers, who were fanatical devotees of Communism and who had succeeded in imparting their convictions to the Agrarian masses amongst whom they moved, answered the call. These deluded idealists were convinced that the Soviet army would come to their help and in heroic abnegation, worthy of a better cause, placed themselves at the

[1] Mr. Iordan Tabakov, who has written some very enlightening books on social questions does not entertain a very high opinion of the professional political leaders of the Communist party. According to him, most of the subsidies they received from the Soviets they used for building houses for themselves. As for the rank and file, their main incentive was plunder. In September 1923 the Communist bands which went to attack the town of Lom and were dispersed, abandoned in their flight a big quantity of bags which they had brought with them in order to carry away loot. (Cf. „Causes of Social Chaos in Bulgaria.") This proves convincingly that these Bulgarian candidates for Communism are far from being adjusted to it, and that consequently they are not fit for any less chaotic social order than our own.

head of youthful peasant converts and set about capturing municipalities, evicting the mayors and proclaiming the commune in anticipation of the advent of the Russians who never came. Considerable damage was caused and some 3,000 were killed in this outbreak. Some 2,500 of those who participated in these risings had fled into Yugoslavia and persisted in carrying on an active agitation against the Tsankov Government which was continually provoked by an underhand campaign conducted by both Agrarians and Communists. M. Malinov, who was the leader of the legal Opposition in the Sobranye, far from criticising Tsankov for the measures he took to repress this agitation, on the contrary approved them. Speaking in the Sobranye on September 10, 1924 about a manifesto circulated by the Communists and Agrarians in which a new insurrection to be followed by an irruption of the political refugees in Yugoslavia was being preached, he affirmed that this was a provocation and a challenge which no Government could allow to pass unheeded and that it ought to be taken up and drastically dealt with. The Socialist leader Sakuzov who followed, fully agreed with Malinov and admitted that the policy of repression adopted by the Government had been forced upon it by the Agrarians.

The Government was now giving all its attention to the merging of all the political parties into one, that of the Democratic Entente. But in so doing they overlooked the necessity of sifting the wheat from the chaff and allowed the incorporation in the newly created political amalgam, of compromised politicians who prevented it from coalescing into a workable entity, and whose presence moreover, obstructed the inclusion of a certain number of more idealistically disposed politicians who refused to co-operate with these discredited individuals. As a result, the much-striven after unity was only temporarily and partially attained. The Democratic, Radical, and Socialist parties continued to

665 subsist, though, in a weakened form, their individuality having been sucked out of them as several of their members transferred their allegiance to the Democratic Entente, into which other political parties with a worse record allowed themselves to be wholly absorbed as they had little chance of surviving as distinct entities. This effort of Tsankov to rejuvenate parliamentarism by creating a new political force miscarried. Since it only succeeded in forming a desiccated body without a soul which was nothing else save a combination of interests and appetites. It dealt a fatal blow to the existing democratic forces by undermining the stability of such existing political parties as the Democrats, Radicals and Socialists, which it had taken half a century of efforts to develop, and which, on the whole, were promising political forces. The Government dissolved the Communist party in 1924 and declared it illegal, forcing thereby its activities into underground channels. Both Agrarians and Communists were now openly receiving subsidies from Yugoslavia and they started a campaign against the Macedonian organisation, assassinating its famous leader, Todor Alexandrov, on August, 1924. Retaliatory murders followed and prominent Communists were executed by the Macedonians. The Communisst, and Agrarians constituted a common front and organised brigand bands which terrorised the country, amply supplied with arms and money from Russia and Yugoslavia. The official organ of the Agrarians, the *Zemledelsko Zname*, which was now being published in Yugoslavia early in June began inserting incendiary articles foretelling the near outbreak of a revolution in Bulgaria and inviting Tsar Boris to leave the country. The police was helpless to put a stop to the prevailing terrorism, the intensity of which may be gauged by General Russev's, (The Minister of the Interior) declaration in the Sobranye on June 17, 1924: „I walk in the streets of Sofia with the same feeling

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as when I was visiting the trenches during the war". Between October 1923 and the end of April 1925 there had been thirty two armed incursions into Bulgaria by the emigrant Agrarians in Yugoslavia. Nevertheless the Cabinet in spite of all this provocation did not apply any extraordinary repressive measures and it was only after the attempt on the life of Tsar Boris and the blowing up of the cathedral in which the whole Cabinet, the officer corps and prominent members of Sofia society were present on April 16, 1925, for the funeral of a general who had been murdered by Communists, (in which outrage 128 were killed and several hundred wounded) that martial law was proclaimed and the Government proceeded to deal with a heavy hand with its opponents. But the revolt which followed can hardly be ascribed to the belated severity of the Tsankov Government, for the Agrarians had not ceased to declare the imminence of an outbreak aiming at the overthrow of the Government. The revolt was ruthlessly quelled and unwonted violence shown on both sides; for a few months a veritable reign of terror prevailed. It is computed that over 20,000 were killed and serious destruction to property was inflicted. But no Government could have done otherwise after the provocation it had received, and the incitements to vengeance on the part of the relatives of the victims of the outrage of April 16, with which it was besieged. Taking advantage of the unrest which obtained, the Greek dictator Pangalos seized the occasion to invade distraught Bulgaria hoping to win thereby easy laurels and enhance his prestige. Fortunately the League of Nations supported by the Great Powers rushed in to stamp out a new conflagration and not only forced Pangalos to beat a hasty retreat but made him disburse an indemnity of 30,000,000 leva for the damage caused by his troops in the Petritch district.[1]

[1] Had the League intervened in the conflict which arose between Italy and Greece in 1923 and prevented the Italian bombard-

648 On the whole Tsankov had been faced with an extremely heavy task and although supported by one of the most intelligent Chambers Bulgaria had so far had, was not able to accomplish anything of importance His activities were absorbed in creating a new party, suppressing revolts, tracking down conspirators and finally he took to limiting political rights and freedom when all pretence of idealism disappeared. In the foreign field Tsankov was equally unfortunate, in the hope of renewing commercial relations with Turkey he concluded a Treaty which was ratified on October 18, 1925 by which Bulgaria secured certain privileges for her exports, but these advantages proved illusory, for when the Treaty expired a year later the Turks refused to renew it and in the meanwhile Bulgaria had agreed to an exchange of populations abandoning to Turkey, property belonging to her nationals, valued at 10 milliard leva, which the Turks never paid for, as is their wont. Tsankov likewise attempted to win the friendship of Yugoslavia by paying a personal visit to Belgrade, but was not successful, for his Agrarian opponents who were hand in glove with the Yugoslav Government poisoned the atmosphere against him and rendered the conclusion of such ties nugatory. This flirtation with Yugoslavia does not seem to have met with the approval of Court circles and suddenly Tsankov was relegated to the post of president of the Sobranye and replaced early in January 1926 by Liaptchev, supported by Burov and Mollov, all three members of the Democratic Entente. Tsankov had been unjustly accused of introducing a regime of White Terror in Bulgaria; those mostly responsiple for the brutalities which were certainly committed were his military supporters and advisers, General Vulkov, the Pa-

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000 ment of Corfu, General Pangalos would have certainly not formed the opinion that the League was a broken reed, and that in his turn he could bully disarmed Bulgaria.

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lace favourite, and General Russev, the Minister of the Interior. Impartial politicians in Bulgaria generally absolve Tsankov of this violence. Thus, M. Muchanov speaking in the Sobranye on April 1, 1926 stated: 661

„1924 and 1925 were not normal years. Never before had we such internal unrest and such fratricidal struggles in Bulgaria. I understand the mentality of those who were administering the country at the time. In many cases they carried out their duty in a worthy manner, but at many placed certain exaggerations occurred, but I personally, shall abstain from blaming the Minister of the Interior for these."

And the Radical leader Kosturkov, who was one of the most outspoken critics of the Tsankov administration equally admitted in the Sobranye on December 21, 1926: „The Tsankov Government had been provoked by the Agrarians and Communists and the blood it shed was in self-defence".

The advent of the Liaptchev administration coincided with the temporary exhaustion of the Agrarians and for some time relative tranquillity prevailed which permitted the Government to devote its attention to the pursuance of its financial programme and the raising of loans, which can hardly be said to have aided the country, as may be inferred from a perusal of the chapter devoted to the story of the League of Nation's loans.[1] 643

Another act by which this administration is likely to be remembered was the voting in 1929 of a large amnesty which included Radoslavov and Tontchev, rightly condemned by a State Court for violating the Constitution and facilitating Tsar Ferdinand's efforts to plunge Bulgaria into the war on the side of the Central Powers in opposition to the manifest desire of the people. The other colleagues of Radoslavov had already benefited from a previous amnesty, but public opinion at the time was utterly opposed to the inclusion in it of these two ex-Ministers. By granting an amnesty to these two discredited politicians who 643 697

[1] Cf. cat. 110, pp. 84–118 — Analyst]

643 had stopped at no crime in order to further their nefa-
697 rious designs, the Government dealt a heavy blow to the prestige of Justice and undermined among the people confidence in law and morality. The real aim of the Goverment in passing this measure was to emancipate itself from the threat of finding itself placed in a minority through the defection of its more idealistically minded supporters, who very often disapproved of its policy By winning over the partisans of Radoslavov by the grant of an amnesty to their leaders, the Government was hoping that it would ward off such a threat by eventually replacing their disgruntled followers by the Radoslavovists. Apparently the moral code of the trinity at the head of the government was not a very strict one as is manifest from the financial policy it foisted on the country and the liabilities it so lightheartedly assumed.

669 The commuting of punishments, and the granting of amnesties does not seem to have appeased either the Agrarians or the Communists, for towards the end of 1929 there was a distinct recrudescence in their activities. Armed bands penetrated from Yugoslavia and committed depredations and murders. A train was stopped and the passengers robbed, a number of judges were arrested and brutally shot near Sevlievo, the leader of the criminal band, responsible for these crimes, the notorious Dontso Uzunov, later took refuge in France, and though the Bulgarian Government applied for his extradition, this was refused on the pretext that the crime committed was of
661 a political character. The Government and its supporters paid little heed to the needs of the country, they were too intent on dividing among themselves the spoils of office. The booty was abundant, as it had been increased by the foreign loans recently concluded and there was enough for all their hungry followers. Millions were being showered upon prominent supporters of the Government

who had been appointed to arbitrate in various disputes with contractors of public works or to various sinecures. 661

The Socialist organ *Narod* in its issue of July 7,1931 gives some samples of the profligacy of the Liaptchev Cabinet:

„In Albania where there is one Bulgarian school, a special inspector has been sent with a monthly salary of 20,000 leva. A special delegation was sent to the Budapest mint in order to supervise and receive the silver coins ordered there. though these coins could have been easily controlled on their delivery here. Ministers Burov and Mollov have wasted millions of public money in their endless peregrinations abroad, Minister Mollov even had his decorations sent to Geneva with a special messenger in order to put them on at an official banquet etc".

Another newspaper decried the practice of granting 200 Swiss francs per day to Government delegates sent on missions abroad when delegates of other nations receive much less. (Americans were said to be paid $ 8, and Italians $ 12 per diem) Opposition newspapers daily filled their columns with details of the prevailing corruption among government circles and laid stress on the utter apathy of Liaptchev as to the consequences. The latter was reported to have said in justification: „Our foreign creditors will de obliged to come and save their investments in Bulgaria, and then they will put our finances right".

The governmental structure had for some time been shaken by internal convulsions and dangerous fissures were making themselves visible. That political amalgam, the Democratic Entente, was slowly disintegrating into its heterogeneous component parts. The Liaptchev Cabinet was never a popular one; at the legislative elections held in 1927, it received a total of 495,000 votes against 556,000 given to the Opposition parties, but succeeded in getting 163 deputies elected as against the 86 obtained by the Opposition, owing to the latter being disunited, and owing 666

666 to the majoritarian voting system being in use. There were only three districts in which it obtained clear majorities, the Rustchuk, Shumen and Plovdiv regions, in which large Moslem populations exist which invariably vote for the Government. In 1931 the mandate of the Chamber was expiring. Liaptchev felt that his Government needed new blood, and Malinov was approached and sounded as to an eventual co-operation. He demanded five ministerial portfolios. This was deemed too much. After protracted bargaining, Liaptchev was entrusted by Tsar Boris to supervise the new elections timed to be held on June 21, 1931, much to the annoyance of the general public which desired that a neutral, or coalition government, should be specially nominated to superintend this function in order that the national will might find expression and not be falsified by the usual electoral artifices and malpractices in vogue. The elections much to the surprise of all concerned, proved a success to the four Opposition parties which united to fight in common, namely the Agrarians, Democrats, Liberals and Radicals, their common lists secured the majority of the poll, the Democratic Entente was beaten, and made way for a government presided over by Malinov and later by Mushanov.

665 The advent of the new coalition government was hailed by all as a great triumph of the democratic forces and great hopes were raised. It was not fit, however, for team work and from the first it became evident that it was divided against itself by fundamental and unbridgeable divergences. The Democrats and Radicals though differing on the economic programme (the former favouring the maintenance of the existing high protective dues, the latter their revision, for the purpose of bringing prices down to the level of agricultural produce) could, had they been by themselves, have co-operated harmoniously and done much to restore order in the administration. In the eyes of the

more orthodox members of these two parties, the election pact concluded with the Agrarians and Liberals was looked at askance. There were even Radicals who seceded from their party rather than co-operate with the discredited Liberals, whose former leader was the abhorred Radoslavov. The views of the Agrarians on the now predominant economic questions coincided with those of the Radicals, while those of the Liberals were identical with the opinions of the Democrats. But there was another basic notion which radically separated Democrats and Radicals, from Agrarian and Liberals. The two former parties had a certain conception of their duties and at least made some efforts to govern decently and honestly, the latter two however, were out for loot and made no pretence about the aims which actuated them. The groups were too miscellaneous in origin, too self-seeking and rotten by private animosities and had neither the internal nor the external discipline required to make good their promises to the electorate. The post of Minister of Justice devolved on a Liberal and within a year there were grave complaints of his tampering with the course of Justice, formulated by the unions of judges, and by that of the legal profession. An Opposition deputy, M. Dumanov interpellated the government on December 22, 1932, and the scandals revealed were so grave, that the incriminated Minister was forced to resign. He was replaced by another Liberal, who refused to deviate from the line of conduct of his predecessor, and naturally, recriminations and complaints were not slow to appear. (Cf. *Mir* 7. VI. 1933, 13. IX. 1933 and 10. X. 1933).

The Liberals soon split up into three antagonistic fractions owing to their inability to divide equitably the spoils they derived from such offices as they occupied. Those who had been ousted from office were waging a surreptitious campaign against their nominal colleagues,

661 even going to the extent of plotting with the Opposition
665 to bring about the fall of the Cabinet. The Agrarians from the first were divided into some five groups, three of which published party newspapers called the *Zemledelsko Zname*, and each of which pretended to be the official organ of this splintered up party. A bitter and uncompromising campaign was being conducted among the warring fractions. Some Agrarians were openly in receipt of subsidies from Yugoslavia and France, and endeavouring to foist on the country a policy which was considered anti-national. One of the Agrarian leaders Obov, was accused of receiving 100,000 francs monthly from France. The most revolting and scandalous exposures were daily being made as to the activities of the Agrarians by their mutually antagonistic Press. The most disgusting tales were circulated which completely undermined the prestige of the Government. The Agrarian Ministers had accepted a gift of 800,000 leva for the election campaign from Obov and K. Todorov, who for years had been at the service of the Yugoslav government, but when they secured their nomination to office, they turned their backs on these donators[1]. They were no longer needed now that they could

[1] Most of these Agrarians politicians seem to form the scum of the community. After Stambolilski's fall they went abroad and worked in close intelligence with their country's enemies. As revealed in the Sobranye in November 1927, they accepted 5 million drachmae from the Greeks, promising in exchange that when they would seize power they would renounce the Bulgarian claim to an outlet on the Aegean, Later they transferred their activities to Belgrade living there at the expense of the Yugoslav Government which utilised them to foment troubles in Bulgaria. A letter was read in the Sobranye on Dec. 24, 1931 purporting to be written by the brother of Obov to a murdered Opposition deputy in 1924, and which contained the following remarks: „Before we return to Sofia many of our prominent adversaries will be killed. It will be well if you wrote us what persons we must murder... I want from you a list of persons who have to be murdered, numbers of Sofia garrison, police etc...

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dabble unchecked in the State coffers. A scathing exposure of one of the Agrarian Ministers, appeared in the Belgrade *Politika* on June 16, 1933 which was widely reproduced in the Bulgarian Press. 661 665

Virgil Dimov was accused of having concluded a pact with the Macedonian Committee, promising to reverse the pro-Serbian policy hitherto followed by the Agrarian organisation and to adopt a strictly nationalistic one, such as was approved of by Italy. In exchange he and his friends would receive, the support of the Macedonians, and subsidies from a foreign country, Italy. He was further accused of having in a very short time amassed a considerable fortune. This scandal reached its culmination on November 10, 1933, when the president of the Sobranye, N. Zachariev, another Agrarian, rose up and declared: „I was a colleague of V. Dimov, who was a poor man. But for two years he has been a minister and to-day he is a millionaire. I can no longer associate with these people". All attempts to maintain a semblance of unity disappeared, the Agrarians threatened to force a new election campaign by overthrowing the Government and proceeded accordingly to work up the peasant electorate, inciting it to avoid paying taxes and promising to absolve it from such payments if the Agrarians were returned. A final attempt was made to maintain the tottering Cabinet by throwing over the Radical Minister Kosturkov and dividing among Agrarians and Liberals the emoluments and benefits which this additional ministry would assure to its occupants. Democracy had deteriorated to such a degree that it became a farse and a make-belief,

we must destroy this government and create a friendly Bulgaria ... and a confederation with Serbia". The most revolting revelations were made concerning all the colleagues of the late Stambuliiski in the Sobranye on Jan. 4, 1932.

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665 661 which no one could further trust. One of the leading Sofia newspapers, the *Mir*, wrote on May 12, 1934 :

> „In Bulgaria there is no longer any State authority. At the head of the State are puny uncultured people who destroy and are incapable of constructing. And all these petty personalities are asking for more offices, more ministerial porfolios, more public funds for their political friends. Our Government is not a democracy, but purely and simply an organisation of marauding bands. The patient and submissive citizen asks how long will this state of affairs last?

668 701 Against this canker of demoralisation the reserve officers, the only organised and patriotic force in the country, had several times protested and drawn the attention of the Government. They dispatched a deputation on January 18, 1933 to the Prime Minister recommending the adoption of certain measures which would curtail existing abuses. At the end of April 1933, they held a congress and they passed a resolution appealing to all men of goodwill to group themselves together and form a non-party government which might extricate the country from the bog in which it was wallowing. In another congress held at the end of 1933, they again insisted on the formation of a non-party Cabinet in order that the people might be saved from the prevailing demoralisalion which had set in among the political parties. These reminders however, had been disregarded.

When in May 1934, the Radical member of the Cabinet was so rudely unhorsed by his colleagues, it became apparent that the Mushanov Cabinet was at the end of its tether. There were only two political forces powerful enough to replace it. The Agrarians, and Tsankov's Democratic Entente. They were utterly hostile to one another and each intent on excluding its rival from all participation in office. The advent of either to power meant the outbreak of a civil war, more bitter than that which had been waged in 1925. To prevent this calamity, the

military decided much against their will to assume control of State affairs. This was done by the coup d'ètat of May 19, 1934, which met with the apparent approval of the bulk of the population, heartily sick of the disgusting squabbles of the political parties. 668 701

The military had warned in time the politicians that they should sink their quarrels and attend to the proper governing of the country; they had insisted on the necessity of the civilians combining to form a decent government, and seeing that their objurgations remained unheeded they had taken at last the task in their own hands. Even when they assumed power and in contrast with the politicians, they manifested no anxiety to fill the public offices with their adherents; they still appealed to certain civilians who enjoyed the reputation of being honest and capable men and entrusted them with responsible positions in the Government. The new Cabinet presided over by Kimon Gheorghiev had a distinctly civilian appearance, the military contented themselves with back seats, but they kept vigilant and alert and for once the rusty State machine began to function at a pace it had not experienced for years. In a manifesto to the people, drawn up in concise and blunt terms, the Government made known the reasons for which the army had decided to act, and exposed the programme it was intent on applying. The Government had learnt from the experiment of Tsankov that it was futile to seek the fusion of political parties in order to work with their support and by prescribed parliamentary methods; it therefore proceeded to dissolve both the Chamber and the political parties, declaring that the latter had outlived their usefulness. It made it known that it contemplated working out a scheme for the creation of a corporative Parliament in which all professions would be represented as well as certain political currents, but this was a matter for the future and in the meanwhile 668 642 701

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668 642 701 the Cabinet would govern by decrees. The Gheorghiev Cabinet fully justified the hopes placed in it. Never since its liberation did Bulgaria have such and efficient government; the reforms, improvements and innovations accomplished were most commendable and efficacious, and for this reason when its resignation was announced on January 22, 1935 the news caused deep disillusion and painful surprise to all those who had Bulgaria's well-being at heart.

668 701 General Zlatev, the new Premier, was Minister of War in the Gheorghiev Cabinet; in a public speech delivered on February 24, 1935, while affirming that the programme of the Government remained identical with that proclaimed in the manifesto of May 19, he explained some of the reasons which had brought about his predecessor's resignation. According to him, his predecessors had somewhat swerved from the wishes of the army which had set them in power. Instead of prosecuting and suppressing indiscriminately all Macedonian organisations they had dissolved only the Michailovist wing (alleged to be subsidised by Italy) while the Protogerovist section (pro-Yugoslav) was allowed full liberty of action M. Kimon Gheorghiev was alleged to have sought inordinate powers for himself, wishing to wield an authority like that of Signor Mussolini! For this purpose he had demanded that certain prerogatives of the Crown should be curtailed. These views had hurt the loyalist feelings of the army which was profoundly attached to Tsar Boris, and it had therefore decided on the Cabinet's reconstruction as a measure likely to cement the unity of the army which was threatened by the enunciation of such views. Those who know M. Kimon Gheorghiev and his colleagues, all of whom are distinguished by their extreme modesty have some difficulty in believing that either he, or any of his collaborators aspired or contemplated to don the mantle of a dictator. What they de-

sired was to restrain such powers as the Crown possessed which had rendered its intervention often disastrous in the past, as had been the case for example on June 29, 1913[1]. It is with misgivings therefore that friends of Bulgaria have seen her drop these trusty pilots who have been quite gratuitously charged with fostering disunity in the army[2]. 668 701

[1] The desire to abrogate such prerogatives of the Crown as that of disposing of all promotions and appointments in the army, and of nominating the war Minister, was a thoroughly democratic conception, for Tsar Ferdinand had largely abused of these privileges and had rendered the exercise of democracy illusory.

The breed of reptilian personalities which unfortunately abounds in Bulgaria and to which the consolidation af a regime, like that of K. Gheorghiev, spells disaster, has done its utmost to poison the mind of Tsar Boris against the promoters of such a liberal scheme, and especially against Colonel Damian Veltchev, to whose courage and abnegation he largely owes his maintenance on the throne, for it must not de forgotten that Colonel D. Veltchev as one of the chief organisers of the coup d'état of June 9, 1923 which averted the proclamation of a republic by Stambulliski.

That the retention of such rights by the Crown is a dangerous weapon becomes obvious from the fact that in October 1935 some 80 capable officers were forcibly retired, for no other reason save that of being suspected of sympathising with Colonel D. Veltchev and his colleagues.

The breaking of the careers of so many promising young officers is not likely to promote the unity which Bulgarians are vainly striving to attain; on the contrary, such arbitrary measures are likely to gravely compromise the popularity which the Crown has hitherto enjoyed and nullify one of the few centripetal forces which so far have helped to bind the nation together.

[2] To all appearances the brief spell of decent government ushered in by M. K. Gheorghiev and his colleagues will remain a unique episode in Bulgarian history and future Bulgarian poets will probably celebrate its memory after the style of Byron's effusions on Miltiades:

The tyrant of the Chersonese
Was freedom's best and bravest friend
That tyrant was Miltiades!
Oh! that the present hour would lend
Another despot of the kind!
Such chains as his were sure to bind".

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Unity and concord unhappily are not the distinguishing virtues of the Bulgarians, and they are not likely to be fostered by the elimination of such devoted and courageous men as M. Kimon Gheorghiev's colleagues from office. It was rumoured that Colonel Veltchev, the able supporter and adviser of the former Cabinet, aimed at dispensing with the monarchy, (this was a deliberate lie, for the new Constitution which was being prepared provided for its maintenance) that the older officers resented this and that with their aid Tsar Boris had been able to turn the tables, taking advantage of the unfavourable report of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations on the financial reforms of the Government. Whatever the intimate wishes of Colonel Damian Veltchev, former director of the military academy, and one of the most intelligent, chivalrous, and progressive officers in the Bulgarian army, it is certainly not he who can be accused of sowing disharmony in the ranks of the army. Some six years ago when he was forced to resign from his post, he published an open letter in which he made it clear that certain army circles were intent on doing away with him. This letter created a sensation. The Sofia Press at the time (October 1929) declared that:

„The facts exposed profoundly revolted the public. No one could have suspected that behind the curtains such disgusting and black intrigues could be carried on in Bulgaria, and that even if only a fourth of what had been divulged were true, the letter constituted a crushing condemnation for a community which could not guarantee security to its distinguished members".

When this document is recollected it would appear that the older officers reared in the school of Tsar Ferdinand and most of whom had not been asked to participate in the „coup d'état" of May 19, because of their participation in that of Prof. A. Tsankov had proved the undoing of his movement, resented the independence shown by their younger colleagues, and had engineered

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When this document is recollected it would appear that the older officers reared in the school of Tsar Ferdinand and most of whom had not been asked to participate in the „coup d'état" of May 19, because of their participation in that of Prof. A. Tsankov had proved the undoing of his movement, resented the independence shown by their younger colleagues, and had engineered

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a cabal by which they succeeded in removing them from power. The principle of hierarchy and military discipline which had apparently been infringed on May 19, 1934 especially since this „coup" was carried out without considering the wishes of Tsar Boris, the supreme head of the army, was thus vindicated and restored. But whether unity will be promoted by such methods in the army remains to be seen. For there is another point of cleavage; Colonel Veltchev favoured a policy of reconciliation with Yugoslavia and was supported by the junior officers, as well as by the organisation of the non-commissioned officers of the reserve, while the older officers sided with General Vulkov, of rather sinister fame, former minister in the Tsankov Cabinet, and later minister in Rome, who is held to be a favourite of the Court and headed the pro-Italian wing of the army. The fact that he was dismissed from his post at Rome on the accession to power of the Gheorghiev Cabinet is indicative of the existing tension between the two groups into which the military are divided. Unity and harmony seem to be foreign to the mentality of the Bulgarians; there must always be some disunity and scission; as of old, the political parties were split into Russophiles and Austrophiles, so now there are slowly evolving pro-Italian and pro-Yugoslav currents into the vortex of which both the army and the Macedonian organisation are being steadily drawn.[1] These senior officers are, as may be expected, rather of too conservative tendencies, and one may, question the advisability for a little country like Bulgaria embaking on an intensely nationalistic educational programme as had been decided upon at this belated hour. The utility of such methods is disputable even for large States like Germany; but for small

[1] It is fortunate indeed for Bulgaria that at the time of writing Italy and Yugoslavia seem to be composing their senseless quarrel so that they will cease fomenting disunity in Bulgaria.

668 countries like Bulgaria the adoption of such an outgrown policy may prove suicidal. Dictatorship aims at achieving unity and submission by appealing not to reason, but to sentiment, hence the praise of nationality and the fostering of patriotism which is one of the most powerful sentiments. But the Bulgarians are an unemotional folk, and the attempt to play on their feelings will probably miscarry. They can only be won over by more positive performances and the certainty of an impending improvement of their lot, which at this time of crisis is altogether a more complicated and difficult task, which may well strain beyond measure any dictatorship. It is admissible that every dictatorship which wishes to perpetuate itself is confronted with the problem of remoulding the mentality of its subject population and adjusting it to the regime under which it is to live. If it can not turn out men fit for its purposes, confiding in its ideals, approving in its methods, and capable of responding enthusiastically to its exhortations, it will collapse for lack of men willing and apt to work under it. But such men have to be *grown* and they need a special environment in which they can be carefully nurtured. It is not by such antidotes that the all pervading Bolshevik virus will be combated. Those who believe that Bulgaria, being a country of smallholders, has nothing to fear from communism are ignorant of the profound transformation which has lately happened. One of the most serious Sofia newspapers, the *Mir*, was writing as follows on August 24, 1933:

> „Is it not true that 30% of our people is clearly bolshevised and that a large part of the remainder has no faith and no guiding principles and does not know how to think and how to act?

At the municipal elections held in Sofia in September 1932 out of a total poll of 47,823; 16,000 votes were recorded in favour of the Communists who remain in spite of all the persecution they have been subjected to, the

only disciplined force outside the army. And the communist conspiracies and cells which are almost daily discovered among all layers of Bulgarian society, are convincing proofs that communism is a theory which exerts an irresistible attraction for this long suffering people. An effective antidote to this doctrine is not conservatism, but an enlightened liberal policy which would release the community from the restrictive legacies and entanglements of the past. Such a forward looking policy was the one inspiring the colleagues of Kimon Gheorghiev who constituted a group of public-minded men, courageous enough to break with tradition, and capable of creating common interests with Bulgaria's western neighbour to replace the separate interests which had hitherto divided the two States. They tried to release Bulgaria from the crippling tradition of national sovereignty, from the economic exploitation of her parasitic industrialists and from the strangulation of her crushing and inelastic debts. Vested interests, local and foreign, leagued themselves to plot their overthrow. But Bulgaria is at the cross-roads, the path which she has just engaged herself in leads backwards to the past. A living society cannot afford to live on the past, it has to face new situations, it must evolve new ways of thinking, forge new instruments for new struggles, it has to adapt itself to new circumstances otherwise it is apt to go under. If Bulgaria wishes to go forward and ahead she must retrieve her steps and stride along the road indicated by Kimon Gheorghiev and his colleagues, or choose the only alternative course, the broad avenue leading to Bolshevism.

Since the above was written owing to the lack of unity among the officer corps, their attempt at reform missed fire. General Zlatev, having resorted to the high-handed measure of arresting Colonel K. Gheorghiev and

642 Prof. A. Tsankov, was disavowed by his colleagues, who tendered their resignations and this brought about the fall of the Cabinet.

Tsar Boris entrusted on April 1935 M. A. Tochev, a close associate of ex-Tsar Ferdinand, whose former activities are recorded at length in the Bulgarian Orange book, and who had not a little share in precipitating the second Balkan war and encouraging the subsequent pro-German attitude of Bulgaria, to assume office. That T. Tochev has not wavered in his pro-German sympathies is proved by the enthusiastic welcome his Government extended to General Göring during the latter's visit to Sofia. Simultaneously a proclamation was issued promising the Bulgarian people a new Constitution more in harmony with national traditions and with the views set forth by the army in the manifesto of May 19, 1934. The proclamation ended with a formal assurance that no return to the party system would be tolerated. This was merely to allay the susceptibilities of the military, for everything points to a gradual return to the old system under a modified form.

648 The appointment of one of the most dexterous rope-dancers of the old Ferdinand circus as chief counsellor to the Crown was not a judicious act, and it has certainly not enhanced the prestige and authority of the State, nor contributed to the promotion of concord in the country. Much of the good work initiated by the Gheorghiev Government has been undone and the principles of its foreign policy are being gradually abandoned. The close association of Bulgaria with Yugoslavia was the cardinal aim of the colleagues of K. Gheorghiev and would have eventually aided the political union of the two countries, since Bulgaria in her present amputated form is unable to maintain the costly administrative mechanism of a modern State.

This ideal is now in grave danger of being frustrated.

648

This policy is not to the liking of that great army of functionaries, supported by the old politicians, and of the palace circles, to all of whom self-interest suggests opposition to anything even remotely suggesting a curtailment of their country's sovereignty. To them the strained political situation in Europe has come as a gift of the Gods, for it holds out the promise of a turn in the wheel of fortune and of a means of retrieving what was lost in the war. This implies an adventurous policy and entails some carefully prepared preliminary steps. Such a policy must be made to appeal to the masses as likely to ameliorate their present difficult lot and at the same time, the feeling of patriotism has to be exorcised in order to make war appear once more an invigorating and lucrative pursuit.

Hence the persistent circulation of such mendacious reports to the effect that Gt. Britain was opposed to the policy of a close understanding between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, and that she has decided to impress Bulgaria into her service and confide to the latter the defence of British interests in the Near East. „We are navigating in British waters" is the general comment on the present situation with which one is greeted in Sofia. And the prospect of the British Pactolus pouring its goldbearing stream on the barren fields of Bulgaria makes all and sundry beam with smiles. At the same time feverish efforts are being made to instill some patriotic ardour in the masses by intensive flag-waiving and drum-beating. There were never so many parades, patriotic speeches, and celebrations of commemorations of victories, ridiculous in themselves, since they all ended in a catastrophe, as there have been during the past few months.

661

The direct cosequence of entrusting the government to compromised personalities is that official statements and acts are regarded with mistrust.

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

661 The arrival of Colonel D. Veltchev, the able colleague and supporter of K. Gheorghiev from abroad early in October 1935 at the instigation of two Cabinet Ministers, was seized upon by the Government as a pretext for dealing a crushing blow to its adversaries. Both, with many of their sympathisers and supporters, have been arrested on a charge of plotting against the Goverment and the Crown. In view of the fact that such charges as have been levelled against Col. Veltchev and K. Gheorghiev, namely, that they were co-operating with the left wing of the Agrarians and with the brigand chief, Dontso Usunov, have proved utterly unfounded, one may logically infer that this pretended plot is a staged-up affair aiming at the crushing of the only people who would resolutely oppose any attempt of involving Bulgaria in a new adventure and whom the force of circumstances would in all probability have again placed in power now that „Russia's significance as a beacon of hope for the forces of violent discontent seems likely to diminish to the vanishing point".

000 What all self-respecting Englishmen are bound to resent most strongly is the shameless misuse which is being made of their country's name, and in view of the utter revulsion in all circles in Gt. Britain for any policy even remotely endangering peace, it is incumbent on authoritative circles ar home to issue a formal and categorical disclaimer of the baseless reports which are being circulated in Sofia. This is all the more imperative remembering the tragic consequences of the misunderstandings which arose in 1915 through the interpretation given to British policy in Bulgaria. (Cf. p. 410),

Such a disavowal would take the wind out of the scandal mongers and plotters, and would help honest and patriotic Bulgarians to restore order, tranquillity, and concord in their long-suffering country.

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[1] The figures in the fourth column should read as if there were one unit less, thus the total sum should be read as 4 469,998·7 hectares.

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[For history of Bulgaria from the First Bulgarian Empire to the end of the 19th century, see catagory 116, pp. 271-351]

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APPENDIX IV

NEIGHBORHOODS AND NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS IN A BULGARIAN VILLAGE*

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114

During my first three years in Bulgaria, 1929-1932, I became generally acquainted with its rural life. When I returned to Bulgaria in 1934 for another three-year period I chose for special study one village, Dragalevtsy by name, whose 1,669 inhabitants live in houses clustered near the foot of Mount Vitosha four miles from the outskirts of Sofia. I visited the village on frequent occasions and lived there for weeks at a time. Although my investigations led me to consider many things such as the basic institutions, the formal and informal groupings, customs and folklore, along with the operation of the social processes, social control, and social change, one of the most difficult of the social phenomena for me, an outsider, to understand was the *mahala,* or neighborhood.

621
596
178

THE MAHALA. Dragalevtsy, like the majority of European agricultural villages, is a compact settlement of farmers whose land lies around the village in strips, numbering approximately 16 per Dragalevtsy farmer. The village is at least four centuries old and has grown but slowly during that time. Until three or four generations ago all life was organized around the patriarchal *zadruga,*[1] or joint-family. The members of such a family owned everything in common and worked in harmony under the administrator or *domakin,* the acknowledged head of the *zadruga.* Although their dwellings were crude and overcrowded each *zadruga* needed a large plot of land around the houses for the flocks of sheep and other animals kept at home during the winter months. With the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkey in 1878 forces were let loose which hastened the break-up of the joint-family system.[2] Brothers moved away from the paternal home into dwellings of their own, these usually being

[113]

* This article appeared in *Social Forces,* XVII, No. 4, May, 1939. Reprinted by permission.

[1] Ivan Evstatiev Geshov, *Zadrugite Vv Zapadna Bulgaria,* Per. Spisanie, God. V. Kn. xix i xx, str. 426, Stredets, 1886.

St. L. Kostov and E. Peteva, *Selski Bit i Izkustvo Vv Sofiisko,* Sofia, 1935, str. 58.

[2] Some of the factors contributing to this break-up: (a) individualization following Bulgaria's liberation in 1878 and the spread of popular education; (b) fashion of small, individual families in the West; (c) disagreement between the wives of brothers living together under the same roof; (d) unwillingness of men working outside the *zadruga,* either as laborers or professional men, to hand over their whole earnings to the common treasury; (e) woman's newly-acquired right of inheritance.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

A NOTE ON METHODOLOGY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. CHOICE OF A VILLAGE: One of the first problems to be faced in this study was the choice of a village as a unit for investigation. Dragalevtsy was finally chosen on the basis of the following criteria: 121

a. It seemed representative of the villages of the *Shopski* region with respect to culture patterns and plane of living.

That the government authorities, notably the agricultural economists in the Ministry of Agriculture, considered Dragalevtsy representative along this line was shown by the fact that they selected it as one of the twenty-five villages throughout the country for a farm-income study. Another indication of its representative nature was the testimony of people who had moved into Dragalevtsy from other *Shopski* villages; they saw little difference between the culture patterns and plane of living to which they had been accustomed and those in Dragalevtsy. Officials consulted in connection with the choice of village were very quick to state that the *Shopski* region was one of the most conservative parts of the country, a point which has been borne in mind throughout the study.

b. Large enough to contain a significant number of formal groups and institutions.

Dragalevtsy was a medium-sized village, but did have all the institutions and most of the groups found in villages throughout the *Shopski* region.

c. Near enough to the American College to make possible frequent visits throughout the year.

Work at the College precluded the possibility of choosing a village on the other side of Mount Vitosha, even if that had seemed desirable. Because it fulfilled the first two requirements so well, Dragalevtsy was chosen in preference to two villages nearer the College and to others more readily accessible by automobile.

2. BECOMING EN RAPPORT WITH VILLAGERS: After being assured of the co-operation of the mayor and other officials, I cultivated the acquaintance of the peasants for a five-month period before introducing any intimate questionnaire. During this period of "acquaintance," I attended a dinner for 123

000 of the Ottoman Empire in Europe were deeply rooted in Bulgaria, which was in closest proximity to its capital, the ancient Byzantium, noted for its geographical situation. Serbia and Greece were situated on the outskirts of this Empire. They were in touch with advanced European nations and were able to snap out of Turkish dominion because of the bigger centrifugal force along the periphery of the Empire. The loss of Bulgaria, on the contrary, meant for the Turks the beginning of the decline of Turkish authority in Europe.

We may then, without false modesty, express amazement at the relatively enormous achievements of Bulgaria under these circumstances. Bulgaria is a small country, lacking particular natural resources and yet, in her short free life of 67 years, she was able to reach accomplishments in the various aspects of her life, that could only be compared to achievements in countries much older than she. Let us sketch the above statements with a few data.

● 121 There is no claim to present in this book the vast information which might be necessary to acquaint an objective and willing reader with Bulgarian affairs. We would be pleased if we succeed in presenting a picture sufficiently characteristic of the main features of Bulgaria's past and present, and to cast a ray ot light on the facts that might be helpful to those on whom will depend the future of the Balkan Peninsula and its security from further catastrophies.

000 **3. Bulgaria is not Only the Country of Roses.** People who have a casual interest in small countries are usually satisfied with the fact that Bulgaria is the land of roses. It is true that there are roses in Bulgaria and that the Rose Valley is wonderful in May, and that the attar of roses produced there has been distributed all over the world since olden times to give sweetness and beauty to the life of elegance and splendor. But is Bulgaria only the land of roses and nothing else? No matter how poetic this description of our country appears to be, for the purposes of our study we will emphasize the point that Bulgaria is not the land of roses only. Bulgaria has not been filled only with the scent of delicate and fine roses. The bigger part of the thirteen centuries of her existence has been traced rather by the marks of their thorns than by the scent of their petals. It is hard to understand the Bulgarians, wifhout

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

58. Conclusion. In spite of all that has been mentioned above in our study, we know 000 that there would be a lot of people who would not appreciate things as they find them. They would not recognize the share of the small and weak nations in the common cause for the advancement of the world. The far advanced Western European culture betrays the weakness of the strong, there is a hidden lookdown of the big on the small. We, the small, endeavor to keep up with the big, because present day life demands it from us. What Bulgaria represents to-day in material accomplishments, she owes it to her industrious and active population, rather than to any inheritance from forefathers and preceding generations.

We have limited ourselves so far to the preceding information. The reader will, however, find, other interesting facts in the graphic tables inserted in the text. We feel that we have offered an interested and willing reader, in a general and popular manner, the most important features that one would like to know about our country.

This book was written for those who would be willing /21 to know the objective truth about Bulgaria. Mutual respect and understanding are born from the objective study of things. We would have accomplished much, if the information offered our kind readers has helped them to respect our people and if we have added to the general interest in our roses an interest in the other qualities of our land and in the long suffering of the people, who look eagerly forward to a lasting period of peaceful and cultural development.

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

PREFACE

Mr. Compton Mackenzie in his „First Athenian Memoirs" affirms, not without a certain dose of humour, that: „the Balkan country which really inspires the love of the Englishman is Bulgaria. There is something about Bulgaria which speaks to the very soul of the prosperous and intellectual English Nonconformist. . . there is something respectable about falling in love with Bulgaria". 1210

Such sympathy is well deserved, for it is a public atonement for the crucifixion Bulgaria suffered at Berlin in 1878 through the unjustifiable and blundering intervention of the British government. Though the Bulgarian people's fondest hopes were then irrevocably shattered, its body politic maimed and crippled, no ill-will is harboured against the English. On the contrary, it is enough to intimate in Bulgaria that one is an American, or an Englishman in order that he be met with effusions of friendship, and overpowered with offers of assistance and attestations of goodwill.

For the Bulgarians recollect that it is mainly owing to the desinterested efforts of such warm-hearted Americans as Dr. Albert Long, Mr. Eugen Schuyler, Dr. George Washburn, and to that of the noble-hearted Englishmen, W. H. Gladstone, and Sir Edwin Pears, that their country owes its emancipation. It is the efforts of these men which brought to the knowledge of European public opinion the existence of Bulgaria and made the Bulgarian question the burning problem of the time. The liberation of Bulgaria, in some form or other, was already a settled matter, before the armed intervention of Tsarist Russia. Gladstone by his untiring efforts had well nigh convinced his more insularly minded colleagues that the best defence of the road to India lay „not in a dying despotism but in the breasts of free men" and it was only the success of the Russian arms which provoked the regrettable revulsion of feeling that led to the Congress of Berlin.

As a result of the world war Bulgaria has sustained further mutilations. She has been incapacitated and disabled, and turned into a mendicant among the

•121 nations. Loans have been floated under the sponsorship of the League of Nations to succour her. The author canvassed at the time all his acquaintances and friends in favour of the loan which was raised on behalf of the Bulgarian refugees. The disillusion and loss this Refugee loan has caused to the author's acquaintances has been the chief moral incentive which has urged him to compile the present book. He feels he owes them a full explanation, and he, in a special chapter, has attempted to give a complete version of the story of these loans so that it may become clear that the responsibility for the partial default of their country does not weigh solely on the Bulgarians.

There are few peoples who have received such a severe bludgeoning from Fate as the Bulgarians. Religion unfortunately sits lightly on them and it is of little consolation to cite to their intent from the Epistle to the Hebrews: „If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons; for what son is he whom his father chasteneth not? But if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards, and not sons".

Sympathy and goodwill for Bulgaria, arising from a full knowledge of the difficulties with which she is faced, may help, however, her people to meet with greater fortitude the heavy task with which they are confronted. This has prompted the writer to enlarge on several little known aspects of Bulgarian life, and he sincerely believes that a perusal of this book, in spite of its manifold shortcomings, will not only enlighten the American and British public on Bulgarian affairs generally, but it will also help them to understand some of the causes which have led to the decline of Parliamentarism in most European countries.

It may also be added in conclusion that a study of the economic situation of Bulgaria will help readers to grasp the problems confronting most of the Danubian States, and will convince them how indispensable is the active participation of Gt. Britain in the economic life of these countries if the results of the present crisis are to be alleviated. Failing this policy, the only alternative remedy is a resurrection in some form or other of the *Mittel-Europa* scheme with all its momentous consequences.

G. C. L.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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3. Collection of Data:

124 a. *Personal observation*: Much of the material, especially of a descriptive sort, was obtained by personal observation during the three-year period of study. My quarters were on the Main Square, which was the center of village life. During two Christmas, and one summer, vacations I lived in the village; at other times I went there for the day or the afternoon, making such a trip on the average of once every two weeks.

125 b. *Questionnaires*: At the time of the census at the end of 1934 I prepared a questionnaire on social contact and social mobility for the villagers to fill out along with all the government blanks.[1] Then, I sent to the Central Bureau of Statistics a questionnaire dealing for the most part with population characteristics. A third questionnaire was used as a basis for the study of various village organizations. In addition to these I prepared a list of questions covering the material to be embodied in every chapter. These served as the basis for interviews.

124 c. *Interviews*: I soon learned that no peasants would fill out questionnaires left with them for that purpose. All information had to be obtained through personal interviews, though schedules were useful in guiding the

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d. *Printed sources and official records*: With the exception of some of the material contained in the earlier chapters nothing especially pertinent to Dragalevtsy could be obtained from printed sources. Any generalizations about other villages or Bulgaria as a whole had to be tried out in the village before they were accepted as applicable. For instance, ethnological works of forty years ago mentioned Dragalevtsy but their evidence could not be accepted as of current significance without an investigation to see if the old conditions still held. Official records in the *Obshtina* and in the Central Bureau of Statistics proved of considerable help in specific sections, though this information was limited in character. 127

e. *Rechecking data*: Any divergent answers were always checked with reliable informants in order to see which answer was more representative of the village as a whole. Personal observation and tentative conclusions were constantly checked with the *intelligentsia* and villagers capable of "sizing up" the situation. 124

[2] The following examples of patterned relationships were studied in detail: Merchants Association, buyer-seller groups, Insurance Association, cornhoeing groups, Agricultural Zadruga, Animal Husbandry (dairy Cooperative), artisan groups, four merchant groups, neighborhoods, threshing ring, spinning and carding groups, wood-cutting groups, children's play groups, young people's *sedenki*, women's gossiping groups, men's tavern cliques, *vecherinki*, Younak Sports Association, *Chitalishte*, the teacher group, adult folk school, christening groups, wedding groups, mourning groups, Association for the Orthodox Christianization of Youth, Temperance Association, Village Council, School Board, Church Board, Red Cross Association, Village Court, Union for the Protection of Children, Association of the Medal for Valor.

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TABLE 12

FREQUENCY OF TRIPS TO SOFIA, MALE AND FEMALE FAMILY HEADS, DRAGALEVTSY, 1934 CENSUS*

484

FREQUENCY	NUMBER		PER CENT	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Daily:	37	1	13.9	0.4
Weekly:				
4 times	7	1	2.6	0.4
3 times	9	2	3.4	0.7
2 times	17	4	6.4	1.5
1 time	113	99	42.5	37.5
Monthly:				
3 times	8	9	3.0	3.4
2 times	14	26	5.3	9.9
1 time	35	58	13.2	22.0
Yearly:				
4 times	7	16	2.6	6.1
3 times	1	3	0.4	1.1
2 times	3	2	1.1	0.7
1 time	0	4	0.0	1.5
No times	15	39	5.6	14.8
Total	266	264	100.0	100.0

*Unreported: 3 male, 3 female.

The above table, based on the trips of the family heads, reveals the frequency of trips to Sofia: 484

The table* shows that thirty-three male heads go to Sofia oftener than once a week. The great exodus comes on Friday, the market day. The peasants' childlike anticipation of market-day is best symbolized by the wagons which stand already loaded in front of the gates on Thursday evening. All that is necessary in the dim light on Friday morning is the yoking of the sleepy oxen, before the families start on their way to Sofia. I went with the villagers on these expeditions and saw their "ports of call," each visited via back streets and not by any handsome boulevards. 369 512

* At the time of the government census in December, 1934, I received permission to add to the regular census blanks a questionnaire of my own dealing chiefly with social contacts. Every family head was required to appear before one of the local clerks and answer all questions on the blanks, the writing being done by the clerk. Many of my statistics in this article are based on these questionnaires which, in the person of family heads, represented 97 per cent of the population. 125

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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[3] The following examples of patterned relationships were studied in detail: Merchants Association, buyer-seller groups, Insurance Association, cornhoeing groups, Agricultural Zadruga, Animal Husbandry (dairy Cooperative), artisan groups, four merchant groups, neighborhoods, threshing ring, spinning and carding groups, wood-cutting groups, children's play groups, young people's *sedenki*, women's gossiping groups, men's tavern cliques, *vecherinki*, Younak Sports Association, *Chitalishte*, the teacher group, adult folk school, christening groups, wedding groups, mourning groups, Association for the Orthodox Christianization of Youth, Temperance Association, Village Council, School Board, Church Board, Red Cross Association, Village Court, Union for the Protection of Children, Association of the Medal for Valor.

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ALBANIA EGI
BULGARIA EEI

A 342 343 When stables are not present, man and animals may live together in the same one-room house; occasionally a breast-high fence serves as a separation. Even in a one-room house there is a separate entrance for the animals. Occasionally stables are made of wood. I was unable to find more information on them, but it would appear that horses are more frequently kept in a stable on the ground floor than in a separate building. Sheds for storage are better made than the stables and rest on stone foundations to permit circulation of air (Nopcsa, 1925: 22). In northern Albania there are no separate houses for hay.

A 342 226 [824] Buildings Outside the Village. Cone-like huts (kačor) are used as temporary buildings by fishermen in the swampy regions of the coast. They are made of rough branches that interlock at the top. They are 2 meters in diameter and 2.5-3 meters high, covered with reeds which make them waterproof (Nopcsa, 1925: 8).

A 342 [84] In the plains near Scutari, one finds semi-subterranean buildings. A deep excavation, 8 by 3 by .30 meters is made; on the long sides a wall 40 centimeters high of dry masonry is built up and on the short sides a wall 2 meters high. The gabled roof is of straw, and earth is built up until it touches the eaves. Grass soon begins to grow over the roof and it is not easily recognizable. The door is on the gabled side, the fireplace opposite it. This structure is used by shepherds and their cattle in winter. Similar buildings are found in Wallachia (fig. 63) (Nopcsa, 1925: 9).

A [233]

A 343 In the barren mountains of northern Albania one finds storage houses built against the slope of a hill. Only a side wall and a front wall are erected. Horizontal beams are laid over this, then wooden boards, and lastly earth. Here one also finds dairy huts made of masonry, rarely of wood, resembling the simple one-unit house. They are meant for summer use and are erected on the sunny slopes. Each one has an enclosure in which the sheep are kept at night. The enclosure is irregular in shape and the fence is of wicker or of stone.

BULGARIA

B 342 [127] Data on the Bulgarian farm houses have been derived mainly from the works of J. F. Gellert on Central Bulgaria (1937) and East Bulgaria (1934). Cvijić, in his work La Péninsule Balkanique, deals but briefly with Bulgaria, commenting that his Mixed type predominates and that one finds "une mélange extraordinaire de formes d'ancienne maisons" (Cvijić, 1918: 251).

B 131 B [133] Central Bulgaria is the region extending from the Ihtimanska Sredna Gora to the *Tundža River* in the east; the northern boundary includes the southern slopes of the Balkan Mountains, and in the south it terminates at the Rhodopes. It includes mountainous regions in the north and the lowlands of the Marica River. East Bulgaria

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

128 4. ORGANIZATION AND SYNTHESIS OF DATA: Before starting the study I had already delimited the field and had made a tentative outline for each proposed chapter. This was possible because of a previous three-year acquaintance with Bulgarian villages. The original plan was altered to the extent of including an additional chapter, combining others and some shifting of material. The study of the data collected led to definite conclusions in connection with every chapter, although no attempt was made to generalize regarding Bulgarian villages as a whole from the study of a single unit.

* *

114 The above statement about methodology was written ten years ago and is the basis upon which the research techniques used in this study must be evaluated. Within the past ten years a number of significant refinements in social research have been developed, but these did not appear in time to be applied to the Dragalevtsy study, which was one of the very few comprehensive sociological studies of village life under way in the 1930's. World War II postponed the publication arrangements already agreed upon, but in doing so gave an opportunity for the concluding chapters on social change. The information for these chapters was collected from numerous interviews in Dragalevtsy and in Sofia during November and December, 1945, a period which I spent in Bulgaria in connection with my official duties as Agricultural Attache, with headquarters at the American Embassy, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

113 Since most of the publications used in the preparation of this book were in Bulgarian and are also relatively inaccessible to the American reader, no bibliography is included here. Anyone wishing to read more widely on Bulgaria or the Balkans in general is referred to the excellent bibliographies prepared by the Library of Congress in Washington. See especially THE BALKANS: Part I. General and Part III. Bulgaria, both sections published in 1943.

1: Lee H-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
Yugoslavia

becoming premier in October, 1919, Stambolisky's first task was that of signing the peace terms drawn up by the victorious Allies.

The Treaty of Neuilly, November 27, 1919, reduced Bulgaria to a smaller area than it had held before the First Balkan War of 1912 and imposed new burdens. Bulgaria lost the Aegean coast (Western Thrace) to Greece, southern Dobruja to Romania, and strips of land on the west to Yugoslavia. The army was limited to a total of 20,000. Reparations amounting to $450,000,000 were to be paid in thirty-seven years, beginning in 1921. The existence of Bulgarian minorities in all the neighboring states furnished a basis for revisionism which steadily grew, particularly after the rise of fascism throughout Europe in the thirties.[2] The provision for an exchange of populations with Greece greatly heightened the volume of refugees who streamed into Bulgaria, adding to the political ferment and economic burdens of the country. In these and other ways, the settlement exacerbated conditions under which radicalism throve.

Stambolisky won a commanding position in the parliamentary elections of March, 1920, and proceeded to ride roughshod over both the middle class and conservative parties on the right and the Communists on the left. He instituted a number of reforms, including a land law designed to break up the crown lands and larger estates, the imposition of a heavy income tax, and the establishment of a compulsory labor service which in the first four years of operation secured the equivalent of five million wage days of work for the Ministries of Public Works and Railways. In foreign policy he sought to fulfill the treaties and to effect a reconciliation with Yugoslavia among whose Communist and Agrarian parties his concepts of Slavic federation found support. His dictatorial methods, however, won him enemies on all sides, not least among them being the Macedonians who opposed his policy of rapprochement with Yugoslavia. In June, 1923, he was overthrown by a *coup d'état* organized by a group of intellectuals, led by Professor Tsankov, and the League of Army Reserve Officers, among whom Colonels Velchev and Georgiev were leaders. A few days later Stambolisky was assassinated.

Following the Stambolisky regime, the Tsankov government (1923-26) represented a swing to the right. "Communist" insurrections and violence were suppressed with great severity. The increased activity of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) caused difficulties at home and abroad, although after the assassination of its leader Alexandrov (1924) it was split into two factions under Protoguerov and Mihailov who became bitter rivals. A threat of war with Greece arose, but was averted by the action of the League of Nations. A more conciliatory government

[2] See G. P. Genov, *Bulgaria and the Treaty of Neuilly* (Sofia, 1935).

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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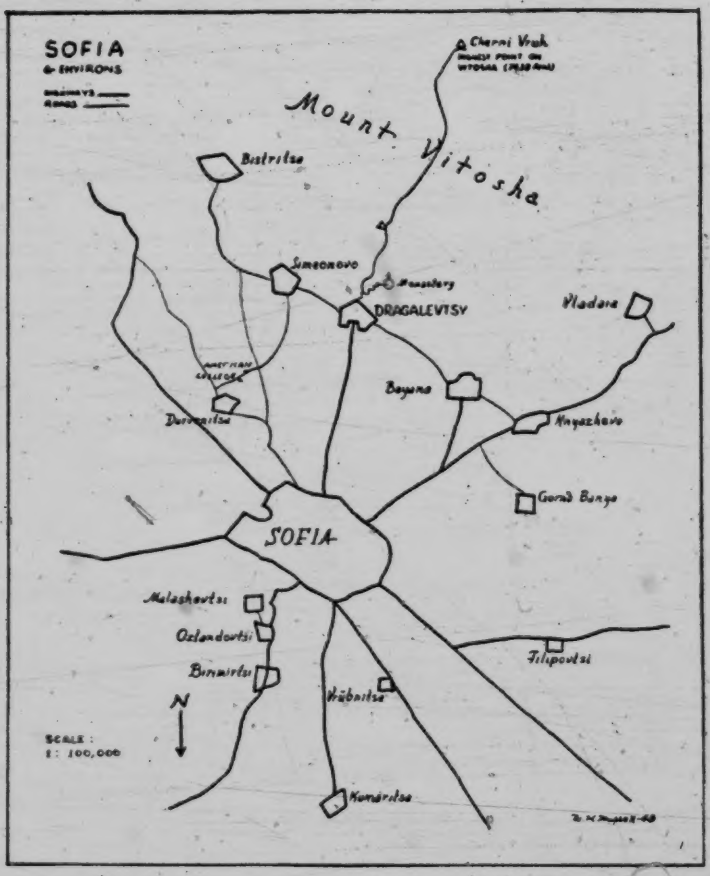

133 on whose side the village lies. That huge, partly naked mass of diorite which is Mount Vitosha rises majestically with barely perceptible foothills out of the broad Sofia plain to a height of seven thousand feet. The side of the mountain toward Sofia is twelve miles long, and is brightened in spots by the brilliant patches of the red-tiled houses of the principal villages. Farthest to the west, nearest to Sofia, is Boyana, where many of the peasants have sold their farms to real estate agents, and thus have earned the contempt of their landed Dragalevtsy neighbors two miles to the east. Dragalevtsy, partly up the slope, lies between the fields which fan out below and the scrubby

795 the symbol of the religious and cultural unity of the Bulgarian nation and constituted the prelude to its political liberation in 1878.

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B. From the Creation of Princedom to the Balkan Wars, 1878-1913

Under the treaty of Berlin which settled the issues raised by the Russo-Turkish War in 1877-1878, the provinces of the Turkish Empire with predominant Bulgarian population were not included in one body politic. Two regions were incorporated into Romania (Dobrudja) and Serbia (Morava region).*

Moreover, two large Bulgarian provinces, Thrace and Macedonia, remained within the Ottoman Empire. The rest assigned to the Bulgarians and at first formed two political entities: Princedom of Bulgaria, including the regions between the Danube River and the Balkan range (present Northern Bulgaria) and was placed under the nominal sovereignty of the Turkish Sultan. In the region south of the Balkans (present Southern Bulgaria) an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire - Eastern

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* Dobrudja was given to Romania in compensation for the loss of Bessarabia annexed by Russia. The regions east of Morava River with the city of Nish were given to Serbia. This met the aspiration of Austria-Hungary to divert Serbian attention from the Slavs in Bosnia and Herzegovina occupied by Austro-Hungarian Empire and annexed in 1908.

175 Rumelia - was formed but it joined, in 1885, the Princedom of
131 Bulgaria and severed all ties with Turkey.

Thus, in fact, there were two Bulgarian churches:
795 that of the Princedom of Bulgaria, no longer under the authority of the Ottoman Empire, and that of Turkey, which lay outside the jurisdiction of the new Pricedom. A reorganization of the Exarchate was imperative but not easy to achieve. There was at first a provisional, more or less arbitrary, ecclesiastical organization. This situation lasted until 1882; a compromise was then reached and in 1883, the Sobranie (National Assembly or legislature) of the Princedom prepared a draft of a statute for the Exarchate for the territory of the Princedom. The final wording of the Statute was not completed until 1895.

Under this statute the Church was administered by both the Exarch in Constantinople and the Holy Synod, or Council, established in Sofia. All matters involving the Bulgarian Church in the Princedom were submitted to the Exarch through the Holy Synod or decided by the Synod itself. The Exarch administered directly the affairs of the Bulgarian churches in the provinces remaining in the Ottoman Empire, including Macedonia and Thrace. However, the hope was never given up by the Bulgarian churchmen and people that one day Macedonia and Thrace would join Bulgaria and thus the reunion of the Exarch with the Synod would be made possible.

These hopes were not fulfilled as is explained <u>infra</u>. The statute was amended several times but the amendments were of minor importance and dealt only with current, purely administrative problems.

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1-

114 this information about the Bulgarians: „... The Western Bulgarians are divided in generic groups of Shopi, Rouptsi, Marvatsi, Barzatsi, Miatsi, Ketskari, Ouloufi, Poulivakovtsi and Kekovtsi... They live in mud huts in one or two storeyed houses made of mud, and in villages. They are mostly farmers and bee-masters..." These are 6 lines out of a total of 24 lines of information given in the Lexicon.

So many authors would see a fly and miss an elephant. They would see roses in the field of hardships, and would tell the world of non-existing Rouptsi, Ketskari, Kekovtsi and other tribes, but would overlook the present development of new Bulgaria and as to the old one, they would hardly betray an inkling of understanding. This negligent attitude towards the human element is the differential of a nefarious policy which has caused the world frightful misfortunes.

On the other hand, we have before us an American text book[1]), „Our World To-day", which in 2200 words gives a true and adequate picture of our small country. It is written with a sympathetic understanding which any interested reader would like to find in a short treatise on other countries, great or small. We are told of roses and of attar of roses in this book, but these features of the picture are retouched with grace and refinement. The practical understanding of a superior race emphasizes rather the features of gardening, tobacco planting, sugar-beet cultivation, grapes, the wheat fields of Danube Bulgaria etc. It tells no fairy tales of gold, silver, petrol and sugar cane in Bulgaria. These distant authors seem to know that such miracles do not occur in our country and that the country is not only „the land of Roses". They mark with simple words our cultural progress, our budding and, in some respects, advanced industry, our sugar factories and good roads, water power, village and national life, our Danube River navigation etc.

I. A Glance in the past

101 131 **5. Geographic Features.** Bulgaria occupies a central position in the Balkan Peninsula (Fig. 1). The location of her capital is particularly characteristic. Bulgaria is a

[1]) Stull and Hatch, Our World To-day, a text book in the New Geography; New York, Allyn and Bacon, 1939.

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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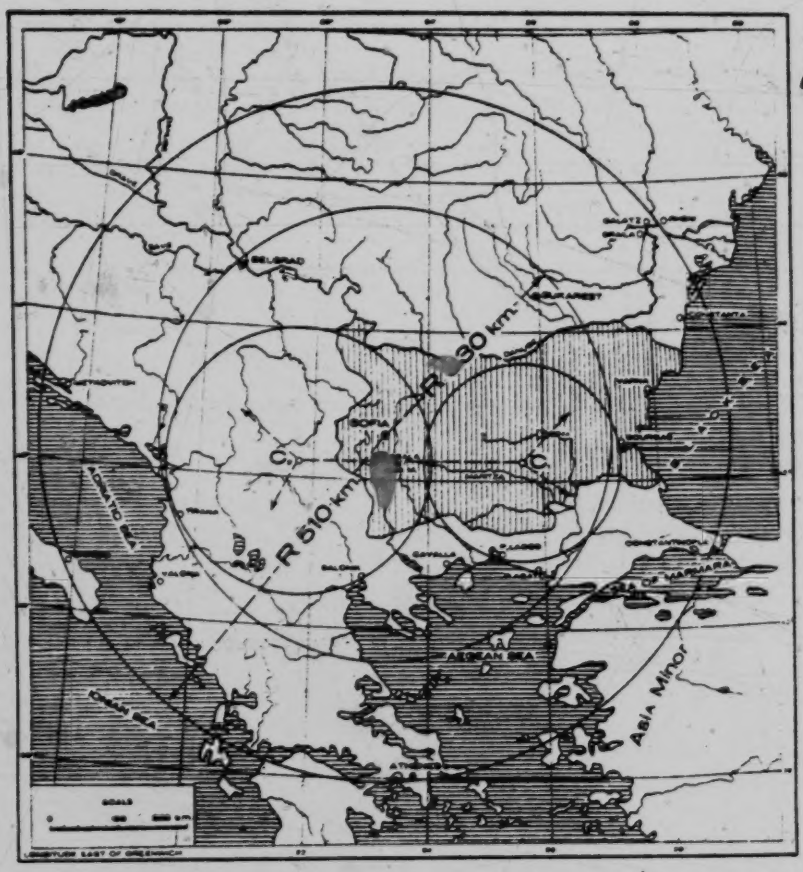

Fig. I. The Central Situation of Sofia, the Capital of Bulgaria, in the Balkan Reninsula. The point C_1 is at equal distance from the Danube, the Black sea and the Aegean sea; $C\ C_2$ is the equidistant line between the Danube and the Aegean sea.

bridgeland between Europe and Asia, the Danube and the Aegean Sea, the Black Sea and the Adriatic Sea. This singular position of Bulgaria has determined her part in history and has shaped the character of her alert and sturdy people who have lived under constant threat of foreign attack. What races have failed to pass their armies through this land and how fateful for all Europe have been the battles waged in it! The living space of a nation is the main factor which characterizes its past and determines its future. Where do we have a better evidence of this, than in the present state of the Balkans?

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

region, called by analogy „The Roof of the Balkans", is endowed with an amazing accessibility which makes it a cross-road of paramount importance (Fig. 3). Sofia is the turntable of Balkan traffic and, because of its possibilifies and location, it has always been a very important centre of communication. It had the same significance in Roman times when Bulgaria was the Roman province of Lower Moesia. Figure 4 indicates the routes of those times. These are the most important roads known to ancient authors.[1]) The great importance of the Bulgarian lands in Roman times is evident from the fact that the roads to Byzantium, Asia and the Danube passed through them. This was the cause for the establishment and the rise of many thriving and important „Roman" cities like Marcianopolis, the capital of the province of Lower Moesia (Moesia Inferior); Oescus or Esco, the seat of a Roman legion and a fortified bridgehead against the troublesome Dacians pushing their way from Transylvania to the River Danube; Nikopolis ad Istrum, which was a lavishly embelished military city and a fortified post, guarding the Balkan passes; Serdica, i. e. Sofia, was at that time an important communication centre in charge of the roads leading to the Danube, to Upper Moesia, to the Adriatic and Aegean Seas, to Constantinople (Byzantium) and to Asia. The marked density of the road network in Dobroudja around the estuary of the Danube is also significant.

5. Bulgaria — an Aegean Country. Many people are accustomed to consider Bulgaria as a Danube country or rather as a Black Sea country. This is because Bulgaria, unfortunately, has always been forcibly kept without an outlet to the Aegean Sea. This is a wrong attitude both geographically and politically. 43% of the territorial waters of Bulgaria empty in the Aegean Sea, 42% flow into the Danube and only 15% in the Black Sea. Consequently, Bulgaria is an Aegean country. This point should be emphasized particularly, and should be observed by all who seek to understand Balkan politics. Although the Greeks have possession of this sea at present, the Bulgarians lived with it for centuries past. They planted their culture in all the lands around the sea, inhabited by the Slavs.

[1]) K. Miller, Itineraria Romana, Römische Reisewege; 1916, Stuttgart.

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

upon which the Greeks occupied this territory. Article 1 of the Peace Treaty of Sèvres. signed August 10, 1920, stipulated the following: „The Principal Allied and Associated Powers declare that they transfer to Greece all rights and titles they have over the territories of Thrace, by virtue of article 48 of the Peace Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria." Article 4 undermined the guarantee given to Bulgaria for an economic outlet to the Aegean Sea, by substituting for it the stipulation „freedom of transit is recognized over the territory and ports of Greece". Bulgaria was not a party to these negotiations and decisions and the Sèvres Treaty was ratified by none of the participants in this conference. Consequently, Bulgaria claimed properly that the question about her territorial outlet was open still by dint of right. The subject was taken up again at Lausanne (Aprill 23 — June 24, 1924), in connection with peace negotiations between Turkey and Greece. These negot ations ended by returning to Turkey Eastern Thrace up to Maritsa. Turkey received also that strip of land around the railroad station Kara-Agach in such a queer arrangement, that the railroad from the Bulgarian frontier to Dédé-Agach runs at the present time first through Greek territory, then through Turkish and again through Greek territory.

This is then the famous „freedom of transit" over Greek territory!

29. Fooling with a Sea Coast. The Aegean Sea coast passed from hand to hand like a play ball for 67 years. It was a foul game played against the interests of the Balkan peoples and Eastern Europe in general. Here is a graphic representation of the different stages of this game (Fig. 6).

30. The Aegean Sea Locked by the Greeks! The Balkan Peninsula is surrounded by three seas: The Adriatic and Ionian sea, this is the sea of Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece and Italy; the Black sea, the sea of Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey and USSR; and the Aegean sea, which is the most accessible sea in South Eastern Europe. Greece wishes to have it locked for herself (Fig. 7)). Could there be any serious defence for such a policy from the

000 require something more from Bulgaria. Just as Greece can not rely on the past glory of ancient Hellas, so Bulgaria will have to make a showing of her present day accomplishments in spiritual and material culture. The consideration of this extensive subject does not lend itself to the limited space of our treatise and per force our study will appear incomplete and concise.

● 131 **42. Some Geography.** May we remind the reader again of the peculiar position which Bulgaria occupies in the Balkan Peninsula. This fact, of itself, is explanatory of much that pertains to the subject. Most of the territorial waters of Bulgaria flow to the Aegean Sea (43%), the rest of the water supply empties in the Black Sea (15%), and in the Danube (42%). Bulgaria belongs to the Aegean part of the peninsula and is separated from the Aegean Sea by an artifical narrow strip of coast land. A large section of Bulgarian territory, the region of the Rhodope mountains, slopes towards this sea. Its Bulgarian population there is subjected to starvation because of the frequent and sudden periodical obstructions interfering with this natural outlet to the free sea. This Bulgarian slice of land changed hands four times since 1878 (Fig. 6).[1] The frontage of Bulgaria towards the south sea is so outrageously blocked, that it constitutes the main bone of contention and trouble for the peace in the Balkans.

The Western part of Bulgaria, including her capital, is the geographical focus of the peninsula aud the main dividing line of its road communications (Fig. 1, 2 and 3).[2]

Unfortunately, Bulgaria is the crossroad to the neighbouring continents, Asia and Africa. This fact itself has had much to do with the formation of Bulgarian character, it has determined Bulgaria's history. Recent historical events of the First and Second World Wars are a good evidence of this fact. The invading Barbarians and later the Crusaders passed over the roads through Bulgaria. Bulgaria is the bridgeland between the Danube aud the Aegean Sea. She is squeezed between these two great water routes and is helpless in overcoming the enormous pressure of communications from the northern and southern part of eastern Europe. This is due to two main reasons: first, because of lack of bridges over the Danube (Fig. 3),[3] this

1 [See cat 116, p 40--Analyst]
2 [See cat 116, pp 9, 10, 12--Analyst]
3 [See cat. 116, p 12--Analyst]

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

most important river in Europe and second, because of the policy of the Great Powers which blocked the routes of this large hinterland of the Aegean Sea to its sea ports. 131

All who seek to understand the position of Bulgaria should remember that from the central point of the peninsula, 133

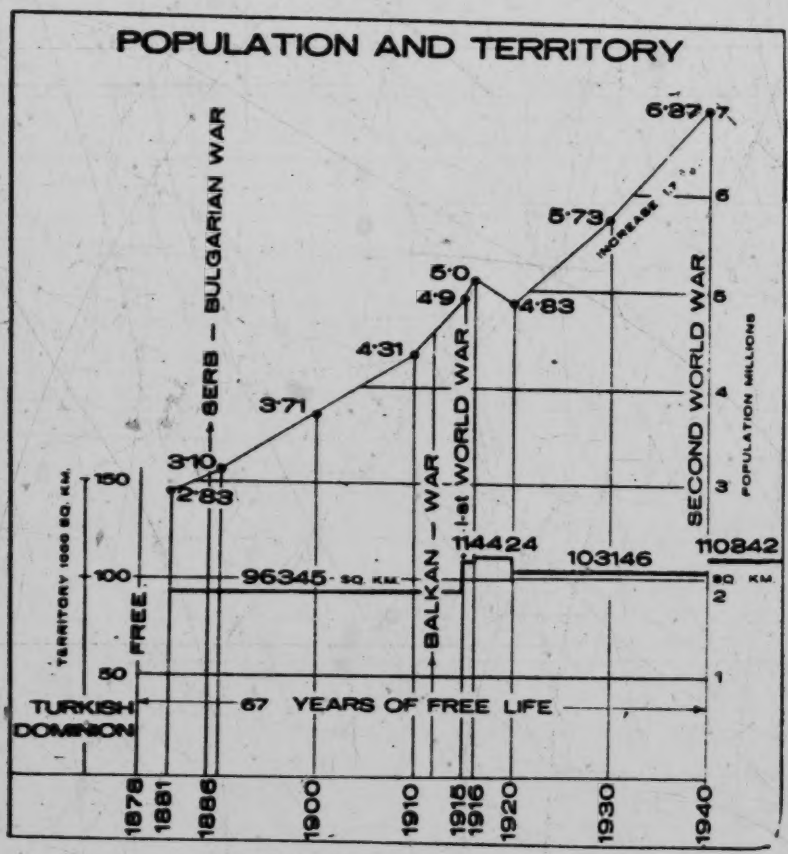

Fig. 12.

around the highest mountain peak of Moussala 2925 m. = 9597 feet), spring the main Balkan rivers flowing in all directions (like Maritsa, Mesta. Strouma, Iskar), and in close proximity — the main affluents of the Vardar and Morava rivers (Fig. 2).[1] 133

The country's diversity of soil and climate afford conditions for an intensive economic life and production. The levels

[1] [See p. 10 -- Analyst]

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

131

Bulgaria extends on the parallel 5° 42′ 20″ (average latitude 43° North), on the meridian 2° 58′ 58″ (average longitude 25° East), is nearly as large as Hungary and the State of Ohio, USA, and has to-day a territory of 110.842 sq. km. = 42.800 sq. mi.) and a population (1940) of 6.307.000 inhabitants (estimated 1945 — 6,9 millions).

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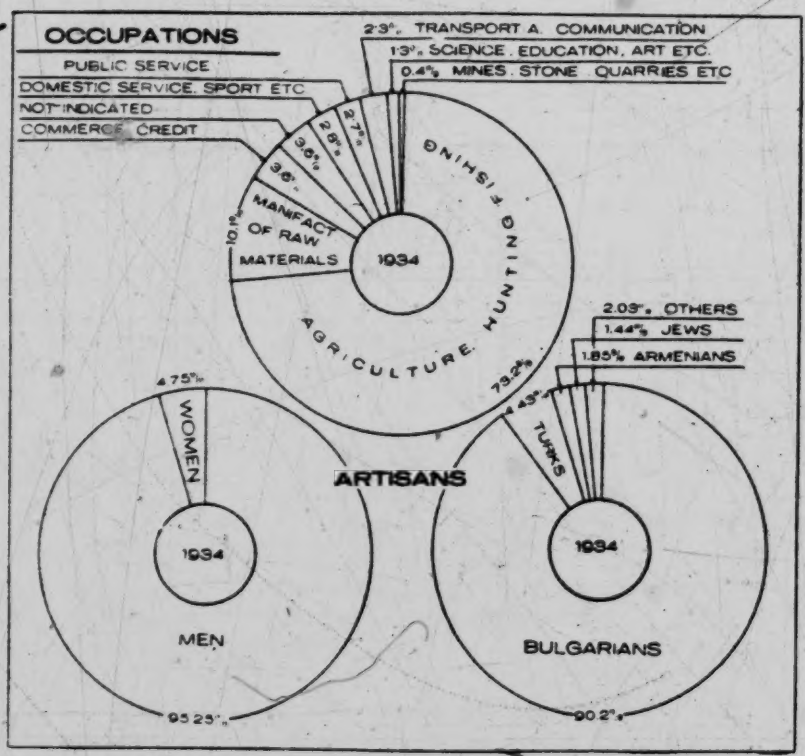

Fig. 15.

43. Bulgaria is a Peasant Country. 78.5% of the inhabitants of Bulgaria live in rural communities and 21.5% live in cities. No essential change has taken place in this structure of Bulgaria's population in recent times:

	1880	*1935*
City population	19.3%	21,48%
Village population	80.7%	79.52%

474 With a population of 6.25 millions we have 275 inhabitants per cooperative society, or 1 out of 6.5 inhabitants is a member of a cooperative society. The members of cooperatives make 15.5% of the total population.

745 **53. Public Insurance.** The income from public insurance for 1938 is 281.4 millions leva. The disbursements for accident, sickness, maternity cases, invalidity, old age and unemployment amount to 155.967.000 leva.

496 **54. Bulgarian Railroads.** (Appendix II) At the time of her liberation (1878) Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia (South Bulgaria) received from the Ottoman Empire 542 km. = 336 miles of privately owned railroads. With a territory of 103.000 sq. km. = 39.400 sq. miles and a population of 2.8 millions inhabitants at that time, Bulgaria obtained 5.26 km. railroads per 1000 sq. km. territory and 193 km. per 1 million inhabitants. The average railroad intensity of Europe at that time was respectively 24.5 and 600 km. so that Bulgaria was 4.65 resp. 3.1 times less favorable than Europe in that respect. Bulgaria possesses to day (Dec. 31, 1944) 3,760 km. = 740 miles of railroad lines; this makes 33.6 km. per 1000 sq. km. of territory and 522 km. per 1 million inhabitants.[1]) Consequently Bulgaria, having increased her railroad network 6.95 times, has increased her network intensity 7.1 times in relation to this territory and 2.7 times in relation to her population (the growth of the population is very rapid). Bulgaria is well nigh to catch up with Europe so far as the average density of the railroad network is concerned. We should not fail to underline this fact, because between 1878 and 1945 the growth of Bulgaria's railroad network for the duration of this 67 years has been at the rate 48 km. of railroads per year. At an average cost of 6.4 millions leva per kilometer for railroads, rolling stock, inventory and other equipment, according to prices of 1941, this would represent an expenditure of about 310 millions leva a year, which is quite a significant amount for the limited financial resources of Bulgaria.

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131 [1]) 1945 Bulgaria has a territory of 110.842 sq. km. = 42.800 sq.
161 miles and a population of 6.9 millions. In Fig. 12 read 110.842 instead of 110.342 sq miles.

7 [See pp. 110(A)-110(B) -- Analyst]

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

GEOGRAPHICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES

131 Bulgaria has an area of 103,104,170 square kilometres or of about 42,000 square miles, rather more than a third of the area of Great Britain and Ireland. She occupies the North-Eastern corner of the Balkan Peninsula, between latitudes 41 an 44 and longitudes 22 and 28 east of Greenwich. To the north she is separated from Rumania partly by an artificial frontier 205 klm. in length across the Dobrudja and partly by the Danube for a distance of 397.3 klm. To the east Bulgaria is bounded by the Black Sea for a distance of 311·2 klm. To the south, an artificial frontier separates her for a distance of 234.6 and 485.7 klm. respectively from Turkey and Greece, the boundary with the latter country running along the highlands of the Rhodopes. To the west, the frontier with Yugoslavia runs from the mouth of the river Timok, an affluent of the Danube, southwards until its intersection with the Bulgaro-Greek boundary and is 523.8 klm. in length.

133 Bulgaria is intersected from west to east by the Balkan range, the highest peak of which attains an altitude of 2,373 metres. The Balkans are traversed by several defiles, and also by the river Isker, which rising in the Rila mountains cuts across the Balkans through a deep and picturesque gorge and finally reaches the Danube. To the south of the Balkans extends for a considerable distance a parallel chain of mountains, the Sredna Gora, forming between the two a series of fertile plains, the most famous of which is the renowned Valley of Roses. To the south of the Sredna Gora lies the Thracian plain drained by the river Maritsa and bounded to the south by the Rhodope Mountains which merge on the west with the Pirrin range and the imposing mass of the Rila mountains, the highest peak of which, the Mussala, attains 2,923 metres.

ECONOMIC HISTORY

It is from 1885 onward that a study of statistics becomes informative and the rate of advance more easily traceable since it was at that date that the first step towards the partial realisation of the national unity was taken, namely the union of the principality of Bulgaria with the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia. The territorial accretion thereby secured was maintained until the Balkan wars of 1912-3, so that it is retatively easy to follow the country's development from a study of the statistics provided after 1885 since no calculations have to be made to adjust numbers to territorial alterations. No such change occurred until the Balkan and World wars, when the area of Bulgaria was increased from 96,345.5 in 1912 to 111,836.8 square klm. in 1913, and finally reduced to 103,146.1 in 1919.

From the following statistical table of exports and imports one may form an opinion of the scantiness of Bulgaria's resourses, since with a few exceptions each year reveals an unfavourable trade balance and Bulgaria never possessed any investments abroad, nor rendered any services, from which she could derive any invisible income wherewith to balance the deficit of her commercial balance.[1] The abrupt increase in the figures cited after the quinquenial period 1916—1920 is due to the gradual depreciation of the leva, which from its equivalent of a gold franc prior to the world war was reduced to the level of only 0.03745 gold franc, or 139 leva to a gold dollar, at which rate it was stabilised in 1928.

[1] Before the war a certain number of market gardeners emigrated temporarily to neighbouring countries and remitted their savings home. It may also be presumed that the deficit in the commercial balance was not as large as indicated by official statistics for merchants were occasionally inclined to underestimate their exports in order to pay fewer dues as was revealed by Minister Burov in a speech in the Sobranye on April 1928. The income derived from foreign tourists is reckoned at 40 million leva a year.

ALBANIA EGI
BULGARIA EEI

A 342 343 When stables are not present, man and animals may live together in the same one-room house; occasionally a breast-high fence serves as a separation. Even in a one-room house there is a separate entrance for the animals. Occasionally stables are made of wood. I was unable to find more information on them, but it would appear that horses are more frequently kept in a stable on the ground floor than in a separate building. Sheds for storage are better made than the stables and rest on stone foundations to permit circulation of air (Nopcsa, 1925: 22). In northern Albania there are no separate houses for hay.

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BULGARIA

B 342 [127] Data on the Bulgarian farm houses have been derived mainly from the works of J. F. Gellert on Central Bulgaria (1937) and East Bulgaria (1934). Cvijić, in his work La Péninsule Balkanique, deals but briefly with Bulgaria, commenting that his Mixed type predominates and that one finds "une mélange extraordinaire de formes d'ancienne maisons" (Cvijić, 1918: 251).

B 131 Central Bulgaria is the region extending from the Ihtimanska Sredna Gora to the Tundža River in the east; the northern boundary includes the southern slopes of the Balkan Mountains, and in the south it terminates at the Rhodopes. It includes mountainous regions B [133] in the north and the lowlands of the Marica River. East Bulgaria

extends from the Rumanian border south to the towns of Karnobat and Burgas. 131

Location and Types of Settlement. The presence of water is an important factor in the location of the settlements. Villages tend to be located along the Marica, Topolnica Strema and Tundža rivers. In the Tundža Mountains settlements are on the slopes of hills. Isolated hills in the Marica valley are preferred spots. Settlements rarely descend into the fertile river plain, most of them being located at its edge (Gellert, 1937: 142-43). In the Sub-Balkan regions, settlements are rarely at the bottom of steep valleys or on steep slopes, a gentler terrain being preferred (Gellert, 1937: 143). 361 133 [312]

Due to the irregular terrain and deep valleys in the Topolnica and Ihtimanska Sredna Gora regions, the settlements are in the form of hamlets (mahala, kolibi) of 2-10 farmsteads, scattered over the spurs overlooking a valley in which is located the main village (Gellert, 1937: 168). In eastern Bulgaria the villages show no regular plan. In the plains the villages are large and the buildings less crowded, the roads being often exaggeratedly wide. In mountainous terrain the roads are narrow and crooked, often unsuitable for carts (Gellert, 1937: 164). [491]

House Types. In eastern Bulgaria the building materials are boards, wicker, mud and unfired brick. Usually a framework of wood is filled with wicker, which may or may not be plastered. Compact walls are often made of mud, unfired brick or stones, strengthened with horizontal bond timbers. These may form the foundation on which the upper story of timber-framing is built. The hipped roof is of straw, reeds or brushwood. On the longer side of the house the eaves extend over a veranda that is raised about 10 centimeters from the ground. The walls are generally whitewashed, and each room has an exit to the veranda. Chimneys are of woven brushwood or of fieldstones and are plastered with mud. Bulgarians often build one half of the house first and plan to add more rooms later; when one side of the roof is not hipped it means that the house is not finished (Gellert, 1934: 8). 342

A two to three room house is common. Often the veranda is between the protruding side rooms (fig. 56e). The central room is generally windowless and serves as a winter kitchen. Frequently many farm units are included in the main house. One of the side rooms may be transformed into a stable with a separate entrance from the outside (fig. 56e) (Gellert, 1934: 8-9).

Two-story buildings are in the majority (fig. 56a, 56b). In the ground floor are the stable and cellar. Often annexes are built on the sides (fig. 56e) and the back, and the roof is extended over them. Here, too, the veranda is enclosed by the two side rooms. The stairway leading up to the veranda may be a simple one of wood or a massive one of unfired brick (Gellert, 1934: 10-11). While

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

trees above, pitiful reminders of a once-proud forest. A hurried 133
mountain stream called Dragalevtsy River passes through the village and, in doing so, turns the grist mills and assists with the washing of clothes.

A mile to the east of Dragalevtsy is Simeonovo, a settlement de- 186
cidedly run-down at the heel. It was here that I spent a busy morning trying to explain to two villagers that the earth was really global rather than flat. Farther on around the shoulder of the mountain is Bistritsa, where the people are said to sing as they dance the *horo:*

> "There is no city more populous than Sofia,
> There is no river more majestic than the Iskar,
> There is no mountain more lofty than Vitosha."

This is an accurate illustration of ethnocentrism, or the belief prevalent among most people that they, and they alone, are the center of the universe and God's chosen children.

My usual approach to the village was across the unfenced fields 631
and up the mountainside. Sometimes I came along the dull road from Sofia. By either way, the great mountain, changing color from hour to hour, was a rest to the eyes. The way across the fields led one gently into the village through patches of vegetable gardens and clumps of overhanging fruit trees. Upon entering the village from the direction of Sofia I passed the cemetery and then was closed in between whitewashed walls which lined the curving streets. Animals [231]
also felt much at home in these streets. Just before sunset the village goatherd headed the two hundred animals in his care toward the settlement. Into Renaissance Square they trotted, a capering mass of gray, black, and white. At each street several goats detached themselves from the rest to run unguided into their respective dwellings. The same scene occurred when the pigs came squealing home. At other times of day peasant girls passed by carrying washing to be pounded on rocks and dipped into the icy water of Dragalevtsy River. Hikers, many of them, lounged around Bai Penko's, or tramped through the streets obviously amused at the manners of the peasants.

Few things were as dependent upon the weather as the state of 132
the village streets: muddy beyond description in the autumn and spring,

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

dusty in the summer, icy or slushy in the winter. The refuse from most of the houses flowed through little trenches into the ditches along the streets, thence to be carried, if enough water could be diverted from Dragalevtsy River, to some place below. Fortunately, blasts of fresh, pure air rolled down from the mountain most of the time.

While all of the mountain villages had the same kind of streets as Dragalevtsy, it alone had electricity. These other villages disappeared from the sight of men as soon as shadows stole up the mountainside, but Dragalevtsy burst into view at dusk as electric lights from street and dwelling shone against the dark background of Vitosha, vividly revealing the location and size of the village. (Electric lights were first used there in 1928.) The lights of the village used to go out one by one as bedtime approached, and at ten o'clock even the street lights were off, leading one to the conclusion that the street lights were as much for adornment as for public safety.

Frequently I had to leave the village alone after dark to return to the American College, where I taught and lived during most of the year. Invariably the peasants, still under the sway of a custom wise enough in Turkish times, argued that sensible people never left the village late at night.

"But what is there to be afraid of?" I asked.

"Oh, but one never can tell."

"Are there bandits around?"

"Thank God, no."

"Will I run into wolves?"

"No, not at this time of year. But there are sheep dogs."

"If sheep dogs are all I have to worry about, I guess I had better be starting," I told them.

They would then reply:

"*Gospodine* [Mister], you are a brave man," but I could tell from the way they shook their heads when they spoke that they considered me more foolhardy than brave.

Once away from the village I turned to look at the irregular string of beads of light that was Dragalevtsy and thought of the people with whom I had talked during the day and of their homes, around which centered their simple hopes and unpretentious dreams.

of the pine forest in the vicinity of Sofia with the intent of grabbing the timber. 313 661

With the re-apparition of the Agrarians in the Government presided over by M. Muchanov, the same methods were noticeable. Thus the „*Burgaska Poshta*" of March 11 and 18, 1934 refers to extensive illicit felling of forests in the region of Aitos, the Plovdiv „*Borba*" in April of the same year complains that the then Minister of Agriculture proceeded within 7 or 8 months to replace all the forest guards with his own partisans etc.

The aftermath of the devastation of the forests was a great deterioration of the climate as a result of erosion and denudation. The Journal of the Society of Bulgarian Economists for September 1933 published an article by M. Ts. Doutsev, giving certain illuminating figures. The forest belt which in 1,900 covered 32 % of the country, had diminished to 27 % in 1912 and to 19 % in 1926. Observations gathered from 67 meteorologigal stations reported that while the annual rainfall averaged 820 litres in 1900, it had decreased to 690 in 1919 and to 490 in 1921. The more impressive figures were those of the stations at Yambol and Nova Zagora which had recorded in 1900 and 1921, of 818 and 364 respectively for the first, and of 825 and 530 litres for the second. The Maritsa basin recorded a rainfall of only 500 litres per sq. metre and this was the cause of the recent poor harvests.[1] An affluent of the river Maritsa, the Topolnitsa, which had a flow of 700 to 800 litres per second, now had only 250 to 300, and this falling off could be traced to the destruction of the forests in its catchment area. M. Doutsev demanded that the Sylvan administration should be freed from political in- 313 132 313

[1] M. D. Christov, a former Minister of Agriculture declared in the Sobranye on December 11, 1928 that the rainfall in North Bulgaria averaged 600 to 650 litres per sq. metre while in the Plovdiv district it was only 3[illegible] litres.

313 fluences in order that the forests might be efficiently protected and he advocated the militarisation of the foresters as the best way of achieving this aim. The grazing of [137] cattle in the great timber forests accounted for their gradual deterioration and transformation into stunted brushwood. This was due to the shortage of pasture land, of which there was only enough for feeding four million head of cattle, while the number of cattle in Bulgaria was fourteen million. The requirements of this head of cattle is about five million kilogrammes of fodder, 4/5 of which is supplied from the forests, the foliage of the trees being used as such. Goats did the greatest harm, there were 250 of them per thousand inhabitants in Bulgaria, 750 in Greece, 150 in Serbia and 25 in Rummania. By these ratios one could also gauge the relative condition of the forests in these countries.

1-2 731 The gradual decrease in local precipitation which is of such importance to the cultivator, as well as the resulting inundations, with the appaling destruction they cause in the fertile valleys, all of which may be traced to the unchecked felling of the forests has begun to make itself felt. We thus find deputy N. Terkalanov declaring in the Sobranye on December 11, 1928, that the yearly loss from drought could be reckoned as amounting to a reduction of the crops by 180,000 tons of cereals, 20,000 tons of industrial cultures, 10,000 of vegetables and 100,000 tons of fodder, of a value of two milliard leva. The loss caused by drought during 1934 was estimated at five milliard leva, though the harvest was an average one. Big losses were also incurred through inundations, the river Kamtsia alone caused damage amounting to 3·5 millions annually.

313 134 Travellers in the Balkan regions cannot help noticing how vast expances of once fertile land are getting buried deep beneath tons of rubble and sand, sent down by

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

a trade school in Sofia. Because he drove in his wooden pegs with the best of them, he was building up a profitable business in the village. 000

Barbers stayed only a short while in Dragalevtsy. One from Sofia opened up a shop on the main square with high hopes, but his white coat and swanky airs attracted only a few intelligentsia and summer residents, and practically none of the peasants. The barber that seemed to enjoy the most popularity during his erratic visits to the village frequented the taverns. When his services were in demand, he pulled the victim's chair to a corner where he set to work in view of the general public. His mellow tenor voice, none the worse for his imbibing, brought him more trade than his ability as a barber. 305

Other artisans were even more itinerant than the barbers. The *maistori* (contractors, master builders) came to the village whenever a building was to be put up. One day in the fall of 1934, upon arriving in Renaissance Square I was amazed to see a shirt and a flag flying atop the highest beam of the then unfinished Obshtina, or municipal building. I heard a powerful voice calling out: 331

"Half a gallon of wine from Ivan Stoynov! May there be as many blessings in his house as there are ants in the field; may his joys be as numerous as the leaves on the trees."

The voice paused for a minute or two, perhaps for the owner to sample the wine, but soon rang out again substituting "two pairs of stockings" for the "half a gallon of wine" in the chant about the ants in the field and the leaves on the trees. I soon learned that the villagers had chosen this day to carry out the traditional practice of bringing presents to the master builder for distribution to his workmen, who were dutifully acknowledging the gifts in the accepted manner.

The tinsmiths usually were gypsies who spent a few days each year in Dragalevtsy. In spite of their low social position they performed a useful task in keeping the pots and kettles serviceable year in and year out. 326

My growing acquaintance with the people and the work they did helped me to sense the atmosphere of Dragalevtsy life. But I soon began to feel, with the peasants, the dominance of the great mountain 133

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

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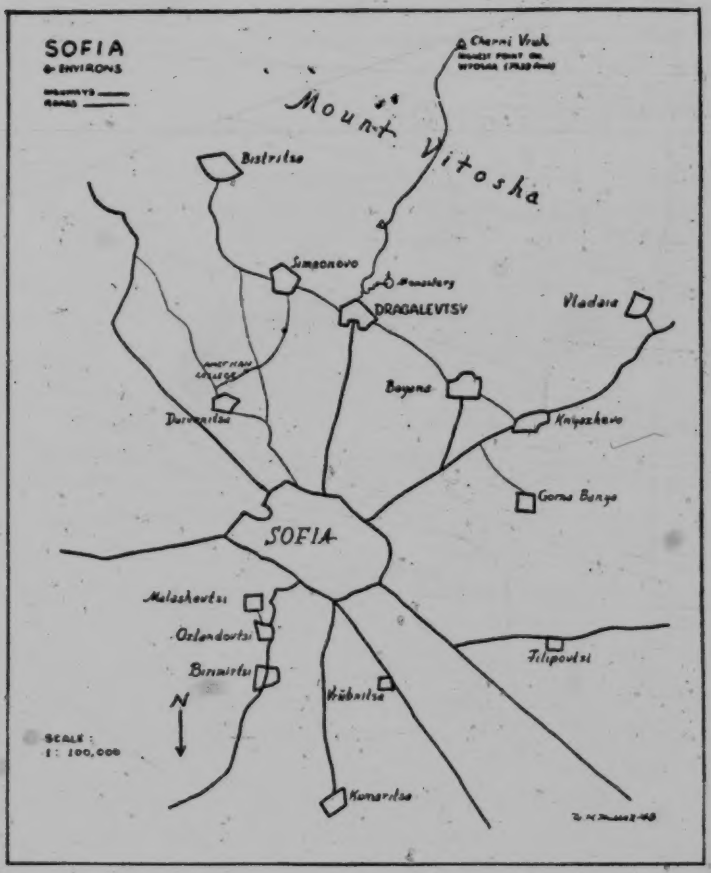

● 133 on whose side the village lies. That huge, partly naked mass of diorite which is Mount Vitosha rises majestically with barely perceptible foothills out of the broad Sofia plain to a height of seven thousand feet. The side of the mountain toward Sofia is twelve miles long, and is brightened in spots by the brilliant patches of the red-tiled houses of the principal villages. Farthest to the west, nearest to Sofia, is Boyana, where many of the peasants have sold their farms to real estate agents, and thus have earned the contempt of their landed Dragalevtsy neighbors two miles to the east. Dragalevtsy, partly up the slope, lies between the fields which fan out below and the scrubby

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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Few things were as dependent upon the weather as the state of the village streets: muddy beyond description in the autumn and spring, 132

S: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

133 High mountains like Vitosha, Rila, Pirin and the Rhodo-
487 pe, with peaks as high as 9597 feet (Moussala, being the highest mountain peak in the Balkans), are the source of Balkan's most important rivers flowing in all directions (Fig. 2). They are Isker, Maritza, Mesta, Struma and the main affluents of the Vardar and Morava rivers, totaling about 1450 miles in
487 length. These mountains do not only point the way the rivers should flow, but they determine also the direction of Balkan roads. In spite of its consideratble elevation, this mountainous

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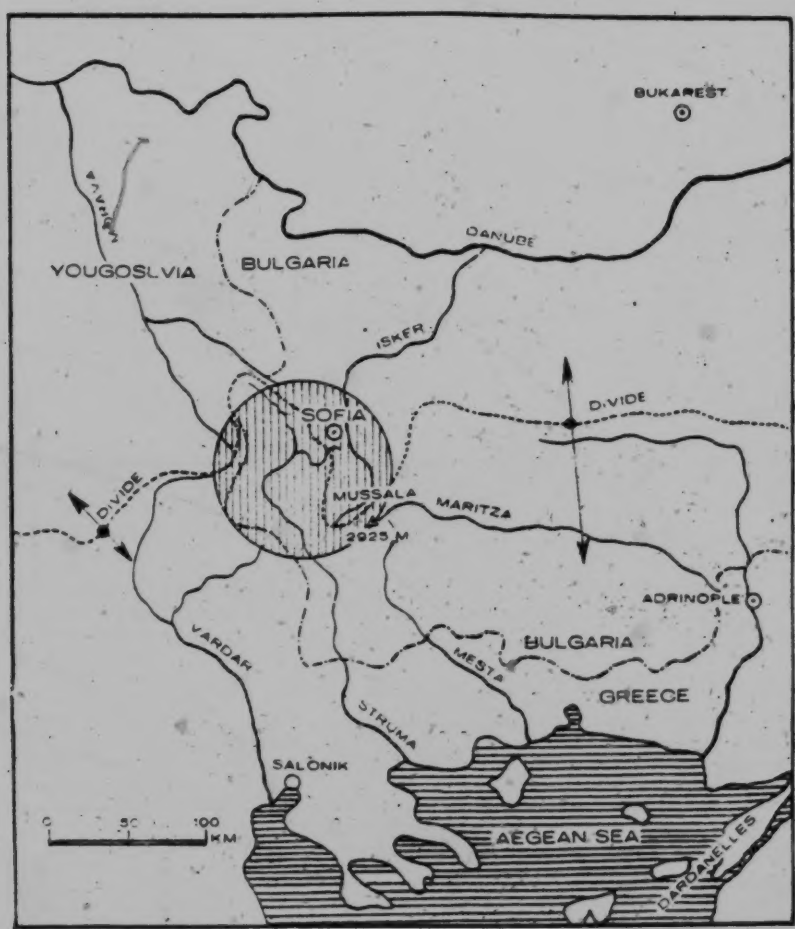

Fig. 2. The sources of the Balkan most important rivers flowing in all directions: the watershed between the Danube and the Aegean Sea; 43% of Bulgaria's territory is an Aegean Country.

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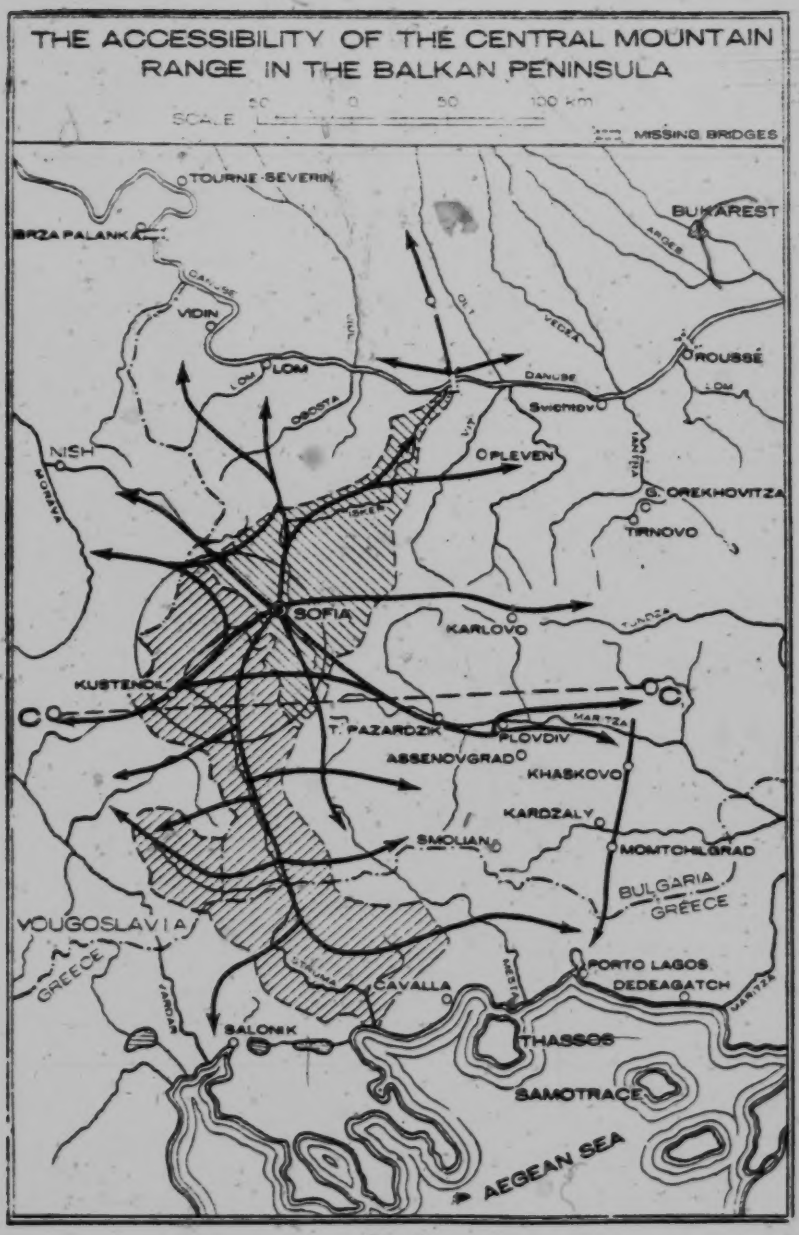

Fig. 3.

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

most important river in Europe and second, because of the 131
policy of the Great Powers which blocked the routes of this large hinterland of the Aegean Sea to its sea ports.

All who seek to understand the position of Bulgaria 133
should remember that from the central point of the peninsula,

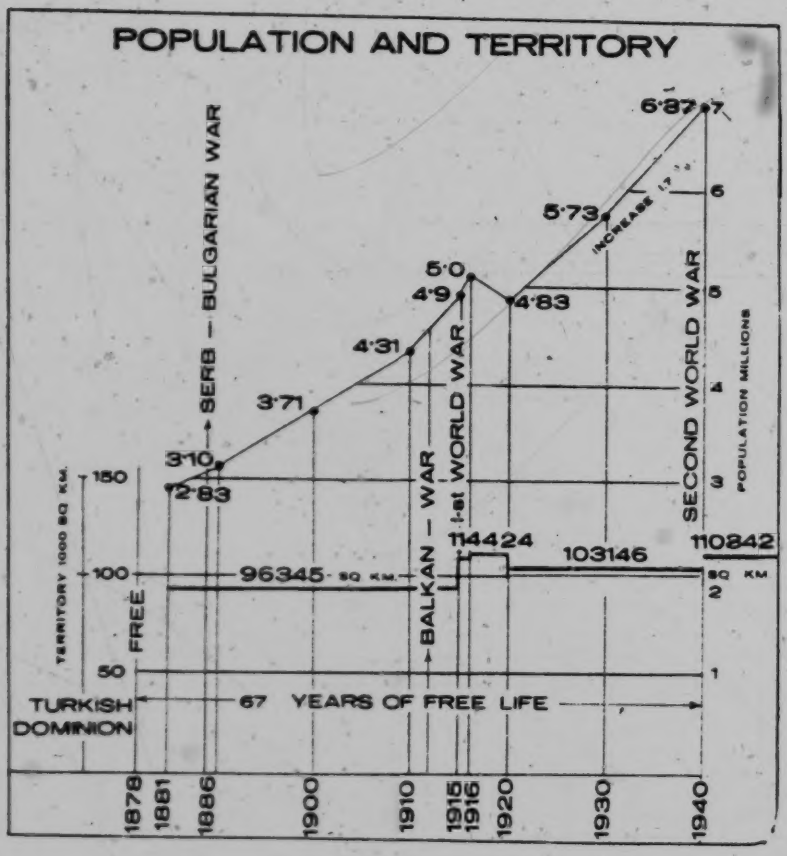

Fig. 12.

around the highest mountain peak of Moussala 2925 m. = 9597 133
feet), spring the main Balkan rivers flowing in all directions (like Maritsa, Mesta, Strouma, Iskar), and in close proximity — the main affluents of the Vardar and Morava rivers (Fig. 2).[1]

The country's diversity of soil and climate afford conditions for an intensive economic life and production. The levels

[1] [See p. 10 -- Analyst]

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

133 of elevation given for the territory before 1940 (103.146 sq. km.[1]) are:

500 m. above sea level	64.5 %
500 to 1000 m. above sea level	22.9 %
1000 and more above sea level	12.6 %

The distribution of elevations is favorable for agriculture, cattle-raising and forestry. The well-watered vast planes sloping properly assure an intensive cultivation of valuable food and industrial cultures. The plane of Plovdiv is 4.470 sq. kilometers and has an elevation of 200 meters above sea level, the plane of Stara-Zagora is 1583 sq. km. at an elevation of 160 meters above sea level and the Sofia plateau is 550 m. above sea level with a surface of 1185 sq. km. Then we have the huge and fertile Danube plane which runs along the whole course of the river.

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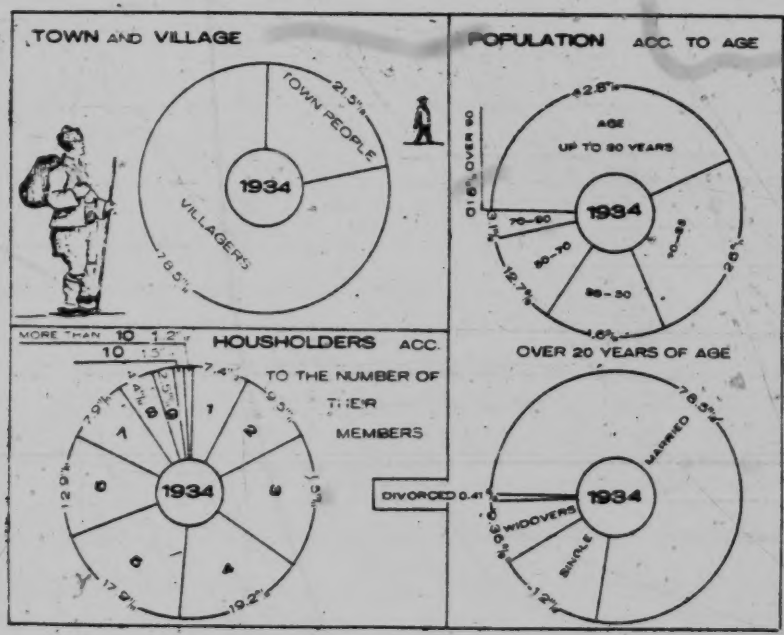

Fig. 13.

[1]) 1 sq. mile = 2.59 sq. km.

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

1930, while on the B. St. Lines for the same period we have 497
an increase of 20.5%.

The Greek Railways had an increase of only 255 kilometers or 9.6% for the period 1914 to 1940, while Bulgaria increased its railway network with 1.025 kilometers or 48.7% after the two national catastrophies (1913 and 1918). Since 000
1920, for a period of 25 years, Greece has played with the pet idea of building the railroad extension Drama—Kavala, 31 kilometers long, in order to link this sea port with the railroad network. This good intention did not grow up to maturity and the work on this line is left undone until to-day.

Greece suffers of marine hypertrophy. The Greeks control an enormous sea coast line, which they are in no position to make the best use off. Here is how the relation be- 133
tween the sea coast line of the countries and their entire frontier line stands: 80.7% of the entire frontier line of Greece is sea coast line, for Albania the relation is 38.8%, for Yugoslavia — 34.1% and for Bulgaria — 17.5%.

For 1 km. of sea coast we have

Territory: For Greece 22, for Albania 62.2, for Yugoslavia 155 and for Bulgaria 277.5 sq. km.;

Population: for Greece 1060, for Albania 2340, for [161]
Yugoslavia 9900 and for Bulgaria 15.000 inhabitants.

57. Construction Work. It is hard to give a satisfactory pic- 000
ture in this brief study about Bulgaria's accomplishement during the last period of her present free existence. Whatever her achievements might be, they would hardly impress a sophisticated reader, who would wish to measure her with the standards of his advanced country, whose present generation probably owes its spiritual and material progress to the advantages of free life and activity of preceding generations. Our picture, however, would not be complete if we said nothing about the technical developments of Bulgaria or about the work of Bulgarian engineers and architects.

Notwithstanding its limited means, the country spared 653
nothing for its public works. About the beginning of the Second World War, Bulgaria was spending on the average about one billion leva annually for government and municipal building operations. This expenditure grew constantly: in 1936 — 457.600.000, in 1937 — 505.600.000, in 1938 — 534.100.000,

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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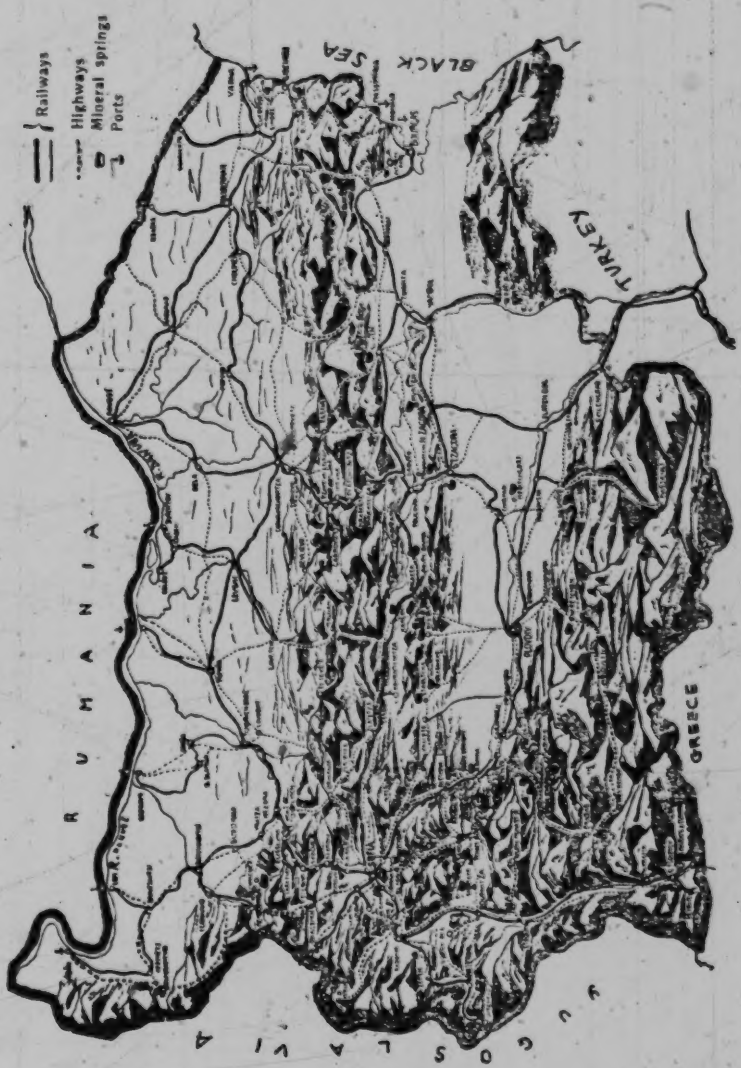

TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP OF BULGARIA

[facing p.50]

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

GEOGRAPHICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES

131 Bulgaria has an area of 103,104,170 square kilometres or of about 42,000 square miles, rather more than a third of the area of Great Britain and Ireland. She occupies the North-Eastern corner of the Balkan Peninsula, between latitudes 41 an 44 and longitudes 22 and 28 east of Greenwich. To the north she is separated from Rumania partly by an artificial frontier 205 klm. in length across the Dobrudja and partly by the Danube for a distance of 397.3 klm. To the east Bulgaria is bounded by the Black Sea for a distance of 311·2 klm. To the south, an artificial frontier separates her for a distance of 234.6 and 485.7 klm. respectively from Turkey and Greece, the boundary with the latter country running along the highlands of the Rhodopes. To the west, the frontier with Yugoslavia runs from the mouth of the river Timok, an affluent of the Danube, southwards until its intersection with the Bulgaro-Greek boundary and is 523.8 klm. in length.

133 Bulgaria is intersected from west to east by the Balkan range, the highest peak of which attains an altitude of 2,373 metres. The Balkans are traversed by several defiles, and also by the river Isker, which rising in the Rila mountains cuts across the Balkans through a deep and picturesque gorge and finally reaches the Danube. To the south of the Balkans extends for a considerable distance a parallel chain of mountains, the Sredna Gora, forming between the two a series of fertile plains, the most famous of which is the renowned Valley of Roses. To the south of the Sredna Gora lies the Thracian plain drained by the river Maritsa and bounded to the south by the Rhodope Mountains which merge on the west with the Pirrin range and the imposing mass of the Rila mountains, the highest peak of which, the Mussala, attains 2,923 metres.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES

133 In the west, and south of the Balkans lies the Sofia basin, at an altitude of some 580 metres, crowned by the picturesque Vitosh Mountain, reaching a height of 2,287 metres, at the foot of which lies the capital of the country, Sofia. The country to the north of the Balkans forms a table land, intersected by several affluents of the Danube. its eastern part gradually merging into the waterless region of the Deli-Orman, a part of which is now in Rumania. The south western part of Bulgaria is formed by the upper part of the valleys of the rivers Struma and Mesta and constitutes that part of Macedonia which has reverted to Bulgaria.

162 According to the census taken on December 31, 1934, the total population of Bulgaria was 6,090,215, or 59 inhabitants per square kilometre. The vast majority of the population was rural, the urban population being only 21.48% of the total and segregated mainly in the following towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants: Sofia 287,976; Plovdiv 100,485; Varna 70,183; Rustchuk 49,388; Burgas 36,099; Pleven 31,764; Sliven 30,683; Stara-Zagora 29,857; Haskovo 26,622; Shumen 25,734; Yambol 25,125; Pazardjik 23,387; Vidin 18,599; Assenovgrad (Stanimaka) 17,817; Vratsa 16,477; Kustendil 16,386; Pernik 15,977; Dupnitsa 16,071; Razgrad 15,700; Kazanlik 15,097; Lom 14,807; Timovo 14,100; Gabrovo 13,823; Svistov 12,112; Tsirpan 11,308; Samokov 11,031; Tirgovishte (Eski Djuma) 10,421; Panagurishte 10,188; Petritch 10,121; Gorna-Djuma 10,028; There are 67 other urban centres of less than 10,000 inhabitants, but which in fact are mere villages, the smallest of these is Melnik, with a population of only 548 inhabitants.

133 Bulgaria owing to her extremely variegated structural character offers an astonishing diversity of landscape scenery

1 Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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to the tourist.[1] The Rila mountains with their numerous lakes, Alpine scenery, extensive pine forests, beautiful valleys, and crystal streams, constitute a perennial source of attraction. The famous Rila monastery which is reached by a narrow gauge railway from Dupnitsa, as well as by road from Sofia accessible to motor cars, extends its large hospitality to all visitors and may serve as a hostelry for those intent on indulging in the healthy joys of mountaineering. The monastery deserves a visit by itself; its imposing pile crowned with its domes and cupolas and its battlemented tower, all encased and dominated by a ring of forest clad mountains, leaves a lasting impression of calm and repose on the visitor. The great gate of the monastery leads into a vast pentagonal yard in the midst of which is the church brilliantly decorated with frescoes and stone-work and endowed with a magnificent ikonostasis. By the side of the church is the five storied stern old tower, that constitutes the only remaining relic of the original structure of the monastery built in 1335. The immense yard is surrounded by a number of galleries, giving access to the cells of the monks which now usually serve as lodgings for visitors. These galleries rise in tiers, forming a series of picturesque arcades overhanging the yard with its numerous fountains which fill the air with their endless murmur of running water, all vying to dominate the roar of the swift-flowing stream traversing the mountain gorge in which the monastery is built, and which supplies the enraptured traveller at the rustic restaurant kept purposely for his behalf, with a dish of succulent mountain-trout, such as would have relished even Lucullus himself.

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To the south ot the Rila range rise the Pirrin Mountains and further east the Rhodopes. The little town

[1] An excellent and profusely illustrated guide-book in English, may be obtained free of charge from the Tourist Bureau of the Bulgarian State Railways in Sofia.

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

of Razlog on the upper reaches of the river Mesta may 133
serve as a convenient centre for excusions in this maze of mountains mostly clad with pine and fir forests. The three beautiful mountain lakes dominated by the majestic summit of the El-Tepe, the highest peak of the Pirrin range, reaching an altitude of 2684 metres, may be easily reached from the townlet of Bansko, a few kilometres to the south of Razlog. Tourist huts have been erected at [485]
several points, and recently excellent roads have been constructed, so that the more adventurous type of tourist, intent on roaming off the beaten track, can indulge in protracted and most enjoyable rambles in what is certainly a *terra incognita,* even to most Bulgarians.

It is astonishing that the Bulgarian Government has 529
done nothing to popularise Sofia as a tourist centre, and yet few towns in Eastern Europe can rival it as such. It is at a convenient driving distance from the Balkan mountains which offer a veritable kaleidoscope of enchanting views. Century old oak and beech forests cover generally the rolling undulating mountain valleys, their shaded glens offering the most delectable relaxation after the heat of the plain. Another attractive forest resort is Tcham-Koria lying on the heavily wooded slopes of the Rila, amid enchanting mountain scenery, at a distance of 69 klm. to the south east of Sofia. The greatest attraction of 312
Sofia is of course its mineral and thermal springs. In the 529
centre of the town is a modern bathing establishment, built on the site ot the ancient Roman thermal baths, and endowed with an electro-therapeutic section. In close proximity to Sofia are a number of other thermal springs most of which are endowed with excellent bathing accomodation and easily accessible from Sofia by either tram, train, or motor bus. Such are the thermal establishments of Bankia, one of the finest in Bulgaria, that of Gorna-Bania, Ovtcha-Kupel, and of Kniajevo. Bulgaria is

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EEl Bulgaria EEl

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IN THE RHODOPES, SOUTH OF BATAK

[facing p. 321]

Il: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EEl Bulgaria EEl

●133

TSAM KORIA

241

A PLOUGHMAN

[facing p.385]

ALBANIA EG1
BULGARIA EE1

A 342 343 When stables are not present, man and animals may live together in the same one-room house; occasionally a breast-high fence serves as a separation. Even in a one-room house there is a separate entrance for the animals. Occasionally stables are made of wood. I was unable to find more information on them, but it would appear that horses are more frequently kept in a stable on the ground floor than in a separate building. Sheds for storage are better made than the stables and rest on stone foundations to permit circulation of air (Nopcsa, 1925: 22). In northern Albania there are no separate houses for hay.

A 342 226 [824] Buildings Outside the Village. Cone-like huts (kačor) are used as temporary buildings by fishermen in the swampy regions of the coast. They are made of rough branches that interlock at the top. They are 2 meters in diameter and 2.5-3 meters high, covered with reeds which make them waterproof (Nopcsa, 1925: 8).

A 342 [84] In the plains near Scutari, one finds semi-subterranean buildings. A deep excavation, 8 by 3 by .30 meters is made; on the long sides a wall 40 centimeters high of dry masonry is built up and on the short sides a wall 2 meters high. The gabled roof is of straw, and earth is built up until it touches the eaves. Grass soon begins to grow over the roof and it is not easily recognizable. The door is on the gabled side, the fireplace opposite it. This structure is A [233] used by shepherds and their cattle in winter. Similar buildings are found in Wallachia (fig. 63) (Nopcsa, 1925: 9).

A 343 In the barren mountains of northern Albania one finds storage houses built against the slope of a hill. Only a side wall and a front wall are erected. Horizontal beams are laid over this, then wooden boards, and lastly earth. Here one also finds dairy huts made of masonry, rarely of wood, resembling the simple one-unit house. They are meant for summer use and are erected on the sunny slopes. Each one has an enclosure in which the sheep are kept at night. The enclosure is irregular in shape and the fence is of wicker or of stone.

BULGARIA

B 342 [127] Data on the Bulgarian farm houses have been derived mainly from the works of J. F. Gellert on Central Bulgaria (1937) and East Bulgaria (1934). Cvijić, in his work La Péninsule Balkanique, deals but briefly with Bulgaria, commenting that his Mixed type predominates and that one finds "une mélange extraordinaire de formes d'ancienne maisons" (Cvijić, 1918: 251).

B 131 Central Bulgaria is the region extending from the Ihtimanska Sredna Gora to the Tundža River in the east; the northern boundary includes the southern slopes of the Balkan Mountains, and in the south it terminates at the Rhodopes. It includes mountainous regions B [133] in the north and the lowlands of the Marica River. East Bulgaria

extends from the Rumanian border south to the towns of Karnobat and Burgas. 131

Location and Types of Settlement. The presence of water is an important factor in the location of the settlements. Villages tend to be located along the Marica, Topolnica Strema and Tundia rivers. In the Tundia Mountains settlements are on the slopes of hills. Isolated hills in the Marica valley are preferred spots. Settlements rarely descend into the fertile river plain, most of them being located at its edge (Gellert, 1937: 142-43). In the Sub-Balkan regions, settlements are rarely at the bottom of steep valleys or on steep slopes, a gentler terrain being preferred (Gellert, 1937: 143). 361 133 [312]

Due to the irregular terrain and deep valleys in the Topolnica and Ihtimanska Sredna Gora regions, the settlements are in the form of hamlets (mahala, kolibi) of 2-10 farmsteads, scattered over the spurs overlooking a valley in which is located the main village (Gellert, 1937: 168). In eastern Bulgaria the villages show no regular plan. In the plains the villages are large and the buildings less crowded, the roads being often exaggeratedly wide. In mountainous terrain the roads are narrow and crooked, often unsuitable for carts (Gellert, 1937: 164). [491]

House Types. In eastern Bulgaria the building materials are boards, wicker, mud and unfired brick. Usually a framework of wood is filled with wicker, which may or may not be plastered. Compact walls are often made of mud, unfired brick or stones, strengthened with horizontal bond timbers. These may form the foundation on which the upper story of timber-framing is built. The hipped roof is of straw, reeds or brushwood. On the longer side of the house the eaves extend over a veranda that is raised about 10 centimeters from the ground. The walls are generally whitewashed, and each room has an exit to the veranda. Chimneys are of woven brushwood or of fieldstones and are plastered with mud. Bulgarians often build one half of the house first and plan to add more rooms later; when one side of the roof is not hipped it means that the house is not finished (Gellert, 1934: 8). 342

A two to three room house is common. Often the veranda is between the protruding side rooms (fig. 56e). The central room is generally windowless and serves as a winter kitchen. Frequently many farm units are included in the main house. One of the side rooms may be transformed into a stable with a separate entrance from the outside (fig. 56c) (Gellert, 1934: 8-9).

Two-story buildings are in the majority (fig. 56a, 56b). In the ground floor are the stable and cellar. Often annexes are built on the sides (fig. 56e) and the back, and the roof is extended over them. Here, too, the veranda is enclosed by the two side rooms. The stairway leading up to the veranda may be a simple one of wood or a massive one of unfired brick (Gellert, 1934: 10-11). While

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

CHAPTER III

LAND, LABOR, AND MONEY

[241] 512 461

A PEASANT'S life in spring and summer centered around the narrow strips of earth which surrounded the village. If the scene of labor was distant from the village, the tired workers who had been at their tasks since sunup often spent the night in the field rather than trudge the long way back home. In the middle of the morning, at noon, and again in midafternoon, the toilers stopped long enough for food, sometimes only bread and salt, and a little sleep. The burning noonday sun sifted through the leaves of the solitary tree beneath which the people sprawled. Fragile rays danced upon tired faces, old-fashioned costumes, a hand raised to brush away a fly, and oxen chewing lazily. Like animals the peasants worked, like animals they slept; but when harvest time brought an end to their toil they experienced the joyous satisfaction of work well done.

241 [134]

The average farm was about eighteen acres in size and was composed of sixteen separate and widely scattered strips. (See Table 10, Appendix I.) This land sold for a comparatively high figure because of its nearness to Sofia, but not because of any superior quality. In fact, most of the soil was sandy and gravelly, with a mixture of heavy clay.

[423] 231 241 [407]

In addition to a house in the village and his land, the peasant also owned a few animals and agricultural implements. The work animals numbered fewer than two for an eighteen-acre holding, and the plow was the only large implement found on every farm. More than any other joint operation, plowing had the flavor of an antique ritual. At dawn a slow procession moved from the village. The distant Balkan range loomed vaguely blue far across the Sofia plain, and the golden dome of Alexander Nevsky Cathedral in Sofia shone in the thin, clear light of morning. Behind the village, the slopes of

313 fluences in order that the forests might be efficiently protected and he advocated the militarisation of the foresters as the best way of achieving this aim. The grazing of [137] cattle in the great timber forests accounted for their gradual deterioration and transformation into stunted brushwood. This was due to the shortage of pasture land, of which there was only enough for feeding four million head of cattle, while the number of cattle in Bulgaria was fourteen million. The requirements of this head of cattle is about five million kilogrammes of fodder, 4/5 of which is supplied from the forests, the foliage of the trees being used as such. Goats did the greatest harm, there were 250 of them per thousand inhabitants in Bulgaria, 750 in Greece, 150 in Serbia and 25 in Rummania. By these ratios one could also gauge the relative condition of the forests in these countries.

132 731 The gradual decrease in local precipitation which is of such importance to the cultivator, as well as the resulting inundations, with the appaling destruction they cause in the fertile valleys, all of which may be traced to the unchecked felling of the forests has begun to make itself felt. We thus find deputy N. Terkalanov declaring in the Sobranye on December 11, 1928, that the yearly loss from drought could be reckoned as amounting to a reduction of the crops by 180,000 tons of cereals, 20,000 tons of industrial cultures, 10,000 of vegetables and 100,000 tons of fodder, of a value of two milliard leva. The loss caused by drought during 1934 was estimated at five milliard leva, though the harvest was an average one. Big losses were also incurred through inundations, the river Kamtsia alone caused damage amounting to 3·5 millions annually.

313 Travellers in the Balkan regions cannot help noticing how vast expances of once fertile land are getting buried •134 deep beneath tons of rubble and sand, sent down by

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mountain torrents, this being plainly attributable to the extensive disafforestation of the mountain ridges of this chain. The gorge of the river Isker, which might rival in scenery certain parts of Switzerland, has been largely denuded, with the consequence that extensive damage is being done yearly to the road and railway running through it by floods. The trains are often held up for hours by the bouiders and debris washed down. It would be well if the slopes of the denuded mountains were afforestated anew with conifers which the herds of grazing animals would not attack, for in spite of regulations, the peasantry possessing cattle far in excess of the grazing capacity of the region will persist on sending them to graze in the forests. The afforestation of the Isker gorge would be well worth undertaking in view of the thousands of tourists who visit it every holiday during summer, special excursion trains being run from Sofia, providing as it does most charming outings for excursions and walks.

Investigations into the not very remote past history of Bulgaria, establish that the devastation of forests are comparatively of recent date. The French traveller Ami Boué records in 1854 that the Vitosh mountain overhanging Sofia was covered with thick forests; these have been cut down and it only sustains a meagre growth of shrubs, though steps are being taken to afforestate it anew. According to M. A. Ihtchiev, Turkish judges mention in their notes that the highway from Slivnitsa to Sofia ran through alleys, and big trees, and that rice and the vine were cultivated in the region at the time, This is no longer possible now owing to a change in the climate since then, and as for the big trees, not a vestige of them has been left. The region of Pleven was at the time of the Russo-Turkish war fairly thickly wooded, but now it is practically denuded.

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

FORESTRY

Bulgarian foresters are unanimous to deplore the unbusinesslike manner in which the magnificent forest domains of the country have been treated as well as in the irrational way they have so far been exploited. The lack of interest shown in this branch of national wealth may be gauged from the fact that though a quarter of the country's surface was covered with forests, yet until 1930 almost the totality of the lumber needed for building purposes was imported from abroad and it was only by imposing a very heavy duty on foreign timber that imports from abroad were reduced by 4/5 in 1931 and an impetus given to local lumber industries. According to the official statistics the total area covered by forests amounted to 2,698,000 hectares in 1933, of which 321,000 hectares were coniferous and 2,297,000 hectares deciduous, (mainly oak and beech) while ownership was apportioned as follows:

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State	644,000	hectares
Monasteries	42,000	"
Municipalities	1,484,000	"
Private	528,000	"

The principal varieties of trees found in Bulgaria are — The oak, ash, elm. Extensive forest of resinous trees are to be found also in the Rhodopes, Pirrin and the Rila mountains and they are mostly composed of the varieties: Pinus sylvestris, pinus Austriacus, picea fectinata and picea excelsa.

According to M. D. Vessov's book on Bulgarian forestry, the State and municipal forests represent a capital of 20,000 million leva. About 20% of the total area of the country is covered with forests, this sylvan area being mostly mountainous and not fit for any other cultivation. If the forest were rationally exploited a yield of

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six million cubic metres of rough wood per annum could be secured, and as the average price it fetched was 500 leva per cubic metre for conifers, 200 leva for beech or oak, and 50 leva for brushwood and loppings, a minimum yearly revenue of one milliard leva could easily be reckoned upon, though eventually as much as six milliards annually might be secured, a sum which seems somewhat exaggerated, since official statistics show that the State receives less than a hundred million and the municipalities 150 million leva annually from their forests. There is therefore a tremendous amount of lee-way to be made up. For the year 1931 it was reported that the State forests supplied 571,000 cubic metres of wood and that their upkeep costs about 60 million leva. The main cause of neglect was the absence of transport facilities and lack of capital. The primitive saw-mills in work were too wasteful, from one cubic metre of wood only 50 % was turned out as lumber, while with modern machinery the wastage would not surpass 30 %, besides the planks sawn were of uneven thickness and did not compare favourably with those imported from abroad. M. Vessov finds that so far the concessions given to small traders for exploiting the forests have proved ruinous, as the concessionaires cut down the trees without discrimination. They usually had also to contend with the hostility of the local population and failed owing to their inability to secure enough labour. An attempt was made to create co-operative societies among the inhabitants of forest districts, but owing to their lack of means and the unsympathetic attitude of the official foresters, they do not seem to have been very successful. They generally launch into undertakings altogether beyond their resources, attempt extensive clearings, and then being unable to transport the felled wood, leave a large percentage of it to rot. The main reason for their creation was to satisfy the cravings of certain political par-

tisans and hangers-on and as a consequence these societies have not manifested any co-operative spirit so far. The State has derived no profit from them and they have been combatted alike by capitalists and the forestry personnel. According to the official statistics there were in 1932, 102 such co-operative societies engaged in forest exploitation, their roll of membership was 8,492, their capital 15,805,640, funds 8,202,908, deposits 5,929,955, capital invested in sawmills 15,787,715. They owed 10,736,478 to the Agricultural Bank and 14,981,228 to private traders. According to a recent decision of the government, the State will assume the exploitation of the forests for its own account, in view of the unsatisfactory results obtained so far. 313 137

According to this author, the best form of exploiting the forests has been that of granting large concessions to societies possessing adequate capital, and as an example the exploitation of the Rila forests was cited which has proved exemplary. Another successful enterprise organised by the State with the help of the compulsery Labour Corps was that of the Titsa domain, south of Varna, in which the State had invested some 29 million leva. M. Vessov considered that it was indispensable to increase the means of transport in order to develop the timber industry and permit it to compete with foreign imported timber. He recommended that cattle should be rigorously prevented from grazing in the forests, a desideratum which unfortunately cannot be fulfilled because the population of the mountainous districts has no other grazing lands; his suggestion, however, of curtailing surreptitious felling of trees, by rendering compulsory the sawing of all wood in controlled modern saw mills built outside the forest areas, seems a judicious one and worth considering, owing to the vast amount of contraband which takes place. 313

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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An interesting paper was read by M. Taslakov in February 1933 at a meeting of the Society of Bulgarian Economists, from which the following data are worth quoting: 35% of the timberlands consisted of heavy forests and 65% of scrub forests. From the former an annual yield of 1,008,000 cubic metres of prepared timber for building purposes could be secured, the price of which was 2000 leva per c. m. or some 907,200,000 leva, while the output from the latter would amount to 2,600,000 c. m. fit only for fuel and priced at 125 leva and would attain 325,000,000 leva. The revenue from forests would therefore reach 1,232,200,000 leva per annum,

The forests contained 50% oak, 25% beech, and 25% various conifers. The annual arboreal growth per hectare of beech was 3·6 c. m., of oak 2·8 c. m. and of the conifers 6·2 to 6·6 c. m. The total arboreal growth available for felling would be estimated at 10,294,380 c. m., half of which would cover the local requirements and the balance would be available for export.

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There is another highly interesting book on Bulgarian sylviculture by M. Ch. Gruev, who was a forester and consequently fully qualified to write on the subject. His exposures of the abuses committed by successive Governments in the administration of forests, constitute a most damning indictment of the pseudo-democratic form of government so far extant and show to what extent politicians are responsible for the annihilation of the forests and how they contributed in demoralising the people by their cynical disregard of the law. The only conscientious Minister in the charge of the forest domains were D. Christov, who was a member of the Gueshov Cabinet during 1911—1912 and the Agrarian leader Draghiev. He speaks highly also of Stambulov who passed excellent measures to preserve the forests, but unfortunately under his successor, Stoilov, everything was undone. He nar-

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313 134 Travellers in the Balkan regions cannot help noticing how vast expances of once fertile land are getting buried deep beneath tons of rubble and sand, sent down by

144 structure Bulgarians of different regions show great, even striking difference".

141 The author presents the results of his observations in Macedonia which show a very great variety in measurements as have been ascertained among the 491 cases which form the basis of his data. Natives of Western Macedonia are according to him distinctly brachycephalic, and differ considerably from those of Eastern Macedonia among whom the dolichocephalic predominate as may be seen form the appended table:

Dolichocephalic		Mesocephalic		Brachycephalic		Huperbrachycephalic	
Index: 68·3 to 75		75·1—80		80·1—85		85·1—98·1	
Western Macedonia	Eastern Macedonia	W.M.	E M.	W.M.	E.M.	W.M.	E.M.
Cases		Cases		Cases		Cases	
3	37	15	126	79	75	146	10

It is worth comparing these figures with those of A. C. Hadon, ("The races of man") who states that the cephalic index of the Bulgarians varies from 78 on the coast to 85 in the west, and gives as their average stature 1·69 m.

144 175 These views ars confirmed by Prof. A. Ishirkov, who in his "Etude historicoethnographique sur la population du royaume de Bulgarie", remarks that there is no distinctive Bulgarian type and that the people are extremely differentiated. In his survey, he refers to some of the racial elements which have served to build up the Bulgarian people. Thracians, Greek settlers on the Black Sea coast and banks of the Danube, Persians who invaded and occupied Thrace as far as the Struma in 513 B. C., Scythians and the Ghettae, Macedonians, who under Lysimachus occupied all Danubian Bulgaria and the Dobrudja. In the 3rd century B. C. came an invasion of Celts who settled south of the Balkans and built their principal town Tile, in the valley of roses. (this settlement survives under the name of Tulovo) They gradually fell under Hellenic influ-

Bulgaria EE1 EF8

B. 101 Many Bulgarian Gagauz are to be found also in Bessarabia, in the district of Benderj, where they are concentrated in the outskirts of Komrat. Mochov estimates their number at 70,000; but in the official statistics they are considered to be Bulgars. According to Zanetov the Bulgarian Slavs of Bessarabia should be called Tukani.

S.P. B. 141 [197] /211/ From an anthropological viewpoint, the best documented specialist, Mr. Vatev distinguishes a certain number of groups in the Bulgar nation. But up to the present these groups have not coincided with the linguistic groups. What is certain is that the east differs from the west, noticeably from the region of Sofia and of Macedonia, and that the south offers characteristic traits.

Basing himself upon the measurements of 320,000 school children 36,000 soldiers and 1,330 skulls, he arrived at the following conclusions regarding the Bulgarian type:

This type is of medium height: 1.665 millimeters for the men, 1,567 millimeters for the women; dark complexion predominates (50 % against 5% light blond; the remainder mixed). But it must be noted that the dark complexion predominates in the east, while in the west and in Macedonia, which formerly was the center of the Balkan Slavs, the dark type is still rare. The Bulgars have a regular nose, high eye sockets, and an erect head. As to the shape, there are 77% mesocephalics (index 75-80). The average index among the soldiers is 79.65 (in Macedonia 79.45) and among the skulls 77.97.

The dolichocephalic types are found especially in the south, the brachycephalic in the west; in the south of Macedonia the average index exceeds 85.

S.P. C.M. 101 648 S 39. The Slavs of Macedonia. ---As we have already mentioned, the Slavs of Macedonia and of Old Serbia are claimed /212/ by both the Serbs and the Bulgars.

Let us note at the outset that it is not well known where Macedonia and Old Serbia begin and end. Thus, the Bulgars attach to Macedonia the regions of Skoplje, Tetovo, and Koumanovo; on the other hand, the Serbs attach Skoplje and Tetovo to Old Serbia; some of them lay claim even to Prilep, Bitolia, Ochrida, and Veles; all of these claims, of course, have a political objective.

Maeedonia and Old Serbia represent the country bounded, roughly

000 hurry or else it was an expression frequently used to rationalize their casual manner. I never saw a peasant with a watch.

101 These quiet people of Dragalevtsy, whose way of life is not very different from that of peasants throughout the Balkans, are more than just Bulgarian peasants who arose in the seventh century from a dash of Tartar added to a predominantly Slavic mixture. They are a special breed of Bulgarians called *Shopi,* a term originally meaning boorish. That is, a *Shop* was a bumpkin. Some authorities say that this term was derived from *sop,* the long staff which the men of this area carried. Since those living in the *Shopsko* area, or the immediate vicinity of Sofia and Mount Vitosha, are in general more conservative than villagers elsewhere in Bulgaria, the word *Shopi* also carried the idea [144] of backwardness and mental simplicity. Among the many attempts to explain the special physical characteristics of these people, the most plausible theory is that of descent from the Pechenegi, or Mongolian tribesmen who infiltrated into that section of Bulgaria and nearby eastern Serbia in the eleventh century. Historians deal none too kindly with these Pechenegi; nor do the *Shopi* receive many compliments in contemporary accounts. Even their physical appearance is considered unattractive by many other Bulgarians.

● 142 From faces naturally swarthy, further darkened and weather-beaten by sun, rain, and biting winds, the small round eyes of Asia stare through one without giving an inkling of the impression registered. In the thin-lipped mouths of the young the teeth are gleaming white; beneath the drooping mustaches of middle-aged men teeth show yellowish in a rare childlike smile; and toothless gums accompany [302] the gray stubbly beards of the old. Straight, prominent noses lend ruggedness rather than beauty; the customary clipping of the scraggly black hair of the men reveals wrinkled, leathery necks; the hair of the women is worn in braids down the back, and hangs from beneath a kerchief that covers the top of the head. Here, too, age is clearly marked. The glossy, thick braids of the girls all too soon become, with advancing years, dull and thin and are often pieced out with other, brighter hair. The men are of medium height. Because their shoulders are so broad and their chests so powerful, their short, sturdy legs seem out of proportion. The women, slightly shorter, walk erect

unless stooped by age. Hands seldom gloved in winter are rough 142
and dirty and calloused. I often thought that one of the strangest things about death was the way it quieted the hands of these simple folk, who, although reserved in demeanor, constantly gestured when they spoke.

I grew accustomed to the mannerisms of the people as well as 527
to the flavor of village life by slow degrees. At first I was attracted 535
most by the gala occasions, or the spectacular. There was the annual Christmas *horo* (folk dance) which provided the first break in the monotony of winter. On a comfortably mild Christmas Day old women and little children, the first to arrive in the main village square, sat in twos and threes waiting for the dancing to begin. Girls in their [301]
Sunday best, with necklaces of gold coins flashing in the sunlight, passed through the square and sang as they walked. They were bareheaded, [392]
since they could not yet wear the married women's head kerchief. As they drew closer, the blotches of rouge, the tremendous earrings, belts laden with clinking silver pieces, and heavy bracelets showed that the girls considered this no ordinary holiday. They formed a line, side by side, and began the dance after persuading the gypsy musicians to strike up a tune; one by one the boys who had come out of the taverns joined the moving line: one step to the right, one step to the left, then three steps to the right, kicking high as they stepped. As the dancing progressed, many married women participated, while the married men looked on with condescending interest. The little children, dressed like miniature adults, gathered on the fringes of the crowd to imitate the dancers. Gossiping groups formed, buzzed, and then dissolved to form anew.

A commotion arose in the center of the square as two young men fought over the cane which was carried by the leader of the *horo*. The leader was supposed to pay the musicians for the dances he led, in exchange for which he could direct the dancers in a serpentine movement, always in step with the music, so that they wound in and out with a "crack-the-whip" at every major bend of the line. To the peasant, the boisterous physical activity gives an exhilaration little else can induce. In fact, some of the "young blades" at this *horo* were so carried away with animal spirits that they performed six or seven steps

Il: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EEl Bulgaria EEl

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THE RISING GENERATION

[Facing p. 81]

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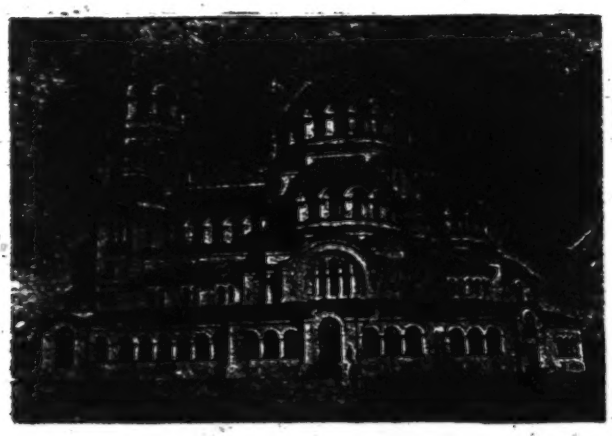

SOFIA: THE ALEX. NEVSKI CHURCH

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A GROUP OF PEASANTS

[facing p. 97]

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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A PEASANT GIRL PICKING ROSES

[Facing p. 161]

Il: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EEl Bulgaria EEl

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A GROUP OF PEASANT WOMEN

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From left to right: D-r T. Yankov, M. Ilia Gheorgov, and the author

[facing p. 257]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

000 hurry or else it was an expression frequently used to rationalize their casual manner. I never saw a peasant with a watch.

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142 From faces naturally swarthy, further darkened and weather-beaten by sun, rain, and biting winds, the small round eyes of Asia stare through one without giving an inkling of the impression registered. In the thin-lipped mouths of the young the teeth are gleaming white; beneath the drooping mustaches of middle-aged men teeth show yellowish in a rare childlike smile; and toothless gums accompany the gray stubbly beards of the old. Straight, prominent noses lend ruggedness rather than beauty; the customary clipping of the scraggly black hair of the men reveals wrinkled, leathery necks; the hair of the women is worn in braids down the back, and hangs from beneath a kerchief that covers the top of the head. Here, too, age is clearly marked. The glossy, thick braids of the girls all too soon become, with advancing years, dull and thin and are often pieced out with other, brighter hair. The men are of medium height. Because their shoulders are so broad and their chests so powerful, their short, sturdy legs seem out of proportion. The women, slightly shorter, walk erect

[302]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

One account in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* describes their[1] nomadic existence and the camps they formed out of rings of wagons. "They wore long beards and mustachios, and were dressed in long kaftans. The food of the wealthy was blood and mares' milk; of the poor, millet and mead. They were originally 'magicians', i.e., fire-worshippers; but a form of Islam early became current among them, and the nation was temporarily converted to Christianity in 1007-1008. They were the most dreaded and detested of all the nomads." They were disagreeable in other ways too. But when the writer goes on to describe the *Shopi* of today, the descendants of these Pechenegi, as "despised by the other inhabitants of Bulgaria for their bestiality and stupidity but dreaded for their savagery," I wondered how much he was letting historical antecedents influence his description of the present. He goes on to say: "They are a singularly repellent race, short-legged, yellow-skinned, with slanting eyes and projecting cheekbones. Their villages are generally filthy, but the women's costumes show a barbaric profusion of gold lace." The *Shopi* then have quite a reputation to live up to—bestial, stupid, savage, ugly, filthy, and barbaric in their tastes. Some of these definitely do apply. My version of the *Shopi* necessarily includes some positive as well as negative traits, for I have lived among them and have learned to see their good as well as their bad points. 181 175 144

But I must admit that if one looks to the Bulgarian ancestors of the *Shopi* for the origin of the parricide story, he will also find forebears capable of such a deed. According to Henry N. Brailsford's *Macedonia* the Volga-men, or Bulgarians, "were polygamists, owned slaves, and were accustomed to military discipline. Like the Turks they shaved their heads and wore pigtails. They burned their widows and indulged in human sacrifices." This is not a pretty picture, but one which bears marked resemblances to the accounts of the tribes in western Europe before the spread of civilization to that area.

The killing of feeble parents has been a common practice among nomadic peoples because of the difficulty of caring for the aged and infirm when on the move. The mention of grain in the story quoted above would indicate that the tribe had settled down, and that parri- 888

[1] [i.e. the Pechenegi, Bulgarian ancestors--ANALYST]

ETHNOGRAPHY

000 In a chapter of Prof. Wm. McDougall's book the „Group Mind". consecrated to the study of the Mind of a Nation, the eminent sociologist dwells at length on the importance of both mental and racial homogeneity of a population as a condition for a harmonious development of national character and collective mental life. It must be regretfully admitted that in the case of the Bulgarian people, the conditions are extremely adverse and this will go a long way to explain its chequered historical career, the rather volcanic character of its politics, and the difficulties which wrecked the disinterested efforts of its patriots to appease and unite ever-warring and contending factions.

144 Prof. Pittard of Geneva, a reputed anthropologist, affirms:

„Au point de vue anthropologique les Bulgares ne constituent pas nulle part, pas davantage dans le royaume que dans le Dobroudja une 'race' pure. Par tous leurs 'caractères morphologiques: la stature, le crâne, la face, ils marquent une hétérogénéité que les autres Etats balkaniques ne montrent pas au même degré. La nation Bulgare est un complex ethnique qui semble avoir eté formé avec les éléments humains de toute la péninsule. „La Roumanie". p. 229).

Dr. Krum Drontsilov in his Etudes Anthropogéographiques, p. 136, published by the Sofia University 1923 admits: "The natives of western Bulgaria (Dragoman) like Bulgarians of other regions, do not represent a homogeneous group so far as their corporeal characteristics are concerned. One remarks among them several distinct national elements which have been mixed". In another essay published also under the auspices of the University of Sofia in 1921 he affirms:

The Bulgarian people present a very great mixture, the crossing of types still continues but it has not yet created a uniform physical type. Observations and measurements show that in bodily

144 structure Bulgarians of different regions show great, even striking difference".

141 The author presents the results of his observations in Macedonia which show a very great variety in measurements as have been ascertained among the 491 cases which form the basis of his data. Natives of Western Macedonia are according to him distinctly brachycephalic, and differ considerably from those of Eastern Macedonia among whom the dolichocephalic predominate as may be seen form the appended table:

Dolichocephalic		Mesocephalic		Brachycephalic		Huperbrachycephalic	
Index: 68·3 to 75		75·1—80		80·1—85		85·1—98·1	
Western Macedonia	Eastern Macedonia	W.M.	E.M.	W.M.	E.M.	W.M.	E.M.
Cases		Cases		Cases		Cases	
3	37	15	126	79	75	146	10

It is worth comparing these figures with those of A. C. Hadon, ("The races of man") who states that the cephalic index of the Bulgarians varies from 78 on the coast to 85 in the west, and gives as their average stature 1·69 m.

144 175 These views ars confirmed by Prof. A. Ishirkov, who in his "Etude historicoethnographique sur la population du royaume de Bulgarie", remarks that there is no distinctive Bulgarian type and that the people are extremely differentiated. In his survey, he refers to some of the racial elements which have served to build up the Bulgarian people. Thracians, Greek settlers on the Black Sea coast and banks of the Danube, Persians who invaded and occupied Thrace as far as the Struma in 513 B. C., Scythians and the Ghettae, Macedonians, who under Lysimachus occupied all Danubian Bulgaria and the Dobrudja. In the 3rd century B. C. came an invasion of Celts who settled south of the Balkans and built their principal town Tile, in the valley of roses. (this settlement survives under the name of Tulovo) They gradually fell under Hellenic influ-

144 175 ence, their last king, Kavar, minted coins with Greek inscriptions. Some 100,000 Bastarni, a Germanic tribe were settled in Thrace about 280 A. D. by the Emperor Probus. For centuries Roman influence was predominant in the Balkans having penetrated into western Bulgaria as early as 229 B. C. The country was permanently occupied by 5 legions and as many auxiliary troops and many Roman towns founded. Bulgaria to the north of the Balkans was completely Romanised and a further influx of Romans took place on the evacuation of Dacia by the Emperor Aurelian. The historian Priscus affirms that Latin was widely spoken in Danubian Bulgaria in the 5th century. Later came the Goths and Slavs, who overran the whole peninsula, closely followed by the Bulgarians who gave their name to the country. There were two streams of Bulgarians one under Asparuch from Bessarabia and which settled in 679 in North Eastern Bulgaria, and another under Kubert from Pannonia, which settled in Macedonia near Monastir about 670 to 675.

Prof. Ishirkov's analysis is far from complete. Invasions of Moesia by Bulgarians are recorded by Theophanes (Bonnae p. 338/9) in the year 531. While in Marcellini Comitis Chronicon, Migne LI. and Theophylact Simocat VII. 4. references are made to Bulgarian settlements in the valley of the Yantra river in Northern Bulgaria about 535 and 585 respectively. This is explained by the fact that the Emperor Zeno according to John of Antioch, called in the Bulgarians to his help when at war with the Ostrogoths and that subsequently Vitallian also appealed to them for help against Anastassius. It is recorded that in 517, Kutrigurs or Bulgars, had appeared as far south as the Thermopylae, and Justinian is said to have received 2,000 of them, and to have settled them in Thrace. Towards the end of the first Bulgarian Empire however, still greater and more fundamental changes occurred in the ethnogra-

phic composition of the population so that one may safely declare that the Bulgarians have nothing Slavonic except their language, and that they are in an overwhelming proportion descendants of various Hunnish tribes. On his advent in Bulgaria, Asparuch found it occupied partly by Slavs, of whom there were to all appearances seven small tribes (Theophanes, De Boor 359.12) which were finally subjugated by the Bulgarians. But the ranks of these Slavs must have been very much thinned since the Emperor Justinian II transferred some 30,000 to Asia Minor, while the Byzantine historians Nichephorus and Theophanes reported that in 761 another body of 208,000 Slavs also migrated from Bulgaria to Asia Minor. While the Slavs were being removed, numerous Syrian and Armenian colonists were being settled by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine V in Thrace and the plain of the Maritsa. Later in the 9th century, some 200,000 Armenians were settled around Philippopolis (Jovan Cvijić: "La Peninsule Balkanique" p 476).

The Slavs did not find in the Bulgarians congeniai companions and they preferred to trek elsewhere because on the whole the Bulgarians were extremely warlike, while the Slavs were a pacific folk. In a letter of the Emperor Romanus Lecapenus to the Tsar Symeon, in which the former was advocating the necessity of concluding a treaty of peace between their respective countries, he stresses the fact that some 20,000 Bulgarians had fled their country in a year and sought refuge in the Byzantine Empire as they were disgusted with Symeon's warlike spirit. The weakening of the Slav element was further intensified by the policy of colonisation of the Slavonic districts in Macedonia by peoples from all parts of the Byzantine Empire which was inauguratsd in 809 by the Emperor Nicephorus. (Theophanes p. 486 10—23).

After the death of Symeon, Bulgaria completely

144 175 exhausted by the wars she had waged, rapidly collapsed. Five Magyar incursions completely ravaged the country. On their heels came Sviatoslav's Russians in 967 who captured the great Bulgarian stronghold of Silistra and decimated the Bulgarians. It was only with the help of John Zimisces that they were finally driven off two years later and Bulgaria south of the Danube became a Byzantine province, and only the western part under the Tsar Samuel where the Bulgarian element survived in force, was able to ward off the Byzantines until 1018. But submission to the Byzantines did not secure for Eastern Bulgaria exemption from further invasions. In 1048 some 800,000 Petsenegs crossed the frozen Danube and the Byzantines settled them in the region around Sofia and Nisch and Ovtse Pole in Macedonia. In 1064, some 600.000 Kumans invaded Bulgaria and advanced into Thrace and Macedonia. These were veritable migrations affirms M. Yanko Sakuzov in his history of the Bulgarians (p. 121). He derives his figures from the eminent Russian historian Wassilievsky whose two book „The 2nd Bulgarian Empire", and „Byzantia and the Petsenegi" are the best documented on this particular period. In 1079 a yet further invasion of Petsenegs and Kumans took place, they penetrated into Thrace and even threatened Constantinople The Emperor Alexis Comnenus was so alarmed that he appealed to the west for help. These Petsenegs and Kumans must have completely swamped the Bulgarians and what few Slav remnants had survived until then in Bulgaria. The Crusaders when traversing Bulgaria in 1096 had to battle mainly with Petsenegs. Albertus, Bishop of Aix, who compiled a history of the expedition to Jerusalem from the year 1095 to 1121 makes vivid allusion to the „Petsenegs who live in Bulgaria".

This explains why the Byzantine chronicler Nikita Akominat who is the main source of documentation con-

144 cerning the period relating to the restoration of the 2nd
175 Bulgarian Empire, refers to Bulgarians as living mainly in Macedonia, while the inhabitants of present day Bulgaria he refers to as Vlachs or Wallachs. Other Byzantine writers however, such as G. Acropolites and G. Codinus mention that the population was composed of both Bulgarians and Vlachs, and this is to some extent confirmed by such chronicles as have been left by the Crusaders. Such as Ansberte's „Ystoria de expeditione Friderici imperatoris", though Ansberte in a passage referring to the military help which Tsar Peter offered to Frederick Barbarossa against Constantinople mentions only 40,000 Vlachs and Kumans and no Bulgarians Villehardouin again calls tne ruler of Bulgaria: „Johanis le Blac; li reis de Blaquie et de Bogrie", Professor Zlatarski, in a study published by the Bulgarian Academy in 1933 rightly expresses the view that the Assenide dynasty was of Kumanian stock. It was certainly owing to their close relationship with the Kumans that they were able to appeal for assistance to their kinsmen across the Danube, And it was only with their support that they successfully revolted against the Byzantines. Naturally the question arises whence this sudden apperance of Vlachs in Bulgaria? Must we accept as likely Weigand's theory that the Rumanian nationality was formed in Bulgaria between 600 and 900 and then gradually moved north across the Danube and that therefore these Vlach subjects of the Assenide dynasty were but a rearguard which had not yet trekked northward? It would be rather more logical to explain the use of the term Vlach as a synonym for Kuman, owing to the long cohabitation of these two peoples in Wallachia and to their being mistaken for one another.

The advent of the Petshenegs and Kumans in Bulgaria relegated henceforth the original Bulgarian invaders

144 175 to a back place, for the Kumanian Assenides were followed yet by other Kumanian Tsars on the throne of Bulgaria, those of the Terter dynasty and finally the Shishmans. The Dobrudja too, became an independent Kuman fief under the Kuman boliar Balik, from whom the Black Sea port Baltchik derives its name, as does the whole province from that of his son Dobrotitch. Other invasions of Kumans are recorded, in 1233, and still later after the Tartars had begun pressing them in their homeland in Wallachia. In their wake the Tartars too made their appearance in Bulgaria and repeatedly invaded the country, a son of the famous Han Nogai, Tsaka, was crowned in 1299 at Tirnovo as Bulgarian ruler though his reign was ephemeral. Soon after came the Turks who dominated the country for five centuries. It is strange that students of Bulgarian history have not taken seriously the irruption of the Petsenegs and Kumans in Bulgaria in the 11th century and still nourish the illusion that the Bulgarians are Slavs These mass migrations must have completely metamorphosed the ethnic basis of the population. There are no estimates of the Bulgarian population of that period, but the first Turkish census reported by Ubicini places the total population of the Danube vilayet in 1876 at 2,591,116 of whom 1,535,466 were recorded as Christians; this after five centuries of relative peace and prosperity, so that it may be easily assumed that the population of Bulgaria prior to the irruption of over a million and a half of Petsenegs and Kumans in the 11th century must have been extremely sparse and practically overwhelmed by such an 197 influx. The greatest marvel is the survival of the Slav tongue in their midst but this must be ascribed mainly to its use in the Church, the clergy being the only cultural force in existence at the time. We can easily gauge its influence by what happened in Rumania where the Slavonic liturgy had been adopted and used until the 18th

1: Karutz--59 E-4 (no date) 1925 E1 Europe
Bulgaria E1

/88/ The Bulgarians

000 1. Hair dress of young women, with tresses decorated with silver. 2. and 3. Decorative pendants. 4. Head ornament of the brides, made of flowers and silver coins. 5. Woman wearing an embroidered blouse and a woven carpet apron. 6. Drawing well. 7. Neck ornament. 8. Hand mill for salt. 9. Threshing sled. 10. Cave dwelling on the Lon. 11. Fire saw. 12. Village street. 13. Shelter of the field herders. 14. Household altar. 15. Rattle board of wood, from a monastery. 16. Signalling horn of a country mailman. 17. Sawing frame.[1]

175 At the time of the Romans present-day Bulgaria was called
101 Moesia in its northern (Danube) region, Thracia in its southern section,
144 and it was inhabited by an Indo-European people of North European extraction, at the time when old Greek, and later Roman and Byzantine, immigrants moved there and intermingled with it. From the sixth century on, the Slavic wave moved closer, and from the seventh century onwards Finnish Turko-Tataric migrant herders and horse breeders repeatedly found their way into this country from the middle Volga.
463 From these the Bulgarians adopted and kept the herding system, by the side of which the Thracian and Slavic agriculture was maintained. The Ottoman Turks coming from the southeast provided the country
181 with its class of craftsmen and tradesmen. This mosaic of races and peoples developed a particularly powerful and healthy stock of people whose high life expectancy is well known, as well as a temperate,
531 industrious, and sober character. It mirrors a corresponding multiplicity
177 of cultures; thus we have in art types that range from the Scythian style and its predilection for phantastic animal forms to the Byzantine and ancient Oriental motifs; from the cellular stone inlays of the period of the Teutonic migrations (belt clasps) to the Tatar decorative pendants (Figures 2, 3, and 7),[2] and from the Slavic joy in ornamentation and
592 colors to the Turkish, recent Near Eastern household industries. The Slavic household community, which takes up every new generation into the fabric of the family, has as its consequence the form of settlement
342 by individual and separate farmsteads. Aside from occasional underground dwelling pits in the loess, of which only the pointed roof of rushes rises above the ground, there are one-story high, rectangular panel-work houses covered with loam, placed either on a level with the soil, or else on top of a wooden substructure for the working sheds.

1 [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a -- Analyst]
2 [See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 57a -- Analyst]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

boys usually became cobblers, tailors, or tanners. In all cases where the sons remained to work in the village, they were expected to turn over to the father a part or all of their earnings. This practice once more emphasized the economic importance of children. 593 857

As far as I could discover, none of the villagers resented my questions into their personal affairs. More than once, after the routine interviewing was over, a man unburdened himself of some hurt or grievance that revealed more than any questionnaire could. It was through such outpourings that I realized how land could dominate or warp completely otherwise normal family relationships of father and sons or brother and brother. 156 554 593

Lonely old Bai Dimiter held especial interest for me since his wife had earlier told about incidents in his past which helped me to understand better why he began to drink so much that his girls felt ashamed of being called his daughters; to see how he bore his loss of economic and social position in the village owing to bad business methods coupled with a disabling accident. The key to the whole situation was the fact that his own father had tricked him in his early married days. After the son had paid off a heavy debt owed by his father, the father refused to deed him meadows in return but frankly confessed: "I fooled you in order to get money." To make the deception harder to bear, Dimiter inherited no land from his father, all of it going to another son with whom the father had been on better terms. Naturally, Dimiter had a falling out with his brother, and took the matter to the courts where, after long litigation, he failed to obtain any part of the inheritance.

The books I had read about Bulgaria in the old days pointed out the role the older brother formerly played when the father died. One village home was actually operated on the old principle of subordination of the younger brother to the older. Hristo, the older brother, was smaller than the younger brother, standing huge and stooped in the low-ceilinged room in such a way that the kerosene lamp cast a grotesque, mountainous shadow behind him. I knew, of course, about these men, as I knew about most village men, from the talk of tavern groups and other willing informants. I knew that they were ashamed of their family name which meant "the son of a donkey," and I knew

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

156 593 554 that Hristo had served in the first World War and had been taken as a prisoner to France, which gave him a definite claim to distinction in the village. He talked easily and willingly of the war but just as willingly turned to discuss the arrangement whereby his brother and he, with their large families, lived in the same room in comparative harmony. In the first place, Sando, the younger, submitted to Hristo's authority, but Hristo, in turn, did not make or execute any plans without consulting his brother. Hristo had the task of managing the farm and doing the field work, marketing the products, and laying in the meager supplies; Sando worked as a teamster and as a day laborer if necessary to earn extra funds for the common treasury kept by Hristo. Some idea of the trust that the younger brother had in the older came from the knowledge that the wages of each long day's work, the pay for every laborious haul, went to the older brother. He spent it as it was needed together with the profits from the farm; he gave the money to the younger brother for clothing his children, for buying his wife new *tsarvuli* (pigskin sandals); he also took for his own use whatever he deemed necessary, though never abusing his prerogative. This was the only such relationship which I came across, simply because brothers did not live together as much as they used to, even in Dragalevtsy, ordinarily so tenacious of the older forms of life.

593 The lot of an unmarried brother in the paternal home managed by an elder brother was likewise one of subordination. I visited one home which bore the unmistakable signs of belonging to a dairyman: milky buckets littered the inside; cows hopelessly switched at flies coming from the ever-present manure piles all over the yard. In the course of the conversation I learned that there was little difficulty between the brothers concerning work: the younger together with the wife of the older got up long before daybreak to milk and prepare the milk for Sofia; later on the older brother got up at the same time as his widowed mother to breakfast and started on his daily trek to Sofia and back. Whenever the younger man had extra money he gave it to the older, with the understanding that he could ask for what he needed. There was one source of trouble in the brotherly relationship arising out of the attempt on the part of the older to dictate whom the younger should marry. The inconsistency in this de-

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

466 656 702

The *trudova* system existed in principle until Bulgaria joined the Axis, though, she like all countries defeated in the first World War, passed through a period when compulsory labor was gradually replaced by compulsory military service. After the *coup d'état* of May, 1934, various groups of army officers controlled many of the country's policies; so it was not surprising to learn of the strengthening of the military forces of the nation. One sign of the government's changed policy was the fact that in 1935 not a single young man from Dragalevtsy went as a *trudovak,* but sixteen were called to do military service. Those eligible for service were called before a commission of army officers and examined; the successful ones passed on to receive military training, and the rest were returned home. Those who were rejected lost some standing in the eyes of the villagers, because it was thought that they had inherited some family weakness. The *family* rather than the individual was blamed.

[558] [596]

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There was undeniably a great influence exercised upon the village by the practice of taking young men, in their impressionable years, away from the village for an interval of several months. They lived in an army barracks or a *trudovak* camp with other young men from different parts of the country. For a time they ceased doing some things which the village thought essential, and they learned to do other things which older family members would perhaps have frowned upon. They went out from a family system where each member worked more or less as a part of the whole; they returned often very conscious of their own individuality, and had to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought once more closed about them. There were some individuals who never again fell completely into line and who turned to Sofia for employment and a more congenial atmosphere.

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Older men who returned to the village as retired noncommissioned officers enjoyed a certain prestige that lingered after brass buttons and clumping boots had been exchanged for the conventional village attire. On the wall of the office of the Village Clerk, the names of all local officials and public employees were posted. There was considerable information regarding each man, but the concluding and perhaps most important item was the statement of the person's service

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Flower bazaar and tavern: It is around the fourth destination on Fridays that fondest memories cling, because this is the spot near the Sofia flower bazaar where young people from surrounding villages go upon completing their morning duties in town. It is here that romance blossoms and young men from one village are introduced to girls from another. While the younger people are amusing themselves here the older people, especially the men, gather at the tavern called *Dulgata Mehana,* the particular establishment to which Dragalevtsy peasants are loyal.[7] They lunch and drink here, they rest here, and here they swap their stories. Nor is it without pride that they tell how Fiodor Chaliapin, the celebrated opera singer, in 1934 spent a very merry evening in this *Dulgata Mehana,* enjoying its drink and atmosphere. Seldom, however, does the peasant get to converse with the Sofia citizenry in this tavern. Here again he is in a peasant world; if he were not, he would feel decidedly uncomfortable. Should he decide to see a movie, in the afternoon he would go to a cheap theater on a side street and guffaw with his fellow peasants.[8]

2. To Serve His Country. The *trudova* system, or that of compulsory labor for the young men of Bulgaria, has received much attention in the West. It served a magnificent purpose, taking as it did young men from villages throughout the land, mixing them up in labor camps, and providing them with picks and shovels for the construction of highways, bridges, and other public works. But now the young Bulgarian citizen is given military training instead. This is not in keeping with the Treaty of Neuilly, which limited Bulgaria's armed forces to 33,000, but what nation in Europe, the Bulgarians ask, has been abiding by the treaties? The trend from *trudova* to military service is shown by the fact that in 1935 not a single youth was called from Dragalevtsy to do *trudova* service, but sixteen went to be trained as soldiers.

The effect of life in a labor camp or a military barracks upon the young men is apparent upon their return to the village. They have gone out from a family system where each member works unquestioningly as a part of the whole; they return, in spite of military discipline, often very conscious of their own individuality, and have to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought again close in about them. However, before the returning young men are reabsorbed by the community, reverberations of struggle are felt throughout parts of the social structure. There are some who never again fall completely into line and who naturally

[7] Every village over a period of years has tended to select one tavern where peasants from that village spend their leisure time while in Sofia.

[8] Fifty-five per cent of the villagers (babies, children, and adults) have never seen a cinema. Out of 265 families reporting, *all* members of 73 families had seen a cinema; *no* members of 78 families had done so.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

156 702 turn to Sofia for employment and sympathy. But the significant fact is that most young people do submit to the process of resocialization and as they grow older adopt the conservatism of their elders. In other words, no attempt is made in the army experience to teach them new farming methods, bee-keeping, animal breeding, or anything else which they might apply in a useful way upon their return to the village.

554 788 484 3. For the Good of His Soul. When asked "Why do you go on pilgrimages to various Bulgarian monasteries?" the peasants often answer: "We go for the good of our souls." No mention is made of the enhanced social status that is theirs as a result of such a trip or the excitement of being sped on their way at the edge of the village by the priest and a flock of relatives or welcomed back far outside the village by the same relatives two or three days later. The most popular place to visit is Rila Monastery, the historic, magnificent establishment in the heart of the Rila Mountains to which thousands come at Easter time. The Dragalevtsy peasants (only thirty-five from the village went in 1934) mix with the assembled multitudes at Rila, attend the services, buy sacred objects, and snatch what sleep they can before starting on the return journey. If they are walking, the pilgrimage requires five or six days; if they go by automobile from Sofia, they spend one day en route each way. In olden days pilgrimages played a great part in creating social contacts between the villages and the outside world. Now we can safely conclude that as other means of making social contact increase, the importance of making pilgrimages decreases.

484 574 4. To Visit Socially. Once a year a Bulgarian village has an "At Home Day." This event always falls on the name day of the saint, angel, or member of the Trinity for whom the local church is named and is commemorated by the preparation of immense quantities of stews for the few hundred guests from outside. Many of these guests are old residents returning with their families for a visit. There is a special service at which bread and boiled corn is blessed, the priest in return receiving a portion of the food. At the meal afterwards, to which all guests are invited, pledges are made for the upkeep of the local church. Many guests would rather go to the homes of friends and relatives than partake of the common meal; this makes more intimate visitation possible. These "At Homes" of neighboring villages are the chief attractions drawing the peasants from Dragalevtsy to other villages. Table 13 on the following page shows us how often Dragalevtsy family heads visit other villages (for the "At Home" as well as other purposes).

484 Combining the data in this table with other information obtained we can make the following conclusions regarding the social visits of Dragalevtsy people to other villages:

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313 476 571 usually divides the village up according to neighborhoods. Thus we have many persons accustomed to associate as neighbors interacting along economic rather than social lines.

II. Duration of Group. The group is temporary, since the *Obshtina* lists have varied from year to year. However, for thirty days the wood-gathering continues, halted in bad weather but energetically pursued in good weather, even on Sundays. During this period there is constant interaction between the members of the group, who get to know the working qualities of the others in an intimate way. The most exciting day of all is the day when the wood has been piled up, the piles numbered, and the family heads take their turn drawing lots for the piles. It is then that the whole family comes in the ox-cart to haul the wood home. There is joy as though a harvest were being gathered. Each family usually takes home from four to five ox-carts full of wood, most of which consists of branches or scrub-growth. After the wood is stacked in the yard, the group is ended; its existence is terminated by the completion of the job it set out to do.

313 476 571 157 III. Structure of Group (Relationship). With thirty individuals, unequally divided as to ability or inclination to work, there must be some sort of leadership to keep the group functioning effectively. The nominal leaders are two men appointed by the *Obshtina*, one as superintendent and the other as his assistant. Leaders appointed by the *Obshtina* usually serve even though they profess an unwillingness to do so. Some members of Group X point out that those who do the most talking against the way the present leaders discharge their functions are themselves loath to accept the responsibility if it is offered to them. The leaders of Group X this year were Stoyanche Chalukov and his god-son (almost his equal in years) Yurdan Chalukov.

The leaders of all ten groups gather on an appointed day to visit the forest with the forest policeman, who shows them how the forest has been divided into ten sections. The leaders then draw lots to see which section will fall to their particular groups. On the day of the visit this fall neither leader of Group X went because each one thought, or at least hoped, that the other leader would go. It so happened that Group X got what its members considered the worst part of the forest, though the leaders maintain that their absence had nothing to do with the section allotted. Upon seeing the state of things, the leaders of Group X went to the mayor and asked that some re-distribution be made on the grounds that the forest had not been equally divided. As such re-distribution seemed out of the question, the mayor suggested: "You go ahead and cut down the wood in your section, and the priest and I will come and visit the forest and see whether people in other sections have bigger piles

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than you. If they do, we'll re-distribute then." But the mayor and the priest never made this visit with the result that the members of Group X have nothing but complaints as consolation.

The duties of the leaders are burdensome. They must decide whether the weather permits work in the forest or not; they must accept or reject some family head's proposal for substitution; they must argue with those who do not work well; they must direct the making of the piles and the equal distribution of the wood among these piles; furthermore, they must keep a record of those who come to work and those who do not. The only authority vested in them is the right to report to the mayor the name of any man who they think should not be given any wood for failure to do his share of the work. However, no such instance occurred this past year.

Quite often a group has a formal structure in addition to the actual structure. This formal or theoretical structure corresponds to the plan of a house; the actual structure corresponding to the shape, relationship of the parts, etc., which may be quite different from the original plan in even so definite a field as architecture.

The woodcutting or wood-gathering Group X has two leaders appointed by the *Obshtina,* under whom the family heads are supposed to work. This is the plan, but we notice that there are variations since many family heads send substitutes. Our first problem is to see whether the appointed leaders are the actual leaders: that is, to see if the plan of the group corresponds with the structure as we discover it.

In order to accomplish this I followed Moreno's method as explained in his book, *Who Shall Survive?* namely, to ask each member of the group which five men he preferred and which five he would eliminate if he were choosing a group of his own with direct reference to one activity—the gathering of wood, and with no interest at all in the question of the friendship involved.

Each of the family heads on the *Obshtina* list furnished us with the information desired. Where some family heads had sent substitutes, we interviewed the substitutes instead. A few people, neither full-time substitutes nor family heads, who worked in the forest from time to time in the place of someone who stayed away were interviewed if they were mentioned twice by others. The only exceptions were numbers 19 and 30, both of whose fathers we interviewed. Some family heads who did not go to the forest were mentioned either as desirable or undesirable, and their names were included on the list which formed the basis for the diagrams.

There was no way of cross-checking to see whether the answers were correct; nor was there any reward to hold up to them in order to identify their emotions with their answers. In this respect, one might consider the method open to question. However, each man was told: "There will be no reward for you in answering these questions, nor will any harm come to you as a

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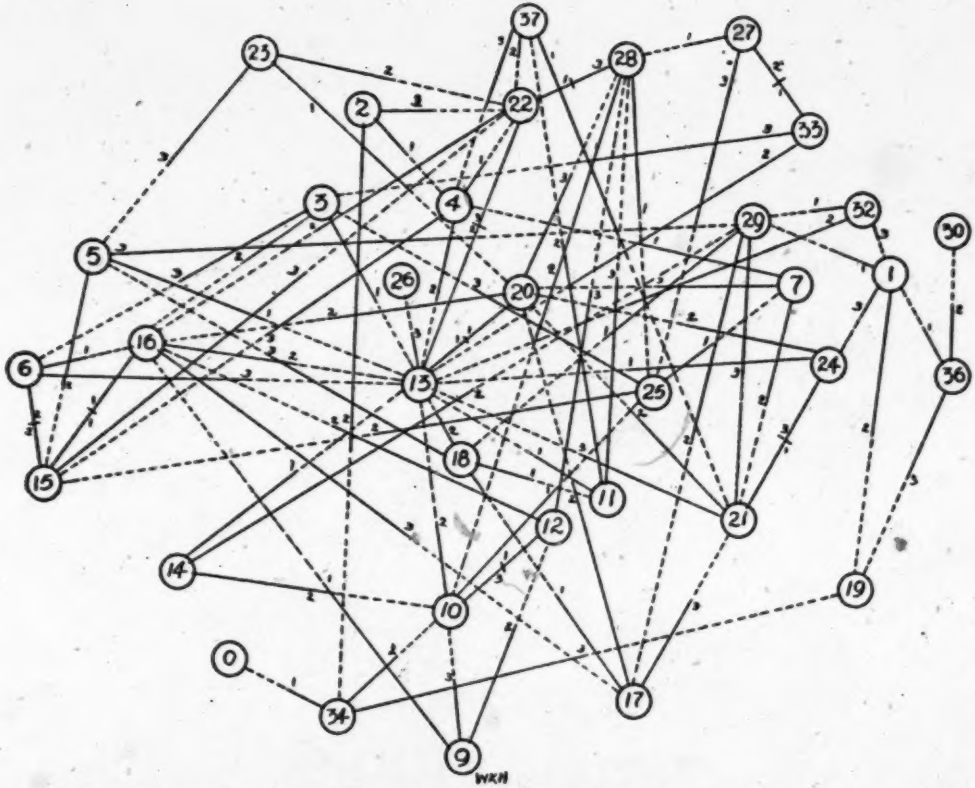

SOCIOGRAM I. Woodcutting Group, Dragalevtsy, Bulgaria—34 men, first three choices

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result. If you answer, it will be simply out of kindness and because of your desire to help me." Such an approach met with a splendid response, since practically all of the villagers knew that a "book" was being written about their village and were eager to help in its preparation. I am inclined to believe that in most cases this desire to help on the part of those interviewed has an emotional content, though it is something hard to measure or estimate.

While these interviews took place over a two-day period during the Christmas holiday recess, I visited the village several times when the wood-gathering was taking place to make family interviews and received considerable incidental material about wood-gathering which seemed to be on everybody's mind. Group X was selected by chance. Since the groups were all equal in size there was no reason to choose any one more than another for the study of the group *per se*. (See Sociogram I.)

An analysis of Sociogram I, which is based on the first three choices of each man, shows us how weak is the leadership of the two men appointed by the *Obshtina*—namely, numbers 4 and 7. At no time do they come out as important leaders but this may be due to conflict situations which arose between them and group members during the course of the wood-gathering. The predominant choice is 13, a hard-working retired railroad man, who is close-mouthed and has the reputation of "minding his own business." He was mentioned 15 times: 6 firsts, 6 seconds, and 3 thirds. This sociogram shows that when the mayor appointed the leaders he did not consider the same qualities which the peasants themselves thought essential. He appointed men who had been former political figures on the assumption that they could also lead capably in the task of woodcutting.

The other leader individuals besides 13 are 10, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 28. An interesting concentration of leadership is shown by the reciprocal bonds existing between some of these eight leader individuals: namely, 15-16, 13-20, 13-22, 22-28. (Notice again the strong position of 13.) The leaders also have the following reciprocal bonds with non-leader individuals: 10-12, 15-6, 21-24. That is to say, every leader individual has at least one reciprocal bond, while three of them have two reciprocal bonds—the majority of these being with other leader individuals. *Furthermore, there is only one other reciprocal bond in the whole group in which a leader does not figure*—namely, 27-33.

Perhaps the quadrilateral 13-20-28-22-13 sums up the concentration of leadership best of all. The only gap is the failure of 28 to reciprocate the choice of 20. But both 28 and 20 are joined by reciprocal bonds to 22 and 13 respectively, who in turn are connected reciprocally. This, it seems to me, demonstrates the value of a sociogram in an analysis of group leadership, for in no other satisfactory way could this quadrilateral be illustrated and its implications manifested.

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WORK-SHEET FOR SOCIOGRAM I

Individual Number	Chose	First	Second	Third
1	–	29	19	24
2	–	4	34	22
3	–	13	16	6
4	–	22	13	15
5	–	13	15	29
6	–	16	15	13
7	–	4	21	20
8	Did not go.	Sent Number 4 instead		
9	–	16	12	10
10	–	25	13	12
11	–	12	37	28
12	–	10	28	16
13	–	20	22	26
14	–	13	10	29
15	–	16	6	22
16	–	15	13	17
17	–	18	20	21
18	–	11	13	5
19	Did not go.			
20	–	13	16	28
21	–	24	20	13
22	–	28	16	13
23	–	29	22	5
24	–	13	20	21
25	–	7	15	3
26	Did not go.	His brother, 33, went instead		
27	–	28	33	25
28	–	25	10	22
29	–	18	17	21
30 and 31	Did not go.			
32	–	29	13	1
33	–	27	13	3
34	–	outsider	10	19
35	Did not go.	No. 3 went for him		
36	–	1	30	19
37	–	21	22	4

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IV. EFFECT OF KINSHIP ON CHOICES. Twenty-seven of the thirty-four individuals comprising this group are related to some other individual in the group.[1] Therefore, the question naturally arises as to the influence of such relationship upon the choices that the men made. Sociogram II, on the following page, shows seven clusters, each cluster made up of related individuals bearing the same family name. Of course, some of the individuals within a cluster are only distantly related because the joint-family names in Dragalevtsy have a place connotation in addition to the one of relationship. But just the same, the village usually thinks of the Pachevi or the Chalukovi as a definite group in the community bound together by kinship as well as geographical proximity. The sociogram also shows the choices made by each individual for other individuals in the same cluster. A few in-law relationships are not shown in this sociogram, but an examination of the data showed them to be relatively unimportant in this woodcutting group.[a]

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I was interested in my analysis of the group to see what effect a feeling of insecurity on the part of an individual might have upon his choice of a relative. The best measure of this feeling of insecurity seemed to be the failure to receive favorable votes. It does seem significant that every individual[b] shown on Sociogram II who received only one or else no favorable votes from the group at large selected some relative, with whom he naturally felt on more intimate terms. When an individual received as many as two votes from the group at large, then the chances were about fifty per cent that he would name a relative among his first three choices. Of course, the unwanted individual does not know definitely the opinion, expressed on the questionnaire, which the general public has for him, but in a face-to-face society like Dragalevtsy every individual has a rather clear picture of his social status. This was illustrated forcibly when 23, who received the largest number of negative votes, refused to name any individuals which he would reject from a woodcutting group of his own formation. He co-operated in naming those he would like (two of the first three being relatives), but lacked the hypocrisy necessary to name any others as being undesirable; he knew where he stood in the opinion of the community.

Not only was I interested in the position of the person choosing relatives but also in the position of the relatives chosen. I wondered, for instance, if relatives out of kindness or a sense of loyalty would list some kinsman whom the group at large might reject. This did not prove to be the case because only one person named by a kinsman was not listed by someone outside the

[a] The *svatovshtenie*, or in-law relationship, is very important in Bulgarian villages—so much so that two brothers cannot marry two sisters, since the second brother by marrying a sister-in-law would be marrying a relative, something taboo.

[b] The Voynishki (Numbers 36 and 37) are exceptions here, but since they are not on speaking terms one would not expect them to choose each other.

[1] [This refers to a woodcutting group studied by the author; see pp. 250-256, category 116 -- Analyst]

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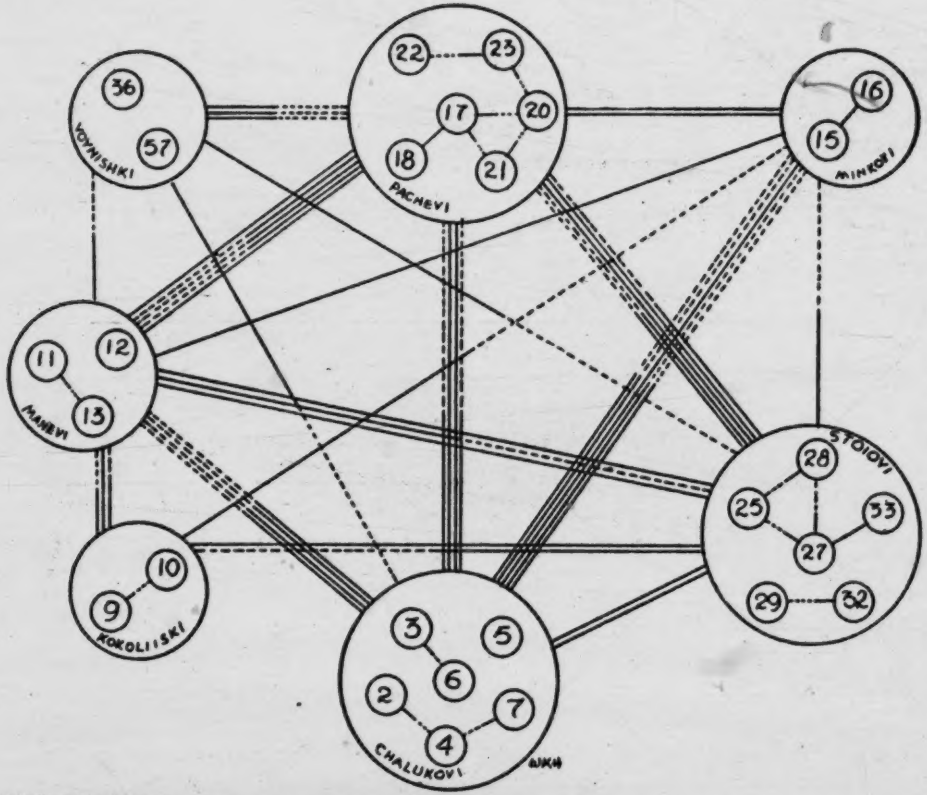

SOCIOGRAM II—EFFECTS OF KINSHIP ON CHOICES. Each cluster is made up of related individuals bearing the same family name. Lines between clusters show the number of times members of one cluster mentioned those in another cluster (first three choices).

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kinship group. That is, individuals who chose relatives chose those upon whom the group at large likewise placed approval. 476 571

Sociogram II likewise shows us the status of the different kinship clusters as far as the woodcutting activity is concerned. The Pachevi, Stoiovi, and Chalukovi, each consisting of six members, are comparable in size but received 16, 9, and 6 votes respectively. The other clusters, made up of two or three members, are similarly comparable but vary considerably: Voynishki, 1; Kokoliiski, 3; Minkovi, 10; Manevi, 15. The size of the cluster has little to do with the number of votes received; it is rather the popularity of certain individuals within the cluster which determines the voting. 554 602 157

My conclusions regarding the effect of kinship as far as this one group is concerned are: (1) the choices of unwanted individuals included a relative with whom they felt some security; (2) the persons chosen were usually those upon whom the group as a whole set its stamp of approval; and (3) family clusters can be said to have a status in the same sense that individuals do, and are rejected or mentioned favorably through the medium of the individuals comprising those clusters.

181 that he need not stand on ceremony with it since it has
641 mercilessly exploited him. He is generally a man who will abide by his promise but he expects that others will likewise do so, and it is very often disregard for assumed obligations that leads the Bulgarian to wreak savage vengeance on the person who breaks a compact.

181 In spite of the fact that the Bulgarian people have been
157 subjected for centuries to a rigorous negative selection, for all outstanding personalities were either exterminated by the Turks with whom they necessarily entered in conflict, or became denationalised by offering their services to more advanced nations, in the midst of which they alone could exert their talents, they, nevertheless may be considered as intellectually one of the most gifted of the Balkan peoples.

The value of a people is not gauged by the level of the average individual, but by that of the exceptional men belonging to it; such at least is the opinion of leading sociologists such as Dr. G. le Bon, and Wm. Mc. Dougall so that in this respect Bulgarians have little cause to envy their neighbours. The appearance of exceptional individuals amongst the Bulgarian people has been noted even by Prof. Jovan Cvijić, who writes in his „La Peninsule Balkanique", p. 479:

„De cette très ancienne histoire il y a un fait à retenir, c'est l'apparition d'individus doués d'une volonté extraordinairement puissante. . . La prépondérance de ces fortes individualités nous frappe encore dans les époques plus récentes de l'histoire bulgare. même après la liberation. Le personnage le plus representatif à cet égard fut Stefan Stambulov. Les politiciens bulgares paraissent doués d'une force de volonté plus agissante que ceux des autres types yougoslaves etc"

If in one generation from amongst five million Bulgarians, arose at least three men of genius such as Slaveikoff, Vazoff and Mihailovski this proves that the Bulgarians are a stock worth conserving, not only for

itself, but also on account of the good that humanity might ultimately derive from the flowering of such genius as may arise from its midst. Many will retort that the above mentioned men though talented can in no way be considered as geniuses, but this assertion is obviously refutable, for one in forming a true appreciation of their value should first of all take into consideration the environment in which these men were nurtured. If in spite of the stunting influences which they encountered in the midst of which they have developed, they nevertheless attained such an indisputable preeminence, it cannot be denied that these men must have possessed exceptional mental attainments.

LITERATURE AND ART

There are few peoples who in such a brief space of time have equalled the achievements of the Bulgarians in the domain of literature. Without any literary or artistic traditions, except perhaps for the writings of the poet-revolutionary, Christo Botev, without even a literary language, the Bulgarians within the half century of their independent existence as a State, have attained to a level of development in the realm of letters of which many older nations would have justly been proud, and which more than the remarkable material progress accomplished by them, marks them out as a higly endowed people worthy of our admiration and esteem.

Several decades ago, the translation into English of Ivan Vazov's novel "Under the Yoke", proved a revelation and evoked the unstinted applause of all critics. No less a person that Edmund Gosse wrote a most eulogious preface to the book. Yet this was one of Vazov's early works, written at a time he had not yet attained maturity,

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case his wife needed him, although he invariably grumbled in his native Russian upon being called away from the game. A fourth hand during the summer was a reserve army officer whose intense love for German efficiency and ideology and whose contempt for the "ignorant, unreliable peasant" became bywords in the community. Peasants sitting on the porch of Bai Ivan's tavern on the eastern side of the square could observe with seeming indifference the intelligentsia at play, distracted though they were at times by the fervent temperance lectures delivered by the tavern keeper's daughter-in-law whenever she placed a glass of *rakiya* in front of a customer.

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These intelligentsia proved to be interesting people. The mayor had a good education, completed by the study of law in Russia. His father had been a priest in Boyana, a village just four miles to the west, so the mayor, himself a *Shop,* knew the workings of the peasant mind. When he was sent to the village as mayor back in 1934, after the *coup d'état* of that year abolished all elections and deprived many local officials of their jobs, he issued a flowery proclamation which contained such thoughts as these:

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> Therefore, as I take up my duties, desiring greatly to use the small abilities that I possess for the economic and cultural uplift of the villages included in the commune entrusted to my care, I wish to express my good feelings of loyalty and friendliness and attachment to the population and to certify that I am ready to work for the uplift of our commune and to be the loyal conveyor of its economic and cultural interests and needs.
>
> Imbued with the idea that we are all members of the same family, sons of mother Bulgaria, let us forget the recent past of shameful partisan struggles and begin to live as genuine brothers—Bulgarians filled with mutual love, patience, harmony, respect, and good will.
>
> Let us do our duty to these beautifully situated villages, perched on the slope of Mount Vitosha, and make them attractive gardens, with culture, and places of merriment and songs.

The people soon learned that the mayor when excited talked so rapidly that he failed to enunciate clearly, and they always enjoyed mimicking this mannerism. They did not particularly resent his management of their affairs, despite the fact that he had been sent by the central government which gave local communes no choice in

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622 159 the matter. The mayor was happily married to an attractive wife, who dressed *po modata* (in the latest fashion) and kept her children so neat and proper that they contrasted vividly with the peasant urchins who ran up and down the unpaved streets.

625 159 622 The mayor was charged with maintaining law and order with the help of the *strazhar* (police officer), the field policeman, and the forest policeman. The second wandered from field to field to see that cattle did not stray unattended onto strips where there were growing crops; the forest policeman prevented the purloining of wood from the forest lands used by Dragalevtsy people. The mayor also acted as local justice of the peace, and was ex officio member of the school board, health board, and any other village organization he considered worthy of serious attention.

793 622 But the mayor, although he enjoyed the spotlight, had to share it with the village priest. For five centuries, while the Bulgarians were subject to the Turks, the priest was often the only person in a village with any formal education. He not only interpreted the laws of God, but the laws of man as well. The Bulgarian monks and priests helped keep the feeling of Bulgarian nationality alive during those dark days, and thereby eventually aided in the achievement of national independence in 1878 at the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish [554] War. Since traditions die slowly in a Bulgarian village, the position of the priest is still very high, although few people attend religious services and fewer people observe the rather rigid fasts of the Eastern Orthodox Church. However, the priest is an essential officiant at christenings, weddings, and funerals. Without him the peasants have no way of meeting life's major crises.

159 793 581 Father Sava was the *sveshtennik* or priest in Dragalevtsy. He wore with dignity his long black gown and high brimless hat, his uncut red hair in a knot at the back of his head, and a long auburn beard. I never failed to marvel at his wide range of interests. One day we would poke around his beehives; the next day he would show me his favorite photographs and competently discuss the relative merits of American and German cameras. But it was after I learned of the man's romance that I began to see him in a clearer light. The young lady whom he wanted to marry was the daughter of a priest

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who flatly decreed that his daughter could marry no one but a priest. 159
(Not only are priests well provided for financially, but they can marry 793
only once. This means that they supposedly take exceptionally good 581
care of their mates.) Sava had already completed the commercial gymnasium, had studied for two years in a school for leaders of co-operatives, and planned to attend the university. In order to comply with the demands of his sweetheart's father, however, he interrupted his educational plans long enough to prepare himself for the ecclesiastical examinations, which he passed with credit. He was then assigned to the Dragalevtsy parish. Meanwhile he had married the young lady of his choice. Soon thereafter he obtained leave of absence from his church responsibility in order to complete his work in Finance at the Svoboden (Private) University in Sofia. He was highly respected by the people whom he shepherded and was vitally interested in their welfare.

There were often two or three kibitzers while the intelligentsia 557
played cards. These were lesser officials interested in advancement, or well-to-do peasants who wanted to hobnob with the controlling group. None of these hangers-on had been westernized to the point [291]
of wearing a tie, and some of them still wore the heelless, pointed pigskin sandals.

Oddly enough for a Bulgarian village, the veterinarian and 759
physician were both women, who constantly found the patriarchal 562
traditions stumbling blocks to the winning of village support. The medical doctor was a Russian who had spent part of her childhood in San Francisco, but returned to the University of Petrograd for her medical training. After the Revolution she left Russia with her family.

The only other "educated" people in the village were the 875
teachers, eight in number, selected for their posts by outside school authorities rather than by the villagers themselves. Four of the eight had been born outside the pre-Hitler boundaries of Bulgaria, in territories which irredentist Bulgarians sought to recover permanently. Maria, for example, was from Dobruja, which was then a part of Rumania; Anna and Georgi were born in parts of Macedonia which

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The artisans, though few in number, comprised a third occupational group. Just because their knowledge and special skill raised them above the ordinary peasant, these artisans in no sense of the word walked in the rarified atmosphere of the intelligentsia. In 1937 the people of Dragalevtsy supported one blacksmith, one full-time and two part-time tailors, a cobbler, and a barber. Of course, the six or seven Dragalevtsy men who went to Sofia every day to ply a skilled trade were enumerated in the census but had little connection with the economy of the village. The few tradesmen were identified more with the agricultural group than with the artisans.

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One of the most picturesque characters in the village was Iliya, the smith. Dark-complexioned, sturdy of frame, with his stolid face weighed down by enormous mustaches, he was far too forbidding in countenance to attract the village children to his small establishment behind Bai Penko's tavern. In fact, customers often had to look for him in the tavern, where he consumed record-breaking quantities of liquor. In his sober moods he and his two apprentices occasionally worked fourteen hours at a stretch to finish up some much-needed job. The three of them combined wagon-repairing with blacksmithing, working at the lathe almost as frequently as at the anvil. However, frequent preoccupation with hinges, wagon bolts, horseshoes, plowshares, and wheel rims gave Iliya a fair claim to being a *kovach,* or smith. So did his master smith's certificate hanging on the wall.

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Yurdan, the leading tailor, was another artisan. He and his wife Zdravka were a unique couple in that they were the only Dragalevtsy people to become involved in divorce proceedings within recent years. To be sure, Zdravka withdrew her petition for divorce soon after it reached the high church court, which, rather than civil bodies, then decided upon all matters pertaining to marriage. Yurdan had a small but well equipped workroom attached to his trim little house. Although Dragalevtsy-born, he worked for twelve years in Sofia as an apprentice and *maistor,* later becoming the first tailor to set up business in Dragalevtsy.

I often went to converse with Yurdan and Zdravka, for I found them both loquacious and inclined to be objective in their views of village life. I questioned them in particular about the peasant costumes, which always seemed picturesque to me, a foreigner. It was Zdravka who told me how the women made their garments.

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[651] people living in the district, been a part of the village Obshtina. This
178 area had always been referred to by the villagers as the Mahala, or
369 Quarter.

4. Repairs in the village, such as putting a wooden bridge back into commission after a heavy storm, could be made only after the Sofia authorities gave their approval. Thus, maintenance of roads and other services in the village were said to suffer.

[759] 5. No longer did the village have its own doctor, and it had even lost, so the villagers said, all the medical equipment including microscopes and blood-testing units which the village Obshtina had once owned. Instead, a doctor came at irregular intervals to render whatever medical services were required. This loss of medical equipment, even more than the loss of the physician's services, was a hard pill for some of the more active village leaders to swallow.

6. In place of the veterinarian, who formerly lived in the village, one came twice a week to examine animals and to see that the various veterinary regulations were observed.

But whether they liked it or not, the Dragalevtsy people were a part of Sofia, even to the extent of being included in the city's wartime rationing system. The old rural-urban differences persisted, reminding Americans of similar situations in the United States where the businessman's daylight saving time was anathema to the farmer.

● 159 As I tried to reconstruct the chief occurrences of the years in-
565 tervening between my departure in 1937 and the end of the war, I inquired often as to the whereabouts of some members of the intelligentsia whom I had known well. I learned that the mayor, who had been so helpful during my earlier visit, had given up his post during the days of German collaboration. Apparently he had disagreed with the local committee as to procedures and amounts of grain to be requisitioned from the peasants. He had already been suffering from ill health and could no longer stand the pressure of troubles, arguments, and dissatisfactions which each day brought to his office. From Dragalevtsy my mayor friend had been transferred to the picturesque village of Panchevo, which I shall long remember because of the lunch I had there one summer's day many years ago.

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A friend and I had been cycling on the road which followed the Iskar River and stopped at a Panchevo inn. The waiter brought us white peasant cheese, wrinkled brined olives, and freshly made bread to which warm ashes clung. Cold beer made a perfect drink. 159 565

The village priest, who had become such an integral part of village life and managed to keep harmonious relationships between the church and the state functionaries, was no longer in Dragalevtsy. Three years ago he had become involved in an administrative argument with his superior and was told to transfer to a much less desirable parish. Rather than make this shift he went to live in Sofia where, true to his training in finance and commerce, he had a share in a small business enterprise. He still wore his priestly garb, occasionally officiating in a Sofia church. Someone described him as "a minister without portfolio."

The directress of the school was the only member of the intelligentsia who had stuck to her post through thick and thin. She still took the same interest in the all-around development of the children, emphasizing in particular their hygienic training and their religious tuition. There had been considerable shifting in the membership of her teaching staff, but she still had five teachers who, like their predecessors, were more interested in Sofia week ends than village welfare.

The Sekretar Birnik, who had much to do with the collection of taxes and thus enjoyed a social standing out of line with his educational preparation, had also left Dragalevtsy and had been replaced by a local person.

It seemed strange to visit the now completed municipal building and to find the woman doctor no longer there and to notice the absence of her husband from the taverns where he had enjoyed playing cards. Since both were White Russians they knew that their lot under the Communists would be full of uncertainty. No one seemed to know just where they had gone.

Much had been happening to the village organizations as the intelligentsia faded from the scene or were replaced by others with different points of view. The Red Cross, in which the mayor had 575 178

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000 of the milkmen began at once to retrace the long uphill journey from the city's outskirts to the village.

576 Sometimes I overtook these men outside the village and fell in with them.[1] *"Dobra stiga"* ("Well-reached"), I said; and they answered, *"Dal ti bog dobro"* ("God has given you good"). The [822] amenities observed, I then asked about other matters. "How far is it from Sofia to your village?" Always the answer came in terms of "walking hours" and never in kilometers, the accepted measure of distance in Bulgaria. When we would encounter those going in the opposite direction we stopped our conversation long enough to say, *"Dobra sreshta"* ("Well-met"). When I chanced to inquire about the size of Dragalevtsy, the usual answer was, "About three [161] hundred houses." If I wanted to know how many inhabitants this would mean, I multiplied the figure by five, the size of the average household. (The difference between this crude estimate of fifteen hundred and the 1934 census figures of 1,669 persons meant little to the peasant.)

000 No, Dragalevtsy was in no sense of the word a large village, as Sofia savants used to point out to me when they asked where I saw material enough there for a book. Theirs was the loss. An old village with more than sixteen hundred people teems with life. The stuff of which its days are made is rich and lasting; the intricate crisscross of vigorous personalities and deep-rooted folkways proved a never-ending drama for which nature usually provided a superb setting.

788 181 The meadows were lush from the spring rains, some of the fruit trees were in bloom, numberless tiny silver streams spread a glittering net down the side of Vitosha, and a veil of green leaves lay over all the red roofs of the village. Against such a background, a group of peasants made ready for their pilgrimage to Rila Monastery. Such an occasion was as truly an outpouring of joy as was the departure of the Canterbury pilgrims in Chaucer's day. The clanging of the church bell summoned the friends and relatives of the departing pilgrims to the incense-filled church. Inside, before the iconostas, dark and gilt, the priest read a prayer and led the little flock of people to the edge of the village, to the beginning of the outside world, where the

[1] [i.e. milkman delivering their milk to Sofia--Analyst]

most important river in Europe and second, because of the 131
policy of the Great Powers which blocked the routes of this large hinterland of the Aegean Sea to its sea ports.

All who seek to understand the position of Bulgaria 133
should remember that from the central point of the peninsula,

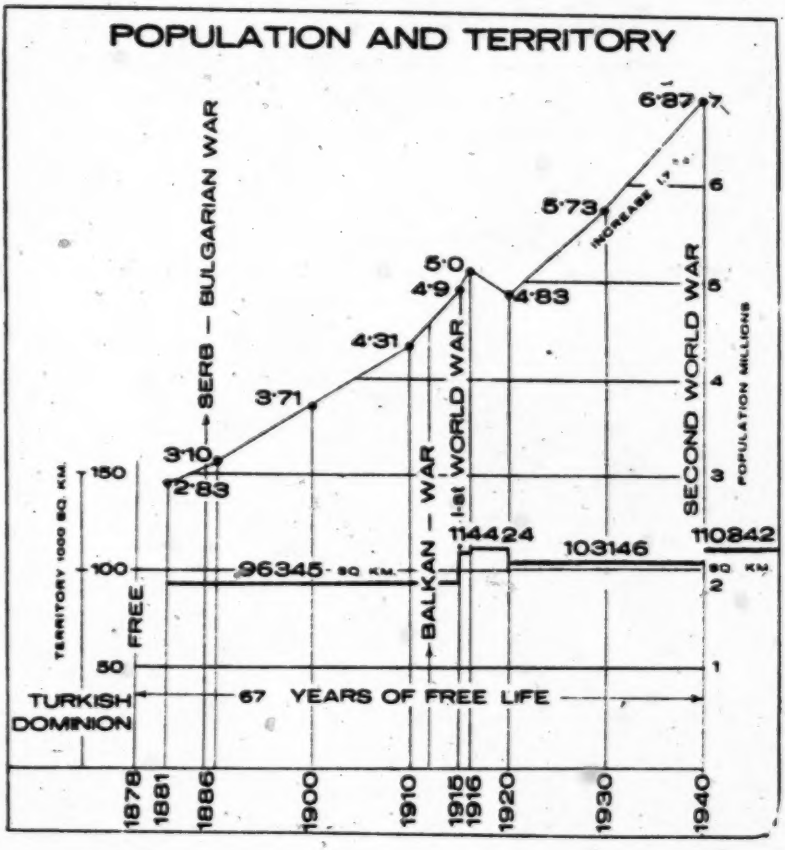

Fig. 12.

around the highest mountain peak of Moussala 2925 m. = 9597 133
feet), spring the main Balkan rivers flowing in all directions (like Maritsa, Mesta. Strouma, Iskar), and in close proximity — the main affluents of the Vardar and Morava rivers (Fig. 2).[1]

The country's diversity of soil and climate afford conditions for an intensive economic life and production. The levels

[1] [See p. 10 -- Analyst]

474 With a population of 6.25 millions we have 275 inhabitants per cooperative society, or 1 out of 6.5 inhabitants is a member of a cooperative society. The members of cooperatives make 15.5% of the total population.

745 **53. Public Insurance.** The income from public insurance for 1938 is 281.4 millions leva. The disbursements for accident, sickness, maternity cases, invalidity, old age and unemployment amount to 155.967.000 leva.

496 **54. Bulgarian Railroads.** (Appendix II) At the time of her liberation (1878) Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia (South Bulgaria) received from the Ottoman Empire 542 km. = 336 miles of privately owned railroads. With a territory of 103.000 sq. km. = 39.400 sq. miles and a population of 2.8 millions inhabitants at that time, Bulgaria obtained 5.26 km. railroads per 1000 sq. km. territory and 193 km. per 1 million inhabitants. The average railroad intensity of Europe at that time was respectively 24.5 and 600 km. so that Bulgaria was 4.65 resp. 3.1 times less favorable than Europe in that respect. Bulgaria possesses to day (Dec. 31, 1944) 3,760 km. = 740 miles of railroad lines; this makes 33.6 km. per 1000 sq. km. of territory and 522 km. per 1 million inhabitants.[1]) Consequently Bulgaria, having increased her railroad network 6.95 times, has increased her network intensity 7.1 times in relation to this territory and 2.7 times in relation to her population (the growth of the population is very rapid). Bulgaria is well nigh to catch up with Europe so far as the average density of the railroad network is concerned. We should not fail to underline this fact, because between 1878 and 1945 the growth of Bulgaria's railroad network for the duration of this 67 years has been at the rate 48 km. of railroads per year. At an average cost of 6.4 millions leva per kilometer for railroads, rolling stock, inventory and other equipment, according to prices of 1941, this would represent an expenditure of about 310 millions leva a year, which is quite a significant amount for the limited financial resources of Bulgaria.

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131 [1]) 1945 Bulgaria has a territory of 110.842 sq. km. = 42.800 sq.
161 miles and a population of 6.9 millions. In Fig. 12 read 110.842 instead of 110.342 sq miles.

7 [See pp. 110(A)-110(B) -- Analyst]

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

1930, while on the B. St. Lines for the same period we have 497
an increase of 20.5%.

The Greek Railways had an increase of only 255 kilometers or 9.6% for the period 1914 to 1940, while Bulgaria increased its railway network with 1.025 kilometers or 48.7% after the two national catastrophies (1913 and 1918). Since 000
1920, for a period of 25 years, Greece has played with the pet idea of building the railroad extension Drama—Kavala, 31 kilometers long, in order to link this sea port with the railroad network. This good intention did not grow up to maturity and the work on this line is left undone until to-day.

Greece suffers of marine hypertrophy. The Greeks control an enormous sea coast line, which they are in no position to make the best use off. Here is how the relation be- 133
tween the sea coast line of the countries and their entire frontier line stands: 80.7% of the entire frontier line of Greece is sea coast line, for Albania the relation is 38.8%, for Yugoslavia — 34.1% and for Bulgaria — 17.5%.

For 1 km. of sea coast we have

Territory: For Greece 22, for Albania 62.2, for Yugoslavia 155 and for Bulgaria 277.5 sq. km.;

Population: for Greece 1060, for Albania 2340, for [161]
Yugoslavia 9900 and for Bulgaria 15.000 inhabitants.

57. Construction Work. It is hard to give a satisfactory pic- 000
ture in this brief study about Bulgaria's accomplishement during the last period of her present free existence. Whatever her achievements might be, they would hardly impress a sophisticated reader, who would wish to measure her with the standards of his advanced country, whose present generation probably owes its spiritual and material progress to the advantages of free life and activity of preceding generations. Our picture, however, would not be complete if we said nothing about the technical developments of Bulgaria or about the work of Bulgarian engineers and architects.

Notwithstanding its limited means, the country spared 653
nothing for its public works. About the beginning of the Second World War, Bulgaria was spending on the average about one billion leva annually for government and municipal building operations. This expenditure grew constantly: in 1936 — 457.600.000, in 1937 — 505.600.000, in 1938 — 534.100.000,

S.P. B. 101 167

In Asia Minor, the Bulgar colonies are found principally in the outskirts of Bruss (now Bursa), a portion in a whole group of communes about the little city of Mikhailich (now Karacabey), another portion, around Kodjebunar*, Suiout*, Kobash, Toibelen*, Novo Selo*, Mandra*, Khaladjebair*, and Kilik*. There are also a few communes, occupied especially by shepherds, on the seashore and about Kyzdervent*, not far from Scutari (Skadar). Kantchov* counts here about twenty Bulgarian communes.

In recent times American statistics also attest to the presence of Bulgar immigrants; but they are mixed with the Serbs in such a way that it is difficult to arrive at correct totals. There should be about 50,000. Valjavec estimates them at 4,000, but this total is obviously too low.

S.P. B. 161

S 37. Statistics.--In view of the fact that the exact number /200/ of Slavs in Turkey proper is not known, it is very difficult to give absolutely exact statistics for the Bulgars. One can only make guesses and, for the balance, refer to the official statistics of the realm which unfortunately are very brief.

At the end of the year 1900 the total strength of the Bulgars should be broken up as follows:

Bulgaria proper (according to the census of 31 December 1900)	2,885,379
Turkish Rumelia, Albania, Constantinople, Asia Minor	600,000
Macedonia (according to Kanchov)	1,200,000
Rumania with the Dobrudja	180,000
Other countries	50,000
Total	4,915,379

In Bulgaria there were, according to the latest statistics, 2,684,735 Bulgars and 20,664 Pomaks, let us not forget that the Bulgarian statistics combine mother tongue and national group. In Rumania, the official statistics do not recognize the native Bulgars; they consider them to be Rumanians and list separately only 7,810 Bulgars as foreign subjects. As we have mentioned above, Weigand estimates the natives at 50,000; Kanchov figures the number of Bulgars in the Dobrudja at 40,000, Ishirkov at 30,000. In Hungary there were

S.P. B. 161

in 1900 about 12,000 (according to V. Cintula). In 1891 the statistics numbered them at /201/ 23,000; but it confused other Slavs with the Bulgars, for example the Serbs of Krasso.

In America, Valjavec figured on 4,000 Bulgars, but obviously this is too few, for in the most recent statistics the Bulgars are always placed with the Serbs. We have seen that in Russia statistics for 1897 enumerated 172,659.

It is in Turkey that estimates are most difficult. For Macedonia I have followed the figures of Kanchov, in regard to his opinion upon the Macedonian problem.

Cvijic has estimated the number of Slavs in the vilayets of Kosovo, of Salonica, and of Bitolj to be 1,300,000 (450,000; 500,000; 340,000). Brankov and Skopalski have figured on 1,172,000 Bulgars; in Turkish Rumelia I have counted the Pomaks among the Bulgars. In the vilayet of Adrianople, Mach estimated the number of Bulgars at 370,000 of the Orthodox religion and 115,000 of the Mohammedan religion.

S.P. B. 161 795

According to a census conducted by Hilmi Pasha and reported by M. Rene Pinon (of which the results are far from being exact), there were in the vilayet of Kosovo 164,476 Patriarchists, 184,912 Exarchists (1), 420,388 Mohammedans; in the vilayet of Bitolj, 309,759 Greek

1. Spiritual subjects of the Bulgarian Exarch of Constantinople, otherwise Bulgars.

Patriarchists, /202/ 11,301 Rumanians, 8,461 Serbs, 178,527 Exarchists, 509,307 Mohammedans; in the vilayet of Salonica, 311,982 Greek Patriarchists, 24,377 Rumanians, 244,723 Exarchists, 531,431 Mohammedans. For these three vilayets, Monsieur Pinon, accepting the old statistics of certain districts, gave a total of 3,267,265 souls, of whom 1,795,359 were Mohammedans and only about 600,000 Bulgarian Exarchists. He counted 850,000 Greek, Rumanian, and Serbian Patriarchists; but of this number the Serbs make up only a very insignificant total.

S.P. B. 161

Other statistical data, for well known reasons, can be applied only to the Bulgars of the Kingdom. This is the only country which provides statistical data. We shall study them here on the basis of the work of Vrbanic, who goes back to the census of 1888.

000 work of Vrbanic, who goes back to the census of 1888.

S.P. B. 163 [162] He[1] presents the following results:

Among the Bulgars the number of men is 1,000 for every 965 women; the males show an excess of births of 54.2%; the ratio between single persons to married persons is for men, 53%; for women 41.9% (4.4% widowers). The birth rate is 36.36 per 1,000; it is below that of the Serbs; on the contrary, the death rate is less than among these, only 18. (compare the figures given above in Section 31). In Bulgaria S.P. B. [165] very few infants die during the first year. They have the lowest infant mortality of any among the South-Slavs /203/ (8.3% only, against 15.4% in Dalmatia, 16.3% in Serbia, 21.2% in Croatia). As a result of this peculiarity, the coefficient of the excess of births over deaths is, if Jirecek is to be believed, as favorable as in Serbia, it represents 1.83. For the years 1881-1887, Sarafov found an increase of 1.85 (during this period there were born 100 boys for 89.7 girls); for the period 1890-1900, the coefficient was, it seems, slightly less. More recently, Iurkevich suggested the figure of 1.5 for the north of Bulgaria and of 1.2 for the south.

S.P. B. 161 According to Popov, the population density is 38.8 inhabitants per square kilometer.

S.P. B. 795 From the religious viewpoint the Bulgars belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church. They have a church of their own whose head, called The Exarch, lives at Orta-koi (now Ivailovgrad) near Constantinople. Along with the Orthodox majority, one finds two dissident groups. The first of these is the Catholic Bulgars, or Paulitians (Pavlikiani). They speak the eastern dialect and live in the districts of Nikopol, of Svishtov, in seven villages in the outskirts of Plovdiv (Philippopolis). There is also a Catholic community at Berdavski Geran, near Byala Slatina, and another, that of Gostilia, near Oryakhovo (district of Vratsa). All of them originated in the region of Plovdiv or Philippopolis, which was formerly their center. They formerly composed a whole series of communities between Plovdiv and /204/ Nikopol. It is from these that there came the colonies of Bulgars who settled in Hungary (Vinga, Besenov), and who are Catholics.

S.P. B. 795 101 Another rather sizeable section is composed of the Bulgars who, under Turkish domination, embraced Islam. They are called Pomaks.

1 [i.e. Vrbanic op. cit. 116, p. 125 -- Analyst]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
222

APPENDIX I

A. TABLES ABOUT THE PEOPLE

TABLE 1

FAMILY HEADS BORN IN DRAGALEVTSY, 1934 CENSUS

●162

	Both Heads Living		One Head (Single or Widowed)		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total number in village	252	252	14	10	266	262
Born in Dragalevtsy	212	139	9	4	221	143
Per cent born in Dragalevtsy	84.1	55.2	64.3	40.0	83.1	54.6

TABLE 2

NATIVITY OF DRAGALEVTSY-BORN MALE HEADS ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE AND THEIR FATHERS, 1934 CENSUS

162

	Total Number in Village (Male Heads)	Male Heads Born in Dragalevtsy		Fathers of Dragalevtsy-born Also Born in Dragalevtsy	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Agriculturists	209	191	91.4	184*	96.3
All occupations	266	221	83.1	213	96.4

*184 out of a possible 191

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

TABLE 3

Family Size in Dragalevtsy, Census of 1934

162

Number of Members in Household	Number of Households	Number of People	Per Cent of Population
1	7	7	0.4
2	13	26	1.6
3	39	117	7.2
4	42	168	10.2
5	46	230	14.2
6	46	276	17.0
7	28	196	12.1
8	21	168	10.3
9	12	108	6.7
10	8	80	4.9
11 and over	18	248	15.4
Total	280	1,624	100.0

TABLE 4

Marital Status of the Dragalevtsy Population, Census of 1926

162

Age (Years)	Married		Unmarried		Total per Age Group
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
Under 15	0	0	325	307	632
15	0	0	16	19	35
16	0	1	25	20	46
17	0	1	29	18	48
18	1	0	21	11	33
19	3	8	22	18	51
20	4	8	11	7	30
21-25	52	44	22	21	139
26-30	63	66	6	1	136
31-35	36	42	3	2	83
36-40	54	55	0	1	110
41-50	57	55	0	0	112
51-60	47	37	1	0	85
Over 60	27	17	1	0	45
Total	344	334	482	425	1,585

105 The Bulgarian case seems particularly apropos for such a study. Unlike Czarist Russia or the countries of Asia, pre-Communist Bulgaria had developed a relatively free and advanced society. Within the framework of a most liberal and democratic constitution, of a social structure without any noticeable class differences and of a predominantly agricultural economy based on independent small landholdings, Bulgaria had produced a social legislation among the [162] most progressive of our time. Native intelligentsia and labor alike represented only about 20 per cent of the population and were nothing more than recent offspring of the nation's backbone—the peasantry—so that no logical conflict of interests had a chance to develop in Bulgaria. Labor, in particular, had attained, as early as the twenties, the status of free labor with all necessary prerequisites, such as freedom of professional organization, free collective bargaining and impartial settlement of labor disputes, the right to strike, freedom of choosing and changing job, and a firm legal protection, including social security. In fact, by 1924, Bulgaria had incorporated into her domestic legislation all recommendations of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations.[4]

466
461

668 In such a harmonious environment, Communism could not and did not have any chance of success. Still, Communist attempts to artificially create a "social problem" and exploit it for their own purposes go way back to the turn of the century, when, in 1903, a small group of Lenin's followers split from the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party and formed a radical-revolutionary nucleus, known later

113

[4] For detailed background information and source material, see author's study *Trade Unions and Labor Legislation in Bulgaria (1878-1953)* (New York: Mid-European Studies Center, 1953).

668 on as the Bulgarian Workers' for Communist Party. Until the creation of the Bolshevik state in Russia, which threw its full support [162] behind the Communist organizations all over the world, the number of Bulgarian Communists, in spite of all efforts, never exceeded 5,000—less than 0.1 per cent of the entire population. Aware that parliamentary means could advance them no further, they resorted, under Moscow's guidance, to the only alternative with some probability of success: the forceful overthrow of the constitutional government. Yet, in 1919, 1923 and 1925, when three desparate attempts to seize power were made, the Bulgarian Communists lacked support by either the Red Army from outside, or infiltrated agents from within the government, so that their failure was complete. The only important result of those Communist experiments was that the Bulgarians and their "working class" were enabled to understand clearly the real intentions of Communism 30 years ago.

The preceding remarks seemed necessary in order to substantiate the conclusion that the pre-Communist Bulgarian reality proved to be an awkward ground for any Communist ac- [162] tivity. Even the Bulgarian workers (about 160,000 before the war) who were the primary Communist target did not find any particular appeal in Communist ideology and promises because there were no relevant reasons for dissatisfaction and many reasons for repudiating the Communist alternative. No risk is taken in assuming that, were it not for Bulgaria's invasion by the Red Army and the simultaneously staged Communist coup d'état, of September, 1944, Communism would never have taken hold in Bulgaria.[4]

[4] It is not well known that the Soviet Union declared war on Bulgaria when the latter had broken with Nazi Germany, had reestablished a democratic government, and was waiting for the armistice's signature with the Western Allies, whose attitude, at the time, is still

Page 610c

B. Jewish Minority

The Jews in Bulgaria numbered about 50,000 and came originally from Spain. Until the last war they lived in absolute liberty and enjoyed all the rights of Bulgarian citizens. The Jewish colony maintained about 30 synagogues, of which seven are in Sofia, three in Plovdiv, two in Pleven, one in Vidin, one in Vratza, etc., and a consistory composed of prominent men, the most notable of whom was the great Rabbi Dr. Ehrenpreiss (actually residing in Stockholm). For more than fifteen years Dr. Ehrenpreiss made a center of his residence from which Hebrew culture was propagated not only in the Balkans but in Eastern Europe as well. [162] 563 795

The Jews not only were not persecuted, but also enjoyed the sympathy of the local population. This explains the fact that, although not numerous, they controlled the greater part of Bulgarian commerce, both domestic and foreign. The relations between Bulgarians and Jews were excellent, and sometimes went even as far as inter-marriage. The wife of the last Bulgarian Minister to the United States, Dr. Nevoran, who is of Jewish descent, is a Bulgarian.

This harmony was not disturbed even after Hitler's seizure of power in Germany when, under the influence of the new regime in the Reich, national-socialist and fascist groups were also organized in Bulgaria. These groups endeavored, among other things, to incite anti-Jewish feelings among the 798 563

000 panied by a representative of the American-Turkish Aid Society, undertook a trip during 1857 in South Bulgaria or, as it was called at that time, Roumelia. They passed through Rodosto and then through Andrinople on their way to Plovdiv (Philippople). Hamlin thought than the Bulgarians were found mostly north of the Balkan mountains. He was greatly surprised to discover that half of the inhabitants of Adrianople were Bulgarians. He[1] said about them: „The spontaneous, modest, kind and respectful behavior of the population can not but attract the attention even of the most casual observer. We were not the object of any ridicule, base curiosity or rough language on the part of either young or old people. We can not say, however, the same about the Greek and Turkish villages". The Bulgarians said to Hamlin: „We have no literature, no schools and, we might even say, we have no language".

[181]

Human culture is founded always on the labour spent for the cultivation of land. During the Hellenic civilization, those who worked the land were called barbarians and, instead of benefiting by it, they were robbed by this civilization. Present Balkan culture, however, suffers from the manifestation of actual barbarism, by blocking the outlets to friendly seas for those who work and labour on the land.

162 **33. The Population of Thrace.** The bigger part of the population of Thrace is Bulgarian. Let us use a few important data:

1. The Bulgarian census of 1919 was carried under very unfavourable conditions. Many Bulgarian Moslems were shown under the clasification of Turks and the Bulgarian population had been reduced, after the Turks had exterminated it, during the so called famous „republic of Giumurdjina".

Bulgarian Christians	87.941	
Bulgarian Moslems	17.369	
Bulgarians total	105,310	47.0 %
Turks	79.539	35.4 %
Greeks	28.647	12.75%
Others	10.922	4.85%
Total	224.418	

1 [Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, American missionary in Constantinople, who visited South Bulgaria in 1857--Analyst]

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

2. The census made by General Charpy, Governor general of Western Thrace from 1918 until 1920, respectively by the Allied occupational forces in Western Thrace, in March 1920. This census was incomplete, because it was made when the Bulgarians were fleeing from their native places and the Greeks were bringing in their „refugees" instead. 162

Bulgarian Christians	69.154
Bulgarian Moslems	11.739
Bulgarians total	80.839
Turks	73.220
Greeks	51.706
Others	6.803
Total	212.622

In spite of the unfriendly attitude and behaviour of the French chief in command of the East, Franchêt d'Eperey, towards anything that was Bulgarian, the sympathies were still with the Bulgarians. This is what Paul Roussel, the Allied Financial Director of the region, brought to the knowledge of Franchêt d'Eperey: „Two peoples contend the future of this country, if we leave aside the Turks, who are to return to the land of their origin... There is nothing left, of what we admire of their past, in the present-day Greeks... There is no doubt that the future belongs to this youthful and sturdy people, the Bulgarians, who are gifted with the rare capacity for work, honesty and saving." 563

34. The Spirit of the Bulgarian population and the Terror Exercised over it. The terror exercised over the Bulgarian population in Western Thrace after the Balkan War, during 1913 and 1914, was in no way less cruel than the one applied in Macedonia. Thousands of schemes were engineered to expel this population from its native lands. Numerous documents show us how bold and enlightened the spirit of this population was in the time of the Turkish domination, however. The Bulgarian peasant population around the city of Drama wanted to have their own Bulgarian bishop and they sent away the Greek bishop of Drama in 1872. The Greek bishop in Drama reported to the Patriarchate;

133 of elevation given for the territory before 1940 (103.146 sq. km.[1]) are:

500 m. above sea level	64.5 %
500 to 1000 m. above sea level	22.9 %
1000 and more above sea level	12.6 %

The distribution of elevations is favorable for agriculture, cattle-raising and forestry. The well-watered vast planes sloping properly assure an intensive cultivation of valuable food and industrial cultures. The plane of Plovdiv is 4.470 sq. kilometers and has an elevation of 200 meters above sea level, the plane of Stara-Zagora is 1583 sq. km. at an elevation of 160 meters above sea level and the Sofia plateau is 550 m. above sea level with a surface of 1185 sq. km. Then we have the huge and fertile Danube plane which runs along the whole course of the river.

162

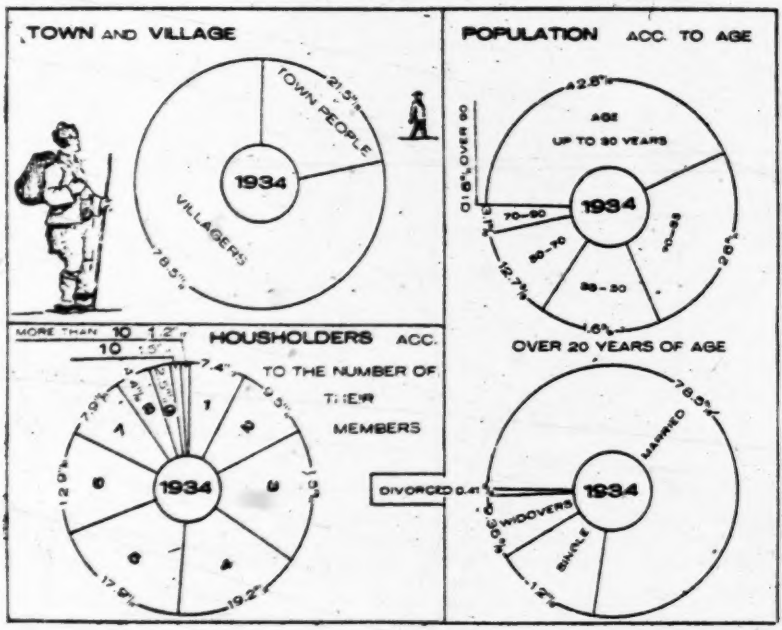

Fig. 13.

[1]) 1 sq. mile = 2.59 sq. km.

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

131 Bulgaria extends on the parallel 5° 42′ 20″ (average latitude 43° North), on the meridian 2° 58′ 58″ (average longitude 25° East), is nearly as large as Hungary and the State of Ohio, USA, and has to-day a territory of 110.842 sq. km. = 42.800 sq. mi.) and a population (1940) of 6.307.000 inhabitants (estimated 1945 — 6,9 millions).

162

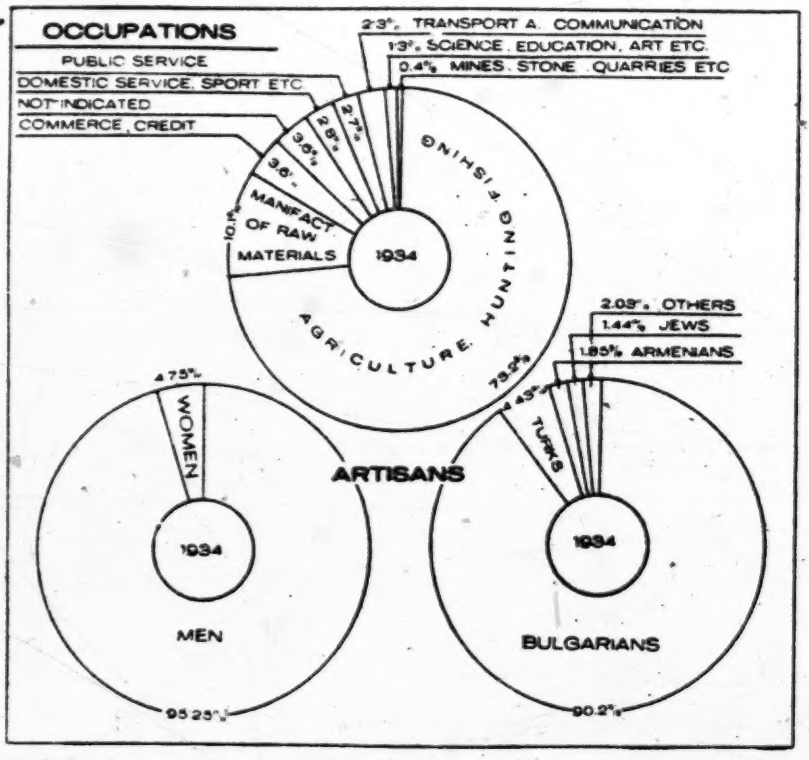

Fig. 15.

43. Bulgaria is a Peasant Country. 78.5% of the inhabitants of Bulgaria live in rural communities and 21.5% live in cities. No essential change has taken place in this structure of Bulgaria's population in recent times:

	1880	*1935*
City population	19.3 %	21,48 %
Village population	80.7 %	79.52 %

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

These figures show how strongly the people are attached to the cultivation of the land. The background of Bulgarian culture was and still is agricultural labour. 162

44. Bulgaria is a Land of small Ownerships. This is the Background of her Democracy.

Let us show the variety of occupations in Bulgaria. The occupations of 1.284.993 households [1]) in Bulgaria are distributed as follows:

	Households		%
Agriculture	838.899	or	65.2
Manufacture of materials	160.000	„	12.4
Commerce and credit	61.518	„	4.8
Public work and service	38.762	„	3.0
Transport and communications	36.682	„	2.9
Science and education	20.114	„	1.7

The distribution of land property will be shown in the figures below. The total of private properties being 42.810.815 dekars equal to 100%, the distribution is as follows: 423

Husbandries up to 10 decares [2])	1.3 %
„ from 10 to 20 decares	4.0 %
„ „ 20 „ 30 „	6.6 %
„ „ 30 „ 50 „	18.1 %
„ „ 50 „ 100 „	36.9 %
„ „ 100 „ 150 „	17.0 %
„ „ 150 „ 200 „	7.3 %
„ „ 200 „ 300 „	5.2 %
„ „ 300 „ 500 „	2.0 %
„ „ 500 and more	1.6 %

Since at present Bulgaria could not rely on more guaranteed sources of income for her economy, than those which are connected with her agriculture; along with the efforts laid for the improvement of crafts and industries, the Government takes special care for the agriculture of the country, as the main support of the state and the main background of the democracy of her agrarian population. 241 311

How is land worked in Bulgaria? The private and public land for exploitation being 43.684.381 decares equal to 100%, its distriburion is as follows:

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[1]) This information is based on statistics for 1934, which is the last census year.

[2]) One decare = 0.247 acres. One acre = 4.047 decares.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES

133 In the west, and south of the Balkans lies the Sofia basin, at an altitude of some 580 metres, crowned by the picturesque Vitosh Mountain, reaching a height of 2,287 metres, at the foot of which lies the capital of the country, Sofia. The country to the north of the Balkans forms a table land, intersected by several affluents of the Danube. its eastern part gradually merging into the waterless region of the Deli-Orman, a part of which is now in Rumania. The south western part of Bulgaria is formed by the upper part of the valleys of the rivers Struma and Mesta and constitutes that part of Macedonia which has reverted to Bulgaria.

162 According to the census taken on December 31, 1934, the total population of Bulgaria was 6,090,215, or 59 inhabitants per square kilometre. The vast majority of the population was rural, the urban population being only 21.48% of the total and segregated mainly in the following towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants: Sofia 287,976; Plovdiv 100,485; Varna 70,183; Rustchuk 49,388; Burgas 36,099; Pleven 31,764; Sliven 30,683; Stara-Zagora 29,857; Haskovo 26,622; Shumen 25,734; Yambol 25,125; Pazardjik 23,387; Vidin 18,599; Assenovgrad (Stanimaka) 17,817; Vratsa 16,477; Kustendil 16,386; Pernik 15,977; Dupnitsa 16,071; Razgrad 15,700; Kazanlik 15,097; Lom 14,807; Timovo 14,100; Gabrovo 13,823; Svistov 12,112; Tsirpan 11,308; Samokov 11,031; Tirgovishte (Eski Djuma) 10,421; Panagurishte 10,188; Petritch 10,121; Gorna-Djuma 10,028; There are 67 other urban centres of less than 10,000 inhabitants, but which in fact are mere villages, the smallest of these is Melnik, with a population of only 548 inhabitants.

133 Bulgaria owing to her extremely variegated structural character offers an astonishing diversity of landscape scenery

197 century. As a consequence the Rumanian language was slavicised to the extent of 2/5, while the Latin element was reduced to the proportion of only 1/5 of the total. (Cihac, „Dictionnaire d'étymologie Daco-Romane". Francfort S. M. 1879. Cf. its preface).

197 103 The irruption and settlement of the Petsenegs and Kumans as was to be expected, left numerous traces in the topography of the country both to the north and south of the Danube. Such names as Petsenoge, Petsenevtse, Petseniaga, Petseneshka, Koman, Kumanitsa, Kymanovtsi, Comanca, Comani, Comanitsa, Comanesti, Comanca, Kumanovo and Gumendja abound and clearly indicate their origin. The Kuman tongue was akin to Turkish, and there is a written M. S. in it in Venice, the study of which would reveal that many words used in the Bulgarian and Rumanian languages and supposed to have been adopted from Turkish, were more probably borrowed direct from the Kuman tongue. This would be more evident in Rumanian where there was no direct contact between Rumanians and Turks, but where on the contrary Wallachs and Kumans lived side by side for centuries

162 According to the census of 1926 the ethnic minorities in Bulgaria were classified as follows according to race, language, and faith. At the time the total population was 5,478,741, including 4 3,011 foreigners, (mainly White Russians, 19,000).

Turks:	577,552	Turkish-Speaking:	588,105	Orthodox:	4,568,773
Gipsies:	134,844	Gipsy „	134,844	Moslems:	789,296
Rumanians:	69,080	Rumanian „	70,631	Jews:	46,431
Jews:	46,558	Judeo-Spanish „	46,322	Armeno-	
Armenians:	27,322	Armenian „	27,322	Gregorians	25,402
Greeks:	10,564	Greek „	10,564	Protestants	6,735
Tartars:	6,191			Various	1757
Gagauses:	4,362				
Kutso-Vlachs:	1,551				
Total	878,024				

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
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tures, and the Russians could legitimately conclude that the warm friendship suddenly manifested in both countries when Red troops marched in was not wholly sincere. 648

The United States made a serious effort to insure effective democratic government in the Balkan region. For example, with Great Britain, it protested against the manner in which the Bulgarian elections of November, 1945, were conducted. The voting had led to a scarcely contested triumph for the pro-Communist Fatherland Front. The matter was debated at the Moscow Conference which convened in the next month, and the Russians indicated that possession was just about the whole of the law, although they did agree to include representatives of other parties in the government. From that time on, Soviet domination of the two countries slowly and implacably became more complete, and any likelihood that Western intervention could alter the course of events evaporated like a morning mist.

Except Greece, Bulgaria was the country in which the Greek Orthodox Church was strongest. Moslems were the only minority of notable size, Jews and Roman Catholics and Protestants being negligible in number.* Accordingly, as soon as the Russians had taken over and begun to establish a collectivist economy, the Orthodox Church was an object of immediate attention. There was a maneuver which has been a topic for speculative comment ever since. For many years the hostility between Bulgaria and Greece which had its roots in the struggle for Bulgarian independence had manifested itself also in the 648 662 795

* Prewar population statistics for Bulgaria reveal that 83.5 per cent were Greek Orthodox; 14.3, Mohammedan; 0.9, Jewish; and 0.8, Roman Catholic. Postwar (1948) estimates for Rumania indicate that 72 per cent of the population were Orthodox; 10, Roman Catholics according to the Greek rite; 7, Roman Catholics; 4.6, Calvinists; 2.3, Jews; and 1.6, Lutherans. Other Protestant groups, including Unitarians and Baptists, constituted about 1 per cent. Most Rumanian Catholics and Protestants belonged to German or Hungarian minority groups.

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
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There is an austere puritanical fanaticism about the regulations which is difficult for an American, inured to doing what he pleases, to comprehend.

Virtually all potential foes of the Communist regime in Bulgaria have been sent to such camps, which means that any person who deviates in the slightest degree from the established Communist norm invites the public prosecutor to get on with incarcerating him. It is difficult to believe that the system is as far-flung and well established as it is; but the Communist authorities themselves have made available a substantial amount of information on its extent. There are at least thirty slave-labor camps in Bulgaria, and it has been estimated that at least 500,000 persons have been confined in them during the seven years of Communist rule. Among the inmates have been whole families—men, women, and children. Before we condemn the Bulgarian Churches for cowardly behavior it may be well to ask what we ourselves might have done in the circumstances.

[162]

II

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Rumania was not fully subordinated to the Communist Party until the close of 1947. On the eve of the invasion of the country, which had been the only one to lend full support to the Nazi cause, young King Michael overthrew the Iron Front government and its strong man, General Antonescu, by a *coup d'état*. The new Government, in which a general also served as Premier, accepted the terms of armistice. Nevertheless by March 6, 1945, the Communists were unmistakably in control, although a fellow traveler, Dr. Petru Groza, was selected to head a government in which they had the upper hand. At the Potsdam Conference the United States, Great Britain, and Russia agreed to sign a treaty of peace with Rumania as soon as a government should be formed which was "broadly repre-

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Along this very little-known line, the territory of the Bulgars and of their neighbors the Serbs is penetrated in a south-westerly direction by an Albanian wedge. From Vranje to Kumanovo, /192/ from Skoplje to Tetovo there are to be found a great number of Slav villages more or less Albanianized. It is difficult in these regions to draw a very clear boundary.

Towards the Debar (Alb., Dibra) the Bulgar frontier turns towards the south and follows the left bank of the Black Drin in the direction of Lake Ochrida, which it partially circles, then follows the Devol River, Lake Malik, reaches the city of Koritsa and finally that of Kostur (now Kastoria). The outskirts of Kostur are still Bulgarian as far as Krupishte* on the Aliakmon River (Mac., Bistritsa). Here the boundary turns toward the northeast, towards Lake Osyrovon (now Vegoritis), then it runs to Voden (now Edhessa) towards the lower course of the Aliakmon and reaches the Gulf of Salonika, which it follows to that city.

The outskirts of Salonika are Slav. Beyond that city the boundary runs across the plain of Lankadas toward the Chalcidice, goes through Visoka, Zarovo, Sukho, Njegovan as far as the confluence of the Struma and Lake Takhin* and towards Seres (now Serrai) where it encounters Greek, Turk, and Bulgar populations. From Serrai, according to Tsanov[1] the boundary follows a broken line, poorly known as to its details, which crosses through Turkish Rumelia, reaches Dimotika (now Didymoteikhon) of the lower Maritsa, then through Uzunkopru, Babaeski, Corlu, and Kataldja*, it runs as far as the outskirts of Constantinople.

The western[1] boundary of the Bulgar national group is formed by the shore of the Black Sea as far as the Danube.

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But the boundary drawn by Tsonev[1] does not outline /193/ a compact population but only the extreme limit of Bulgar groups in the Balkan peninsula. Already the most southern sections of the districts of Philippopolis and Stara Zagora are more sparsely peopled by Bulgars I cannot speak, for want of exact information, of the ethnographic conditions in Turkish Rumelia. On the other hand, we know that the regions located between the Iantra and the sea are more sparsely populated with Bulgars.

Thirty years ago this region was populated by a majority of

[1] [SIC - Analyst]

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Mohammedans. A few districts were even purely Turkish, notably that of Khaskovo, near Silistra which contains only 6% Bulgars, that of Omortag (formerly Osman Pazar) (12.5%), that of Bazaurt (14%), that of Kemanlar (now Isperikh) (19%), that of Shumla (now Kolarovgrad) (24.3%). The Bulgars were the most numerous in the districts of Kesarevo (59%) and of Ruse (59%). In these regions they had a majority only in the towns. According to Sarafov, there were 482,000 Bulgars in this region in 1881. In 1888 there were more than 443,000 of them. In 1900 there were 417,694 Turks, 9,824 Gagauz and 18,079 Tatars in the districts of Ruse, Varna, Shumla, and Trnovo.

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According to Iurkevich the number of Turks in all of Bulgaria has diminished since 1888 by 12.5%. Thus the situation has noticeably improved in favor of the Bulgars.

/194/ According to the census of 1900 the following is the situation relative to the Turks and the Bulgars:

District of Ruse: 153,730 Turks (without the Gagauz and the Tatars) and 175,216 Bulgars.
District of Pleven: 12,261 Turks and 270,010 Bulgars.
District of Trnovo: 25,180 Turks and 366,687 Bulgars.
District of Vidin: 4,444 Turks and 142,975 Bulgars.
District of Shumla: 130,975 Turks and 108,579 Bulgars.
District of Varna: 107,839 Turks and 131,325 Bulgars (making a total of 433,779 Turks and 1,194,943 Bulgars).

The districts which present the most compact masses of Turks are those of Balchik, Varna, Bobrich (now Tolbukhin), Kurtbunar, and Provadiya in the districts of Varna; those of Eski Dzhumaya (now Targovishte), Osman Pazar (now Omortag), Popovo, Preslav, and Shumla in the district of Shumla; Elena, Svichtov, and Sevlievo in the district of Trnovo; Biela, Razgrad, Ruse, Silistra, and Tutrakan in the district of Ruse. The district of Burgas contained in 1900, 37,041 Turks, 39,652 Greeks and 218,189 Bulgars; that of Starazagora, 31,379 Turks along with 350,380 Bulgars. That of Plovdiv (or Philippopoli 24,886 Turks against 313,847 Bulgars (without the Pomaks) (1). In

1. On the Pomaks, see the following section.

/195/ for the table on this page see the next manuscript page/

this region /196/ the Turks live especially in the arrondissements of Karlovo, Peshtera, Plovdiv (Philippopolis), Stanimaka (now Asenovgrad),

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1: Niederle--121 E-5 1911 E/(Slavic Peoples E/(Bulgaria E51

The Principal National Groups In Bulgaria In 1900

Districts	Bulgars	Pomaks	Serbs	Turks	Gagauz	Tatars	Greeks	Gypsies	Rumanians
I Burgas. . . .	218,189	3	26	37,041	28	132	39,152	10,985	29
II Varna. . . .	131,325	37	43	107,839	9.809	11,329	7,720	9,000	752
III Vidin. . . .	142,975	24	398	4,444	2	20	163	5,686	39,977
IV Vrátsa. . . .	230,536	631	145	2,039	--	109	45	9,081	12,225
V Kustendil. .	191,477	--	8	599	--	--	82	1,605	141
VI Plovidiv. . . (Philippopolis)	313,847	17,055	57	24,886	1	31	14,880	11,146	115
VII Pleven. . . .	270,010	2,837	133	12,261	2	510	46	7,277	9,752
VIII Ruse.	175,216	10	62	153,730	6	3,919	697	8,403	5,697
IX Sofia.	365,364	30	545	874	--	1	845	5,838	286
X St. Zagora. .	350,380	2	12	31,379	5	2	2,720	7,823	12
XI Trnovo. . . .	366,837	13	67	25,180	3	173	122	5,206	1,841
XII Shumen. . . .	108,579	2	20	130,945	6	2,658	230	7,513	196
Total	2,864,735	20,644	1,516	531,217	9,862	18,884	66,702	89,563	71,023

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Kazanluk, Kharmanli, Khaskovo, Aytos, Pomorie, Karnobat, and Sliven. Detailed figures will be found in the table above.

Along with the Turks the Tatars are likewise diminishing, except in the region of Varna where they are increasing. After them come the Gagauz, Christian descendants of the ancient Turko-Tatar invaders.

The Greeks, as is to be expected, are particularly settled on the shore of the Black Sea, notably in the region of Burgas, and in the interior areas around Ploviv (Philoppopolis), especially in the sector of Stanimaka (Asenougrad)--this town is today Greek--to the west of Kyzyl Agach, at Kavakla and in its neighborhood. Along the coast, the most northern Greek colony is Novo Selo near Varna; among the Greek towns we should also mention Mesembria (now Nesebur), Pomorie, Sozopol, and partly Burgas.

The Jews and the Armenians nowhere form compact groups. The gypsies are numerous, but they are scattered throughout the Kingdom.

In the mountainous regions they sometimes form the majority of the population, for example in the outskirts of Elena and of Plovdiv (Philoppopolis). There are very few Serbs according to the latest information (in all 1,516). This is the result of the intensive /197/ development of the Bulgars and also of the conflicts of the past thirty years. On the contrary, the Rumanians are grouped in compact masses along the Danube, especially between the confluence of the Timok and Vidin, and between the confluence of the Dolni (Cibur) and Svishtov. A majority of Rumanians are also to be found at Tutrakan, and in the interior of the country at Serbenica (now Sofronievo) near Byala Slatina and at Debovo near Nikopol. The Tsintsar (1) are to be

1. Name given to the Rumanians in the peninsula.

found in the outskirts of Sofia and of Plovdiv (Philoppopolis). We have spoken above of the Russian and Czech colonies of Voivodova*, Gorna*, Metropolis* and Breslianitsi*.

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Outside of the region which we have just studied, we still meet groups of Bulgars beyond the Danube. These are the colonies which came in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The

000 work of Vrbanic, who goes back to the census of 1888.

S.P. B. 163 [162] He[1] presents the following results:

Among the Bulgars the number of men is 1,000 for every 965 women; the males show an excess of births of 54.2%; the ratio between single persons to married persons is for men, 53%; for women 41.9% (4.4% widowers). The birth rate is 36.36 per 1,000; it is below that of the Serbs; on the contrary, the death rate is less than among these, only 18. (compare the figures given above in Section 31). In Bulgaria S.P. B. [165] very few infants die during the first year. They have the lowest infant mortality of any among the South-Slavs /203/ (8.3% only, against 15.4% in Dalmatia, 16.3% in Serbia, 21.2% in Croatia). As a result of this peculiarity, the coefficient of the excess of births over deaths is, if Jirecek is to be believed, as favorable as in Serbia, it represents 1.83. For the years 1881-1887, Sarafov found an increase of 1.85 (during this period there were born 100 boys for 89.7 girls); for the period 1890-1900, the coefficient was, it seems, slightly less. More recently, Iurkevich suggested the figure of 1.5 for the north of Bulgaria and of 1.2 for the south.

S.P. B. 161 According to Popov, the population density is 38.8 inhabitants per square kilometer.

S.P. B. 795 From the religious viewpoint the Bulgars belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church. They have a church of their own whose head, called The Exarch, lives at Orta-koi (now Ivailovgrad) near Constantinople. Along with the Orthodox majority, one finds two dissident groups. The first of these is the Catholic Bulgars, or Paulitians (Pavlikiani). They speak the eastern dialect and live in the districts of Nikopol, of Svishtov, in seven villages in the outskirts of Plovdiv (Philippopolis). There is also a Catholic community at Berdavski Geran, near Byala Slatina, and another, that of Gostilia, near Oryakhovo (district of Vratsa). All of them originated in the region of Plovdiv or Philippopolis, which was formerly their center. They formerly composed a whole series of communities between Plovdiv and /204/ Nikopol. It is from these that there came the colonies of Bulgars who settled in Hungary (Vinga, Besenov), and who are Catholics.

S.P. B. 795 101 Another rather sizeable section is composed of the Bulgars who, under Turkish domination, embraced Islam. They are called Pomaks.

[1] [i.e. Vrbanic op. cit. 116, p. 125 -- Analyst]

CHAPTER VII

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

"ARE children gods or kings that older people should tremble over them?" was the way one village woman reacted to what she considered the newfangled ideas of child rearing taught by the village doctor. Another woman said to me, "Why should so much be made of children when there is no sense of their living in such a heavy life?" 855

These attitudes reflected themselves in the statistics of infant mortality, which were given in Chapter II but deserve repetition. Back in 1926 one out of every five babies born alive died during its first year; this figure had fallen to one out of every eight in 1941, but was still much higher than the United States rate of one out of twenty-two. But the birth rate too has been falling. When I first went to Bulgaria in 1929 I found village after village where 45 babies were born annually for every thousand people. This number has fallen to around 30 for Dragalevtsy and 21 for Bulgaria as a whole. The United States rate was about 23 in 1946. 165 163

Childhood was a period to live through, not especially to enjoy. Bulgarian peasants, if they ever had given thought to it, would probably have agreed with the results of some of the American studies which suggested that childhood was not necessarily the happiest time of life. In Dragalevtsy it was, in fact, the period of greatest uncertainty and insecurity. The Dragalevtsy child early learned the basic principle of action: if you want to stay out of trouble, keep out of the grown-ups' way. The child's greatest errors were those of commission rather than omission. 855

"Children are the wealth of the poor. They are for God and for the peasants and so why should we worry about special care for them?" said one woman who realized that the townspeople had smaller families in spite of greater comforts. Her statement also showed how her

000 work of Vrbanic, who goes back to the census of 1888.

S.P. B. 163 [162] He[1] presents the following results:

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[1] [i.e. Vrbanic op. cit. 116, p. 125--Analyst]

The
[875] number of women teachers is larger than that of men
teachers. There is one school to every 738 inhabitants
871 and this number is altogether inadequate To remedy this shortage of buildings, half of the pupils attend school in the morning from 8 to 12 a. m. and the other half in the afternoon, from 2 to 6 p. m. It was reported in the Sobranye on April 1, 1924, that only 39% of the school-buildings were fit to serve as such, and that some 220,000 children had to study in stuffy classrooms in which there was not sufficient air. Such adverse conditions naturally accounted for the abnormal spread of tuberculosis among school children. Deputy M. Stanev speaking in the Sobranye on June 11, 1932 stated that according to the inquiry
• [1647] conducted by Dr. Rumenov, 60% of the children attending the first elementary class, were healthy and 40% tuberculous, but in the third elementary class, the percentage of the latter had increased to 62%, and in that of the first preparatory class to 73%. In the Stara-Zagora region, it was reported by the school authorities that 48% of all the children were tuberculous.

875 One of the probable reasons for the spread of tu-
berculosis were the teachers, who were wretchedly under-
511 paid and were not able to keep fit on their paltry stipends. Half of the public teachers received a salary of about 1700 leva monthly, but this was not all, for a large percentage of them were obliged to pay commissions to various political intercessors in order to obtain their posts, and had to refund to their protectors part of their slender emoluments. The minimum cost of living for a family of four members, each requiring 3000 calories a day was according to a scientific analysis made in Dr. Djidrov's *Stopanski Arhive*, 2563 leva per month for food only, light and heat necessitated an expenditure of 587, shoes and clothing 1320, rent 1500, and other needs 1130, or a total per month of 7100 leva. The emoluments offered

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

fula' has a Serbian *calque* or parallel *prase*, *svinja* or plural *svinje*, in the double sense of 'pig' and 'scrofulosis'.

In a collection of prescriptions of 1843 a disease is mentioned: '*kratorija*, *kurta*...which is like a dog biting at a man's stomach (*acerbitas*)'. The term is an old one since it is used as an equivalent of gangrene in the twelfth century. In modern Bulgarian: *kərticina*, *kərtica* = scrofula, icterus. The animal cognate is *krt*, *krtica*, etc., a mole.[1] In Orehovsko, in Bulgaria, swellings which are elsewhere called *kərtovi pǫpki* (scrofula?) are cured by making a child who has them urinate on a mole hill (after using a counting-out formula), and by applying the mud to the parts affected.

Some of the homonyms arise from similar characteristics of the disease and the animal. For instance, *mlamosi* (the disease) is brought about when a child is left too long in the sun. The insect *mlamosnica* is yellow in colour. *Žaba* (the disease) appears as boils with black centres on the tongue which resemble a frog's eyes.[2]

muscle, menthula; *miška*, *paci*, vulva, Bg. *pačence*; *mura*, an animal's stomach, rennet; the name of a black animal, dog, goat, horse; *oko*, eye, a kind of snail; *pupak*, umbilicus, belly; *bubac*, stomach of a fowl; *plovak*, womb, placenta (*plovka*, duck, etc.); *ptic*, menthula infantis; *riba*, muscles, buttocks, fish; *ribice*, kidneys, intestines; *zec*, breast bone of an animal, a hare; *žabe*, *žabice*, glands, testicles; *žlezde*, glands, scrofula, O.B. *žolva*, a tortoise, etc. (For a discussion of some of these etymologies, cf. H. Gunter, K.Z. Bd. XLV, p. 43 *passim*; also *Archiv für Slav. Philologie*, XXVII, XXXII, etc.)

[1] Cf. T. Bratić, *Ljekaruša iz* 1843 *godine*, Gl.Z.M. XX (1908); V. Jagić, *Entstehungsgeschichte d. kirchenslawischen Sprachen* (1913), p. 305; cf. *Bəlgarska Starina*, I.

[2] E.g. *buba*, gangrene, carcinoma, apoplexy; *bubinjaca*, a boil, etc.; *bubuljice*, acne; *buba*, *zla buba*, a suppuration or inflammation round the nails, a gumboil (an insect is supposed to gnaw the flesh; the pus is its excreta); *buba u glavi*, a disease in young children when the skin turns yellow, dry and translucent, and they frequently touch their heads and are generally sickly (also brain fever); *buba*, an insect, beetle; *badlje*, *balji*, *badljivi*, eczema of scalp and brows, trichiasis, a sty, a tumour, cf. *plamac*, *sklopac*, *jarac*, etc. (also a maggot of some kind); *baga*, disease of a horse—in Stulli's dictionary *bagole* is *maxillarium nervorum convulsio*, adj. *bagav*, lame, generally of horses (*bagal*, *baguda*, an insect, perhaps from It. *bago*); *crv*, various sores, wounds, etc., a worm, a scalp disease; *gušteri*, diphtheritis, cf. *guteri*, adenoids, etc.; *kuštor*, a swelling, sprain,

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

 B S 753 164 B S [776] B S 192

Names of the source of the disease, particularly names of supernatural beings, can be used of the disease itself—with what degree of personification it is difficult to decide in every case. In the eastern regions it seems that a number of terms used elsewhere of common diseases, would be defined as evil

a lizard; *lisa*, disease of scalp or beard causing the hair to fall out (also a disease caused by a spirit); *metilj*, disease of the liver, in sheep or cattle; *metiljka*, a cataract, disease of the eye, an insect, moth; *mlamosi*, sunstroke (?), cf. *mlamosnica*, a centipede, a yellow larva; *magarac*, *magarevac*, whooping cough, a donkey; *mravi*, shuddering as in fever, ants; *mačka*, a cold in the nose, cat, cf. *mačić*, typhus, erysipelas, a whitish rash on the face; *mrav*, *pamrav*, 'something in the brain rolls about as though alive', brain fever, cf. *pamrava*, larva of *Gastrophilus equi*, the disease caused by it; *pauk*, syphilis, spider; *nerast*, splenitis, morbus lienis, cf. *nerast*, a young boar; *pesićevo*, *pesice*, a parasite infested wound; *prasići*, a swelling under the ears; *paučina*, herpes, a cobweb; *ospice*, variolae, wasps; *rak*, cancer, an ulcer, a festering wound, etc., crayfish; *ribine*, a swelling, a sprain, a hard knot 'like hardened arteries' which is caused by strain or by chill, rupture, cf. *riba*, a fish; *štene*, a festering wound, a young dog, cf. Bg. *skuli*, boils, eruptions; *stenči*, atheroma; *svinja*, *svinje*, scrofulosis, Bg. *svinja*, a fistula, a swelling; *prase*, scrofulosis, a pig; *srdomasi*, an illness in the head of a young child caused by a worm of the same name; *trud*, ulcer, panaritium, a hornet; *vuk*, gangrene, wolf, cf. Bg. *volk*, laryngitis; *gagalki*, blisters in the mouth; *gogolj*, a swelling, a diving bird; *guta*, diphtheritis; *guta*, *gutal*, a pigeon, etc.; *gusenica*, a boil or tumour on the legs of cattle, a caterpillar; *guba*, *gubavica*, lepra, a swelling, a toad, also a fungus—*Coccus lecanium*, etc.; *griž*, *griža*, morsus, dysentery, etc., cancer, an open sore, cf. *griža*, *grizica*, *grižlica*, a moth or maggot, a kind of snake, a worm; *grinta*, the same, an ulcer, wound, disease of the scalp, a minute parasite, cf. *grinja*, a moth; *moljac*, a moth, a worm which breeds in the flesh; *jarac*, inflammation of the eyelids, a skin rash, cf. *jericanje*, white spots or small blisters round the mouth and chin, an infection from cattle, a swelling on the body of cattle; *jašterica*, *gušterica*, a swelling on the tongue or foreleg, especially of cattle, a lizard; *jašterice*, small sores or boils on the side of the tongue; *koza*, *kozice*, variolae, chicken pox, a goat; *krava*, *kravica*, a swelling under the ears, on the arm, a sprain, a cow; *kukac*, panaritium, insect, salamander; *vočić*, inflammation round a bite, an inflamed wound, dim. *vo*, ox; *žaba*, *žabice*, angina, swelling in throat, any swelling, abscess, ulcer, etc., in cattle and sheep a boil on the tongue; *žaba*, frog, Bg. *zvjerinac*, herpes; *žabka*, *žalva*, fistula; *želve*, *žabe* (Slo.), scrofula, an abscess; Bg. *želka*, *želva*, tortoise; *živina*, *zverice*, *zverinac*, *živa rana*, etc., gangrenous sore or wound, cancer, inflammation, Bg. *živina*, *živinica*, *živenica*, syphilis, scrofula, swellings on the body; *živina*, *zver*, etc., animal, wild animal, etc.; *žutuga* (*žutice*, *zlatica*), icterus, a kind of fish.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

spirits. It will also be noted that these names include a number of animal names.[1]

Any attempt to discover a primal relationship between these categories or the initial reason for the adoption of animal names, would, of course, be so much waste of time if the investigation is confined to one linguistic area. In the examples that follow there will be found ample evidence of

[1] The following are names of the various kinds of supernatural beings, any of which may cause disease or harm. The greater number of these words also signify specific diseases. Even *plašnja* and *strava* may mean personal forces or beings. *Smlata*, which is generally nothing more than *Hexenschluss*, and often has ceased to have any connection with witchcraft, also means a witch or *mora*. Note that the names of supernatural beings, of the witch or fairy order, also occur as names of professional magicians and witch doctors (*viljenak*, *vilovnjak*, *vještnik*, *vještica*, *brodnik*, *brodnica*, *vila*, *vračarica*, *bajalica*, *baharica*, *madžionica*, etc.); i.e. these can be either human beings or supernatural beings. Note that some of them are generally referred to in the plural.

Beštija, *brodnica*, *coprnja* (*ica*), *čuma*, *čumica* (pl. *čumice*), *duh*, *lošduh*, *zao duh*, *izdat*, *izdajnica*, *jude*, *kamenice*, *okameni*, *okamenica*, *kuga*, *krivo oko*, *karan*, *karakandžeri*, *krvopilica*, *kratelj*, *skrat*, *skrata*, *kosac*, *kudlak*, *vukdolak*, *lisa*, *luna*, *leptir*, *netopir*, *vampir*, *lumpir*, *vampirčići*, *ljutice*, *mora*, *tmora*, *pomora*, *muravini*, *mekarine*, *mame*, *mamica* (pl. *mamice*), *mlamusi*, *matić*, *medivančići*, *nastrijelice*, *nastrelina*, *namerice*, *namet*, *nametnice*, *nežid*, *nežit*, *naprasnik*, *naprasnica*, *nahud*, *nahudnica*, *hudnici*, *nažurenice*, *žura*, *žuravice*, *nastrijelina*, *naletnice*, *noćnice*, *noćni osjen* (*sjen*), *senka*, *nečestivi*, *nečastivi*, *nečisnjak*, *nepomenica*, *ogram*, *ogramnica*, *otrovnica*, *proždreljevica*, *poganica* (pl. *-e*), *plašnja*, *uplah*, *polegać*, *rusak*, *rusa*, *ruse*, *rusälje*, *roške*, *stuhe*, *stihiji*, *sekarine*, *striga*, *sekarice*, *slute*, *sklopci*, *strava*, *strašnice*, *strijelica*, *sihir*, *strelka*, *ustrijel*, *žejtan*, *sotona*, *saturnica*, *tentacija*, *talasam*, *tenčac*, *utvar* (pl. *-i*, *-e*), *vila*, *samovila*, *samodiva*, *vještica*, *vile otrovnice*, *vrag*, *vražići*, *vražalica*, *vada*, *povada*, *vadine*, *urok*, *uročica*, *uročići*, *vadika*, *vražalica*, *viruške*, *uljezina*, *urama*, *uramnica*, *vlas*, *vlasi* (*ovi*), *vihor*, *vihorice*, *usadi*, *usov*, *zmet*, *zmaj*, *zduhovi*, *stuhe*, etc. Note the variations of meaning such as *činilica*, a witch, a charm worker, an evil spirit, a mental disease; *lahus*, a lying-in woman; *lahusi*, spirits that attack her or her child, an illness (also *kokošite lahusi*, a disease of fowls); *babice* is the usual Serbian word for this series, and also means diarrhoea. In Bulgarian we also find *ermenki* (a kind of evil spirit) which can also be equivalent to *wrimice*, spirits which foretell the fortune of a new-born child; *usov*, a sheep disease, as well as a spirit; *ustrel*, a spirit, in particular a spirit which attacks sheep, or the spirit of an unchristened child, a vampire and so on, also a disease without reference to the agency of spirits; *čumice* are the children, *čuma*, plague; *bolehčići* are disease-spirits collectively. (Šiškov, *Život na Bulgarite v Srednja Rodopa* (Plovdiv, 1886), p. 46.)

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

846 herself was not allowed out after sunset, but if she should have to go, "she takes a burning coal with tongs out with her, after leaving a broom near the baby to use in defending himself against the devil."

854 The baby's clothes were taken from the line before sunset. They were first held over the fire before they were put on the baby. During the whole first year the clothes were not turned inside out, nor were they pounded when washed by the customary *buhalka* (paddle). If this should be done, the baby might be afraid of thunder. Furthermore, the water in which the baby had been bathed could not be thrown out after sunset.

854 757 If a child became sick, "the first thing was to warm him, for he might have caught cold." Then he was given some home remedies prescribed by the *babi*. If the child did not then recover, the parents tried everything they knew, hoping that after some time "everything bad would pass away." In case the child grew worse, they called some of the neighbors or some old woman to come to see him. Only in very serious cases, when the peasants became convinced that nothing could help the child, would they carry him to the doctor. The reason for taking the child to the doctor was to save the extra fee charged for a home visit. Finally, "if God has given the child some more days to live, then the child will recover; if not, then his days are finished and God wants to take the child." (It is no wonder, then, that in Bulgaria [165] 123 out of every 1,000 infants born in 1941 died during their first year of life. Although this represented a decline from the 1938 figure of 144, it still is more than two and one-half times the rate in the United States, which was 46 in 1941.)

758 The care given to a sick adult differed somewhat from that given to a sick child. When a person had been ill for a long time, his relatives went to the priest for holy water called *babina voda* (old woman's water) by the less respectful peasants. Sometimes the family let the sick person drink some of this water, but this practice was falling into disuse, "for the young people do not believe in it." I was told that very few believed in the curative power of the icons; but if a sick person should happen to, he was carried to the church to kiss the icon.

Prayers were also believed efficacious. As soon as a person became sick, his people prayed to God to help him and cure him. In addition, the priest prayed for the sick individual in the church (or in the home if the sick person could not go to the church) asking God to cure his servant from such and such a sickness and to give him peace. Candles were burned when the prayers were being said, but the burning of these candles was not supposed to have any curative power. "This service is performed more for the old people and although it is said to be *vetur rabota* [plumb foolishness], yet many times it helps the sick to recover. Nowadays people do not believe in God and this is why many people die, and also that is why life in general is as it is, so heavy." 758 782 [761]

In looking for the causes of illness the peasants also turned to the Almighty who, it was formerly believed, sent sickness as a punishment upon individuals for wrongs they had done. While many people in 1937 had the same attitude, there were some who accepted the germ explanation. But even some of these, if a sickness dragged on and on, suspected that God might be meting out some punishment, germs or no germs. Here was the way they so often put it: "And God has the right to punish the people, for now they have begun not to believe in him and not to listen to him. Now the people are forgetting God and are with the Devil." 753 771

The villagers knew the names of only a few diseases and classified all illnesses under one of these few. The worst disease was the "plague" (typhoid fever), then tuberculosis, *sharka* (pox), scarlatina, and finally, "a bad cold." The doctor used a more scientific classification in listing the causes of death. Her report for 1936 showed that thirty-three people died within the year. Diseases accounting for four deaths each were tuberculosis, nervous disorders, and pneumonia; those accounting for two deaths each were scarlatina, whooping cough, diphtheria, cancer, heart disease, old age, and childbirth (mother); those causing one death each were childbirth (infant), typhus, erysipelas, bronchitis, diarrhea, digestive ailment, and accident. Her scientific approach did not necessarily mean that the doctor's recovery percentage was very high, because patients were brought too late for proper treatment. Therefore the peasants said: "And 753 [165]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

CHAPTER VII

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

"ARE children gods or kings that older people should tremble over them?" was the way one village woman reacted to what she considered the newfangled ideas of child rearing taught by the village doctor. Another woman said to me, "Why should so much be made of children when there is no sense of their living in such a heavy life?" 855

These attitudes reflected themselves in the statistics of infant mortality, which were given in Chapter II but deserve repetition. Back in 1926 one out of every five babies born alive died during its first year; this figure had fallen to one out of every eight in 1941, but was still much higher than the United States rate of one out of twenty-two. But the birth rate too has been falling. When I first went to Bulgaria in 1929 I found village after village where 45 babies were born annually for every thousand people. This number has fallen to around 30 for Dragalevtsy and 21 for Bulgaria as a whole. The United States rate was about 23 in 1946. 165 163

Childhood was a period to live through, not especially to enjoy. Bulgarian peasants, if they ever had given thought to it, would probably have agreed with the results of some of the American studies which suggested that childhood was not necessarily the happiest time of life. In Dragalevtsy it was, in fact, the period of greatest uncertainty and insecurity. The Dragalevtsy child early learned the basic principle of action: if you want to stay out of trouble, keep out of the grown-ups' way. The child's greatest errors were those of commission rather than omission. 855

"Children are the wealth of the poor. They are for God and for the peasants and so why should we worry about special care for them?" said one woman who realized that the townspeople had smaller families in spite of greater comforts. Her statement also showed how her

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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128

Though certain items referring to Art. 124 and 145 are disputable, it seems that the Bulgarian government had some ground to insist upon its claims being taken into consideration, yet all the delegates of the Allied Powers did when the protocol of March 21, 1923 which settled the mode of payment of reparations was signed, was to divide into two parts „A" and „B" the total sum of 2,500 million gold francs claimed from Bulgaria, decreeing that 550 millions bearing 5% interest, labelled „A" share should be payable in 60 annuities, the first of which was fixed at 5 millions and was to increase gradually to 43,396,336 in 1934 and continue at that rate until 1983, while the remainder, amounting to 1,700 millions would stand over until 1953 without interest when such sums as Bulgaria had a right to claim would be deducted from it, though the Bulgarian counterclaims largely exceeded this figure.

Apparently little consideration was paid to Bulgaria's condition, to her having been amputated of her wealthiest provinces, to the utter exhaustion of the resources of the peasantry which had bravely shouldered single-handed the whole burden of the world war, and beguiled by the transient prosperity of a section of the population engaged in the cultivation and trade of tobacco which prospered exceedingly during the years 1919 to 1923, owing to the elimination from the European markets of Greece and Turkey as producers of Oriental tobacco, while engaged in fighting each other, and which trade is reckoned to have brought an inflow of some 4,000 to 4,500 million leva to Bulgaria during this period, the delegates of the Allied governments proceeded to bleed Bulgaria white.

Indispensable public services such as education and hygiene[1] were ruthlessly curtailed, the upkeep of railways

[165]

[1] The rate of mortality from tuberculosis in 1928 was 30·53 per 10,000 in Bulgaria as against only 8·28 in Great Britain.

000 work of Vrbanic, who goes back to the census of 1888.

S.P. B. 163 [162] He[1] presents the following results:

Among the Bulgars the number of men is 1,000 for every 965 women; the males show an excess of births of 54.2%; the ratio between single persons to married persons is for men, 53%; for women 41.9% (4.4% widowers). The birth rate is 36.36 per 1,000; it is below that of the Serbs; on the contrary, the death rate is less than among these, only 18. (compare the figures given above in Section 31). In Bulgaria S.P. B. [165] very few infants die during the first year. They have the lowest infant mortality of any among the South-Slavs /203/ (8.3% only, against 15.4% in Dalmatia, 16.3% in Serbia, 21.2% in Croatia). As a result of this peculiarity, the coefficient of the excess of births over deaths is, if Jirecek is to be believed, as favorable as in Serbia, it represents 1.83. For the years 1881-1887, Sarafov found an increase of 1.85 (during this period there were born 100 boys for 89.7 girls); for the period 1890-1900, the coefficient was, it seems, slightly less. More recently, Iurkevich suggested the figure of 1.5 for the north of Bulgaria and of 1.2 for the south.

S.P. B. 161 According to Popov, the population density is 38.8 inhabitants per square kilometer.

S.P. B. 795 From the religious viewpoint the Bulgars belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church. They have a church of their own whose head, called The Exarch, lives at Orta-koi (now Ivailovgrad) near Constantinople. Along with the Orthodox majority, one finds two dissident groups. The first of these is the Catholic Bulgars, or Paulitians (Pavlikiani). They speak the eastern dialect and live in the districts of Nikopol, of Svishtov, in seven villages in the outskirts of Plovdiv (Philippopolis). There is also a Catholic community at Berdavski Geran, near Byala Slatina, and another, that of Gostilia, near Oryakhovo (district of Vratsa). All of them originated in the region of Plovdiv or Philippopolis, which was formerly their center. They formerly composed a whole series of communities between Plovdiv and /204/ Nikopol. It is from these that there came the colonies of Bulgars who settled in Hungary (Vinga, Besenov), and who are Catholics.

S.P. B. 795 101 Another rather sizeable section is composed of the Bulgars who, under Turkish domination, embraced Islam. They are called Pomaks.

[1] [i.e. Vrbanic op. cit. 116, p. 125 -- Analyst]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

527 857 and provide food and drink for their friends on their name days. Children had to grow into the many practices surrounding holidays just as they had to grow into understanding of how to become a good farmer. It took some time to learn, for example, that on September 11, the Day of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, one should have nothing to do with objects colored red. That color symbolized blood and guilt. On the first of March, however, red was very much in evidence. In the cities the young people exchange *martenitsi*, equivalent to our Valentines. This day was popularly called *Baba Marta* or "Old Woman March," because the weather during March was changeable and whimsical.

Although the villagers themselves paid little attention to the patriotic holidays which had been started within the past few decades, children welcomed them, for they meant a variation in the school routine. Schoolteachers would never think of letting a patriotic holiday go by without some special exercises. Among such holidays were those commemorating the liberation of Bulgaria, the King's birthday, the King's name day, the King's ascension to the throne. A special holiday for students was also becoming firmly rooted. It was the one honoring the missionary brothers, St. Cyril and St. Methodius, who were the patron saints of learning.

[574] These holidays, both religious and patriotic, were often the occasion for relatives to come to the village. The buses, mysteriously held together in places by baling wire, chugged up the hill to the square to disgorge their load of people and grotesque bundles. Children crowded around to greet the newcomers and merrily skipped beside [166] them as they walked toward the house. However, one-third of the homes had *no* visitors from outside the village during the year. Many of the visitors were originally from Dragalevtsy. A record of one year's migrants, twenty-one in all, showed that six had married outsiders and settled elsewhere; four had gone as soldiers, four as students, two as laborers, and the rest as cabmen, watchmen, and a coffeehouse proprietor.

527 857 608 All these holidays meant much to the children: exciting food, observance of age-old customs, and the arrival of guests. A few holidays were of special importance to godparents and godchildren. On

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

574 the main village square and sees these visitors arrive, averaging 36 each Sunday, one marvels at the grotesque bundles with which their arms are loaded. A christening, a wedding, and, to a less extent, a funeral, call them back to the village. Conveniently for them, christenings and weddings take place on Sundays; funerals, unfortunately for them, cannot wait for Sunday but occur a day or two after the death.

There are no towns within forty or fifty miles of Sofia, and therefore very few guests from other towns visit the village. Only 8 families report such guests, the total number of the visitors reaching 36.

Out of 271 families reporting, only 62 do not have guests from other villages during the year. This means that 209 families do. The total number of outside villagers is 2,192, many of them coming to Dragalevtsy's "At Home Day" on the Day of the Holy Trinity.

Only a few of these guests originally came from Dragalevtsy but it is of interest to notice how many leave the village permanently in the course of a single year, why, and where they go. These facts are shown in Table 15.

TABLE 15

166 MEMBERS OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS WHO PERMANENTLY LEFT DRAGALEVTSY DURING 1934, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO REASON FOR LEAVING AND DESTINATION (CENSUS DATA)

LEFT TO BECOME:	DESTINATION:			Total
	Sofia	Town	Village	
Soldier	3	1	0	4
Student	4	0	0	4
Coffee house proprietor	1	0	0	1
Cabman	1	0	0	1
Watchman	0	1	0	1
Laborer	0	0	2	2
Wife	1	0	4	5
Husband	0	0	1	1
Unreported	1	1	0	2
Total	11	3	7	21*

*These 21 persons came from 19 of the 279 families covered by the census questionnaire.

574 3. VILLAGE GUESTS. During the course of a winter several *vecherinki*, or community parties, are staged in the schoolhouse by some organization for the purpose of raising funds. These are usually followed by a dance at which the thirty-five guests from Sofia (that being the average) mix little with the peasant folk. These guests are entertainers or friends of the intelligentsia.

S.P. B. 175 167 In this region, before the arrival of the Turks, there were settled a large number of Pecheneg, Uzi, and Cumaeans (whose descendants are today called Gagauz) and later on the Tatars.

It seems that the earliest Turkish colonization took place in the region of Deliorman towards the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries and later on at Tuzluk and at Gerilovo. The Ragusan Pavle Gjordjic, who traveled in these areas, reported a numerous Turkish population at Gerilovo*, at Deliorman, and in the Dobrudja. These areas were not completely assimilated by the Turks until the seventeenth century, and in the case of Gerilovo*, not until the eighteenth century. But many Turkish villages still retain their Slavic names.

All this Turkish colonization in the northeast of Bulgaria evidently had as an object the securing of passageways of the Balkans, especially after the defeats suffered in the war against King Wladyslaw of Poland in 1443.

S.P. B. 101 167 Of the original Slav population[7] there remain only a few rare traces near Provadiya, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), and Razgrad. Also in the sixteenth century a great number of Turks, Yurvks*, and Koniars* came from Asia to settle in certain parts of Thrace and of Macedonia.

S.P. B 101 166 The old Slavic Bulgars, after the arrival of the Turks, naturally withdrew to the mountainous regions. In the sixteenth century their boundary was formed by the towns of Devna*, Monastir (now Bitolj), [illegible]na*, Ravna*, Nenovo*, /188/ Nevcha*, Kaludjerica, Divdiedovo*, Novo Selo, or, in other words, the line from Varna (now Stalin) to Shumla (now Kolarovgrad). But towards the south the Slav element soon began again to take over and regain the terrian. The Osmanlis perished little by little in the perpetual wars and were not replaced by new colonists. On the other hand, new Bulgars arrived from the northern areas (Lovech, Nikopol), a scene of constant troubles and danger.

S.P. B. 175 167 It was on the banks of the Danube that the principal wars were fought and the Slavs moved away from there in all directions. Upon this emigration movement which is a very old one, we have no documentation until after the seventeenth century. Thus we know that in the course of the year 1741 Bulgar colonies went to settle in the Banat of Temesvar where their descendants are still established at Vinga, and Benesov*. From 1752 to 1754 a great number of Bulgars

7 [i.e. in northeast Bulgaria--Analyst]

1: Lee H-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
Yugoslavia

After

becoming premier in October, 1919, Stambolisky's first task was that of signing the peace terms drawn up by the victorious Allies. 728

The Treaty of Neuilly, November 27, 1919, reduced Bulgaria to a smaller area than it had held before the First Balkan War of 1912 and imposed new burdens. Bulgaria lost the Aegean coast (Western Thrace) to Greece, southern Dobruja to Romania, and strips of land on the west to Yugoslavia. The army was limited to a total of 20,000. Reparations amounting to $450,000,000 were to be paid in thirty-seven years, beginning in 1921. The existence of Bulgarian minorities in all the neighboring states furnished a basis for revisionism which steadily grew, particularly after the rise of fascism throughout Europe in the thirties.[2] The provision for an exchange of populations with Greece greatly heightened the volume of refugees who streamed into Bulgaria, adding to the political ferment and economic burdens of the country. In these and other ways, the settlement exacerbated conditions under which radicalism throve. [131] [701] [668] [167]

Stambolisky won a commanding position in the parliamentary elections of March, 1920, and proceeded to ride roughshod over both the middle class and conservative parties on the right and the Communists on the left. He instituted a number of reforms, including a land law designed to break up the crown lands and larger estates, the imposition of a heavy income tax, and the establishment of a compulsory labor service which in the first four years of operation secured the equivalent of five million wage days of work for the Ministries of Public Works and Railways. In foreign policy he sought to fulfill the treaties and to effect a reconciliation with Yugoslavia among whose Communist and Agrarian parties his concepts of Slavic federation found support. His dictatorial methods, however, won him enemies on all sides, not least among them being the Macedonians who opposed his policy of rapprochement with Yugoslavia. In June, 1923, he was overthrown by a *coup d'état* organized by a group of intellectuals, led by Professor Tsankov, and the League of Army Reserve Officers, among whom Colonels Velchev and Georgiev were leaders. A few days later Stambolisky was assassinated. 643 185 656 648 669

Following the Stambolisky regime, the Tsankov government (1923-26) represented a swing to the right. "Communist" insurrections and violence were suppressed with great severity. The increased activity of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) caused difficulties at home and abroad, although after the assassination of its leader Alexandrov (1924) it was split into two factions under Protoguerov and Mihailov who became bitter rivals. A threat of war with Greece arose, but was averted by the action of the League of Nations. A more conciliatory government 642 668

[2] See G. P. Genov, *Bulgaria and the Treaty of Neuilly* (Sofia, 1935).

795 faithful and is politically important because of its ties with Turkey. It must be noted, however, that since the Balkan War the Turkish population in Bulgaria has continously been emigrating to Turkey.

● 167 175 The emigration of the Moslem population from Bulgaria to Turkey began with the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. Most of the Turks living in the cities left Bulgaria immediately. They were slowly followed by the peasant element. The Turkish Government did not encourage this emigration. Under Sultan Abdul Hamid's rule the Turkish authorities were always suspicious of Moslem immigrants from the newly-liberated countries where they had lived under much more liberal conditions and had learned to value freedom and rights - two things which were not allowed in the Turkish Empire. There was another for this attitude. Turkey was greatly interest in keeping abroad a large and compact Moslem minority. They remained under the religious rule of the Cheikh-ul-Islam of Constantinople and could be of invaluable assistance in a Bulgarian-Turkish conflict, as they could not fail to respond to the appeal of their religious leader. But with the gradual stabilization of the situation the religious fanaticism of these Moslems weakened, and the passive character of the Turkish race led them to become loyal subjects of the Bulgarian State.

The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 caused the disappearance of Turkey from Europe. World War I, following a year later, brought about the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire whose

ruins the Kemalist Republic was established in the Anatolian Highland which is the only truly Turkish region and cradle of the power of the Osmanli Turks. The wars produced a new trend of emigration among the Moslems in all Balkan States. This trend was particularly strong among the Turks in Macedonia and especially those civilians or military who had led the fight against the powerful Macedonian Revolutionary organization. As Mustafa Kemal's campanions in arms, they were given prominent positions in the People's Republican Party founded by him. Mustafa Kemal, having been the Turkish military attache to Sofia before becoming Turkey's liberator, enjoyed great prestige among the Moslem population in Bulgaria. His influence caused a flood of Turkish immigrants to turn to the newly-established Republic. As those immigrants were more civilized and educated than the backward Anatolian peasants, they rapidly took into their hands the rein of business, playing an increasingly important part in the economic and political life of Turkey. Even today, the market of Ankara is dominated by the immigrants from Bulgaria, and one can often hear the Bulgarian language spoken in the shops and stores of the capital. 167 175

The immigration would have been much greater if Ataturk had not enforced his great social, political and cultural reforms which shocked the Moslem world at first and which the Moslems of the Balkan States refused to follow. These reforms had to do with the liquidation of the Caliphate, and consequently of the religious law (Sheriat), in civic matters, the abandonment of the fez (cap) for men and feredje 167 175 178

(viel) for women, and the change from the Arabic to the Latin alphabet. 178 167 175

These fundamental reforms provoked a schism at first, and for a long time Mustafa Kemal and his followers were considered infidels by other Moslems. The Bulgarian Government, keenly aware of the potential menace presented by the compact and numerous Turkish minority, was only too happy to exploit this schism, which caused the Turks in Bulgaria to turn away from Ankara and Constantinople. 175 563

Bulgaria refused to exert any pressure on the Moslem minority to force it to organize its social and religious life along the lines advocated by the Kemalists. The Moslems were left entirely free to keep the Sheriat and the Arabic alphabet. Nothing was changed in the Turkish clergy and schools in Bulgaria. This was all the easier to effect because the separation of the Church and State, which is the core of the Kemalist reforms, had long been realized in Bulgaria by the very fact of the establishment of the Christian Bulgarian State side by side with an ethnically foreign Moslem minority. 659 175 563 795 793

Left entirely to itself, this minority, whose nationality and religion have always been scrupulously respected, organized itself on the basis of the Sheriat, which governed every phase of its civic and religious life, particularly in matrimonial matters - marriage and divorce (i. e., repudiation of the wife by the husband), as well as in the matters of inheritance.

This organization, which developed side by side with

tied to the Communist Party and the present government. It is, therefore, not to be expected that they will leave Bulgaria. It must be noted, however, that by means of this organized emigration to the State of Israel, the Russians, who are the masters in Bulgaria, have succeeded in sending there a rather large number of communists and they played an important part in that country in favor of a pro-soviet orientation. 563 167

C. Roman Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church was one of the most influential although Roman Catholics were not numerous in Bulgaria. Indeed, Catholicism penetrated Bulgaria as early as the XVII century. It did not come directly from Rome, but through the intermediary of the then powerful Austrian monarchy, which sought to expand into Southeastern Europe and which, in order to realize the goals of that policy, was promising the Bulgarian people to liberate them from the Turkish rule at a time when Russia had not yet entered the International arena. 795 175

The pioneers of that denomination were then Bulgarian merchants with connections abroad who often visited the Dalmatian port Dubrovnik (Raguza), an important cultural center at the time. There they were won to the idea of the liberation of Bulgaria with the help of Catholic Austria, an idea encouraged by the Vatican authorities, and they frequented Vienna and Rome for political conferences. Such merchants came mostly from the small but rich town Tchiprovtsi, in the present region of Vratsa,

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

[Western Thrace]

36. Greek Atrocities Committed against the Bulgarians during 1920-1940. The Bulgarian population began to flee, as soon as the Greek occupation took effect in 1920.[1]) This exodus was justified because of the application of the Greek methods of imprisonment, beating,

Fig. 10. After the occupation of Western Thrace by Greece in 1920, the Bulgarian population, which constituted the majority of the inhabitants of the District, was subjected to an outrageous persecution, banishment and forced expatriation. The above map, borrowed from E. von Seidlitz'sche Geographie, II. p. 757, shows the artificial increase of the population of Western Thrace during 1920—1928 due to this fatal displacement of population. This displacement, however, did not push forward the economic life of this country. On the contrary the economic situation there became extensive, because the Greeks are generally neither agricultural nor cattle raising people like the Bulgarians who are the basic population of the province. D = Dedeagatch, K = Kavalla, Ko = Gjumurdjina, Dr = Drama, Sal. = Salonica.

[1]) After the Peace Conference of San Remo, 19-26. IV. 1920.

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

563 167 banishment and economic spoliation against the Bulgarians. It brought them misery, sickness and death. This is a long story and space prevents us to tell it even in brief on this occasion (Fig. 10).

Bulgarians were exiled to the islands of Crete, Milos, Citera, Mitilene and Chios and to some parts of the Greek main land. Nearly 25,000 Bulgarians were banished in this manner. Many of them died of hunger and distress — particularly old people and children. Two hundred persons died in the village of Domus-Déré. Those who were lucky to return alive found their villages ruined and pillaged. Colonel Korf and Major Deroover, who were delegates in the mixed Bulgarian-Greek Commission on expatriations, reported: „Those who were sent to exile formed lines, which continued for weeks, during the months of February and March of 1923. The expatriation from each village was effected without delay. The unprepared villagers started on their jorney without any personal effects, abandoning their property and their crops. About 15,000 to 20,000 families were thus exiled to the islands and Thesally. To save themselves from exile many took refuge in Bulgaria... Banished Bulgarians, who managed to survive, were brought back from the islands and from Thesally in the fall of 1923. Their condition was destitute and lamentable. They pleaded that Bulgaria should open her frontiers and accept them on her territory, because they found their homes empty and were dying of hunger and cold."

127 563 **37. Modern Greek Cruelties.** Basil II Vulgaroctonos or the „Slayer of Bulgarians", in 1014, bored the eyes of 15,000 Bulgarian captives and left, for each group of 100, one single eyed guard to lead them. Greek cruelty towards anything that savours of Bulgarian, has not diminished since that time. Because of the generally milder and more humane attitude of the world of to-day, Greek cruelty should appear to have been softened a bit; but this really is a delusion, because, on the contrary, the Greeks manifest now a days the same inclinations.

The investigation made by a commission of the Carnegie Endowment after the mutual accusations of cruelties after the Balkan War, 1912-1913, has furnished us with an abundant evidence of Greek cruelty, which explains the Bulgarian depopulation of Western Thrace. We find the following in the intro-

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

ECONOMIC HISTORY

It is from 1885 onward that a study of statistics becomes informative and the rate of advance more easily traceable since it was at that date that the first step towards the partial realisation of the national unity was taken, namely the union of the principality of Bulgaria with the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia. The territorial accretion thereby secured was maintained until the Balkan wars of 1912-3, so that it is retatively easy to follow the country's development from a study of the statistics provided after 1885 since no calculations have to be made to adjust numbers to territorial alterations. No such change occurred until the Balkan and World wars, when the area of Bulgaria was increased from 96,345.5 in 1912 to 111,836.8 square klm. in 1913, and finally reduced to 103,146.1 in 1919. 175 [131]

From the following statistical table of exports and imports one may form an opinion of the scantiness of Bulgaria's resourses, since with a few exceptions each year reveals an unfavourable trade balance and Bulgaria never possessed any investments abroad, nor rendered any services, from which she could derive any invisible income wherewith to balance the deficit of her commercial balance.[1] The abrupt increase in the figures cited after the quinquenial period 1916—1920 is due to the gradual depreciation of the leva, which from its equivalent of a gold franc prior to the world war was reduced to the level of only 0.03745 gold franc, or 139 leva to a gold dollar, at which rate it was stabilised in 1928. 175 457.

[1] Before the war a certain number of market gardeners emigrated temporarily to neighbouring countries and remitted their savings home. It may also be presumed that the deficit in the commercial balance was not as large as indicated by official statistics for merchants were occasionally inclined to underestimate their exports in order to pay fewer dues as was revealed by Minister Burov in a speech in the Sobranye on April 1928. The income derived from foreign tourists is reckoned at 40 million leva a year. [167]

145 million leva, of which 64 millions were represented by machinery and buildings while their output for the year was given as 1,773 kg. of attar of roses, estimated at 43,876,966 leva. It would be well if the cultivation of other aromatic plants were fostered in the valley of roses, in order that the existing distilleries could be more rationally utilised. M. Gheorghiev, the capable director of the Kazanlik State experimental station assured the writer that about forty such plants had been experimentally grown for a number of years and had given excellent results, among the most easily acclimatized were the *mentha piperita*, the hyssop, lavender, verbena and especially the pyrethrum, from which, as it is known, insecticides are manufactured. This certainly confirms a very witty remark made by the well known economist, T. At. Yaranov, namely, that every plant and animal which had been brought over from its native habitat into Bulgaria had thrived better, and improved by the change, he was sceptical however as to whether this generalisation held good for the genus „homo sapiens" about which he would not confidently assert that those of its members who had come over from the banks of the Volga, were as good as those who had remained behind!

A branch of agriculture in which Bulgarians excel is market gardening. Not only vegetables grown in Bulgaria are equal, if not superior to those grown in France and Italy, but Bulgarian gardeners have for years emigrated to adjoining countries, as well as to Russia before the revolution, and undertaken in these countries the growing of vegetables on a large scale, as the following excerpt from the Czechoslovak nerspaper, the *Prajka Zadgradnitska Boursa—Slovo* of May 14, 1932 testifies:

The Bulgarians have done us this great service that they taught us how to grow vegetables on our own soil. What our vegetable specialists were unable to

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

244 accomplish was done by Bulgarian gardeners. Ten years
167 ago no one among us knew that it was possible to produce tomatoes, peppers and other vegetables in our land. To-day, however, this is a fact, thanks to the ingenuity of the Bulgarians".

Of fresh vegetables 55 truck loads were exported in
244 1933 to Central Europe, and of these the most appreciated
439 were the tomatoes grown in south Bulgaria, which many experts affirm to surpass in quality even those of Italy. During the summer of 1935 some 2750 tons of fresh
[255] tomatoes were exported to Central Europe. No serious efforts have been made to develop the export of tinned vegetables, though in price they are 50% cheaper than similar ones sold in France, and in every respect as good. Lack of capital, and of commercial connections abroad have prevented the few canning factories to launch in a forward policy which necessarily involves risks and losses at the start. The only leguminous plant which has been exported on a large scale was haricot beans, of which Bulgaria was always a large exporter, the high quality of this product having secured for her a certain preeminence among Near Eastern countries The area devoted to this crop was 73,162 hectares and the yield 74,677,000 kg. in 1933 of which 32,568 tons were exported. The area planted with pulse, vegetables, potatoes and that set aside for market gardening was estimated respectively at 95,000, 13,500, 14,000, and 38,000 hectares in 1932.

241 A great impediment to the steady development of
312 agriculture in Bulgaria is the periodic drought which completely undermines the economic position of the small holders, which even without this scourge, is never too bright. The mean annual rainfall for the period 1920—1930 was 578·2 litres per square metre, but this unfortunately is not evenly apportioned, the mountainous western and south western parts of the country having a much hea-

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the period when the seat of the Tsar and of the Patriarch was at Ochrida (1), felt themselves to be even more Bulgarian the further

1. Today in Macedonia. Translator.

they were removed from the ancient homeland of the nation; they retained this more or less strong sense of solidarity, on the one side against the Serbs whose empire confined them to their region, on the other side against the Osmanli Turks. In 1393 the Turks captured Trnovo; in 1396 after the victory of Nicopolis they achieved the conquest of Bulgaria. The country remained enslaved until the years 1876-1878 when the intervention of Russia gave her back her freedom and independence. The area between the Danube and the Stara Planina (Balkan Mountains) was the first to be freed; in 1885 a peaceful revolution annexed the Bulgarian Rumelia to her, as far as Mount Dospat, to the course of the Arda, the Sakar Planina (Sakar Balkan Mountains) and the Gulf of Burgas. The section of the Bulgars who form a compact group in Macedonia /186/ have vainly been waiting up to the present for their deliverance and for the end of a situation which, despite the efforts of the Powers, still remains a very painful one.

SP [144]

Such is the political history of the Bulgar people. The development of the nation has furthermore been hindered by perpetual troubles, by disturbances, by the displacements of ethnic groups. When the Greeks again took possession of their ancient domain the Slav colonies of the south had to return north, the Slavs of Greece were completely assimilated during the course of the Middle Ages. But the most serious catastrophe was the Turkish invasion.

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When the Turks penetrated into the peninsula, under the reign of Murad I, they settled in the region of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) and of Zagora; in the reign of Bajazet I they settled between Plovdiv and the Balkans and then remained in the basin of the Marica, especially in its lower areas, until the nineteenth century. This would follow from the information furnished in 1819 by Pope Constantine and from the nomenclature of the area which is essentially Turkish (names of villages, fields, streams, woods, pastures, hills, etc.). Of 52 villages of the district of Shirpan only two have non-Turkic names, and only three in the district of Seimen (now Marica). Another center of Turkish colonization was the eastern portion of northern Bulgaria, especially the Dobrudja, which became a desert in the fifteenth /187/ century.

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In this region, before the arrival of the Turks, there were settled a large number of Pecheneg, Uzi, and Cumaeans (whose descendants are today called Gagauz) and later on the Tatars.

It seems that the earliest Turkish colonization took place in the region of Deliorman towards the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries and later on at Tuzluk and at Gerilovo. The Ragusan Pavle Gjordjic, who traveled in these areas, reported a numerous Turkish population at Gerilovo*, at Deliorman, and in the Dobrudja. These areas were not completely assimilated by the Turks until the seventeenth century, and in the case of Gerilovo*, not until the eighteenth century. But many Turkish villages still retain their Slavic names.

All this Turkish colonization in the northeast of Bulgaria evidently had as an object the securing of passageways of the Balkans, especially after the defeats suffered in the war against King Wladyslaw of Poland in 1443.

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Of the original Slav population there remain only a few rare traces near Provadiya, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), and Razgrad. Also in the sixteenth century a great number of Turks, Yurvks*, and Koniars* came from Asia to settle in certain parts of Thrace and of Macedonia.

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The old Slavic Bulgars, after the arrival of the Turks, naturally withdrew into the mountainous regions. In the sixteenth century their boundary was formed by the towns of Devna*, Monastir (now Bitolj), Krivnia*, Ravna*, Nenovo*, /188/ Nevcha*, Kaludjerica, Divdiedovo*, Novo Selo, or, in other words, the line from Varna (now Stalin) to Shumla (now Kolarovgrad). But towards the south the Slav element soon began again to take over and regain the terrian. The Osmanlis perished little by little in the perpetual wars and were not replaced by new colonists. On the other hand, new Bulgars arrived from the northern areas (Lovech, Nikopol), a scene of constant troubles and danger.

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It was on the banks of the Danube that the principal wars were fought and the Slavs moved away from there in all directions. Upon this emigration movement which is a very old one, we have no documentation until after the seventeenth century. Thus we know that in the course of the year 1741 Bulgar colonies went to settle in the Banat of Temesvar where their descendants are still established at Vinga, and Benesov*. From 1752 to 1754 a great number of Bulgars

*[i.e. in northeast Bulgaria--Analyst]

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and of Gagauz moved into southern Russia, others in 1787-91; during the wars from 1801 to 1812 a very large number came particularly from Vidin to settle in Bessarabia. This emigration was repeated after the war of 1828-1829. In 1821 there were counted in Bessarabia 1,735 Bulgar families with a total of 38,000 persons; in 1829, 4,400 families arrived or about 270,000 souls. Then came the reaction. During the fifty years of peace which followed, many families returned to their own country despite the miseries which they had to undergo. /189/ In 1833, 900 families came back from Bessarabia. On the other hand, from the Balkan regions many of the Bulgars came down to the plain, especially to Rustchuk, the Dobrudja, the country located between Adrianopol (Edirne--Bulg, Odrin) and Burgas, between Shirpan and Stara Zagora, to the outskirts of Kavkalii (now Topolovgrad), of Kyzil Agach*, of Tambol and, under the peaceful reign of Mahmud II, as far as the ouskirts of Rodosto (now Tekirdag), of Derkos* and of Constantinople.

The war of 1877-78 resulted in new movements whose consequences can still be felt today. At the outset of this campaign the Bulgars fled en masse from Stara Zagora, from Kazanlik, from Gjopsa, from Zlatitsa into the country to the north and did not return to their homes until the Russians advanced to the south. In other areas the Turks and the Cherkess evacuated villages which they had occupied for a very long period; the former emigrated through fear of the Russians; the latter did so later on because they were unable to adjust themselves to the new order of things. Mr. Jirecek, History of the Bulgars, estimates at 100,000 the number of Turks who emigrated from 1878 to 1884. They were replaced by Bulgars who came from Rumelia or from Macedonia, which the Treaty of Berlin retained under Turkish domination.

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On the other hand, emigrants came back from Romania, Bessarabia the Taurida, and Asia Minor and settled in the neighborhood of Svishtov, Varna (now Stalin), and Tuzluk*. With the Macedonians /189/ continuing to move in without interruption, Mr. Jirecek offers figures which give an idea of the changes effected in the population. In 1896, among 338 Christian localities in the dioceses of Varna (now Stalin) and Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), 135 since the war had an entirely new population. There remained only rare traces of the previous generation. On the other hand, according to Miletic, the

1: Niederle--118 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples E16
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S.P. B. 167 previous Bulgar population did not date back further than one hundred and twenty years.

To the west of the Iantra* there are very few old villages and many new ones founded by the immigrants who have come from the areas of Lovech and of Sevlievo. These new populations were distinguished from the old ones by traditions, costume, and especially by dialect. On the other hand, there were many new immigrants to the south of the Balkans in the areas of Burgas, Aitos, and Yambol.

COO Therefore, the Bulgar country has been the theater of perpetual movements, and definitive order will not be reestablished there until the Macedonian question has been finally resolved. However, the solution of the Macedonian problem is constantly delayed by the neighboring powers.

S.P. B 101 S 34. Territory Occupied by the Bulgars. ---It is bounded on the north by the Danube, from Cherna Voda to Vidin and then by a line which runs from Vidin through Tsar-Petrovo, Boinitsa and Shchichintsi to the Serbian frontier. From this line at Vidin there runs off a narrow section which goes up as far as Novo Selo on the Danube. The western boundary follows the Timok which serves as the political frontier between Serbia and Bulgaria. But the philologists are not in agreement upon the characteristics of the intermediate dialect of the area of Pirot-Vranje. Belic assigns it to Serbian, Tsonev to Bulgarian [illegible] considers only as intermediate the dialect of the Morava and th[illegible]a. As we have already explained, in the basin of the Timo[illegible] the area of Pirot, Nish, Vranje and Prizren a dialect intermediate between Serbian and Bulgarian is spoken. But, leaving aside the dialectic shadings which are of no importance from the viewpoint of nationality, and bearing in mind the other factors which determine national consciousness, it cannot be said that the boundary of the Bulgar national group follows the Timok and runs up towards Nich and Vranje, as Tsonev would have it, but that it starts from Veliki Izvor on the Timok, that it follows the ridge of the Stara Planina (Mountains), otherwise known as the political frontier, as far as Mount Kom; then it passes between Pirot and Caribrod (now Dimitrovgrad), crosses the Ruia Planina (Mountains), passes near Vlasina and reaches the upper Morava at Vranje. Then it follows the road from Nich to Skoplje, runs around that city and runs across the eastern spurs of Mount Chardagh towards the Debar (Alb., Dibra).

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Kazanluk, Kharmanli, Khaskovo, Aytos, Pomorie, Karnobat, and Sliven. Detailed figures will be found in the table above.

Along with the Turks the Tatars are likewise diminishing, except in the region of Varna where they are increasing. After them come the Gagauz, Christian descendants of the ancient Turko-Tatar invaders.

The Greeks, as is to be expected, are particularly settled on the shore of the Black Sea, notably in the region of Burgas, and in the interior areas around Ploviv (Philoppopolis), especially in the sector of Stanimaka (Asenougrad)--this town is today Greek--to the west of Kyzyl Agach, at Kavakla and in its neighborhood. Along the coast, the most northern Greek colony is Novo Selo near Varna; among the Greek towns we should also mention Mesembria (now Nesebur), Pomorie, Sozopol, and partly Burgas.

The Jews and the Armenians nowhere form compact groups. The gypsies are numerous, but they are scattered throughout the Kingdom.

In the mountainous regions they sometimes form the majority of the population, for example in the outskirts of Elena and of Plovdiv (Philoppopolis). There are very few Serbs according to the latest information (in all 1,516). This is the result of the intensive /197/ development of the Bulgars and also of the conflicts of the past thirty years. On the contrary, the Rumanians are grouped in compact masses along the Danube, especially between the confluence of the Tomok and Vidin, and between the confluence of the Dolni (Cibur) and Svishtov. A majority of Rumanians are also to be found at Tutrakan, and in the interior of the country at Serbenica (now Sofronievo) near Byala Slatina and at Debovo near Nikopol. The Tsintsar (1) are to be found in the outskirts of Sofia and of Plovdiv (Philoppopolis). We have spoken above of the Russian and Czech colonies of Voivodova*, Gorna*, Metropolis* and Breslianitsi*.

1. Name given to the Rumanians in the peninsula.

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167

Outside of the region which we have just studied, we still meet groups of Bulgars beyond the Danube. These are the colonies which came in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The

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previous colonies have been absorbed by the Magyar and Rumanian elements. They date from the thirteenth century; they were the Bulgars of Brasso (Brasov now Stalin), of Nagy and of Kis Csegerd* (near Blasendorf), of Baumgart (Bongard) and of Reussdorfchen (Roszczur) in the outskirts of Sibin. They are today completely Rumanianized. In former times they were sometimes considered as being Serbs, sometimes as Slovenes. Their Bulgar nationality was demonstrated by Professor Miletic. They were Catholics. There still are in southern Hungary--/198/--in the Banat--the colonies of Vinga, between Avad and Temesvar (now Timisoara), Brestie near Vrsac and Stary Beshenov near Szegedin. These colonies date from 1747; they are also Catholic. There are also a great number of Bulgar colonies in southern Walachia. Weigand estimates the number at fifty, with a population of fifty thousand persons. They are established around Dolz (12 hamlets), Olenitsa (2), Teleorman (now Rosiorii-de-Vede) (5), Vlaska* (7), Ialomica* (3), Ilfov* (22). The largest are those of Afumatz* and of Kisele Sirbi*. There are in addition many Bulgars in the cities of Galati, Braila, Bucharest, Buzan, Olenitsa, Giurgiu (Bulg., Giurgevo), Craiova and Ploesti, who are estimated to number from five to seven thousand.

In Russia, the Bulgars settled towards the middle of the eighth century. They are mentioned from this period as at Chesma, on the river Visa* and Schinusha*. It was after the year 1769 that the principal immigration took place. Bulgar colonies established themselves alongside Serb colonies on the upper reaches of the Ingul and the Ingulka (1). They have disappeared by this time. On the contrary,

1. Tributaries of the Bug and of the Dnepr.

compact groups have remained in Bessarabia; they have been strongly mixed with Turkish elements. They are to be found especially in the districts of Akkerman (now Belgorod-Dnestrovski), Izmail, and Bendery. They are to be found also in the guberniya of Kherson, near Odessa and Nikolayev and in the guberniya /199/ of Tavrida (districts of Berdyansk--(now Osipenko)--and of Feodosiya). The statistics for the year 1897 still counted 172,659 Bulgars: for Bessarabia 103,225, for the guberniya of Kherson 25,685, for the Tavrida 41,260. In this guberniya they are being rapidly assimilated. According to Moshkov, the official statistics also included among the Bulgars the Gagauz, whose number is estimated to be 70,000, grouped around Komrat, in the district of Bendery.

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In Asia Minor, the Bulgar colonies are found principally in the outskirts of Bruss (now Bursa), a portion in a whole group of communes about the little city of Mikhailich (now Karacabey), another portion, around Kodjebunar*, Suiout*, Kobash, Toibelen*, Novo Selo*, Mandra*, Khaladjebair*, and Kilik*. There are also a few communes, occupied especially by shepherds, on the seashore and about Kyzdervent*, not far from Scutari (Skadar). Kantchov* counts here about twenty Bulgarian communes.

In recent times American statistics also attest to the presence of Bulgar immigrants; but they are mixed with the Serbs in such a way that it is difficult to arrive at correct totals. There should be about 50,000. Valjavec estimates them at 4,000, but this total is obviously too low.

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S 37. Statistics.--In view of the fact that the exact number /200/ of Slavs in Turkey proper is not known, it is very difficult to give absolutely exact statistics for the Bulgars. One can only make guesses and, for the balance, refer to the official statistics of the realm which unfortunately are very brief.

At the end of the year 1900 the total strength of the Bulgars should be broken up as follows:

Bulgaria proper (according to the census of 31 December 1900)	2,885,379
Turkish Rumelia, Albania, Constantinople, Asia Minor	600,000
Macedonia (according to Kanchov)	1,200,000
Rumania with the Dobrudja	180,000
Other countries	50,000
Total	4,915,379

In Bulgaria there were, according to the latest statistics, 2,684,735 Bulgars and 20,664 Pomaks; let us not forget that the Bulgarian statistics combine mother tongue and national group. In Rumania, the official statistics do not recognize the native Bulgars; they consider them to be Rumanians and list separately only 7,810 Bulgars as foreign subjects. As we have mentioned above, Weigand estimates the natives at 50,000; Kanchov figures the number of Bulgars in the Dobrudja at 40,000, Ishirkov at 30,000. In Hungary there were

113, 648, 167 Bulgaria EE1

[For a brief statement of the status and territorial organization of the Bulgarian minority in the Soviet Ukraine and its relationship with the Communist Party of Bulgaria prior to the establishment of the Bulgarian People's Republic, see 21: Kolarz, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, p. 147.]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

CHAPTER IV

THE GOOD OLD DAYS

168 888 537 THE DRAGALEVTSY of 1937 had much in common with the Dragalevtsy of the past centuries. The dances, the homes, and the farm practices proved that. The differences were also marked. For instance, a crude but efficient means of population control in the good old days was the killing off of the old people when they had passed the period of active usefulness. That at least was the theme of an old folk tale still current in the village. "It so happened that one spring the people discovered that they had saved no grain for sowing. The king sent men everywhere in search of grain, only to see them return empty-handed. One son, who at considerable risk to himself had kept his aged father alive, secretly hidden in his home, told him of the people's distress. The old man said: 'Tell the people to go to the ant hills for grain.' Some of the men followed this suggestion and found the grain they were hunting. When the king learned that an old man had told them where to look he ordered that the aged should not be killed for their disability but should be kept alive and respected for their wisdom."

175 Just at what time this story became a part of the folklore was difficult to determine, because of the numerous racial mixtures which the people represent. The Pechenegi, according to all accounts, might have been the ones who practiced this parricide. They got themselves into the history books by driving the Magyars (the modern Hungarians) westward from what is now Russia in the latter part of the ninth century. For about two hundred years more they, allied first with one prince and then with another, raided tribe after tribe and lurked near important trade routes. In 1091 the Pechenegi who had survived previous setbacks were finally destroyed by the Crusaders under Peter the Hermit, and little was heard of them after that.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

181 829 596 forms of the religion; and usually the prevailing religion has a monopoly in its field. Where there once existed two or three competing religions, the peasants now have a syncretistic set of beliefs that almost all of the people accept.

[168] The population in a familistic society tends to be stable. The folk legends and religious beliefs stress the importance of remaining at home. Permanence becomes a virtue, for travel outside introduces too much novelty. Separation places a strain upon the family relationships, which must be kept at full vigor in the interest of community self-preservation.

[517] Recreation is personalized instead of being commercialized. Peasants, as far as possible, spend their leisure hours in the company of others, to say nothing of the many hours women spend working with each other within a family or neighborhood circle. Just as the villagers have ceremonial ways of doing many things, they also have formal ways, or proverbs, of saying many things. This we saw earlier in the description of the *Sedenki.* Proverbs reinforce those beliefs that help maintain the familistic society, and serve as convenient means of self-expression. At the same time they are standards of behavior.

[212] Because recreation and economic life are personal, the familistic society has little need for much reading and writing. The priest, the middlemen, the taxgatherers, and a few others who early associated themselves with the village economy needed to "figure," but the rest of the people had little concern with that.

In most family-dominated societies, life is man-centered. In some areas this arrangement is related to religious beliefs; in others, it is related to the economic organization of the family in which somebody has to give orders necessary to the carrying out of the daily activities. A recognized head, conscious of his own importance, acts authoritatively in directing his family group.

The local government is traditionally managed by elders, who represent families rather than political parties or individuals. The village elders make their decisions from the standpoint of what is good for the village as a whole in the light of precedents rather than from a narrow legalism. The religious writings or sacred legends are conveniently cited to justify the actions they take. Such govern-

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Czechoslovakia EB1
Great Russian RF2

B 751

twin oxen not more than three years old, and no one was allowed to see the ploughmen and no one allowed to enter or leave the village. Besides that the plough had to be specially made; the wooden parts, of a tree with a double trunk from the root (twin trees), and the iron parts, of iron collected in nine different districts and forged by twin, naked smiths. It is immediately striking that the ceremonial ploughing closely resembles that of ancient Italy: the characteristic features are the circular furrow, the twin ploughmen and the twin black oxen. The South Slavs were acquainted with ploughing presumably before they came into contact with a Romanised population in the Balkans, and similar rites existed in Russia and are still known in India. I do not know the history of the rite. Gruppe suggests that the apotropaeic purpose (in Greece) was to arouse demoniacal powers to oppose the harmful forces of certain predatory beings, and that from a general aim developed the associated cults of Demeter and Hermes, to be compared with the Etruscan mysteries.[1] Amongst the Slavs it remains a sporadic performance, never a seasonal celebration, and the ritual connected with the first ploughing of the year shows a completely different treatment, whereas the Germanic peoples know of a seasonal rite—generally on Ash Wednesday or Plough Monday. Some of the South Slavs and the Czechs, who may have been influenced by Germanic culture, also perform a similar ceremony during the spring, irrespective of immediate disasters. Krolmus says that among the Czechs at the spring sowing young men drove a naked girl harnessed to a plough with a black cat. The cat was buried alive at the end of the furrow. This practice was known in many parts of Russia. The rite, given by Tereščenko as typical of the Great Russians, was for plagues. A procession of women and girls was formed, and an old woman was harnessed naked to the plough. All the women carried pots and pans with which

B S [171]
S 174
C 241
R 751 731

[1] O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (1906), II, pp. 894, etc. A passage in Diogenes Laertius (I, 109—H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (1922), II, p. 185) points to a sacrificial motive.

342 the entrance is generally in the center of the long side of the house, there are a number of houses (some of them two-story) where the door is on one of the short sides. In this case, the veranda is also found on the short side (Gellert, 1934: 6-7). Gellert (1934: 14) states that complicated houses such as appear in western [171] Bulgaria and Macedonia are missing in east Dulgaria. The Turkish-Oriental style present in southwestern Dulgaria is likewise missing.

[184] In central Dulgaria the same building materials are used as in eastern Dulgaria. In Ihtimanska Sredna Gora the ground floor may be of stone and bond timbers. The upper story is of brushwood, with or without plaster, or timber-framing filled with mud or unfired bricks. Whitewashing is frequent. Straw is rarely used for roofing and tiles predominate. On the foothills near Čirpan thin chalk slabs are used for roofing. Shingled roofs are absent (Gellert, 1937: 152-3).

One-story houses with a veranda enclosed at the sides are common. The veranda rarely extends along the whole front of the [184] house. In general, these houses are larger in the plains than in Sredna Gora and the Sub-Balkan Basins. In south central Dulgaria (Taleŝmanli and Monastirski Vrh) the side rooms protrude to such an extent that they are covered with separate hipped roofs the ridge-poles of which are connected with the main roof (Gellert, 1937: 154).

Two-story houses are numerous in the mountain regions. They are usually built on an incline. Very frequently, the veranda is changed into an anteroom and a balcony is added (fig. 56a) (Gellert, 1937: 155). Generally the lower story serves as a shelter for animals, as storage rooms and also as winter living quarters for the family (Ivimy, 1939).

[184] In the mountain regions near Gelak and in Mečka on the Topolnica River the houses tend to be squarer and in this case the veranda is bordered only on one side by a room. The roof is in the shape of a flat pyramid, or has only a very short ridgepole (Gellert, 1937: 157). In central Dulgaria one finds the čardak, a [341] balcony on a two-storied house. It differs from the veranda in that it is not as massive and is not built into the building (fig. 56d) (Gellert, 1937: 151).

351 184 Farm Buildings. The material used for the enclosure of farm-yards varies from region to region, and there may be a great variety of forms in a single area. In the mountain regions and in the Sub-Balkan basins the enclosure is made of woven brushwood or, less commonly, of dry masonry or mud. The entrance is a door of simple wickerwork or boards. In some villages at the foot of Sredna Gora and in some western villages the yard is enclosed by a stone wall with inserted bond timbers. In some areas, particularly around Mečka on the Topolnica River, a fence may be lacking. In general however, wood and brushwood are preferred in the mountain regions. In the Marica plain, between Ihtimanska Sredna Gora and Čirpan,

This type of house is as a rule in the middle of a large courtyard, surrounded by a plaited fence; the secondary parts of the housing, such as stable, hay-barn, cereal store, etc. are dispersed into this yard. B 342 [351] 343 171

In Southern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian farmers' houses do not present any difference from the rural houses of the Greeks, who were established there many centuries ago in the areas of Kavakli and Messimvria, as I have described them in my survey Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις (pp. 27-29 and 43-44), or from the houses of Southern, Eastern and Western Thrace. This is evident from the plans of two houses, one from the village of Maccolivado (Ouzountsovo) of the Chaskovo district (fig. 33) and the other from the Karatoprak village, of the Philippople district (fig. 34). G [342] [171]

The first one was built in 1780; it consists of two main rooms, completely separated from each other, and of a portico which originally covered all the frontage of the house. The small room (odaja) on the right hand end of the portico is an addition of recent years. According to Zlatev «the existence of a fire place in both rooms is not normal» (p. 104) «and it is characteristic to note that the hearth in the main room, the kăsta, has been built on the external wall». In the other room, called here «zantsa», the hearth has derived from repair and it is obvious that the use of the other room was different, namely it was used to stabling the cattle or storing fruits, ect., as it is usual in the rural houses of Southern Thrace (1). On one end of the building, in line with the two rooms, the oven has been built on one end of the portico, which is often seen in other parts of Thrace. Zlatev says that, «the division of space was not changed in bigger houses, possessing more rooms. The additional spaces are placed in line, and the portico is increased by expansion along the entire lengthened frontage of the house (2). When this lengthening is extended too much, and the length has an oppresive influence on the external appearence, the portico is then adapted so that it is extended outwardly from its centre, in the shape af a square, thus very much reminding the shape ot the mountainous house» (Zlatev, p. 104). B [354] B [252]

The same is noted in the house of the Karatoprak village (built in 1912) which is tripartite and consists of two rooms and a stable, but a part of one of its rooms (of the soba) has been separated and formed a special space which was called, from the Greek language, B [192]

1) G. Megas, Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 13.
2) Cf. G. Megas, ibid. figg. 10 and 13.

342 [192] [252] [171] killer i.e. cellar. The oven is also called by a Greek name, «fourna» and here it has also been added on one side of the house (fig. 34). Finally the beautiful portico of this house, due, according to Zlatev, to the influence of the more developed mountainous house (1), brings

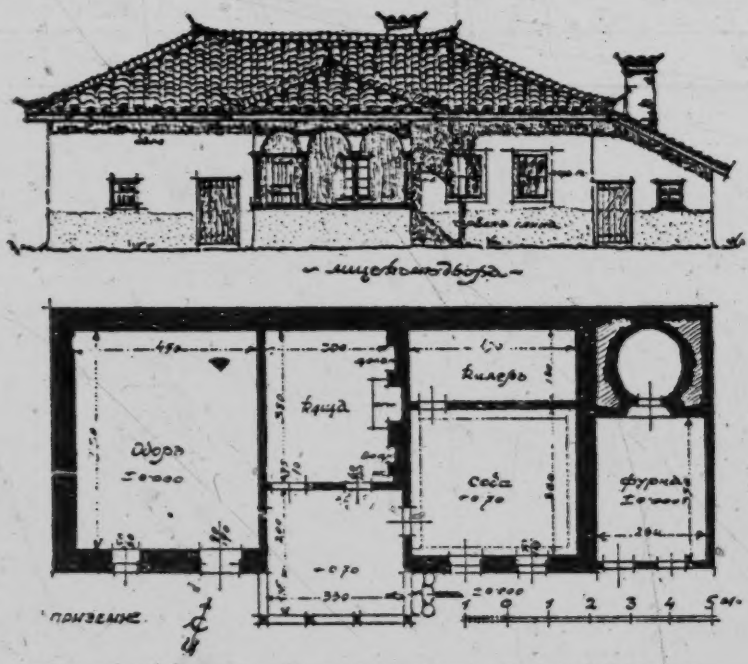

Fig. 34 House in the village of Karatoprak, district of Philippople
(Zlatev, Bălgar. kăšta, fig. 94)

[171] to our memory a similar arrangement of the portico in semi-urban dwellings of Greece (2).

Thus the similarity of the farmer's house in Southern Bulgaria — which is nothing else but the former Northern Thrace, called Eastern

1) «This house» says Zlatev (p. 105), «is fully adapted to the needs and to the economy of a plain's farmer, the monotonous appearance of the pure lowland house; it has taken some elements from the mountainous house, which was more developed, and has influenced it in places where the communications with highland populations rendered this influence possible».

2) See **G. Megas,** Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 67 Plate A, 3. Comp. with mountainous houses of Agrapha, ibid. figg. 43 and 45.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Bulgaria EE1

Roumelia,—to those houses of the remaining parts of Greek or Turkish Thrace is complete. 342 [171]

This is evident. The whole of Thrace, not only during the Middle Ages, but also during the Turkish occupation, constituted a geograph- [177]

[363]

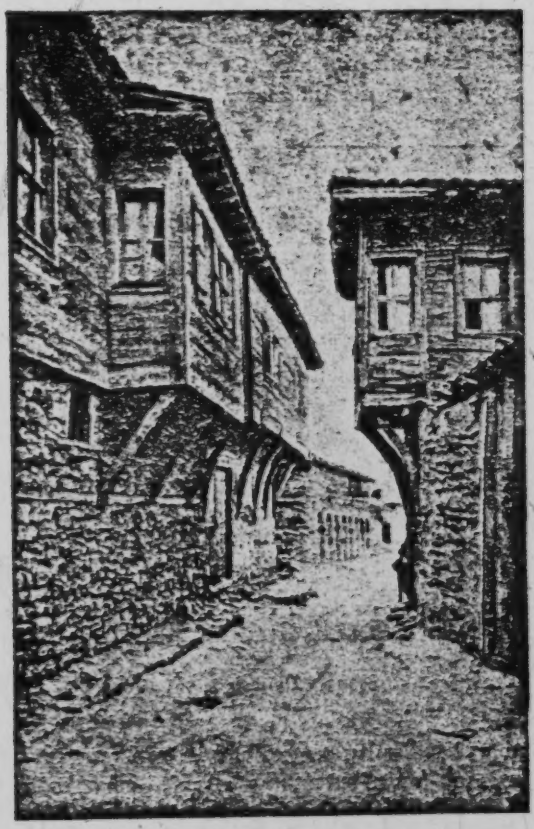

Fig. 35 A street at Messimvria

ical and political entity whose character, from an ethnological and cultural point of view, was purely Greek[1]. The Bulgars who established themselves at various times as labourers and farmers in the Thracian [177]

1) See K. M. Apostolides, Ρωμανία—Ζαγορά καὶ τὰ τῆς Θράκης ὅρια ἐπὶ τῆς Βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας (Ἀρχεῖον Θρᾳκ. Θησαυροῦ 8 (1941-42) 80 foll. 83 foll).

[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains]

In these two-storey houses as well, we distinguish in the upper-floor the two basic spaces just as in the Bulgarian house of the plains, namely the kăsta and the oda or soba with the so-called tsardak (or islak or soundourma) that is the open portico, in front of them. The lower storey is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the stabling of cattle and the storing of fruits, but very often it also includes a room with a hearth for the residence of the family during the winter. This is also called «kăsta» i.e. house, or even better, «lower house» and «small house» in contrast to the «upper», or «big house» that is the main room of the upper floor, where the family lives in the summer months. B 342 B [231 251 354]

The second room, called soba, is also used as sleeping quarter for the family, and more seldom for the storing of food and other articles. For this last purpose, another additional space is also used and is called «killer»; the upper floor is thus divided into three spaces (Plate XV). B [513 251 353]

This distribution is shown by the house of Sredna Gora (Messon Oros) which is very important as it exercised an influence upon the houses of Balkan, according to Zlatev (1). (See Fig. 43, 44 and Plate XV 1-2).

The portico in the upper floor is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the drying of fruit and as a living room of the family during the summer months. Parts of it are usually divided by light wooden or brick partitions, forming spaces called «ambar» (stores) for cereals, or even small rooms called «odaja» and «soba». B [251 353]

Finally, in some more composite forms of houses there is a space between the two main rooms, used as an anti-room, having the floor higher by 0.15-0.20 m. and called prust (Greek «μπροῦστι»); and also some other smaller spaces, divided off and used as hiding-places or cellars. In the more developed forms, such as in the houses of the village C [342 171] B [171]

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towns, even in their palaces. Slavs never used stone construction until the 10th cent., except for their Southern tribes who, having arrived in the Balkan peninsula and the Italian boundaries on the 6th cent., could see for themselves the models of Byzantine and Roman architecture». Stone construction was first used in the building of churches and of palaces by experts specially invited from abroad. Cf. **J. Cvijic'**, op. cit. pp. 228, 230, 241, **G. Megas**, Θρακ. Οἰκήσεις, p. 48. SL 342 333

1) According to **Cvijic**, op. cit. p. 250, «the house of Srendnja Gora is the one that corresponds better to the desires of all Bulgarian farmers, because it has spread all over the country after the Turkish occupation».

G
B
342 of Zeravna (Plate XV 4, 5) one end of the portico is arranged as a
171 balcony (kioschki) slightly projecting and giving a view on the road, with its floor higher by 50-70 cm. from that of the rest of the portico, exactly as in the case of the sofas in the rich Greek houses of Northern Greece (1).

According to the above survey and after the mere examination of plates XIII-XV of the appendix, it is proved, I think, that, if we except the zadrouga-systems 6-8 pl. XIII, the general disposition of space both in one-storied and two-storied Bulgarian houses does not differ from that of the Greek house and especially the North Greek one; it also displays the same consistency and the same evolution from simpler to more complex forms. Exactly as in the external shape and the entire arrangement, the internal arrangement of the space in the Bulgarian house does not differ from the Greek and especially
B the Northern Greek house. The hearth, in the Bulgarian house, is
[354 built in the middle of one of the walls or in one corner of the main room
352] with a chimney that semi-circularly protrudes over it. We also find there our well known shelves high on the walls of the room, wall cupboards (doulapze), little opening (juklouk) and large wooden cupboards (moussandri) on both sides of the hearth; the sofas (menderia) also here extend along the walls and are covered with manifold patterns, rugs and cushions.

B Facing the hearth there is the pitcher-stand and next to it, in the
[352 wall, the cutlery cup-board. Bread is baked in a clay tray down in
252] the hearth, just as in the houses of Agrafa in Thessaly. A low round table is used for eating, exactly as in the Greek rural houses in older times (2).

B C. Jirecek, when describing the interior of the Bulgarian rural
192 house towards the end of the 19th century, also mentions some articles
342 whose names originate from the Greek language: chromel (χειρόμυλος) = a hand-mill for wheat or salt; stomna or stovna (στάμνα) = water pitcher with narrow neck; charkomka (χάλκωμα) = brass-utensil; paploma (πάπλωμα) = bed-cover; sakul (σακκοῦλι) = bag; ikona (εἰκόνα) = an ikon placed in the corner of the room (3).

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1) See **G. Megas** Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις, pp. 86, 93, 97, 99.

B 2) According to Jirecek's note where he describes the Bulgarian urban
[192 house «Bulgars use only foreign words for the table. These are the Greek «trapeza», the Rumanian «massa» and the Turkish «sofra».

3) **C. Jirecek,** op. cit. p. 158, K. Myrtilos Apostolides in Ἀρχεῖον Θρᾳκικοῦ Θησαυροῦ vol. 8 p. 102 mentions many names of everyday objects which are orig-

Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples E16

[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains] SL

The only difference lies in the method of heating of the second room. This is not heated as the main room by an open hearth, but by a stove. This is the reason why this room is called soba (i.e. stove). In order to allow the smoke of the stove to escape through the chimney of the hearth, the latter is often built at the party wall and thus it is possible to feed the stove from the side of the hearth (see fig. 44).

B 342 354 C [342] [171]

This system of heating, the combination of hearth and stove, the latter being fed on the side of the hearth, it is generally seen, in the Slav dwellings and is probably due to German influence (1). The arrangement of the space, however, is in the Slav house entirely different from that of the Bulgarian one. With Slavs, and even with the Serbs of Bosnia the stove (Slav. pec) is in the main room, which originally constituted the entire house (called jisba or kuc'a); this stove took the place of the open hearth because of the German and Latin influence (fig. 45 a-b). The ante-room, (pitvor) which originally had no heating, was changed into a kitchen with a hearth (called kuchyna in Czech or kyha in Serb) (2) since the time when the opening of the stove it was moved and opened on the party wall, so that the fuel could be cast from the ante-room; for in front of the mouth of the stove, a base for a hearth was thus created. (Fig. 45c and 46).

B [171] SL 342 354 [177] se [342] [354]

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inating from the Greek and are to-day used in the written Bulgarian language: gonia (γωνία)=corner; dilavia (λαβίς)=pincer; enghistra (ἄγκιστρον) =hook; kerami (κεραμίδι)=tile etc.

B 192 342

1) The word **laba** which is also used by the Bulgars, and means the house or rather the basement is found in Russian texts of the 10th and 11th centuries as «istuba» and originates from the German word «Stube», meaning a place for baths, equipped with a stove, and generally a warm place (**Niederle,** Manuel 2, 105, **E. Berneker,** Slavisches etymol. Wörterbuch, word istuba (istba, izdba, izba). According to **Niederle,** op. cit. p. 106 Note 3 «Slavs may have even before learned to know the very oven through their immediate relations to the Greeks (Romains) and the Greek towns of Pontos. The construction of the upper floor and other details of the Russian and generally the Slav house are also due to the German and Norman influence». (**Niederle,** ibid. 2, 108).

B [192] SL [177]

2) This changing of the ante-room (antichambre or vestibule according to Niederle) into a «cuisine à foyer» (kitchen with a fire-place) was not performed with all Slav peoples and is not older than the 11th cent. We do not see it with Russians, part of the Poles and Slovaks, who preserved the vestibule as a non-heated room (**Niederle,** ibid. 107 foll). Cf. **R. Meringer,** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina in Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien VII, 1900 Wien, 248 foll.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Bulgaria EE7
Slavic Peoples E16

are tied nearer the breg, for these animals emanate a lot of heat while feeding. One or two sky-lights are to be found on the roof of the breg and give some light to this very dark dug-out.

In the second gallery, as we have said, there is the main house. It has a fire-place, 2×2 m., with a wide chimney for the escape of the smoke. The bread is baked under the ash of this hearth and there is an opening near the fire-place for the collection of the ashes. Finally, the zadnik is the space behind the house, where food, agricultural products and other useful articles are kept (1).

The same formation is seen in another lair of the same village, which was built in 1876 (Fig. 51.)

Dug-out houses existed from the ancient times among the Slavs, and other peoples of central and Nothern Europe, but, as it is shown by the remnants found, these dwellings constituted simple shelters (abris). That is to say, the Slavs dug out a deep trench, of more than one meter depth, which they covered with a roof of timbers, branches, hay and mud. According to Niederle «the construction of the house, or rather of the roof, was more or less simple, according to whether the stay in that place was to be of short duration; because the Slavs, used to live a nomadic life for a long time and till the beginnings of historic times». Such shelter-holes (fosses-abris) were already found in the Slav countries, of dimensions 1.50×4 meters, dating from the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries. Their construction has been retained, though on a less primitive shape, until the 19th century in some districts of Russia and Poland (2). The reason of such a form of housing is the lack of forests and of timber for construction of houses in the steppe districts.

The troglodyte houses of Bulgaria prove of an evolution, obviously due to the influence exercised by surface houses; they are neither of Slav nor of Bulgarian origin. Ancient authors, such as Strabo VII, 5, 12, Plinius, Nat. Hist. IV, 80, Ptolemaeus (C. Müller, Ptolemaei Geographia I, 463), mention the «troglodytes» in the district of Little Skythia, now Dobroutcha, and in Dardania, who lived, like the Phrygians and the Armenians, in subterranean dwellings (3).

Consequently the Bulgars, and the Slavs who established them-

1) **T. Zlatev** op. cit. p. 112 figg. 97 98.
2) **L. Niederle**, op. cit. 2 p. 96 foll., 98.
3) See **C. Jirecek**, op. cit. 157. **G. Kazarow**, Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Thraker, Sarajevo 1916, p. 30.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

G 175 648 B 175 648 [463] [177] [341] [342] [171] G [342] [171] B 177 341

But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, according to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages) (1).

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic (!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov**, op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

G [172] [463] [331]

1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2 000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos**, Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali**, Ἠπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη, Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll.

Il: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EEl Bulgaria EEl

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HISSAR: A VIEW THROUGH THE OLD ROMAN WALLS

[Facing p. 129

Then came the Turks in the fourteenth century to begin a reign 175
which lasted five hundred years. It was in this period, termed by Bulgarians *Igoto* or The Yoke, that Dragalevtsy was supposedly founded.

A pregnant sow was the beginning of it all. At least, so the 539
villagers said. Two or three hundred years ago this particular sow 173
ran away from home and grunted up the mountainside to bear her litter in the brush. Baba Dragana, a widow who owned the animal, after a long search found her on the spot where the village church now stands. Since the old woman could not carry the animals back to her village, just south of Sofia, she built a small hut where she was. She liked the place so much that she decided to stay; finally she persuaded her former neighbors to join her. The Turks who robbed them in the village on the highway, she argued, would not harm them on the mountainside. Besides, there was an ample supply of delicious water near her new shelter. The ten families who joined her began to call the settlement Dragalevtsy in honor of Baba Dragana, and the name has remained to this day.

Baba Dragana was also known for her fiery patriotism, as well as for "eternal beauty, strength, and power," if we are to believe an old folk song. This beauty was noticed by the Turkish Pasha in Sofia, and led to frequent meetings between Dragana and him. Years passed. Dragana lost her beauty but retained her strength and power. One day a Bulgarian shepherd, wounded and beaten, stumbled into her yard. Before he died three days later Dragana learned that Turkish shepherds, enraged because his animals had entered their pastures, had fallen upon him. This was too much for Dragana. She called her sons about her, armed them with pitchforks, and sent them out to avenge the death of a fellow countryman. Blood for blood. A few days later their yard was surrounded by Turkish soldiers who promptly bound the sons and carted them off to Sofia for a summary trial before the Pasha. Death was their sentence. But just before the execution the bold Dragana appeared to ask indignantly if the Pasha knew what he was doing. "These are your sons that you are about to put to death," she said. "If you do not believe me, see how much they resemble you." Confused, the Pasha looked at Dragana's sons, saw the resemblance, and called off the death sentence.

Serbs E F6
Croats E F4
Bulgaria E F1

S.P. 578 Cr. 36, 136 (for example Dubrovnik (Ragusa), and especially in Bosnia. This province is truly an apple of discord between these two national groups. Here the Austrian government is attempting to do things somewhat by chance without having a clearly defined idea regarding nationality.

000 What will come of this? What will happen to the country after the annexation? What will be the new relations between Croats and Serbs? We cannot yet tell today.

From the viewpoint of science and of the Slav idea, one should at least proceed with honesty and not shut one's eyes to the true facts. At the outset it would be necessary to determine through an accurate census the relative situation of the Serbs and the Croats and to treat with justice all of the national and political groups. Furthermore, it will no longer be necessary to invent a third Croato-Serbian nation, the Bosnian (1) nation, as was conceived of by the

1. Certainly, the concept of a Bosnian nation existed before. One may read in the twelfth century chronicle of Kinnamos: "Bosthna...ethos idia para taute zon," (Bosnia...is a nation living by itself), ~~and one~~ often finds that the Bosnians are considered to be a nation. But this designation, which was based upon political considerations, is no longer justified.

Kallay government a few years ago. Moreover, this innovation was in no wise successful. Since 1907, the official designation "Bosnian" has been replaced by the correct designation "Serbo-Croat."

VIII
THE BULGARS

S.P. B. 101 § 33. Historical Introduction. ---The last Slav people produced by the differentiation of the South-Slav group, is the Bulgars.

Almost all of them live on the Balkan peninsula.

S.P. B. 101 174 Like the other South-Slavs they had their cradle much farther north, somewhere, near the Carpathians, in the vicinity of the Russians. Between the third and the fifth century, they abandoned the Carpathians, began to push through the Thracian and Scytho-Sarmatian tribes, towards the lower Danube, and in the sixth century reached the Balkans. At this time the Slavic tribes of the Peninsula did not have a common ethnic name. They were called Slavs like their neighbors the Serbs

S.P. B. 101 174

and the Slovenes and they did not form a united group. Still in the seventh and eighth centuries we find in the eastern part of the Balkan peninsula an entire series of tribes very slightly united to each other, the Sieveriens and seven anonymous tribes in the north of the present Bulgaria, the Rumeliot Slavs, then the Druguvicnes, /183/ the Smoliani, the Strumenci, the Rynchini*, the Sagudati*, the Berziti in Macedonia. It is evidently to these latter that the Slavs who pushed into Greece and into the Archipelago are related from the linguistic viewpoint, the Velegezites, the Vajuniti, the Milingi, and the Iezerci. Towards this period a union began to develop, but under foreign pressure. In 679 under the leadership of Asparukh a certain number of Bulgars from the Volga--of Turkish origin--crossed the Danube and penetrated into the Dobrudja as far as Varna; they subjugated the neighboring Slavic tribes, unified them, and little by little unified all of the Slavs of the center of the Peninsula.

S.P. [197]

On the other hand, the Bulgars of the Volga, who were relatively few in number, became themselves assimilated very quickly with the Slav element and merged with it. (1)

1. Zanetov and Skorpil thought that they found the remains of these ancient Bulgars among the Gagauz (see further on) and among the Turks of Deliorman between Silistra, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), Varna and Rushchouk, whom their Bulgar neighbors called Gadjaly. Mochkov came out against their hypotheses.

Their name alone, which was given to the new state and to its people, recalls the memory of this element of foreign race. Besides the Bulgars have basically always been Slavs, even though they have not hesitated to assimilate foreign elements. Among these elements, along with the Turkish Bulgars, one must cite the remains of the ancient Thracians, the Germans, /185/ especially the Goths, Turks, and Avars, to whom were added later on other Asiatic elements; the Poles, the Cumaeans, the Oguzes, gypsies, and finally the Osmanli Turks.

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The Bulgarian Empire, beginning with the reign of Simeon (893-927) acquired a considerable area; it grew by means of the constant warfare with Byzantines on the one hand and with the Serbs, on the other. The Slavs who belonged to its most remote frontiers at

1: Lee

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[For historical data during the years 1918 to 1947, see category 116, entire article (pp. 604-621)].

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
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CHAPTER IV

THE GOOD OLD DAYS

168 888 537 THE DRAGALEVTSY of 1937 had much in common with the Dragalevtsy of the past centuries. The dances, the homes, and the farm practices proved that. The differences were also marked. For instance, a crude but efficient means of population control in the good old days was the killing off of the old people when they had passed the period of active usefulness. That at least was the theme of an old folk tale still current in the village. "It so happened that one spring the people discovered that they had saved no grain for sowing. The king sent men everywhere in search of grain, only to see them return empty-handed. One son, who at considerable risk to himself had kept his aged father alive, secretly hidden in his home, told him of the people's distress. The old man said: 'Tell the people to go to the ant hills for grain.' Some of the men followed this suggestion and found the grain they were hunting. When the king learned that an old man had told them where to look he ordered that the aged should not be killed for their disability but should be kept alive and respected for their wisdom."

175 Just at what time this story became a part of the folklore was difficult to determine, because of the numerous racial mixtures which the people represent. The Pechenegi, according to all accounts, might have been the ones who practiced this parricide. They got themselves into the history books by driving the Magyars (the modern Hungarians) westward from what is now Russia in the latter part of the ninth century. For about two hundred years more they, allied first with one prince and then with another, raided tribe after tribe and lurked near important trade routes. In 1091 the Pechenegi who had survived previous setbacks were finally destroyed by the Crusaders under Peter the Hermit, and little was heard of them after that.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

One account in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* describes their[1] nomadic existence and the camps they formed out of rings of wagons. "They wore long beards and mustachios, and were dressed in long kaftans. The food of the wealthy was blood and mares' milk; of the poor, millet and mead. They were originally 'magicians', i.e., fire-worshippers; but a form of Islam early became current among them, and the nation was temporarily converted to Christianity in 1007-1008. They were the most dreaded and detested of all the nomads." They were disagreeable in other ways too. But when the writer goes on to describe the *Shopi* of today, the descendants of these Pechenegi, as "despised by the other inhabitants of Bulgaria for their bestiality and stupidity but dreaded for their savagery," I wondered how much he was letting historical antecedents influence his description of the present. He goes on to say: "They are a singularly repellent race, short-legged, yellow-skinned, with slanting eyes and projecting cheekbones. Their villages are generally filthy, but the women's costumes show a barbaric profusion of gold lace." The *Shopi* then have quite a reputation to live up to—bestial, stupid, savage, ugly, filthy, and barbaric in their tastes. Some of these definitely do apply. My version of the *Shopi* necessarily includes some positive as well as negative traits, for I have lived among them and have learned to see their good as well as their bad points.

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But I must admit that if one looks to the Bulgarian ancestors of the *Shopi* for the origin of the parricide story, he will also find forebears capable of such a deed. According to Henry N. Brailsford's *Macedonia* the Volga-men, or Bulgarians, "were polygamists, owned slaves, and were accustomed to military discipline. Like the Turks they shaved their heads and wore pigtails. They burned their widows and indulged in human sacrifices." This is not a pretty picture, but one which bears marked resemblances to the accounts of the tribes in western Europe before the spread of civilization to that area.

The killing of feeble parents has been a common practice among nomadic peoples because of the difficulty of caring for the aged and infirm when on the move. The mention of grain in the story quoted above would indicate that the tribe had settled down, and that parri-

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1 [i.e. the Pechenegi, Bulgarian ancestors--ANALYST]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

888 cide was by that time an out-of-date practice no longer linked with the precarious economic existence of a wandering people.

539 But it was a far cry from the cessation of the killing of aged
988 parents to the "Honor thy father and mother" of the Decalogue, which
593 later became a part of the Bulgarian family system. The peasants had another story to explain this dramatic change:

"In the olden days, when fathers died the sons would drag the bodies with a hook to a stream or gully and push the bodies in. One day a middle-aged man returned home from disposing of his father's body in this way, but failed to bring back the hook. Whereupon his own son in greeting him said:

" 'But, father, where is the hook? What will I use when I drag you away?'

"This made the father thoughtful, then remorseful. It was then that he retrieved his father's body and gave it a proper burial. Since then sons have been more respectful."

593 At any rate, whatever may be the explanation, the patriarchal
562 system with its respect for and obedience to the father won out. Con-
● 175 tact with Byzantine culture until the coming of the Turks must have
186 reinforced the Bulgarian father's right to dominate his family. He became more fully acquainted with the *patria potestas* which had been too strongly entrenched in the Roman family system to be forgotten by the Byzantines. Likewise, the patriarchal emphasis of the Old Testament and the Pauline epistles of the New aided in the continuance
175 of male supremacy. It is fascinating indeed to observe the response that the Slavicized Bulgarians made to the Byzantine culture in general. First they opposed cultural assimilation by force of arms; more than once the armies of the Bulgarian kings thundered at the gates of Constantinople in Bulgaria's proud golden age (about 900). Military expeditions, however, proved inadequate, with the result that the Bulgarian leaders sought to build a Slavic culture to rival that of the Greeks. It was this new culture which kept the feeling of national uniqueness alive among the Bulgarians, while other tribes upon entering that region became so thoroughly absorbed into the Byzantine Empire that they ended as curious names of the past with no modern representatives.

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Then came the Turks in the fourteenth century to begin a reign which lasted five hundred years. It was in this period, termed by Bulgarians *Igoto* or The Yoke, that Dragalevtsy was supposedly founded. 175

A pregnant sow was the beginning of it all. At least, so the villagers said. Two or three hundred years ago this particular sow ran away from home and grunted up the mountainside to bear her litter in the brush. Baba Dragana, a widow who owned the animal, after a long search found her on the spot where the village church now stands. Since the old woman could not carry the animals back to her village, just south of Sofia, she built a small hut where she was. She liked the place so much that she decided to stay; finally she persuaded her former neighbors to join her. The Turks who robbed them in the village on the highway, she argued, would not harm them on the mountainside. Besides, there was an ample supply of delicious water near her new shelter. The ten families who joined her began to call the settlement Dragalevtsy in honor of Baba Dragana, and the name has remained to this day. 539 173

Baba Dragana was also known for her fiery patriotism, as well as for "eternal beauty, strength, and power," if we are to believe an old folk song. This beauty was noticed by the Turkish Pasha in Sofia, and led to frequent meetings between Dragana and him. Years passed. Dragana lost her beauty but retained her strength and power. One day a Bulgarian shepherd, wounded and beaten, stumbled into her yard. Before he died three days later Dragana learned that Turkish shepherds, enraged because his animals had entered their pastures, had fallen upon him. This was too much for Dragana. She called her sons about her, armed them with pitchforks, and sent them out to avenge the death of a fellow countryman. Blood for blood. A few days later their yard was surrounded by Turkish soldiers who promptly bound the sons and carted them off to Sofia for a summary trial before the Pasha. Death was their sentence. But just before the execution the bold Dragana appeared to ask indignantly if the Pasha knew what he was doing. "These are your sons that you are about to put to death," she said. "If you do not believe me, see how much they resemble you." Confused, the Pasha looked at Dragana's sons, saw the resemblance, and called off the death sentence.

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000 resemble you." Confused, the Pasha looked at Dragana's sons, saw the resemblance, and called off the death sentence.

186 This story,[2] in addition to its glorification of Baba Dragana's love
175 of country at the expense of her morals, gives us a picture of government under the Turks. Despite the claims of some Bulgarian historians, Bulgaria was not badly off before the end of the seventeenth century. It was during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that Turkish rule became oppressive in its efforts to stamp out the spread of revolts owing, in no small measure, to the spread of national consciousness among the subject peoples. As a matter of fact, Bulgarian historians deplore more vigorously the actions of the Greek clergy who arranged with the Sultan to collect all religious fees from the people. Whereas the Turks were little interested in mass conversions to Mohammedanism, the Greeks were said to be desirous of so Hellenizing the Bulgarians that they would lose their sense of nationality. These Greek priests, however, had so much contempt for the villagers that they made little effort to influence the peasant population.

175 This period of bondage to the Turks and the Greek priests must have made the family and the village community much better integrated social units. Struggle with an outsider tends to do that. The peasants put higher walls around their yards so Turkish soldiers would not be attracted by something seen while passing. Girls who went to a friend's home for an evening spinning bee spent the night there rather than risk the possibility of capture by the Turks on the dark way home. Even today this custom persists, perhaps because Dragalevtsy youths occasionally steal their brides. Certainly Turkish influence did nothing to weaken the man's authority; at the same time it probably strengthened monogamy because of the unpleasant association of polygamy with things Turkish.

Many of the older Dragalevtsy residents with whom I talked looked back upon the Turkish rule as preferable to their present lot. They said that they were seldom disturbed by the Turkish officials unless they molested the Turks or were forced to contribute men and materials to the Sultan's army. Of course, the Turkish tax collectors also made their regular visits, at which times many peasants con-

[2] [See p. 63, category 116--Analyst]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

veniently arranged to be away from home. The villagers occasionally joked about the peasant who climbed a tree to escape the tax collector and had to remain in that uncomfortable predicament for many hours before the visitor left. But the Turks did recognize the traditional form of village government, or government by elders, and let the heads of the zadrugas, or large joint families, run village affairs to their liking. Most of the time, the head of the zadruga had to accept the responsibility for the deeds of all members of his family group.

These zadrugas were little principalities guided by a *stopanin,* usually the oldest male. His word was law; he distributed the work among the men, bought the necessities, sold the produce, and represented the zadruga before the outside world; therefore, the zadruga usually bore his name.[3] Whenever a son, brother, or nephew of the *stopanin* married, he brought his wife back home to become a member of his zadruga. The wife of the *stopanin,* known as the *domakinya,* managed the housework. She kept the women busy making bread, cooking, washing, spinning, and weaving. Everything was owned in common. Work too was done in common, and whatever one earned outside was turned over to the *stopanin* for the common treasury. In return, all the members got clothes and food, which in those days were about all they expected to have.

After the death of the *stopanin,* the members met to select the next most capable male as their leader. At times, the *domakinya* took over the position of responsibility. Such was doubtless what happened in the case of Baba Dragana, or her prototype, since the ending of the word Dragalevtsy would indicate that it had been settled by a zadruga. The old joint family comprised married cousins descended from the same ancestor, with the result that it sometimes numbered as many as one hundred people.

When the older Dragalevtsy peasants talked to me of the zadruga, which persisted as late as 1880 in their village, they showed that wistfulness for the past which runs through the works of many Bulgarian writers. The zadruga was supposed to be a source of plenty and happiness to its members. One aged peasant listed for me the advantages of this joint family over the modern family. First of all, he said, it had great economy. The members had only one lamp,

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

a *paterfamilias,* with a unique concentration of power in his hands. 596
If his grown children did not submit to his control, then they could 178
leave his house but had no means of removing him against his will. Death alone could do that.

Such was the family situation in Dragalevtsy with the coming 178
of liberation after the Russo-Turkish War in 1878. The changes 642
which have occurred in the family since then have been related in 596
no small degree to the political fortunes of Bulgaria. The Bulgarian constitution was drawn up in Tirnovo in imitation of the constitutions of the West, and made Bulgaria a constitutional monarchy with a national parliament. Unfortunately, the new frame of government disregarded many traditional practices of the peasants and sought to impose upon them foreign ideas and strange governmental processes.

In April, 1879, Alexander of Battenberg, who was an officer 175 ●
in the Prussian army and the favorite nephew of Tsar Alexander II of Russia, was elected Prince over the country. In September, 1885, Bulgaria united with Eastern Rumelia, an area which had been placed back under nominal Turkish control by the Treaty of Berlin. Prince Alexander, because he did not collaborate sufficiently with the Russians in their desire to make Bulgaria completely subservient to Russia, was abducted from Sofia and forced to abdicate in 1886. Then the Bulgarian leaders shopped around Europe for another Prince, and finally in 1887 chose Prince Ferdinand of the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha line. He did much to make Bulgaria a stronger state, but he showed poor judgment in ordering Bulgarian troops to attack Serbia, thereby starting the Second Balkan War in which Bulgaria suffered catastrophic defeat at the hands of her former allies in the First Balkan War. In 1918, because he had been a party to the alliance of Bulgaria with the Central Powers in the First World War, he was forced to abdicate in favor of his son Boris.

From her inception as a state Bulgaria tried to make a success 642
of representative government. Men were urged to vote; in fact, they 666
were fined the equivalent of five dollars if they failed to vote. But in [687]
spite of the dream of Young Bulgaria at Tirnovo, in spite of her

659 the Communist Government in 1949, sought to establish a uniform regime for all religious denominations in the country. Nevertheless, some of its provisions, especially Section 3, recognize the historic role of the Bulgarian Church and attempt to use the established tradition for the purposes of the communist policy.

Thus, the present status of the Church in Bulgaria cannot be properly evaluated without a survey of its past.

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I. Christianity in Bulgaria, 865 -1870

A sizable Bulgarian Kingdom came into being in 680 A.D. in the area between the Danube and the Black Sea bordering on the Balkan territories of Byzantium.

Seeking international recognition, one of its kings, Boris I, agreed in 865 A.D. to the conversion of his people to Christianity under the auspices of the Byzantine emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople, Byzantine missionaries and priests were swiftly dispatched to Bulgaria to evangelize the country. Five years later, the Patriarch conceded, on insistent Bulgarian demands, the right of the Bulgarian King to have a Bulgarian archbishop with authority to crown kings and ordain bishops, retaining, nevertheless, supremacy over the new ecclesiastic hierarchy.

The extension of the Patriarch's authority to Bulgaria was disliked in Rome, and contacts were soon established between Boris and Pope Nicolaus I. However, the territorial proximity of Byzantium prevailed as a factor and Boris' original orientation

175 797 648 toward the East stayed. It became solidly rooted when in the ensuing years he patterned the organization of his State after Byzantium and introduced to Bulgaria adaptations of Byzantine law, such as the "Statute of Trial of Men", the "Nomocanon", etc.

[793] The new church strongly tended to emancipate itself from the primacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople and rid itself of Byzantine clergy. A fortunate chance presented itself when an alphabet was devised to suit the peculiarities of the Slavic tongues. A wave of Slav awakening hit Bulgaria during the reign of Boris' son, Simeon I, and soon scriptures and prayer books, in Bulgarian, displaced the media of Byzantine influence. The process was so rapid and his military victories so promising that Simeon proclaimed the archbishop of Preslav a patriarch independent of the Patriarch of Constantinople and himself Czar of the Bulgarians and the Greeks. Seven bishoprics were established, of which those of Preslav and Ochrida (Macedonia) became important centers of enlightenment.

Bulgaria turned again toward Rome in the 13th century. Desirous of international recognition which had been lost during the Byzantine domination of Bulgaria (1018 - 1186), the Bulgarian King Kaloyan contacted the Pope with an offer to accept the Pope's primacy over the Bulgarian church in exchange for an imperial crown. In 1204, a Catholic cardinal arrived at the Bulgarian capital Tirnovo to hand a crown to Kaloyan on behalf of the Pope and ordain a Bulgarian prelate. This Western orientation caused by the Crusades and dictated by political expediency was rather

000 short-lived. In 1232, Kaloyan's successor, Ivan Asen, denounced

175 In 1232 Kaloyan's successor, Ivan Asen, denounced
195 the union and severed all ties with the Roman Catholic Church.

During the nearly five centuries of Turkish rule (1393-1878) supreme authority over religious matters in the Bulgarian lands was vested in the Patriarch of Constantinople who was recognized very early (15th century) by the Turks as the religious head of all Christians in their empire. A Bulgarian Archbishopric at Ochrida was nevertheless allowed to function untill 1766 when the Greek Patriarch finally prevailed over the Turks to have this last vestige of Bulgarian past abolished.

[656] According to the general principle of the Ottoman law the non-Mohamedan communities enjoyed the jurisdiction not only in the religious matters but also in domestic relations and inheritance. Thus, all the disputes arising in this field among the Bulgarians were in fact judged in the last analysis by the dignitaries of the Patriarch of Constantinople who were predominantly Greek.

After the collapse of the State, the Bulgarian clergy was either banished or eliminated, thus opening a spiritual vacuum which was swiftly filled by the Patriarch's hierarchy, leaving only remote monasteries intact. From those very monasteries were to spring three centuries later (1762) the strong currents of a national Renaisance which finally culminated in religious and cultural emancipation of the Bulgarian nation from the Greek Patriarchate and Political liberation from the Ottoman Empire.

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II. Establishment of a Bulgarian Exarchate and Relations with the Patriarchate of Constantinople

A. Under the Turkish Rule, 1870-1878

With the approval of the Moslem Sultans, the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople maintained a complete religious, and in many instances, cultural control over the areas inhabited by the Bulgarian people. A detailed apparatus was set up manned by appointees of the Patriarch exclusively. Treated as being the spoils of the office, the population was exposed to corruption and threat of Hellenization. Reaction was sporadic until 1762 when an obscure Bulgarian monk, Father Paisiy, published his History of the Bulgarian People and roving the country to let the people copy his book, aroused national pride and consciousness. From then on, the ideas of a separate Bulgarian political and cultural entity gave birth to a movement for national awakening and emancipation. Wisely, it first concentrated on the issue of Greek religious authority over Bulgarian lands versus a national Bulgarian church within the Turkish Empire. The issue came to a climax in the events of 1870-1872.

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In 1870, the Turkish Government finally intervened in the religious dispute between the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Bulgarian population under its jurisdiction and issued an Imperial Decree (Firman) which recognized the validity of the Bulgarians' claim to an independent ecclesiastical authority and provided for the establishment of an autonomous Bulgarian Exarchate. In designating the area of jurisdiction of the new

656 795 ●175 Church, the Firman enumerated some of the Bulgarian-populated regions and provided for the holding of a plebiscite to determine the preference of the rest of the Bulgarian lands:

> If the population of any other places besides those enumerated above, and professing the Orthodox faith, should wish unanimously or at least by a two-thirds majority to be subject to the Bulgarian Exarchate, and if subsequent investigation should prove this to be so, their desire should be gratified (Article 10).*

795 In the following year, an all-Bulgarian church council convened at Constantinople to lay the foundations of a national Bulgarian church. The council met with stubborn opposition on the part of the Patriarchate which, claiming the status of an ecumenical church, refused to consent to the proposed creation of a church on the principle of nationality. The formula of the Ottoman Government in the Firman of 1870 whereby the Exarchate, though autonomous, was to recognize the primacy of the Patriarchate, would have avoided all the conflict if it had not been for the issue of the Exarch's residence. Supported by the Ottoman government, the Bulgarian council took the stand that the residence of the Exarch must be in Constantinople, capital of the Ottoman Empire and seat of the Patriarchate. The Patriarchate opposed the Exarch's having a seat in the same locality as the Patriarch himself.

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* The full text of this important document is in Stoyan Protic, The Aspirations of Bulgaria (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton and Co.,1915), appendix.

795 the symbol of the religious and cultural unity of the Bulgarian nation and constituted the prelude to its political liberation in 1878.

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B. From the Creation of Princedom to the Balkan Wars, 1878-1913

Under the treaty of Berlin which settled the issues raised by the Russo-Turkish War in 1877-1878, the provinces of the Turkish Empire with predominant Bulgarian population were not included in one body politic. Two regions were incorporated into Romania (Dobrudja) and Serbia (Morava region).*

Moreover, two large Bulgarian provinces, Thrace and Macedonia, remained within the Ottoman Empire. The rest assigned to the Bulgarians and at first formed two political entities: Princedom of Bulgaria, including the regions between the Danube River and the Balkan range (present Northern Bulgaria) and was placed under the nominal sovereignty of the Turkish Sultan. In the region south of the Balkans (present Southern Bulgaria) an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire - Eastern

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* Dobrudja was given to Romania in compensation for the loss of Bessarabia annexed by Russia. The regions east of Morava River with the city of Nish were given to Serbia. This met the aspiration of Austria-Hungary to divert Serbian attention from the Slavs in Bosnia and Herzegovina occupied by Austro-Hungarian Empire and annexed in 1908.

175 131 Rumelia - was formed but it joined, in 1885, the Princedom of Bulgaria and severed all ties with Turkey.

Thus, in fact, there were two Bulgarian churches: 795 that of the Princedom of Bulgaria, no longer under the authority of the Ottoman Empire, and that of Turkey, which lay outside the jurisdiction of the new Pricedom. A reorganization of the Exarchate was imperative but not easy to achieve. There was at first a provisional, more or less arbitrary, ecclesiastical organization. This situation lasted until 1882; a compromise was then reached and in 1883, the Sobranie (National Assembly or legislature) of the Princedom prepared a draft of a statute for the Exarchate for the territory of the Princedom. The final wording of the Statute was not completed until 1895.

Under this statute the Church was administered by both the Exarch in Constantinople and the Holy Synod, or Council, established in Sofia. All matters involving the Bulgarian Church in the Princedom were submitted to the Exarch through the Holy Synod or decided by the Synod itself. The Exarch administered directly the affairs of the Bulgarian churches in the provinces remaining in the Ottoman Empire, including Macedonia and Thrace. However, the hope was never given up by the Bulgarian churchmen and people that one day Macedonia and Thrace would join Bulgaria and thus the reunion of the Exarch with the Synod would be made possible.

Those hopes were not fulfilled as is explained <u>infra</u>. The statute was amended several times but the amendments were of minor importance and dealt only with current, purely administrative problems.

000 administrative, problems.

C. From the Balkan Wars to the Communist Seizure of Power, 1913-1944

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As a result of the Balkan War in 1913, Macedonia and Thrace were detached from the Ottoman Empire but only a small area was included into Bulgaria. The greatest part of the two regions was incorporated into Serbia and Greece. Both Serbia and Greece had their national Eastern Orthodox Churches and refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Exarch over the Bulgarian parishes and dioceses within these countries. The Bulgarian bishops loyal to the Exarch were expelled and the Bulgarian parishes added to the dioceses of the Serbian or the Greek national churches. The Bulgarian Exarch in Constantinople, deprived of his jurisdiction over these regions, went to Sofia and died there in 1913. The Bulgarian Exarchate, however, continued to be conceived by the Bulgarian churchmen and people as an ecclesiastic organization designed to embrace all Bulgarian dioceses and parishes both in Bulgaria proper and in Macedonia and Thrace. There no longer existed any hope either for the incorporation of these provinces into Bulgaria or for the extension of the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Exarchate over them. The election of an Exarch was continuously postponed because it was felt that any election of a new Exarch without the participation of the representatives of the Bulgarian parishes under foreign rule would run against the idea of the unity of the Bulgarian people and the Bulgarian Church.

175 The Exarch's office continued to be maintained in Constantinople while the churches in Bulgaria were administered by the Holy Synod in Sofia.

World War I failed to yield the above-mentioned Macedonia and Thracian territories to Bulgaria; what is more, it sanctioned the loss to Romania of Southern Dodrudja (retroceded to Bulgaria in 1940).

In 1921, a Bulgarian National Church Council convened in Sofia in order to revise the Statute of the Exarchate. The Council established the procedure for the election of the new Exarch by the Bulgarians in Bulgaria alone without the participation of the Bulgarians in Thrace and Macedonia that the elections were continuously postponed. They were held at last in 1945 under the Fatherland Front government (infra).

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III. Status of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church within Bulgaria until 1944

A. Relationship between State and Church

The basic principles regulating the status of the Bulgarian Church are stated in Article 39 of the Constitution of 1879;

Article 39

The princedom of Bulgaria, which constitutes an integral part of the Bulgarian ecclesiastical area, shall be under the religious administration of the Holy Synod, the supreme spiritual authority of the Bulgarian Church, wherever that authority may be located. Through the latter, the

795 faithful and is politically important because of its ties with Turkey. It must be noted, however, that since the Balkan War the Turkish population in Bulgaria has continously been emigrating to Turkey.

167 175 The emigration of the Moslem population from Bulgaria to Turkey began with the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. Most of the Turks living in the cities left Bulgaria immediately. They were slowly followed by the peasant element. The Turkish Government did not encourage this emigration. Under Sultan Abdul Hamid's rule the Turkish authorities were always suspicious of Moslem immigrants from the newly-liberated countries where they had lived under much more liberal conditions and had learned to value freedom and rights - two things which were not allowed in the Turkish Empire. There was another for this attitude. Turkey was greatly interest in keeping abroad a large and compact Moslem minority. They remained under the religious rule of the Cheikh-ul-Islam of Constantinople and could be of invaluable assistance in a Bulgarian-Turkish conflict, as they could not fail to respond to the appeal of their religious leader. But with the gradual stabilization of the situation the religious fanaticism of those Moslems weakened, and the passive character of the Turkish race led them to become loyal subjects of the Bulgarian State.

The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 caused the disappearance of Turkey from Europe. World War I, following a year later, brought about the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire whose

ruins the Kemalist Republic was established in the Anatolian Highland which is the only truly Turkish region and cradle of the power of the Osmanli Turks. The wars produced a new trend of emigration among the Moslems in all Balkan States. This trend was particularly strong among the Turks in Macedonia and especially those civilians or military who had led the fight against the powerful Macedonian Revolutionary organization. As Mustafa Kemal's companions in arms, they were given prominent positions in the People's Republican Party founded by him. Mustafa Kemal, having been the Turkish military attache to Sofia before becoming Turkey's liberator, enjoyed great prestige among the Moslem population in Bulgaria. His influence caused a flood of Turkish immigrants to turn to the newly-established Republic. As those immigrants were more civilized and educated than the backward Anatolian peasants, they rapidly took into their hands the rein of business, playing an increasingly important part in the economic and political life of Turkey. Even today, the market of Ankara is dominated by the immigrants from Bulgaria, and one can often hear the Bulgarian language spoken in the shops and stores of the capital. 167 175

The immigration would have been much greater if Ataturk had not enforced his great social, political and cultural reforms which shocked the Moslem world at first and which the Moslems of the Balkan States refused to follow. These reforms had to do with the liquidation of the Caliphate, and consequently of the religious law (Sheriat), in civic matters, the abandonment of the fez (cap) for men and feredje 167 175 178

(viel) for women, and the change from the Arabic to the Latin alphabet. 178 167 175

These fundamental reforms provoked a schism at first, and for a long time Mustafa Kemal and his followers were considered infidels by other Moslems. The Bulgarian Government, keenly aware of the potential menace presented by the compact and numerous Turkish minority, was only too happy to exploit this schism, which caused the Turks in Bulgaria to turn away from Ankara and Constantinople. 175 563

Bulgaria refused to exert any pressure on the Moslem minority to force it to organize its social and religious life along the lines advocated by the Kemalists. The Moslems were left entirely free to keep the Sheriat and the Arabic alphabet. Nothing was changed in the Turkish clergy and schools in Bulgaria. This was all the easier to effect because the separation of the Church and State, which is the core of the Kemalist reforms, had long been realized in Bulgaria by the very fact of the establishment of the Christian Bulgarian State side by side with an ethnically foreign Moslem minority. 659 175 563 795 793

Left entirely to itself, this minority, whose nationality and religion have always been scrupulously respected, organized itself on the basis of the Sheriat, which governed every phase of its civic and religious life, particularly in matrimonial matters - marriage and divorce (i. e., repudiation of the wife by the husband), as well as in the matters of inheritance.

This organization, which developed side by side with

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the Bulgarian State, was maintained by the Bulgarian authorities by means of the institution of the muftis, whose network covered all the Turkish-inhabited regions and which was centered at Sofia in the person of a Great Mufti, elected by the regional muftis. The Great Mufti was assisted by a Council elected by all the Moslems in the country. Thus, the Turkish minority not only enjoyed equal political rights with other citizens, but also was provided with a system of self-government concerning all matters regulated by the Sheriat. Such was the privileged position of the great Moslem community, which was able to support a considerable number of mosques (no less than two thousand) and schools (more than one thousand) and to publish several newspapers in its own language.

The Kemalists were extremely dissatisfied with this state of affairs. It frustrated the expansion of their reforms beyond the frontiers of Turkey. The Government in Sofia, however, took a firm stand and refused to change anything in the direction desired by Ankara. What was more, the Turks in Bulgaria, being a compact and a large group, were a source of votes for the politicians, who did much to raise their primitive standard of living. Great projects were carried out by the Bulgarian State over several years whose purpose it was to provide drinking water and irrigation for the arid region of Doliorman (Northeastern Bulgaria) predominantly populated by Turks. [312]

tied to the Communist Party and the present government. It is, therefore, not to be expected that they will leave Bulgaria. It must be noted, however, that by means of this organized emigration to the State of Israel, the Russians, who are the masters in Bulgaria, have succeeded in sending there a rather large number of communists and they played an important part in that country in favor of a pro-soviet orientation. 563 167

C. Roman Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church was one of the most influential although Roman Catholics were not numerous in Bulgaria. Indeed, Catholicism penetrated Bulgaria as early as the XVII century. It did not come directly from Rome, but through the intermediary of the then powerful Austrian monarchy, which sought to expand into Southeastern Europe and which, in order to realize the goals of that policy, was promising the Bulgarian people to liberate them from the Turkish rule at a time when Russia had not yet entered the International arena. 795 175

The pioneers of that denomination were then Bulgarian merchants with connections abroad who often visited the Dalmatian port Dubrovnik (Raguza), an important cultural center at the time. There they were won to the idea of the liberation of Bulgaria with the help of Catholic Austria, an idea encouraged by the Vatican authorities, and they frequented Vienna and Rome for political conferences. Such merchants came mostly from the small but rich town Tchiprovtsi, in the present region of Vratsa,

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in northwestern Bulgaria. Consequently, Catholicism spread in the region and town of Plovdiv, in southern Bulgaria. These are the two main Catholic centers in Bulgaria to which Sofia must be added not because it has a large Catholic population, but because the old King Ferdinand was Catholic and favored Catholicism. There were, therefore, two Catholic Churches in Sofia. Also, the Catholic Bishop, religious head of all, though no numerous, Bulgarian Catholics, had his seat there where the Pope likewise maintained an Apostolic Nuncio as his representative to the Bulgarian Government and the Bulgarian court.

Another Catholic current penetrated the Bulgarian provinces during the second half of the XIX century, this time via Constantinople. This was at the time when the Bulgarian nation was engaged in the fight for its religious emancipation. The country had already been convinced that liberation was going to come only from Russia, but Russian diplomacy at first refused to support the demand for the creation of an autonomous Bulgarian Church. It threatened to cause a schism in the Orthodox world because of the uncompromising atitude of the Constantinople Patriarchate, which insisted on its ecumenical. Jurisdiction as opposed to the national principle in religious affaris. In view of this situation a certain number of Bulgarians reacted to that opposition by soliciting the protection of the Vatican in the hope that this protection would help to draw the attention of Europe and induce it to take an interest in the fate of the Bulgarian people and also expedite their religious and political liberation.

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Thus, in 1859, the inhabitants of the Macedonian towns of Doiran and of Kukush (Kilkish), north of Salonika, now in Yugoslav and Greek lands, respectively, left the Patriarchate to form a Bulgarian Uniate Church which registered some gains in Macedonia and Thrace, particularly in Adrianople, between 1860 - 1870, before the Bulgarian Exarchate was established. In these two regions the Vatican appointed bishops for the dioceses which were established there, and toward the end of that decade, a young Bulgarian patriot, Dragan Tzankoff, who later was to play a considerable part in the political life of the Princedom of Bulgaria at the head of the liberal party, began serious negotiations with the Vatican for the incorporation of the entire Bulgarian nation into the Roman Church as a Uniate Church. A Uniate Archbishopric was established, but proved to be of short life. The Turkish government authorized lather the establishment of the Exarchate as the Bulgarian National Church.

The Bulgarian Uniates, like the Uniates in the Ukraine and in Byelorussia, constituted a special branch of Catholics. They preserved the dogmas and rituals and other religious rules of the Eastern Church, but accepted the supreme authority of the Pope, praying for him during the Mass and mentioning him as the supreme church authority instead of the Patriarch, and later, the Exarch.

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The Uniate movement was centered around Salonika and directed from Constantinople. It rendered great services to the Bulgarian population in Macedonia and Thrace under the

exile to renunciation of the Bulgarian character of the school. With their few belongings that they managed to salvage, they sought refuge in Bulgaria. 795 797 563

The Uniate movement did not expand after the establishment of the Exarchate in 1871 and the creation of a Bulgarian State in 1879. The towns of Adrianople and Kukash were devastated and almost destroyed by the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913. Turkey and Greece soon thereafter expelled most of the Bulgarian population of these regions. The Uniates among them were dispersed throughout Bulgaria and disappeared as an organized religious community. 795 175

Between the two world wars a powerful Catholic action was begun by Italy in the Balkans and particularly in Bulgaria. This action was carried out by a special religious organization called "Pro Oriente". It did not, however, pursue religious aims but pure Italian propaganda and there is beyond the scope of this report.

The foreign denominations, however, have even enjoyed the greatest freedom in Bulgaria, this freedom being consecrated by the Constitution itself (see supra) and were under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which also took care of the ecclesiastic affairs of the Bulgarian Church. The Constitution of 1879 had created in this Ministry a bureau in charge of the denominations. 656

The need for a special law for the foreign denominations was not even felt under the pre-war regime. Such a law was not 671

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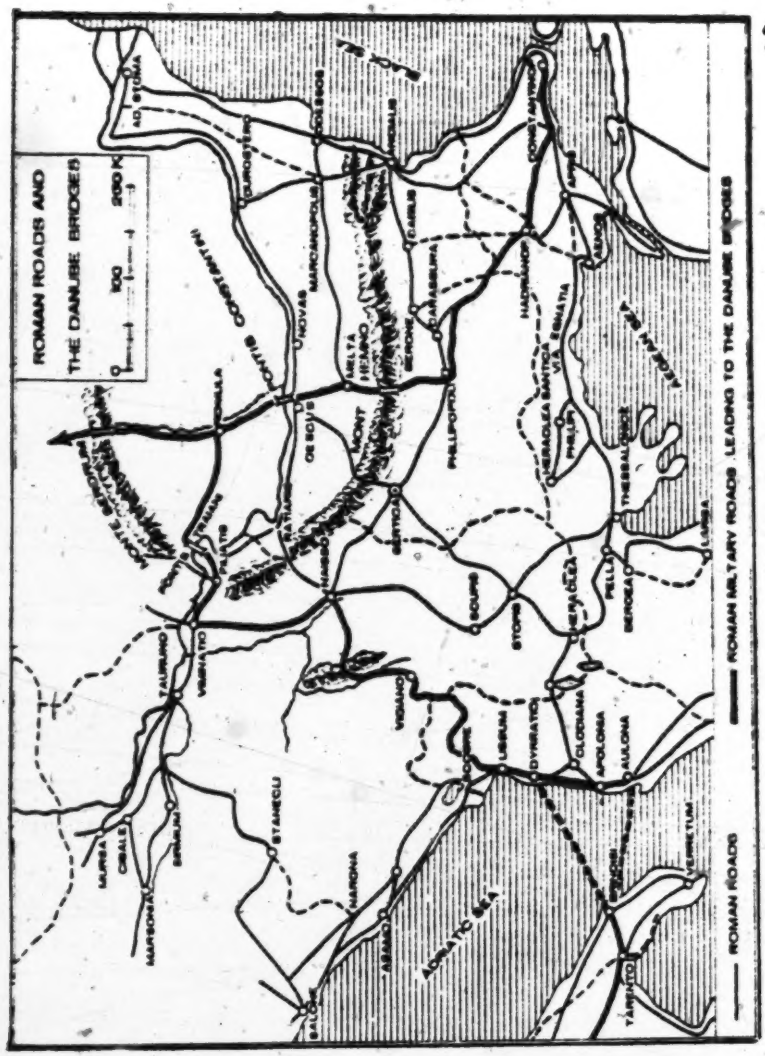

Fig. 4.

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7. Sketch of Bulgarian History. We present in appendixes I, A-E,[1] a graphic synopsis of the history of Bulgaria. Although in a very concise form, this is a practical way of comparing the different historical epochs.

The Bulgarian State, established in the Balkan Peninsula in 679, precedes the formation of the United Kingdom of the

7 [See pp 105(A)-109(B)--Analyst]

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175 Franks (678) and the English Kingdom (Kingdom of Essex—802 United Kingdom of England with King Egbert—828), while Rurik organized the Moscow principality even later, in 862.

After the unification of the Slavs in the initial stage of Bulgarian statehood, followed the period of united legislation (802—814) which amalgamated the invaders with the conquered local inhabitants. Then came the period of spiritual enlightenment (852—889), during which Christianity was accepted (866) and, in this manner, the complete assimilation 795 of the mixed population was attained. The Bulgarian church 175 was entirely independent from the very outset, both of Rome, and of any of the Eastern churches. This important fact has run like a red streak through the entire history of Bulgaria for 1080 years, from 865 up to 1945, and has helped the formation of the Bulgarian State and its resistance against all encroachments. The church movement has always been one of the paramount problems in the history of the Bulgarians and, in this respect, they differ from other Slavic nations. The Bulgarian church is closely connected with the experience and the life of the nation. It is entirely independent and its actions are determined only by the will of the Bulgarian people. This fact should be appreciated by those who seek to understand the history of Bulgaria.

538 **8. Literature and Cultural Achievements.** The conversion of the Bulgarians to Christianity (866) and their need for church instruction and prayer books gave rise to literary production, which is the beginning of literature for the whole Slavic world. The entire Bulgarian nation celebrates the day of its enlightenment on May 24. This is the holiday commemorating the life of the saintly brothers of Cyril and Methodius of Salonica who made our alphabeth and prepared our eclesiastical books. This is what the noted Russian historian and academician, N. Derjavin, said in 1914, when he was a professor in the Leningrad (Petrograd) university:[1])

„In this way Bulgaria gave the Slavic people their language, upon which the present Slavic culture grew and developed. It was destined to be the first in giving life to the feeling of tribal self-consciousness among the Slavs and to serve,

[1]) N. Derjavin; The Bulgarian-Serb Relations and the Macedonian Question; Petrograd (i. e. Leningrad), 1914; (in Russian).

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Slav people introduced in the European civilization, before Huss, their manner of thinking which left lasting traces in all the literature of the Middle Ages". 795

Ernest Denis says[1]): „The dualist doctrine invaded from Bulgaria not only the Slav countries of the Balkan Peninsula, but also Italy and Southern France. The Cathares and Albigenses were n frequent relations with the Southern Slavs. For a long time the Bogomil doctrines were preached by some of the nobility, by kings and even by bishops in some provinces of the peninsula. They dominated Bosnia, in spite of all the efforts of the Popes and the Hungarian kings".

Ed. Gibbon says:[2]) „The Bulgarians spread their branches over the face of Europe, united in common hatred of idolatry and of Rome, they were bound by a form of episcopal and presbyterian government; their various sects were distinguished by some fainter or darker shades of theology; but they generally agreed on two principles: the contempt for the old testament and the denial of the body of Christ, either on the cross or in the Eucharist. A confession of simple worship and blameless manners is extorted from their enemies; and so high was their standard of perfection, that the increasing congregations were divided into two classes of disciples, those who practised and those who aspired..."

Simonde de Sismondi[3]) makes the following statement: „Along with their goods, the Bulgarian merchants brought down the valley of the Danube the first seeds of the Reformation. Their doctrine, carried into Bohemia, cleared the road for John Huss and Jerome of Prague".

10. Military Power. We prefer to dwell on the cultural activity of the Bulgarians rather than on their military achievements, although that these achievements were quite significant because the Bulgarian armies reached the walls of Constantinople several times. Bulgarians exercised always great pressure on the Byzantine Empire. Bulgarian history is nothing less than a ceaseless struggle for Slavic supremacy against Byzantine authority. 175

[1]) Opus cit. vol. I. p. 733—734.

[2]) Ed. Gibbon, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: vol. IV, p. 87; New York, American Publ. Corp.

[3]) Histoire des Republiques Italiennes, vol II, pp. 100—101.

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175 „The Byzantine Empire and the Bulgarian Kingdom are fundamentally different in character. Byzantium was a typically theocratic state with a preponderant Greek element. It may in no way, therefore, be called a national state in the contemporaneous sense of the word. On the contrary, the old Bulgarian Kingdom was a typical national state. Its power and distinction consisted in this ethnic community of the Slav-Bulgarians, who appeared as a progressive factor in the South East."[1]).

Let us put on record here one fact of consequence for the history of Europe, as it is related to us by H. G. Wells[2]): „Then occured a very important scene. On Christmas Day in the year 800, as Charles was rising from prayer in the church of St. Peter, the Pope, who had everything in readiness, clapped a crown upon his head and hailed him Caesar and Augustus. There was a great popular applaus... At first Byzantium was unwilling to recognize the imperial title of Charlemagne. But in 811 a great disaster fell upon the Byzantine Empire. The pagan Bulgarians under their Prince Krum (802—815), defeated and destroyed the armies of the Emperor Nicephorus.... The great part of the Balkan Peninsula was conquered by these people. (The Bulgarian and the English nations thus became established as political unities almost simultaneously). After this misfortune Byzantium did not dispute this revival of the Empire in the West, and in 812 Charlemagne was formally recognized by Byzantine envoys as Emperor and Augustus...".

The military might of the Bulgarians was on the rise. Gibbon[3]) writes for the reign of Tzar Simeon the following: "The nobles of Bulgaria were educated in the schools and palace of Constantinople, and Simeon, a youth of the royal line, was instructed in the rhetoric of Demosthenes and the logic of Aristotle. He relinquished the profession of a monk for that of a king and warrior: and in his reign of more than forty years Bulgaria assumed a rank among the civilized powers of the earth... He formed the siege of Constantinople (924); and, in a personal conference with the Emperor, Simeon imposed the condition of peace. They met with the most jealous precau

[1]. Prof. Vs. Nikolaev, Vatican University; The Origin of the Assenides etc. Sofia, 1944, p. 82. (in Bulgarian with an abriviation in French).
[2]) Outline of History, vol. II. p. 652, edition New York, 1940/41
[3]) Ed. Gibbon, op. cit. vol. IV. p. 93.

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tion; the royal galley was drawn close to an artificial and well fortified platform; and the majesty of the purple was emulated by the pomp of the Bulgarians... The reconciliation was sealed by a domestic alliance; the freedom of trade was granted or restored; the first honors of the court were secured to the friends of Bulgaria, above the ambassadors of enemies or strangers; and her princes were dignified with the high and invidious title Basileus, or Emperor..." 175

11. Tzar Samuel, 971--1014. The struggle which developed between Bulgaria and Byzantium in the last period was frightful and sanguinary. The Byzantines suffered several defeats under Emperor Basil II (980--1025). Samuel was crowned Tzar of the Bulgarians in 997.

„This man", says the French historian Shlumberger, „was the noblest incarnation of the struggle for independence in the 10th century. He was a gifted ruler who could measure up to Emperor Basil, the greatest Byzantine Military Commander of that century. But Samuel was not only a noted military leader, strategist and organizer, he was a wise, cautious and farsighted administrator also".

12. Characteristic cruelty, 1014. The fury of Emperor Basil II against anything Bulgarian was so great, that after a battle at the mountain of Belasitsa, according to the report of the Byzantine historians, he ordered that both eyes of about 15.000 captured Bulgarians should be cut out and, for each group of 100 of them, a one-eyed captive should be left as a guide. In this manner, he sent them back to Tzar Samuel who could not stand the sight of this calamity and died of sorrow the same year. At the termination of this war of 1014, Emperor Basil was given the title of „Slayer of Bulgarians" (Voulgaroctonos). This title did not contribute much to the prestige of the Empire in the Balkans, because it ruled over foreign peoples and bore the deadly wound inflicted by the struggles of the tough Slavic people, who were gradually driving it out of the central part of the peninsula.

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175 **13. Decline. The Turks conquer Bulgaria, 1241—1393.** The period 1241—1393 is marked by the Tartar intervention in the affairs of the Balkan Peninsula, and with the restoration of the Byzantine Empire in Constantinople (1261). The bickering among the Balkan states, their ambitions and misunderstandings helped the cause of the Turks who had already invaded the Peninsula. (Rodosto was captured in 1354). Tirnovo and the Kingdom of Tirnovo fell in 1393 and although Salonica was captured in 1430, the initial date of the Turkish subjection of Bulgaria is considered the year 1393. This subjection lasted until 1878 or 485 years! The Turkish yoke over Macedonia and Thrace lasted until 1912, or 519 years. The year 1453 marked the fall of Constantinople and this put an end to the Byzantine Empire for ever.

The disasters which fell upon the Christian states in the Balkans blocked the way of the western nations and their trade with the East. The Black Sea became a closed sea. The sources of Christian science, literature and art of the East were destroyed. Their transfer to Western Christian Europe took place and this heralded the coming of the Renaisance. The up to date sources of light and culture were covered with darkness which lasted for five centuries. The most numerous and compact Bulgarian population in the heart of the European Turkish dominions suffered the longest subjection allotted to the Balkan peoples.

14. Bulgaria under Turkish Yoke, 1393—1878. It is not possible to show the state of the Bulgarian lands during this period of 500 years in this brief presentation of Bulgarian history. The graphic synopsis in Appendixes I, A—E, gives us an approximate idea of it. This gruesome past did not crush the spirit of the Bulgarian nation, but it destroyed many monuments of its spiritual and material culture. It stopped the natural development of the keenest and most powerful nation in the Balkan Peninsula during the Middle Ages. If the Bulgarian nation was not obliterated from the pages of history during these 500 years, it was because of the fact that the conquered people had a much higher civilization than the conquerors.

The Turkish rule was unbearable for the Bulgarian people, but this political tyranny was not the only calamity that

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befell them, There was another oppression, far more consequential in its scope, which tapped the resources of its spiritual culture amassed from the brilliant past. Such was the spiritual slavery imposed by tha Greek church. 175

15. Church and Spiritual Slavery. The struggle between the Bulgarian nation and the Greek church continued under the Turkish dominion. 798 175

These two contestants were caught in a deadly grapple. The Bulgarians claimed their proper rights but the Greeks opposed them on all points and saw to it that they were kept back on the land to till the soil for them behind the sea. The battle now was waged for churches, for bishops, for reading the gospels in Bulgarian and not in Greek, for schools, teachers, books and libraries! The Turks gave the Greek Patriarchate in Constantinople complete freedom of action over the spiritual life of the subjected Christian „rayahs". The Greeks never dreamt of such unlimited ecclesiastical authority even in the brilliant periods of the Byzantine empire. Never was the principle „divide and rule" applied more effectively, than by the Turks during the time of their domination. Bulgarian libraries were burned. The Patriarchate library in Tirnovo, for instance, was burned in 1628 and this was an irreparable loss for the Bulgarian nation. Such was the fate of many monasterial and church libraries and their priceless manuscripts. In 1823 old manuscripts were destroyed by fire in Tserovina, near Sofia; the same thing happened at Titcha, county of Shumen, in 1840, in Stara-Zagora and in the St. Zograph Bulgarian monastery of Athos. What little was left, in form and essence of the Bulgarian Patriarchate at Ochrid, was lost and wasted with the closing of the Patriarchate in 1867. This church struggle lasted since the second half of the 16th century until to-day. For nearly 400 years the Bulgarian people fought for their rights to establish their national language in the church service and prayers, to have their own clergymen and their own national church was to depend exclusively on the will of the people. How many nations could boast of such history and what other church has played such significant part in the preservation of its people?

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175 **16. Backwardness in Spiritual Matters.** The Greek church was guided by an extremely backward spirit which was totally opposed to the advanced ideas and aspirations of the Bulgarian nation. It should not be surprising to us that the Greek monks of St. Athos considered books of no consequence because scholars brought corruption to the world by them. The Greek church and spiritual centre of Constantinople, Phanar[1]), was in no way on a higher intellectual plane in that respect. Here is what the noted historian Jacob Philipp Falmerayer[2]) writes about it: „There came here[3]), as a director, the noted resident of Corfu, Eugene Bulgari (1716—1806). This was during the first years of the reign of Empress Catherine II. He found only seven students in the spacious halls. This man was a perfect master in the Greek language and had occupied himself with philosophical and historical studies in an European manner. The educational institution advanced very quickly. The fame of the teacher, the spirit of the times and the beautiful location of the school attracted many young men from all parts of Turkey, Russ a and Italy to the Vatopaed Academy. Eugene had gathered around himself about 200 students residing in 170 cells when he was at the peak of his glory... What were the most beautiful abodes of European muses compared to the superb academy in the forest of this holy mountain! But just as in the case of the Andros school of Kairi[4]), so here people began to think that Eugene Bulgari and his institute were sowing the seeds of dangerous innovations, anarchistic unrest and a spiritual emancipation which threatened to upset the Greek Ecclesiastical Orient. The monks, however, had no idea, at the time when the academy was established, that such a change would take place. They felt now that the old religious practices at the Holy Mountain would not thrive along with philosophy and free mental gymnastics. They were wor-

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[1]) Phanar is the residence of the Greek Patriarchate in Constantinople.

[2]) Jacob Philipp Falmerayer, Der heilige Berg Athos; aus den Fragmenten aus dem Orient, 1845, Reclam Universal Bibliotek No. 5048, p. 103; Cf. Meyer's Volksbibliothek für Lander-, Völker- u. Naturkunde; Hildburghausen u. New-York, 1853—56. vol. 27, p. 60.

[3]) In the Athos monastery of Vatopaedi in a new building which was built for a theolcgical academy; ibid p. 102.

[4]) Greek theolcgian and educator. Many noted Bulgarians studied in the school established by him, like Ilarion Makariopolski, Dobrovolski, Tehomacoff etc.

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ried about the faith of the heavenly light of Tabor, of the pilgrim caravans, of the spiritual credit and the annual ceremonies of sacrifice and devotion, as well as of the rigidity of their own discipline. Bulgari and his school were destined to perish. At first, they started with insinuations and innuendoes against the learned master, by undermining his authority. They cast suspicion on the morals of teacher and students and gave unfavourable reports to the Greek church authorities in Constantinople. They found no peace in their mind until this man volunteered with his resignation. Disgusted, he left and, after a short stay at Phanar, he betook himself to Russia where a brilliant future was awaiting him... The enchantment of the environment left with the retirement of the director. The students were scattered, the life of the Academy declined and it was closed finally by rescript of the Oecumenical Patriarch on the ground that it was „objectionable to religion and morality". Happy over their victory, the monks tore down the roof of the building and knocked out its doors with the intention of removing all hopes for the return of the run away enemy. Rich mountain bushes project to day (1841—our note) from the gaping doorways and, instead of the smiling youthful faces over the window sills, evergreen weeds and creaping wild shrubs are hanging.".

Does not this sound like a story of the Middle Ages? And yet this event took place just 175 years ago and not in the dark period of the Middle Ages,

17. A Small Illustration, 1837. Mr. Misheff, member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences relates the following story[1]), which we would use here as an illustration:

„The central localities had to struggle long against the encroachments and hostile resistance of the Greek clergy. In 1837 Hadji Valko Chaluckoff made up his mind to open a Bulgarian school in Plovdiv (Philippopol) and invited Neophit of Rila to be its schoolmaster. Before realizing his project, he advised the Greek bishop of his intention. The latter, after hearing from him about it, said: „Chorbadji (Squire), you know well that I have nothing to say against your enterprise

[1]) D. Misheff, The Bulgarians in the Past. Lausanne, 1916, pp. 297—298.

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175 personally, but in view of the strict orders which we have from our Patriarchate to watch closely every effort on the part of the Bulgarians to start schools, especially in the cities, I am duty bound to bring your intention of opening such an institution to the knowledge of the Patriarchate. I am sure that the Patriarchate would not manifest its opposition right away, nor will it take immediate steps to close it, but in the long run it will find a plausible cause to discredit you before the Government, with the result that you would be exiled and your school closed. If you, therefore, care to guard your own nterests, you better desist from your undertaking".

After thinking it over, the Bulgarian notables decided to open a school in Koprivshtitsa instead. In 1840 the Bulgarians in Plovdiv made an effort to start a school of their own, or at least to have the Bulgarian language taught in the existing common schools which vere opened for all pupils. The Greek bishop Charysantos not only objected to having „the barbarous and dissonant" Slav-Bulgarian language (as he described it) studied in the schools, but protested immediately to the Ottoman authorities against the wishes of the Bulgarian notables, whom he accused being prompted by revolutionary ideas and, therefore, acted as enemies of the state".

This „episode" is contemporaneous to the times of Dickens, Lamenais, Hebbel, Gogol and to the period of the first railroads in Europe.

18. The Renaissance of the Bulgarian Nation, 1762. On the subject of Bulgarian renaissance, we will quote the words of Prof. Shishmanoff*): „By a fatal coincidence, unfortunately, Western European Renaissance began just when the Balkan peoples, battered completely, fell under the brutal aud merciles dominion of the conqueror... To evaluate the full tragedy of our national misfortune, suffice it to state, that the period of Western European Renaissance is the period of the greatest discoveries: the discovery of the New and Ancient Worlds, the discovery of America of one hand and of Hellas and Rome on the other. This is the age of Coper-

*) Prof. Iv. D. Shishmanoff. Western Enropean and Bulgarian Renaissance; Bulgarian Historical Library, year I, p. 166. (in Bulgarian).

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nicus and Galileo who opened for us the celestial world. We have at ths time the invention of the art of printing which helped the spread of ideas by books. Here is the age of most gifted masters of speech, beauty and marble, like Petrarch and Boccacio, Ariosto and Tasso, Camoens and Servantes, of Rabelais and Montaigne, of Shakespeare, Michel-Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Rafael and Tician. This is the period of great philosophers like Bacon, Giordano Bruno etc. etc... Bulgaria was unable to benefit by all these miracles of rich material, intellectual, spiritual and esthetic culture... At this same time, our half illiterate monks the only representatives of our intellectual life in this remote dark age, contemporaries of Ariosto and Tasso, of Shakespeare and Servantes, of Rafael and Tician, devoted their lives to the painstaking and tedious work of copying the lives of saints or of painting ikons, which betryed the complete conventionality and frigidity of Byzantine art!"

But neither the Turkish political, nor the Greek ecclesiastical slavery were in a position to suppress the spirit of the Bulgarian nation. It was encouraged by the enlightened groups of artizans, merchants and clergymen. A bright spark flashed all of a sudden in this dark period. This spark was the Slavic Bulgarian history of a Bulgarian monk of Macedonian origin called Paissi Hilendarski[1]). This was a hand written manuscript of 1762, which told the Bulgarian people of their glorious past, of their Kings and Patriarchs. The manuscript was called by the common people „The Book of Kings" and was copied and distributed widely in the Bulgarian lands. The plea of this Bulgarian monk to his people was „Oh Bulgarians, get to know your origin and your language". This was a forward call for the hard struggle to obtain schools and churches, enlightement, civilization and freedom of conscience: a struggle against anything that was Greek. The hatred, accumulated for centuries past — already 1083 years old — broke out with new force. This was the Bulgarian Renaissance.

„The Bulgarian Renaissance, as a process of development, has something in common with the Renaissance of Westren Europe:

[1]) A monk of the Hilendar Monastery, Mont Alhos.

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dom of conscience and a struggle for free national church and school.

So, 100 years after the appearance of the history ot Paissi (1760 — 1860), the Bulgarian settlement in Constantinople, denied the Greek Patriarchate in a solemn religious service and presented a petition to the Turkish Government for an independent Bulgarian National Church. This was a church revolutionary act. It puzzled and confused the Turkish Government, because it came from the most numerous Christian population in the Balkan Peninsula and from a people who had such an advanced national consciousness, that they felt already the approach of their political liberation, which actually took place 18 years later.

The Turks tried to frighten the Bulgarian nation by the ostrich methods of their policy of half measures. The Government exiled the Bulgarian bishops and refused to acknowledge the approaching danger for the Ottoman Empire. All these methods were of no avail. The Bulgarian nation was firmly convinced in the justice of its demands and rights and the danger for the Turkish Government had become so imminent, that it could not help but surrender its position, and on February 28, 1872 the Sultan issued a proclamation and authorized the establishment of an Independent Bulgarian National Church as the Bulgarian Exarchate, manned and managed by an ecclesiastical staff of its own, comming from the people.

20. Schisme. The Greek Anathema, 1872. This enormous Bulgarian success forced the helpless Greek Patriarch to take rash steps. On May 13, 1872 he proclamed the schism of the Bulgarian church and cast anathema on the Bulgarians. History has never registered a more ridiculous anathema. This actually turned to be a blessing for the success of the Bulgarian national cause, because it led to the attainment of their political liberty. The reconciliation of the two churches was brought about finally in 1945.

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21. The Turkish Rule of That Time. Turkey was in a sad and pityful state at the end of the 19th century. The Turkish rule, clinging to its practices of the Middle Ages and having no intention of

175 reforming the excercise of its authority, had become an unbearable oppression for the Bulgarians, which were the most persecuted of all Balkan nations. A sample of Turkish administration, though not one of the most characteristic for that time, is found in the repport of the British correspondent Robert J. More:[1])

Revenue and expenses for the district of Philippopolis:

Revenue for 1874-75

		In Turkish Lires 1874	1875
Army exemption tax		151,410	169,303
Tithes and contribution farmed out		249,868	461,335
Tithes collected by the Government		154,300	115,405
Different		1,725	1,839
Duty of vine, tobacco, and stamps		23,516	50,604
	LT.	580,820	798,487

Expenses for 1874-75

Expenses for internal administration		6,882	6,791
„ „ financial department		16,839	15,455
„ „ courts and juges' salaries		3,391	3,349
„ „ public education		1,011	1,048
„ „ public buildings		1,021	—
	LT.	29,144	26,643

„From this synopsis it will be seen that, whilst the revenue of 1875 increased to the extent of about LT. 200,000, the administrative expenses of the district decreased by nearly LT. 3,000. But as the Bulgarian Christian male population in the sandjak of Philippopolis is 204,000; whilst that of the Mohammedan is only 140,000, it follows that the greatly preponderating amount of taxes is paid by the former, in addition to which must be taken into consideration the relative degree of industry of the two races. Whilst only LT. 1000 is expended on education, and this exclusively on Turkish primary schools, not a

[1]) Robert Jaspar More, Under the Balkans; notes of a visit to the Districts of Philippopolis in 1876, London, 1877. p. 20. R. J. More investigated with other European correspondents Turkish atrocities in South Bulgaria during 1876. Philippopolis or Plovdiv is the capital of South Bulgaria.

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farthing is spend on Bulgarian education. Again, whilst LT. 26,500 is paid in governmental salaries, only LT. 200 is received, collectively, by the ten Bulgarian representatives who are members of the department of justice". More says further about the Turkish unwillingness to help Bulgarian education the following (p. 25 and 26): 175

„The rapid spread of the educational movement in Bulgaria, from the admirable elementary education of the free village schools, to the training of the sons of landed proprietors and the commercial classes at Robert College[1]), carries conviction that there will be no lack elements for local self-government in Roumelia[2]), if only the moral and material resources of the country are allowed free development. It seems a pity that, whilst the Russians were helping this movement, the English were denying the qualification of the Bulgarian to govern themselves... No printing is allowed in this place (Plovdiv); and the only newspapers taken in at any public place of ressort are in Greek language..." in spite of the fact, that, according to More the distribution of the population of the Sandjak (of Philippopolis = Plovdiv) was as follows:

Bulgarians	200,335	or	57,6 %
Turks	127,260	„	36,7 %
Gypsies	13,892	„	4,0 %
Greeks	*4,000*	„	*1,1 %*
Jews	2,059	„	0,6 %
Armenians	477	„	0,1 %
Total	347,723	or	100,0 %

The high officials in Turkey at that time were in a large degree illiterates.

22. Insurrection and Atrocities, 1595-1876. On top of the cultural and economic inconsistencies of the Ottoman Empire, the political situation had deteriorated to such an extent, that unrest and revolt set in among

[1]) Robert College, founded in Constantinople by the Americans Dr. Cyrus Hamlin and the New-York business man Mr. Christopher Robert in 1863. Many noted Bulgarians and Bulgarian statesmen studied and are graduated from this college.

[2]) At present South Bulgaria.

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175 the Bulgarians about the end of the 16th century. The Bulgarians, who were situated in the heart of the empire, were subjected to an impossible treatment. The first insurrection took place in 1596 and others followed in 1688. More recent insurrections were those of the Morava districts at Nish and the vicinity in 1841, then at Vidin in 1850, at Tirnovo in 1854 and, especially, the insurrections of 1867 to 1868. The Central Revolutionary Committee abroad was formed in 1869. It took in the foremost revolutionary leaders at the time. Finally the revolt of the Sredna Gora region, the „Kingdom of Roses", broke out in 1876. This revolt was suppressed and drowned in streams of blood. The atrocities committed by the regular and irregular Turkish forces excited the whole civilized world. The European newspapers dispatched some of their ablest correspondents on the spot and public opinion was fully informed, for the first time, about the enslaved Bulgarians and about the actual situation in Turkey. The roses of Bulgaria were tinted profusely with the blood of the Bulgarians. Many foreigners that know Bulgaria as „the Land of Roses" have hardly heard of the tragedy which these roses witnessed in silence.

23. The Conference of Ambassadors of Constantinople, 1876-1877. Even the diplomatic representatives in Constantinople, who were not distinguished with any marked sympathies for the suffering Bulgarians, were compelled to undertake an investigation of the Turkish rule in these enslaved lands. This investigation brought out some very incriminating evidence against the authority of the Turks. The Ambassadors' Conference (1876-77) recommended some reforms for Turkey, along with the establishment of an autonomous district for the Bulgarians. The Turkish Government rejected the proposals of the ambassadors and the War of Liberation broke out in 1877.

24. Russo-Turkish War, 1877-1878. The noted English writer H. G. Wells, writes in his interesting book „Outline of History": [1])

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[1]) H. G. Wells, Outline of History, vol. III, p. 1013-14; New-York 1910/41.

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„A fresh upthrust of what we have here called the natural map against the diplomatic arrangements of the treaty of Vienna began in 1875, when the Christian races in the Balkan, and particulary the Bulgarians became restless and insurgent. The Turks adopted violent repressive measures, and embarked upon massacres of the Bulgarians on an enormous scale. Thereupon Russia intervened (1877), and after a year of costly warfare obliged the Turks to sign the treaty of San Stefano, which was, on the whole, a sensible treaty, breaking up the artifical Turkish Empire, and to a large extend establishing the natural map. But it had became the tradition of British policy to thwart „the designs of Russia" — heaven knows why! — whenever Russia appeared to have a design, and the British foreign office, under the premiership of Lord Beaconsfield, intervened with a threat of war if a considerable restauration of the Turks' facilities for exaction, persecution and massacres was not made. For a time war seemed very probable. In consequence of the British opposition, a conference was assembled in 1878 at Berlin to revise the treaty of San Stefano, chiefly in the interests of Turkish and Austrian monarchies and Lord Beaconsfield returned triumphantly from the Berlin Conference, with what the British were given to understand at the time was „Peace with Honour." This treaty of Berlin was the second main factor... in bringing about the great war of 1914-18."

Let us hear two more authors on the subject of the causes of the Russo-Turkish war of 1878, the Peace Treaty of San Stefano and the Congress of Berlin. One of them is John Richard Green[1]) in his popular book „A Short History of the English People."

„Reports of atrocities commited by bashi-bozouks in Bulgaria began to reach England and Lord Derby, the foreign minister, trough the British ambassador at the Port, demanded from the Sultan immediate and adequate reparation. By this time indignation in England had reached its high pitch, but it was roused to flame by Gladstone's pamphlet „The Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East" which was circulated far and wide. This tract is populary remembered for its demand that the British governement,

[1]) In fact this chapter of Green's history is written by R. P. Farley, who continued this classic work.

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175 „which has been working in one direction, shall in the other, and shall applay all his vigour to concur with the other states of Europe in obtaining the extinction of the Turkish executive power in Bulgaria. Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner, namely, by carrying off themselves. Their zapties and their mudirs, their bimbashis and their youzbashis, their kaimakams and their pashas, one and all, bag and baggage shall, I hope, clear out of the province they have desolated and profaned"... By the treaty of San Stefano... Bulgaria was to be constituted an autonomous Principality with a Christian Governement and a national militia, to extend from the Danube to the Aegean, and nearly as far south as Adrinople and Salonica. Great Britain insisted that Treaty should be submitted to an European Congress, which was held at the Berlin on June 8 and was attended by Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury. Why these distinguished men should have taken the trouble to cross to Berlin is not obvious to the plain intelligence, seeing that Lord Salisbury had already (on May 30) signed a secret convention with count Shouvaloff, and a secret treaty had also been concluded with the Porte... By the Treaty of Berlin, which was signed an July 13, the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano were confirmed with certain vital exceptions. Bulgaria was to consist of a narrow tract of land between the Danube and the Balkans and to have autonomy under the suzerenity of Turkey. The area to the south of Bulgaria, Eastern Rumelia, was to be restored to the Sultan... This Treaty was the cause of friction and misunderstanding with Russia... and it is highly questionable if the policy of keeping the Turks in Europe has been justified by results."

The other author is the great French writer André Maurois who has wide connections among the British public. In his wellknovn book „La vie de Disraeli" [1]), he gives the following characteristic features, which agree well with the impression left to us by the quotations from H. G. Wells and Green: „Lord Beaconsfield remains calm. He considers the treaty (of San Stefano) unacceptable. He advises Shouvaloff that he will not attend the Congress unless a direct Anglo-

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[1]) Edition Hachette, 1927.

Russian understanding is reached on the important points (p. 221). Feeble old men, relaxed on the cushions of their sleepers which were converging on Berlin from Brussels and Petersburg, Beaconsfield and Gortchakoff were moved by the same sentiment... All the states were arriving with secret conventions at this Conference where a treaty was supposed to be discused in a liberal manner... Neither Gortchakoff nor Beaconsfield were geographers. Gortchakoff liked, as he used to say, to deal with the main and important points, i. e. he built phrazes, but placed in front of a map he was unable to find even Batum (p. 229). 175

„Beaconsfield found Bismark very changed, but he observed in him the tone he liked, simple and real, a little bit chagrinned, with crude sincerity and things awful spoken in a sweet voice ringing out of this huge body. Bismark told him that he intended to attend the Congress beating the drum. He found it necessary, however, to devote the first days, while the dispositions were still favourable, to the great questions which might become the cause of war. They were to begin, therefore, with Bulgaria... And so everything was O. K... Apart from Bismark and himself (Beaconsfield) there were no other grand characters... Bismark went on with the abruptness of a military. Al- of a sudden, the division of Bulgaria in two see parate parts along the line of the Balkan ra ng was adopted without discussions... (p. 225/6)."

We feel it would be interesting to quote the following passage also which suggests the original thought of the German invasion of the Balkans:

„Beaconsfield, on his part, divined the far flung aspirations of the chancellor: standing in front of a huge map of the world, they were discussing the prospects of colonisation and Bismark, considering that it would be politically expedient, took the part of an opponent, while Beaconsfield's index finger roamed over the Balkan provinces. „Do you not think, said he, that here is a fine place for colonisation?" Bismark looked at him and said nothing. (p. 228)."

This is the sad story, so well presented by distinguished European writers. Lord Beaconsfield returned triumphantly from Berlin with what the British were to believe „Peace and Honour".

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125 **25. This Situation Resulted in Wars. 1885 — 1914.** War followed war. A fratricidal war between Bulgaria and Serbia was provoked in 1885/6 by the Serbs. They took advantage of a bloodless revolution in Bulgaria, that united the free North (Danube) Bulgaria with the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia (South Bulgaria) which was still under Turkish suzerainty. By this act the Bulgarian nation ammended one of the arbitrary arrangements of the Berlin Treaty.

Necessity, however, imposed on Bulgaria and Serbia to forget their past troubles and misunderstandings and made them attempt a rapprochement for the solution of the remaining unsolved Balkan problem — the liberation of the rest of the unredeemed Slavs from the Turkish yoke. This policy did not only bring together these two main factors for peace and order in the Balkans, but it brought about the union of all Balkan states: Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro and Greece, against the oppressor of Balkan liberty and progress — Turkey (1911). Events accelerated the inevitable war. Uprisals broke out in Albania during 1911. There was unrest among the Albanians in the neighbouring districts also. The Young Turks perpetrated many cruelties and murders arousing Western Europe. The Balkan Commitee in London protested with a manifesto. The British bishops headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury addressed a writen protest to the Sultan and the Turkish Parliament (January 25, 1912). This protest drew attention to the suppression of all political liberties, to the terrible attrocities etc. and in conclusion said that there was nothing worse than the life in Macedonia. The butcheries in Kotchane (Macedonia) and Berat (Albania) followed. The united Balkan states required, both through the good offices of the Great Powers and directly from Turkey, the application of article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin, which provided the introduction of reforms that Turkey took upon herself to apply 66 years ago! War broke out on October 18, 1912 and ended with the full defeat of Turkey but at the same time with a scramble among the allies, who were unable to agree on the division of the Turkish Balkan dominions! Bulgaria claimed the biggest share proportionate to her military significance in the war and to her largest losses in men and materials. Instead she was mislead to enter in the war against her former allies, and the Balkan problems vere solved in a manner which established the cause

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for new wars. Nevertheless, Bulgaria obtained an outlet on the Aegean Sea and this was recognized as a reasonable act by all Balkan peoples (1913). 175

The events in Europe that brought about the First World War found Bulgaria on the side of Germany. The violation of essential Bulgarian rights after the Balkan wars and the outrage exercised by the former allies (1912) of Bulgaria over the Bulgarian population, left under the foreign domination, had much to do in leading Bulgaria to take this fatal decision, which was absolutely opposed to the highest interests of the Bulgarian nation. The Carnegie Foundation made an investigation (1914) to establish the truth about cruelties practiced by both sides over the peaceful population and their abuse of the international rules for carrying on war. We may safely say that Bulgaria came out with honor as a result of this investigation, while the same could not be said about the Greek army, as we will point out this further in our study. 721

The World War of 1914-1918 ended for Bulgaria with the Treaty of Neuilly. Bulgaria was punished in an unprecedented manner. The biggest punishment, however, was depriving her from the outlet on the Aegean Sea, which all Balkan peoples unanimously recognized as her reasonable right in spite of their inimical attitude. 728

26. The Peace Treaty of Neuilly, 1919. If we consider the Peace Treaty of Berlin as a fatal step for the peace in Europe, then the Treaty of Versailles - Neuilly was the unpardonable repetition of the same fault for the Balkans. It was a peace arrangement fostered by statesmen who were blinded by revenge. Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Balfour, Sonino and Orlando were the authors of a peace of „politicians". Dillon[1]) speaks of them as follows: „They were novices in international affairs. Geography, ethnology, psychology and political history were forbidden books for them. What they lacked might have been supplied, to a large degree, by a selection of counsellors more widely informed than they. They chose, however, the help of mediocrities. Since the heads of the main governments, by implication, pretended to be the authorized representatives of the human

[1]) Dillon, The Peace Conference; cif. H. G. Wells, opus cit. vol. III, p. 1114.

000 „We had large gangs of Turks but they are never really good workmen, owing to their utter inability to stick long to one thing. As the poaching loafer of a country village often becomes quite a hero in such an emergency as a fire or an inundation, so is the Turk good at a pinch, but for steady continuous work give me the Bulgar. Rare indeed was it to find a Greek or Armenian on the line with a pick in his hand, and never if the foreman were worth his salt. The Greek may just earn his bread as servant or office-boy, or by keeping a drinking shop, but never by hard, steady labour ..."

175 **40. A Synopsis of the History of Bulgaria (Appendixes I, A-E),** 2/1

Many history books attribute greater significance to the martial exploits of the Bulgarian kings, rather than to their civilizing activity. This fact has in a way worked against a proper understanding of the real meaning and spirit of Bulgarian history. The Bulgarian people are bold and forceful in their national consciousness, but their importance goes much further and by the measure of this significance they should be compared to other Balkan peoples. We observe a sequence in the development of Bulgarian history, which is not at all accidental. A bold and united tribe invaded the Balkan Peninsula (679). Its military life was well organized. Taking advantage of the division and instability of the fluid Slavic tribes, who had invaded the peninsula before them, they set to win them to the acceptance of the idea of a uniformed and powerful state and to remove the foreign Byzantine and Greek element from the peninsula, in order to turn it into an attractive and satisfactory living space for them. Asparuch (645 — 702) is the conqueror and founder of this state. Krum (802 — 814) is the legislator who ushered in the second period of assimilation. Boris (866 — 889) is the christener of the people. The introduction of Christianity is the third period of assimilation. In the time of Boris and Simeon (866 — 927) we have the third element of assimilation,—the writings which are the beginning of Slavic church literature and culture. This factor gave birth to the Bulgarian national church and the Bulgarian nation owes to it its preservation during the most arduous times of its existence 000 later. This sequence in the development of the Bulgarian nation reveals to us the spirit of Bulgarian history. The centuries

2/1 [See pp. 105(A)-109(B)--Analyst]

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SYNOPTIC HISTORY of BULGARIA

THE RULERS

FIRST BULGARIAN KINGDOM 339 Years

The Bulgarians coming from North East subjected and united the Slavs in the lands, which later were called BULGARIA, and founded the BULGARIAN KINGDOM

KHAN ASPARUKH passes the Danube and settles in the Balkan Peninsula.

The History of Bulgaria during THE FIRST (679–1018) and THE SECOND Bulgarian Kingdom (1186–1393) is a continuous struggle against the Byzantine Empire to rid the Balkan Peninsula of Byzantine authority which was foreign to the local population.

KHAN ASPARUK

THE FOUNDER

TERVEL

SEVAR

KORMISOSH

The Bulgarians threatened Constantinople. → 755

SEVERAL KHANS

KARDAM

Unifying the Nation and strengthening the Kingdom. Victories and acquisitions. Legislation. Attempt to unify Slavs in Macedonia and Thrace.

Krum defeated the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus. 811

KRUM THE LEGISLA

OMORTAG

Krum reached Constantinople.

MALAMIR

PRESSIAM

Long rule of a wise ruler. Development of Bulgarian letters.

Free trade exchange.

Period of peaceful endeavours. Unifying the Nation through common religion.

THE BULGARIANS CHRISTIANIZED 86

KING BORIS I THE CHRISTENE

THE APOSTAT

VLADIMIR

Development of Bulgarian letters. No Slavic people had yet their own literature except the Bulgarians; Successful conquests. COLDEN AGE.

SIMEON THREATENED CONSTANTINOPLE. 922 924

TZAR SIMEON

GOLDEN AGE

(Continued)

105 (A)
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APPENDIX I-A

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RULERS

643
650

PARUKH

679 — 678 — The Franks are reunited by Pepin and Martel

JNDER

700
702

VEL

718
724

/AR

739

ISOSH

756

ERAL

768 — Charlemagne, King of the Franks

ANS

777

DAM

800 — 800 — Charlemagne, Emperor of the Roman Empire
802

UM
SISLATOR

812 — Charlemagne, Recognized by the Byzantines because Emperor Nicephorus was defeated by the Bulgarians
814 — Death of Charlemagne

RTAG

828 — Egbert I, King of England

831
AMIR
836

SSIAM

852

D 866

862 — Foundation of the Russian State by Rurik
866

ORIS I
ISTENER

IMIR

889
893
900

904 — Russian Fleet threatened Constantinople

MEON

EN AGE

919 — Kingdom of Germany, King Henry I.

927

nued)

105 (B)
[Right-hand side]

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BULGARIA – HISTORY (CONTINUATION)

FIRST BULGAR KINGDOM

St. John of Rila (876–946). Founder of the Rila Monastery

TZAR PETER I

Russian Invasion

East Bulgaria under Byzantine Rule — 968 — 971

Samuel Leader of West Bulgaria Macedonia

Samuel, Tzar of Bulgaria 997

TZAR SAMUEL

UNDER BYZANTINE RULE 168 years

BULGARIA UNDER BYZANTINE DOMINION

The Byzantine Empire preserved to some degree the organization of the Bulgarian Kingdom. It kept Bulgarian Patriarchate in Ochrid as an Archbishopric

BULGARIAN INSURRECTIC

The Governor of Bulgaria was the LOCUM TENENS OF THE EMPEROR with the Title DUX BULGARIAE

BULGARIAN INSURRECTIC

The Byzantine Empire beginn to disintegrate about the XII century. Feudalism and Anarchy.

The Bogomil Movement helped the dissolution of the Kingdom. It was a Religion and Social Teaching which was continued by the Albigenses in Western Europe

2nd BULG KINGDOM

BULGARIAN INSURRECTION

The Weak Byzantine (Greek) rule was easily overturned by a Bulgarian Insurrection in Tirnovo, the New Capital of Bulgaria. The Byzantine Empire was so weakly organized that the Crusaders conquered it and made of it a Latin Empire, with Constantinople as Capital

TZAR ASSEN

TZAR KALOYA

TZAR BORIL

(Continued)

106(A)
[Left hand side)

175

APPENDIX I-B

	927	
		941 — A Russian fleet threatened Constantinople
ETER I		
		962 — Otto I, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire
	971	
	980	
		988 — THE RUSSIANS CHRISTIANIZED
AMUEL	1000	The Vikings in North America
	1014	
	1018	
AN		
ECTION	1041	1042 — EDWARD THE CONFESSOR in England
		1050 — The Turks conquered the Moslem Empire
RIAN		
		1066 — Norman invasion in England. William the Conqueror
ECTION	1073	1071 — The Turks besieged the Byzantines by Manzikert. Armenia
	1100	1097 — The FIRST CRUSADE. Godefrey of Bouillon
		1147 — The SECOND CRUSADE
		1150 The Oxford and Cambridge Universities
	1165	1169 — Serbia United in a State
	1185	
SSEN I		1189 — The 3-rd CRUSADE. Richard Coeur de Lion
	1195	
LOYAN	1200	
		1204 — The 4-th CRUSADE. Constantinople Captured
	1207	
BORIL		
	1218	1218 — The 5-th CRUSADE
nued)		

106(B)
[Right-hand side]

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BULGARIA—HISTORY (Continuation)

SECOND BULGARIAN KINGDOM 207 YEARS

TZAR IVAN-ASSEN I

KALOMAN

MICHAEL-ASSE

GENERAL DECADENCE

Tartar invasion

TZAR CONSTAN

Tartar invasion

TZAR GEORGE TERTE

TZAR THEODO SVETOSLAV

Turkish invasion in the Balkan Peninsula

SEVERAL TZAR

KINGDOM OF VIDIN
KINGDOM OF VELBUDZ
KINGDOM OF TIRNOVO
ETC.

DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM

TZAR IVAN-ALEXANDR

TZAR IVAN SHISHMA

THE FALL OF TIRNOVO, THE CAPITAL OF BULGARIA

An allied army under King Sigismund of Hunga defeated at Nicopol by the Turks

UNDER TURKISH RULE 485 YEARS

The Turkish invasion was detrimental to all the Christians, but particularly t the Bulgarians bacause of their central position in the Balkan Peninsula. Th Greeks lost their independance, but preserved their Church and, therefore their civil rights. The privilege and the rights of the Constantinople Greel Patriarchate reached dimensions which were not even dreamed of durin the Byzartine Empire.

THE TURKS CONQUER CONSTANTINOF

We may qualify the Turkish rule like this: Unheard of and complete lawles sness and injustice towards the Bulgarian population, which like the rest c the Christians, was already called „rayah", which means „subjected". Unpa laborers of the rich and authoritative Turkish landowners, especially when th decay of the Ottoman Empire set in after the year 1571.

(Continued)

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[Left-hand side]

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APPENDIX I-C

R
SEN II

MAN
ASSEN

STANTIN

R
ERTER I

ODORE
SLAV

TZARS

R
ANDRE

R
SHMAN

Hungary

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Greek
during

TINOPLE

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d)

1218	The 5-th Crusade
1228	The 6-th Crusade
1241	Mongol invasion in Hungary Poland and Russia
1248	The 7-th Crusade
1261	The Greeks Recaptured Constantinople from the Latins.
1271	Marco Polo starts to Mongolia and China
1275	Habsburgs Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire
1331	Stefan-Dushan King of Serbia
1355	GALIPOLI (Dardanelles). FIRST TURKISH POSSESSION IN EUROPE
1389	The Turks Defeated the Serbs at Kossovo
1429	Jean D'Arc
1453	The Fall of Constantinople created favorable conditions for Western Europe. The Renaissance. The Light was removed from the conquered Eastern Regions and Dankness took its place.
1492	COLUMBUS DISCOVERIES
1497	Vasco de Gama
1501	(1501) Americo Vespucci
1519	Discovery of the Pacific Ocean
1517	Luther

Leonardo da Vinci – Erasmus – Dürer – Cranach – Copernicus – Ariosto – M. Angelo – Titian – Rafael – Zwingli – Rabelais – Holbein – etc

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BULGARIA—HISTORY (CONTINUATION)

UNDER TURKISH RULE 485 YEARS

„THE GREEK YOKE" in Turkish times: This is the authority of the Constantinople Patriarch over the Bulgarian population in Religious matters. The last traces of the Bulgarian Church, libraries, science and culture are destroyed. The Greek Bishops were worse than the Turkish Pashas. This is the „Spiritual Yoke" of the Bulgarian people.

Selim I becomes Sultan and Ca

–Hungary under Turkish Dominic

The Turks at Vienna

John the Terrible, Tzar of Russ

Victory over the Turkish Fleet at
panto.

AUSTRIAN-TURKISH WAI

THE BEGINNING OF THE DECLINE of the Turkish Kingdom 1683

The Turks besiege Vienna; then withdraw

Austrian-Turkish Wars INSURRECTION IN BULGARIA at Chiprovtzi

–The Austrians under Eugene of Savoy annihilate the Turks at Zenta; Peace
of Karlova

The Renaissance of the Bulgarian nation: The monk Paissi writes a history of the Bulgarian people, its political and cultural past. This book is copied and recopied and passed from hand to hand. It stirred the national consciousnes of the Bulgarians. The people call this book „The Book of Kings"

Irregular Turkis
bands committ
cruelties and vio
lence over th
Bulgarian popu
lation

The Closing of the Ochrid Patriarchate which functioned as a remainder of the old Bulgarian Patriarchate since 1020

Russian-Turkish Wars

Russian-Turkish War

(CONTINUED

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APPENDIX I-D

1492	1492	THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA
1500	1497	Vasco de Gama
	1501	Amerigo Vispucci
	1509	Henry VIII, King of England
1512	1512	
	1517	MARTIN LUTHER IN WITTENBERG
	1519	Karl V, Emperor
1526		
1529	1530	Henry VIII broke with the Pope and became head of the Anglican Church
1533		
	1539	Establishment of the Jesuit Order
	1551	The Augsburg Religious Peace
	1556	Philip II, King of Spain
	1558	Elisabeth, Queen of England
	1564	Galileo and Shakespeare born
1571	1572	The Night of Bartholomew in France
	1588	The Annihilation of the Spanish Armada
1600	1598	The Edict of Nantes
	1613	The Beginning of the Reign of the Romanovs in Russia
	1618	The Beginning of the Thirty Years War
	1639	Japan closed to Europeans
1646	1642	Frederick William, the Great Elector
	1648	Civil War in England – Cromwell
		Peace of Westphalia
1664	1661	Louis XIV, Absolute Monarch
1683	1682	Peter the Great, Tzar of Russia
1688	1687	Personal Union in Austria – Hungary
1697		
1700	1701	The Mercantile Period
		Kingdom of Prussia – Frederick I
	1735	Freedom of the Press in the U S A
	1740	Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria
	1741	Frederick II the Great King of Prussia
	1749	1741 Elisabeth, Empress of Russia
	1756	1749–1832 Wolfgang von Goethe
1762	1763	Beginning of the Seven Years War
1767	1766	Catherine the Great, Empress of Russia
1774		The Encyclopedians in France
1780	1776	Declaration of the Independence of the U S A
1787		George Washington, President
1789	1789	THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

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BULGARIA—HISTORY

(CONTINUA

485 YEARS UNDER TURKSH RULE

THE BULGARIAN PATRIARCHATE LIBRARY IN TIRNOVO WAS BURNT in 1828. About the same time all Bulgarian church and monastery libraries were destroyed.

SPIRITUAL SLAVERY: Having applied to the Greek Bishop for the opening of a Bulgarian school in Plovdiv, the Bishop answered the Bulgarian notables: „In view of the strict order which we have from our Patriarch to have a close watch over every effort on the part of the Bulgarians in opening schools, you will be exiled and your school closed. If you only care, then, for your own interest, you better desist from your undertaking"

The First Printed Bulg

Serbia gets

Greece gets

The First Bulgarian read

STRUGGLES FOR BUL(NATIONAL CHURCH

Occupation of Rumania by Rus

THE BULGARIANS REJECT THE GREEK CHURCH AND ESTABLISH THEIR NATIONAL CHURCH

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INSURRECTION AND CRES IN BULGARIA

THIRD BULGARIAN KINGDOM

Prince ALEXANDER I — 1887

KING — 1908 — TZAR

FERDINAND I — 1887 – 1919 — 1919

TZAR BORIS III — 1943

TZAR SIMEON II

Russo-Turkish War

Treaties of Peace of San Stephano and Berlin – only one part of BULGARIA IS LIBERATED

NORTH BULGARIA AND EASTERN RUMELIA REUNITED

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Bulgaria Kingdom

Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece defeated Turkey

War of Serbia and Greece against Bulgaria

First World War 1914–1918

Bulgaria enters the World War

Treaty of Peace of Neuilly

Treaty of Peace of Sèvres

Bulgaria enters the Second World War

September 9. – ANTIFASCIST REVOLUTION

Beging of 1

109(A)

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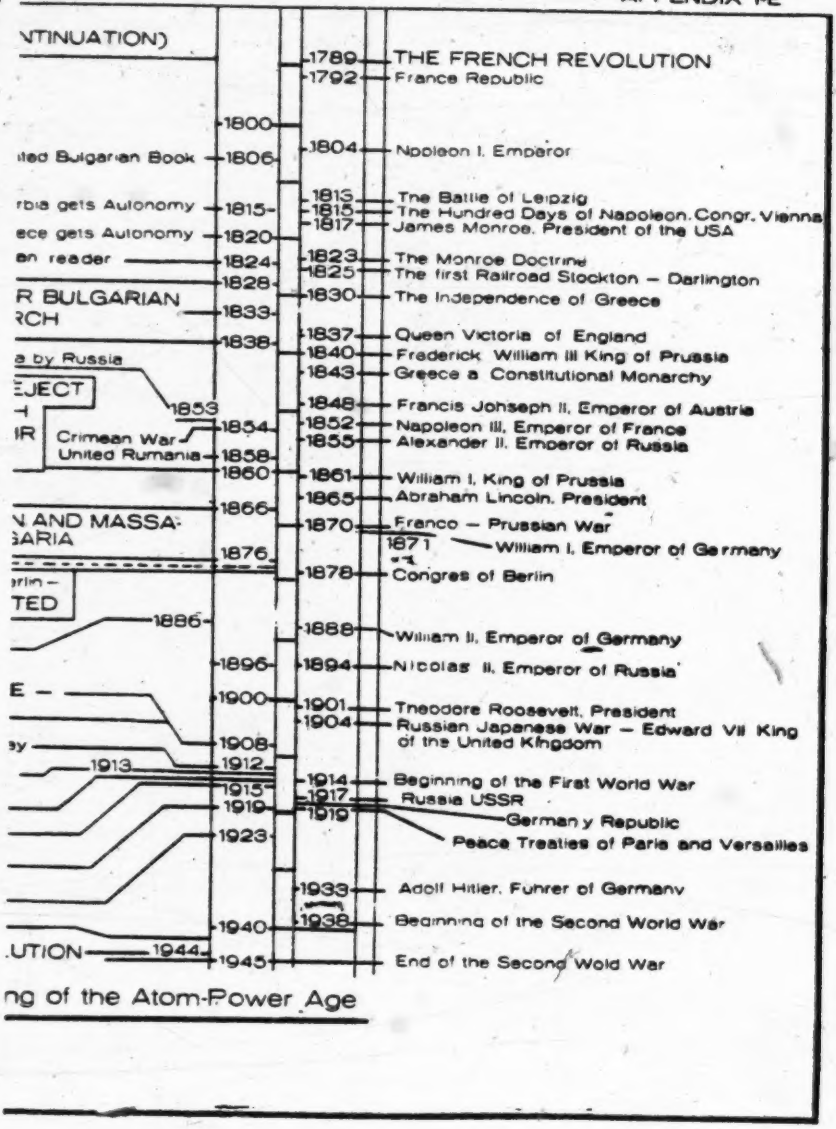
APPENDIX I-E



109(B)
[Right-hand side]

000 seek to read it and copy it and be thou content, that with it thou canst save thy brother."

These remarks of the Presbyter Kozma are striking and at the same time prophetic, since he predicted here the role which books would play in Bulgaria, just as he also foresaw that eight centuries later, his people would be awakened from the spiritual lethargy of five hundred years of the Turkish yoke, or as the Bulgarian poet Vazov said, "that there will be an end of history and they will become a nation", by the books of an inspired patriot. These books passed from hand to hand in manuscript copies to play in Bulgaria the role of the life-giving elixir which aroused the tsar's daughter from the magic sleep which an evil spirit had cast upon her.

175 814 The book which the Bulgarian regards as the cornerstone of his present liberty and which is reflected in all modern Bulgarian literature is the "History of the Slav Bulgarians" by Paisi of Hilendar, a monk of Mount Athos.

In the eighteenth century the Bulgarian people had lost nearly all national self-confidence as a result of the Turkish yoke and the propaganda of the Pan-Hellenic idea by the Greek clergy and they seemed on the point of disappearing. Then Paisi, as the first of a series of clerical and lay writers who supported the feeble study of Bulgarian letters under the Turkish yoke, felt the significance which a knowledge of the past might have for the continued existence of his people and the importance to them of an understanding of the bases of its national culture. In 1762 he commenced a manuscript "History" (there were then no printing presses in Bulgaria) to remind his contemporaries that despite the oppression and

the contempt of the Turks and Greeks, they did not need 175
to be ashamed of their own traditions. In the past the 814
Bulgarians had had their own empire and had received tribute from the wise Greeks and they had had the most progressive tsars and patriarchs of all the Slavonic peoples and they had been among the first peoples to accept the Christian faith, which they had later handed on with a rich literature to the other Slavs.

With its poetic inspiration and its ardent love for his [186]
country, the History of Paisi appeared as a torch to kindle the lowly and undeveloped national consciousness of Bulgaria. It set it ablaze and thus caused the surprising advance of the Bulgarian people. In one century[2] they turned from an amorphous mass to one of the strongest nationalities of the Balkans. They raised their level of culture, and developed their art, science and literature.

It goes without saying that the History of Paisi could 538
not have worked this miracle, if it had not found a fertile 814
soil in the souls of the Bulgarian people, and more than 186
that, if the soil had not been cultivated by a long series of enthusiastic imitators of Paisi. Between 1800 and 1850 these writers, without stopping, first in manuscripts and later in printed books, continued to arouse the national consciousness of the Bulgarians and to spread enlightenment in their native land. The aims of these men were purely practical. The definite object of Sofrony Vratchanski, of Neofit Bozveli, of Neofit Rilski in their works which are almost always of a didactic character, was to help their people, to educate them and to lead them on the path of proper development. Yet so strong and so inspired was the love that these men had for their

[2] [i.e. the eighteenth century --- Analyst]

has Botev. It is Ivan Vazov who first carried the fame 538
of Bulgarian literature beyond the boundaries of his 186
native land and whose activity of 50 years from 1872 to 1921 witnessed the joys and hopes of young Bulgaria, its heroic struggles for national unification and the crushing failure of these hopes in 1918 and who was a sensitive echo of all the joys and sorrows of his country.

Ivan Vazov (1850-1921) is the first Bulgarian poet who gave expression to his patriotism not by direct public work— as did his predecessors— but exclusively by unceasing artistic production through which he strove to express all that he saw in his country: its nature, its people, and also the ideals towards which it should strive. Bulgaria in all its manifold aspects— that is the content of the literary work of Vazov, who sacrificed to his inspiration his personal life and all his other interests, so that he could offer it worthy service solemnly and convincingly.

The sacrifice which Vazov offered to his country was not in vain. There is no Bulgarian writer who so truly and accurately reflects his country as does Vazov. There is no Bulgarian writer like Vazov whose works demand the attention of every foreigner who would know Bulgaria.

For example, if a man is interested in the past of 175
Bulgaria, let him turn to the historical dramas of Vazov 538
on themes from the old Bulgarian Empire, or his "Legends of Tsarevets", which describe touchingly the 186
struggles between Bulgaria and Byzantium. If he seeks the less distant past or the rebirth of Bulgaria, he has the splendid "Epic of the Heroes", in which he represents as in living marble the figures of Paisi, Rakovski,

538 Levski and the Brothers Milandinovi. If he wishes to
186 learn of the uprisings which were the indirect cause of
175 the liberation of Bulgaria and turned the attention of Western Europe to its fate, he can read the best novel of Vazov, "Under the Yoke" which has been translated into every culture-language and which describes with surprising artistry the life of a Balkan city before the liberation, the secret work of the group of rebels, the uprising which they prepare and which the Turks suppress with fire and sword. If he desires to understand the life of the newly liberated Bulgaria, he can find what he seeks in the novels of Vazov as "The New Land" and the "Empress Kazalar." If he would know how Bulgaria passed through the series of war which she waged, in which she conquered heroically without being able to reap any profit from her victories, he must turn again to Vazov and to his many collections of poetry, in which we find expression of all the pains of Bulgaria, all her hopes and disillusionments. Thus every one must turn to Vazov who wishes to know of Bulgaria with her landscape, her fields and mountains, the Balkans, Rila and Rhodope, the Danube and the Black Sea.

538 It is superfluous to list the works of Vazov, for this would be merely the listing of all the inner and outer characteristics of Bulgaria in a perfect mirror. It is better to say that their significance is to be found not only in the fact that they focus as in a lens everything that is important in Bulgarian life but that this is done artistically, with the aid of a talent which is gifted for both poetry and prose, and which produces its effects with great music of phrase, vividness of imagery, a

ECONOMIC HISTORY

The pre-war period

After the amputation inflicted on her by the Treaty of Berlin, it was natural for Bulgaria to devote from the moment of her emergence as a political entity most of her resources and energy to repairing the mutilations she had suffered. She thus diverted to this aim a large part of the vital strength she would under different circumstances have entirely consecrated to her cultural and economic advancement. And if, in spite of this incubus Bulgaria yet attained to such remarkable material development within the six decades of her independent existence it may be surmised with certainty that the progress achieved would have been a record one had she started on her career as a nation under more auspicious omens.

From the very start she was encouraged to spend an unduly large proportion of her resources on the organisation of her army by the Russian officials who supervised the setting up of her administration, and owing to the natural desire of the Bulgarian people to liberate their enslaved kinsmen, who had been thrust under foreign dominion by the bungling politicians at the Berlin Congress, it was extremely difficult to discourage expenditure on this head. This tendency was further encouraged by the armament firms which showed themselves always obsequious and ready to facilitate the securing of the necessary credits for financing the supply of war material and thereby helped to involve Bulgaria into an indebtedness beyond her capacity.

The Bulgarian State was further saddled with heavy obligations such as that of assuming a certain indebtedness towards Turkey in the form of an annual tribute and that of defraying the cost of the Russian military occupation. It was also forced to provide for the construction of those

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It is from 1885 onward that a study of statistics becomes informative and the rate of advance more easily traceable since it was at that date that the first step towards the partial realisation of the national unity was taken, namely the union of the principality of Bulgaria with the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia. The territorial accretion thereby secured was maintained until the Balkan wars of 1912-3, so that it is retatively easy to follow the country's development from a study of the statistics provided after 1885 since no calculations have to be made to adjust numbers to territorial alterations. No such change occurred until the Balkan and World wars, when the area of Bulgaria was increased from 96,345.5 in 1912 to 111,836.8 square klm. in 1913, and finally reduced to 103,146.1 in 1919.

From the following statistical table of exports and imports one may form an opinion of the scantiness of Bulgaria's resourses, since with a few exceptions each year reveals an unfavourable trade balance and Bulgaria never possessed any investments abroad, nor rendered any services, from which she could derive any invisible income wherewith to balance the deficit of her commercial balance.[1] The abrupt increase in the figures cited after the quinquenial period 1916—1920 is due to the gradual depreciation of the leva, which from its equivalent of a gold franc prior to the world war was reduced to the level of only 0.03745 gold franc, or 139 leva to a gold dollar, at which rate it was stabilised in 1928.

[1] Before the war a certain number of market gardeners emigrated temporarily to neighbouring countries and remitted their savings home. It may also be presumed that the deficit in the commercial balance was not as large as indicated by official statistics for merchants were occasionally inclined to underestimate their exports in order to pay fewer dues as was revealed by Minister Burov in a speech in the Sobranye on April 1928. The income derived from foreign tourists is reckoned at 40 million leva a year.

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YEARS	IMPORTS in million leva	EXPORTS in million leva	BALANCE in million leva
1885—1890	350	310	— 40
1891—1895	416	386	— 30
1896—1900	337	339	+ 2
1901—1905	474	597	+ 123
1906—1910	699	591	— 108
1911—1915	916	698	— 218
1916—1920	4,002	2,993	— 1009
1921—1925	24,924	22,628	— 4296
1926—1930	32,330	31,064	— 1266
1931	4,660	5,934	+ 1274
1932	3,471	3,383	— 88
1933	2,202	2,846	+ 644
1934	7,247	2,535	+ 88

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From the foregoing figures it becomes obvious that Bulgaria had to have recourse to foreign assistance in order to secure the necessary equipment of a modern State as it was unthinkable for her to raise the requisite capital locally. Tbe following loans were contracted prior to the Balkan wars, the proceeds being used for military equipment, for the construction of railways and ports or the financing of expenses incurred through a rather premature davelopment of the political organisation and occasionally through a not very judicious employment of public funds.

Year	Nominal Interest %	Duration of repayment in years	Nominal amount in million leva	Price of issue	Net amount in million leva	Real Interest %
1888	6	33	46,777	at par	46,777	6·
1889	6	33	30,000	86·03	25,650	7·5
1892	6	33	124,962	86·41	107,342	7·34
1902	5	50	106,000	78·32	87,367	6·72
1904	5	50	100,000	75·24	82,383	7·03
1907	4·5	60	145,000	79·91	123,250	5·94
1909	4·5	50	100,000	85·56	86,000	5·56
1909	4·5	75	82,000	at par	82,000	4·75
			734,739		640,769	

The 1888 loan was floated in London, its proceeds being entirely devoted to the purchase of the Rustchuk-

[Errata: should be 2247 — Analyst]

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Varna railway line built in 1860 by an English company to which the Turkish government had guaranteed a revenue of 7%, a charge the Bulgarian government considered unduly heavy and out of proportion with the net income derived from the exploitation of the railway.[1]

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The proceeds of the 1889 loan were used for the construction of the Tsaribrod—Sofia—Vakarel, and that of the Yambol—Burgas railway lines. The loan was floated in Vienna as the obligation to construct these lines had been imposed by Austria-Hungary at the Congress of Berlin. A mortgage on these railways secured the loan. The subsequent loan was also contracted in Vienna and served to reorganise the army and to construct the Kaspitchan—Sofia railway line and the building of the two ports of Varna and Burgas. A mortgage on both ports and the railway being taken as security for the loan.

The 1902 loan was the first of a series concluded in France, for Bulgaria having in the meanwhile adopted a distinctly pro-Russian attitude, the Paris money market was opened to her at the intercession of Russia, France's

[1] The capital of the company which constructed this line was represented by 45,000 shares of £ 20 each, or a total of £ 900,000 or 22,500,000 gold francs, and these shares were never quoted above ¼ of their nominal value. A commission of Bulgarian engineers presided over by the late Serbian Premier, N. Passitch, at the time in the employ of Bulgaria in his capacity of an engineer, had evaluated the line as worth 18,575,000 gold francs, which was a fair estimate, yet the Bulgarian Premier, Stambulov, was prevailed upon to pay more than double this sum. This transaction was strongly resented in Bulgaria, but owing to the censorship little was said about it in the Press at the time; and there were good reasons for such resentment, for Bulgaria had been mulcted out of a considerable sum merely in order to placate certain financial circles as likely to influence British political support at a time Bulgaria was traversing a critical period. A very unfortunate precedent being thus created which has since caused havoc in Bulgarian finances.

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ally. The proceeds of this loan served to make good the budget deficits of the period 1895-1900 amounting to 53 million leva and mainly due to a period of bad crops, to pay off the sum of 17,390,664 to the Turkish and Russian governments, due according to the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin, to pay for 2,687,515 leva worth of armaments, and reimburse certain advances made to the Bulgarian government by the Bulgarian State. Bank. This was the first loan to which a special revenue was assigned as a guarantee and a special controller delegated to Sofia on behalf of the bondholders to supervise the sale of the special revenue stamps affected to the tobacco tax.

In 1904 yet another loan was floated in France to which the surplus of the tobacco tax and the proceeds of revenue stamps were assigned as pledges. Owing to the revolution of 1903 in Macedonia, field artillery of the value of some 25 million leva had been purchased from the French firm of Creusot and other military expenses had been incurred and had to be frayed, the balance of the loan was used for the construction of the railway lines Tirnovo — Trevna, and Sofia — Kustendil. Military expenditure was steadily increasing and proving an intolerable burden to the State, yet owing to the anarchic situation in Macedonia and the prevalent belief that Bulgaria was in duty bound to interfere some day on behalf of her unredeemed kinsmen in Turkey, the Bulgarian people assumed stolidly the financial burdens imposed on them. Thus during the two years 1904 and 1905 some 55 million leva were expended solely on armaments, a sum exceeding half of the budget figures of these years.

It must be admitted that the French armament firms which had found an excellent client in Bulgaria must have largely contributed in persuading French Banks as to the advisability of financing the loans made to Bulgaria, which were being gradually floated at shorter and shorter intervals.

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•175 457 652 In 1907, a further loan was issued in Paris out of which sums of 20,935,000 and 31,584,500 leva were earmarked for the conversion of the 1888 and 1889 loans. The 1907 loan having been issued on a 4·5 % basis it was thought that a considerable economy would be effected by reimbursing the first two loans bearing 6% interest. Unfortunately, owing to the fact that the bonds were quoted above par, the Bulgarian treasury incurred instead a loss of some 21·5 million leva in carrying through this operation The balance of the loan was employed, to the extent of 32 millions for the buying of war material, while another 32 millions were allotted to the construction of railways and some four millions devoted to the settlement of a floating debt. The same pledges which had been assigned to the 1902 and 1904 loans were also affected to the service of this loan as the revenues from these sources were quite adequate. Thus the revenues from the tobacco tax and 'mourouriye' yielded 17,677,000 in 1909 and 18,183,000 leva in 1911, while the yield from the revenue stamps amounted to 6,088,000 and 6,638,000 leva respectively, the service of the three loans necessitating in 1909 the sum of only 18,265,000 leva, thus leaving a surplus of some 5 millions at the disposal of the Exchequer.

The elevation of Bulgaria to the rank of a Kingdom in 1908, and the attending political complications which rendered the mobilisation of the army indispensable had caused a heavy drain to the treasury, and in 1909 another loan was contracted, the proceeds of which were entirely absorbed in reimbursing the State's debts to contractors and to the National and Agrarian Banks, a sum of over 58 millions being due to these two State institutions. This loan was floated in Vienna, and no real guarantees demanded by the Austrian banks, a fact which may be explained by the desire of Austria to express her satis-

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faction at the way Bulgaria had arranged for her proclamation of independence to precede Austria's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908. Simultaneously Bulgaria assumed a liability of 82 millions to Russia, the latter having undertaken to indemnify Turkey on Bulgaria's refusal to continue the payment of her tribute after her proclamation of independence and provided the requisite money (some 42 million leva) wherewith the railways constructed and operated in Southern Bulgaria by the nominally Turkish company of the Chemins de Fer Orientaux were purchased by the Bulgarian government.

By the end of 1911 Bulgaria had a consolidated debt of 603,799,618 and a floating debt of 29,493,524 gold leva which with a population of 4,390,325 represented a per capita charge of 144·25 leva. From the proceeds of the foreign loans some 283,058,566 leva had been employed for the construction or purchase of railways of a total milage of 1,931 klm. and in the building of the ports of Varna and Burgas, 102,670,856 leva had been employed for the purchase of military equipment and the balance was absorbed by budgetary deficits, the liquidation of the tribute payable to Turkey (over 40 millions), and other administrative expenses. It should be remembered that the latter item included the building of schools, the constructions of roads, bridges, telegraph and telephone lines, barracks, government buildings etc. all of which were almost totally lacking, so that on the whole, few of the successive Bulgarian governments can be accused of having unduly wasted public money. The national wealth had been estimated in 1911 by the late Cyril Popov at 10,500 millions and the national revenue at 1,647 millions, equal to 387 gold leva per capita, which could only provide for a very low standard of living, since yet another 20% had to be provided out of it for the defraying of public and municipal taxation.

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The State budgets were approaching the 200 million figure, but were not always balanced. Thus in 1910 and 1911 the revenue figures stood respectively at 181 and 198 millions while expenditure attained 198 and 181, leaving alternatively for each year a deficit and a surplus of 17 millions. The service of the debt required slightly over 36 millions and absorbed 18% to 20% of the annual revenue of the State, while military expenditure required about 44 millions. Unfortunately the trade balance wherewith the service of the foreign debt had to be provided continued to show an excess of imports over exports, the years 1910 and 1911 showing respectively debit balances of 48 and 15 millions, and this state of affairs forced Bulgaria, so long as she was unable to expand her exports to continue borrowing in order to meet her monetary obligations abroad and to pay for the excess of her imports, which were indispensable for her development and the sustainance or her people.

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So that even prior to the Balkan wars, when Bulgaria was considered powerful and flourishing and her financial situation inspired confidence she was in fact a very poor country living beyond her means and only able to meet her foreign obligations by indulging in a policy of borrowing abroad which was reckless, but which was indulged in for patriotic motives, because it was hoped that when finally Macedonia would have been incorporated, the increased revenue the State would thereby derive would permit the shouldering of the indebtedness incurred mainly in preparing for this territorial expansion. Bulgaria's reputation of a good payer was due to the scrupulous exactitude with which both private and public debts were being met and the extreme sobriety and parsimoniousness of her people which had enabled them to build up a complete machinery of State not only by borrowing but also out of their hard-earned and slender incomes.

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The frugality and thriftiness of the Bulgarian people stood them im good stead for it was thanks to these qualities that they were able to assume practically unaided the financing of the Balkan wars. The 1912 and 1913 budgets closed with deficits of 140 and 181 millions, owing to the falling off of the revenue and the increased military expenditure and were met partly by the expedient of discounting treasury bills abroad namely 75 millions with the Banque de Paris and des Pays Bas, 30 millions with Austrian Banks and 27·7 millions with the Russo-Asiatic Bank, and partly by advances from the National State Bank which attained 142.9 millions by the end of 1913.

Naturally the unfortunate outcome of the Balkan wars found Bulgaria utterly exhausted and in urgent need of funds. An internal loan of 90 millions was inadequate to relieve the pressure on the treasury and as the budget of 1914 was pointing to a deficit of 68 millions, the government was constrained to seek foreign help at all costs. Owing to the pro-Austrian proclivities of the Radoslavov government, the French Banks demanded as a preliminary condition to their granting a loan, that Bulgaria should furnish assurances that she would no longer pursue an anti-Russian policy. Unfortunately these were not forthcoming. On the contrary the Bulgarian government opened negotiations with a group of German and Austrian banks, headed by the Diskonto Gesellschaft, in spite of the violent obstruction of the Opposition and raised a loan from this German banking group. Though the members of the Radoslavov Cabinet have always denied that any political clauses were attached to the loan, this may be considered as forming the preamble to Bulgaria's engagement to the Central Powers, for the Germans have on many occasions declared that the question of Bulgaria's allegiance had been definitely fixed on the conclusion of this loan. The loan was of a nominal amount of 500

million leva. The conditions attached to it were distinctly onerous for they included the cession of the Pernik coal mines belonging to the State, a concession for the construction of a railway line Rakovski—Porto Lagos and the building of its harbour, while specific revenues were affected to it as a guarantee, namely the surplus of the tobacco tax and revenue stamps over the share already affected to the 1902, 1904 and 1907 loans, the proceeds of the State monopoly of cigarette paper and the proceeds of the revenue from the customs. Owing to the outbreak of tne World war the German banks advanced only some 270 millions and though it had been stipulated that the Bulgarian Treasury bonds emitted during the Balkan wars would be reimbursed, only those held by the Austrian banks were paid while the German government placed an embargo on the 27·7 millions due to the Russo-Asiatic bank.

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How Bulgaria financed her participation in the World war.

The cost of Bulgaria's participation in the World war was borne practically unaided, for except for a part of the loan issued by the Diskonto Gesellschaft no other effective aid was received. A convention was signed in September 1915 between Germany and Bulgaria, providing for the granting to the latter of an advances of 50 million leva during each of the four months the war was expected to last, and stipulating for complementary advance should the war last longer. Germany continued to extend these credits only to the end of 1917, so that the total amount secured by Bulgaria on this head attained 1350 million leva. But in fact, not a single penny ever reached Bulgaria, for these monthly advances were deposited in a Berlin bank to the credit of the Bulgarian National Bank which was authorised to issue a corresponding amount

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of paper money which it placed at the disposal of the Bulgarian government. These deposits were to be utilised solely for this purpose, and also for the payment of goods purchased in Germany and with the consent ot the German authorities; but as during the war Germany had little to export, the amount of merchandise thus purchased did not exceed 350 million leva. The balance of about 1,000 millions which had served as cover to the increased fiduciary circulation of the Bulgarian National Bank owing to its being labelled in marks was totally lost to Bulgaria when the mark depreciated after the armictice. The National Bank of Bulgaria attempted to transfer part of this sum to Switzerland, but was precluded from doing so by the initial arrangements entered into by the two governments and subsequently by Article 145 of the Treaty of Neuilly which obliged Bulgaria to transfer to the Reparation Commission any claims she might have to payments or reparations by her late Allies. Besides these monthly credits, munitions and military equipment to the value of 1440 million leva were received from Germany and of 73,398,500 from Austria. Against these sums the Bulgarian government had a larger counterclaim amounting to 2,148,814,923 leva, several items of which represented more tangible value than the nominal monthly German advances, for they represented foodstuffs, raw materials and 240 millions in Bulgarian currency delivered to the German military authorities. It may be affirmed that the only financial service rendered by Germany was that of enabling the Bulgarian National Bank to increase its fiduciary circulation from 369,791,000 leva at the end of 1915 to 2,298,617,000 at the end of 1918, and this was obviously of a very questionable value for in the end owing to the total depreciation of the mark it was the Bulgarian people who had to shoulder the entire loss caused by this inflation. As M. Stefanov the Minister of Finance,

declared in the Sobranye on May 10, 1932: „Bulgaria was the sole country to conclude the war with so few debts, for she only received 270 millions from the Diskonto Gesellschaft, while she remained a creditor to the extent of 840 millions to Germany." This statement may be compared to the one M. Stefanov made on July 10, 1928, when he maintained that Bulgaria had lived during the world war on her own resources, but had been exploited and robbed by her allies, the latter owing her at the end of the war, 860 million leva.

The budgets for the four years 1915 to 1918, closed with a total deficit of 2,270 millions due in the main to increased military expenditure. This outlay was met by the expedient of increasing the fiduciary circulation and by advances to the State from the National Bank. At the end of 1918 the metallic cover of the bank still amounted to 64 millions in gold and to 19 millions in silver, but as the country's food supply had been utterly exhausted, flour to the value of 27·25 million gold leva in cash had to be purchased in 1919 from the United States and this drain on the gold reserve coupled with the fact that the balances abroad (mainly in Germany) on which the fiduciary circulation was secured had been rendered worthless through the depreciation of the mark, brought about a rapid fall in the value of the leva; and this was further accentuated as the terms of the Treaty of Neuilly became known. Thus the leva fell from 0.19 gold franc, at which level it was quoted at the end of 1919, to 0·07 at the end of 1920, and to 0.036 at the end of 1921.

Part of the military expenditure incurred during the world war was met out of the post-war budgets, so that it is difficult to assess it correctly, but roughly it may be said to be represented by the budgetary deficits of the years 1915-1921, amounting to 5,706 million leva, to which should be added the amounts of the two internal loans

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raised in 1914 and 1921, of 83, and 157 million leva respectively, as well as that of the 270 millions advanced by the Diskonto Gesellschaft, which would bring the total military expenditure up to 6216 million leva, of varying value, however, since the leva had depreciated from the intrinsic equivalent of a gold franc in 1914 to as little as 0.036 gold franc in 1921. These 6216 millions were financed by the expedients of increasing the fiduciary circulation which from 226,615,000 leva at the end of 1914 rose to the record figure of 4,622,833,000 on Nov. 30, 1924, and by the advances of the National Bank which at the end of the financial year 1921-1922 amounted to 4,206 million leva.

This estimate is for military expenditure incurred by the State during the World war, and it is permissible to presume that even parts of the budgetary deficits of the years 1921 to 1923 represented expenditure on this head. It takes no account of the losses inflicted on the community at large, or of the war pensions the State had to serve subsequently to the disabled and their dependents. The number of killed was according to a statement made by the Minister of War in the Sobranye on Nov. 22, 1927, 53,825 during the Balkan wars and 115,048 during the World war.

In 1929 there were 98,000 persons receiving pensions as war invalids or as dependents of such, and the amount of the annual charge this constituted to the budget was 372 million leva, or less than a paltry £6 a year per person at the then prevailing rate of exchange. This was all a grateful country could afford to pay to those of her sons who had been disabled in defending her. When such heroic sacrifices are so poorly requited, it is not surprising that its citizens' devotion towards it should perceptively cool and that they should turn for consolation to such subversive doctrines as Communism, which holds out the promise of greater justice and equity.

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According to the latest data, the number of war invalids receiving pensions on April 1, 1934, were 13,014 for a sum of 83,278,502 leva annually, and those of widows and dependents of soldiers killed during the wars 67,763, necessitating another annual outlay of 204,340,386 leva. In spite of the economic straits the Bulgarian exchequer is in, it has yet been found possible to make grants to 77 aged Russian veterans who had participated in the war of liberation of 1878, and who owing to the Bolshevik revolution have sought refuge in Bulgaria. The latter in spite of her difficulties is still harbouring some 19,000 émigrés and providing largely out of her slender means for their upkeep, a fact which inflicts a formal disavowal to the slanderous charges brought against Bulgaria as to her alleged ingratitude towards Russia.

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The Financial burdens of the Treaty of Neuilly.

The amount of the indemnity imposed on Bulgaria and euphemistically termed 'reparations' was fixed according to Article 121 of the Treaty of Neuilly at 2250 million gold francs and decreed payable within 37 years and to bear 5% interest. Article 132 of the said Treaty decreed that the costs of reparations would constitute a first charge on all the assets and revenues of Bulgaria. Article 133 bound Bulgaria to defray the total cost of the Allied armies in occupation of Bulgarian territory until the coming into force of the Treaty, this cost being finally assessed at 25 million gold francs. Article 137 constrained Bulgaria to assume a part of the Ottoman debt, a matter which has not yet been fixed. Another article, 177, provided for the indemnification of the material damage suffered by Allied subjects through Bulgaria's action in the war out of the property of Bulgarian subjects seized in Allied countries. The amount awarded as demages by Arbitral Courts

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• 175 728 specially constituted for the purpose amounted to £ 581,317 for British subjects and to 52,269,771 French francs plus £ 109,210 to French subjects, and smaller sums to Belgian, Italian and Greek subjects.

Articles 125 to 128 ordained other payments in kind which could more aptly figure as reparations than the 2250 million indemnity imposed on Bulgaria, and which amply sufficed to repair whatever damage the Bulgarians might have caused in the territories they had invaded as the writer pointed out in the "*New Europe*" of July 29, 1920 in the following terms:

"Bulgaria is asked to make reparations for damage, and these are assessed at a figure far exceeding the destruction the Bulgarians might have wrought in the Morava and the Dobrudja. The total value of these regions does not surpass 5,000 million francs, of which land figures for 70 per cent and buildings, cattle, etc. for the balance.

It is obvious that the Bulgarians could not have carried off the land, and it may be taken for granted that the damage inflicted on property is infinitesimal, and represents only a fraction of its total value.

On what grounds then is Bulgaria asked to pay 2¼ milliards as "reparation". The demand for such an indemnity is all the more unjust since the Treaty stipulated for the delivery by Bulgaria of a determined number of live-stock. It is contended that this quantity of cattle represents what the Bulgarians appropriated while in occupation of the regions they invaded. If this were so, it would be just to insist on the execution of this clause; the number demanded from the Bulgarians, however, exceeds all reasonable estimate of the losses in cattle which our Balkan Allies might have incurred. Amongst other things Article 127 provides for the delivery by Bulgaria of 1,000 mules to Serbia, when, according to Serbian official statistics, the total number of these useful animals in the whole of Serbia was only 349 in the year 1910! This example will serve to show that "reparation" is not the appropriate term for our demands on Bulgaria, the latter obviously aim at securing more than what the former designation implies. The Treaty also imposes on Bulgaria an annual delivery of 50,000 tons of coal to Serbia by way of compensation for the destruction of Serbian coal-mines by the Bulgarians. This is an unwarranted and unjustifiable decision, not only because all mines in Serbia were

exclusively worked for and by the Germans, but also because Bulgaria does not produce sufficient coal for her own requirements. Before the war she used to import coal not only from England, but also from Serbia, and this consideration alone ought to have prevented the formulation of demands that clearly seek to cripple the economic organism of a former enemy State. 175 728

The punishment already meted out to Bulgaria has been sufficiently severe, as have been the sufferings and losses which the war has inflicted on her population. Our object, therefore, should not be to increase the disadvantages under which Bulgarians toil, nor to force them to slave for others, for this is certainly not Bulgaria's mission in the world. If we wish her to make her distinctive contribution to civilisation, we should rather lend a helping hand to her people, and assist them out of their present difficulties. The laboriousness, sobriety and honesty of the average Bulgarian are virtues which commend themselves to all, and if they could only be made to realise that in the subordination of self to common interests lies the secret of a nation's greatness, then nothing could prevent them from becoming one of the foremost factors in the moral and economic renovation of the Near East."

Article 177 of the Treaty permitted Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia to formulate certain complementary demands for indemnification. An utterly unjustified proceeding in view of the fact that Article 121 had settled the total amount of indemnity to be imposed on Bulgaria. Though the Hague International Tribunal to which the claim of Greece had been referred to had decided on Sept. 24, 1924 in this sense, yet the Bulgarian government decided to meet the Yugoslav and Rumanian claims owing to political reasons and to its fear of a Yugoslav military intervention at the time of the Communist revolt which took place in Bulgaria during September 1923. Thus Bulgaria assumed further liabilities towards Yugoslavia and Rumania amounting to 320 million leva and 110 million lei.

The imposition on Bulgaria of the obligation to defray the cost of the Allied armies of ocupation was equally unmerited and contrary to the spirit of the

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armistice concluded at Salonica on Sept. 29, 1918, since the latter stipulated that Bulgaria was not to be treated as an occupied territory and only provided for the temporary occupation of certain strategical points. In fact the headquarters of the Allied armies only notified the Bulgarian government that they would occupy the port of Varna on March 16, 1919 and its occupation was maintained for a very brief time. The secret annex to the Salonica armistice provided that Bulgaria should be treated as a benevolent neutral, and it even stipulated for the co-operation of the Allied armies with part of the Bulgarian troops under certain eventualities. Had it been possible to resort to arbitration it is more that probable that Bulgaria would have been dispensed from payment on this head. At any rate those in charge of the Allied troops in Bulgaria were perfectly aware that they were not entitled to treat Bulgaria as an occupied country, for if during the three or four days following on their arrival in Bulgaria they affixed at the barracks they occupied a sign-post bearing the inscription "Headquarters of the troops occupying Bulgaria" on the representations of the Bulgarian government they immediately altered the title to "Headquarters of the Allied troops in Bulgaria".

The only sensible provision in the Treaty was article 122 which provided for the Inter-Allied Commission to reconsider from time to time the resources and paying capacity of Bulgaria and empowered it to recommend either a reduction or a postponement in the payment of the sums due by Bulgaria.

It was very unfortunate for Bulgaria that she did not have a strong and popular government capable of defending her interests, and ready to resign in sign of protest whenever she was being bludgeoned and coerced into paying on acount of reparations sums which were crippling her national economy and checking her develop-

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

ment. Had her rights been entrusted to more stalwart defenders she would have certainiy met with as lenient a treatment as that meted out to Austria and Hungary, but unhappily her rulers' first thought was how to maintain themselves in office and avoid all source of conflict which might jeopardize their posts. This selfish consideration made them always bow meekly before such dictates as were issued by the International Reparation Commission whose sole consideration was to squeeze as much as possible out of Bulgaria. It is not to be wondered that the late Count Apponyi, that untiring champion of Hungarian rights, should have shown his aversion for such servile meekness, by remarking to an occasional Bulgarian delegate at Geneva, a fact which Prof. Gheorgov, a former rector of the Sofia University communicated to the Bulgarian Press: "I am at a loss to understand why your delegates keep silent when such important questions relative to your country are being discussed at the assembly of the League of Nations?"

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According to articles 124, 136, 142 and 145 of the above mentioned Treaty, Bulgaria was to be credited with certain sums as against the 2,250 million gold francs of reparations imposed on her. These amounts were computed in a pamphlet issued by the Bulgarian Commissariat of Reparations on Feb. 2, 1923 as totalling 3,857,548,624 gold francs and classified under the following heads:

Relative to Article	124	1,088,957,132
" " "	136	266,274,479
" " "	136	65,635,727
" " "	142	275,473,910
" " "	145	2,148,814,923
Maintenance of the Inter-Allied Commission		3,510,753
Indemnities paid to Allied subjects in territories occupied by Bulgaria		8,881,700

Besides the above, war material of a value of 633,211,117 gold francs had also been handed over to the Allies.

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Though certain items referring to Art. 124 and 145 are disputable, it seems that the Bulgarian government had some ground to insist upon its claims being taken into consideration, yet all the delegates of the Allied Powers did when the protocol of March 21, 1923 which settled the mode of payment of reparations was signed, was to divide into two parts „A" and „B" the total sum of 2,500 million gold francs claimed from Bulgaria, decreeing that 550 millions bearing 5% interest, labelled „A" share should be payable in 60 annuities, the first of which was fixed at 5 millions and was to increase gradually to 43,396,336 in 1934 and continue at that rate until 1983, while the remainder, amounting to 1,700 millions would stand over until 1953 without interest when such sums as Bulgaria had a right to claim would be deducted from it, though the Bulgarian counterclaims largely exceeded this figure.

Apparently little consideration was paid to Bulgaria's condition, to her having been amputated of her wealthiest provinces, to the utter exhaustion of the resources of the peasantry which had bravely shouldered single-handed the whole burden of the world war, and beguiled by the transient prosperity of a section of the population engaged in the cultivation and trade of tobacco which prospered exceedingly during the years 1919 to 1923, owing to the elimination from the European markets of Greece and Turkey as producers of Oriental tobacco, while engaged in fighting each other, and which trade is reckoned to have brought an inflow of some 4,000 to 4,500 million leva to Bulgaria during this period, the delegates of the Allied governments proceeded to bleed Bulgaria white.

Indispensable public services such as education and hygiene[1] were ruthlessly curtailed, the upkeep of railways

[1] The rate of mortality from tuberculosis in 1928 was 30.53 per 10,000 in Bulgaria as against only 8.28 in Great Britain.

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and highways was completely neglected, nothing was done to reorganise agriculture and thereby permit the peasantry to recuperate after the exhaustion caused by the war, all this in order to economise on the budget and provide for payments to Bulgaria's insatiable creditors.

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The callousness and cynicism with which the Allied Powers, great and small, treated Bulgaria at this time is simply revolting and is best illustrated by the manner in which the Des Closières affair was liquidated. Among the documents published by the Bolsheviki were the minutes of the Russian Ministerial Council which revealed that on July 30, 1915 the question of finding 200 million francs wherewith to buy up Bulgarian cereals and at the same time to suborn Bulgarian politicians came up for discussion. Sazonov refused to besmirch his hands in this unclean affair and he left the management to England and France who provided 175 millions necessary for financing this operation, Russia supplying the balance of 25 millions. Several Bulgarian politicians were involved, and the irony of fate decreed that instead of serving the Entente's interests they should have unwillingly helped to consolidate the position of the tottering Radoslavov Cabinet. At the end of the war, the British and French governments demanded the restitution of all sums advanced by their agent, Des Closières, in Bulgaria, not only for the moneys supplied by the latter to various politicians for the purchase of cereals which had been ultimately confiscated by the Bulgarian government, but also for all the sums spent clearly on bribery and which figured in the claim lodged against the Bulgarian government as money spent „on propaganda and publicity". It is doubtful whether one can find another example of such brazen cynicism in inter-State relations and one marvels at the shamelessness of both British and French officials who had the impudence not only to avow that they had bribed, but that they

175 7-8 should go to the length of demanding the reimbursement of the bribes from the very State the citizens of which they had attempted to corrupt. It is fortunate that the Arbitral Court before which these monstrous demands were formulated adjudged that the only part of the claim which was valid was that relative to the stocks of grain confiscated by the Bulgarian government and for which it was condemned to reimburse £164,264 plus 10,854,854 French francs, though as deputy G. Yurtov had declared in the Sobranye on Feb. 22, 1927, of the 200 millions francs of Entente money spent, only 18 or 20 millions had been used to buy cereals and the balance had been employed in bribing politicians.

The controversy which arose between the Greek politicians Venizelos and Cafandaris over the Greek Stabilisation Loan likewise casts a lurid light on the incentives which actuated Entente politicians when they heaped on Bulgaria the staggering burden of indemnities under which she has collapsed. At a speech Venizelos delivered at Salonica in the summer of 1932, he blamed Cafandaris for allowing himself to be cajoled by the French government into a remission of its war debt to Greece, amounting to 408 million gold francs, in order to secure French support for the flotation of this loan, after Venizelos had arranged in collusion with the French to lump the sum in question into the reparations claimed from Bulgaria! Obviously any stick was good enough to beat luckless Bulgaria with.

The present writer attempted several times from the columns ot the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Near East* to point out that this policy of extortion and coercion which was being applied to Bulgaria was threatening to undermine her social structure, that its inevitable consequence would be the pauperisation of Bulgaria, since the country's financial capacity had never been taken into

175 proper consideration, but unfortunately his efforts proved
128 unavailing. The country, in fact, even before the war, was only able to pay her way by cumulating its foreign indebtedness, it would therefore hardly be expected that after being shorn of its most fertile regions and ruined by the war, the burden of which it had borne single-handed, Bulgaria would be able to meet unaided the problem of her pressing economic re-organisation and at the same time provide for the payment of the crushing indemnities imposed on her.

No wonder that M. Stambuliiski and his peasant colleagues perceiving that the Allied Powers were intent on draining every particle of moveable wealth out of Bulgaria, threw all restraint to the winds, and set themselves to embezzle and appropriate whatever public money they could lay hands on. Quinet's judicious pronouncement: „Otez à une terre toute chance d'avenir, elle enfante d'elle même la barbarie comme les ronces" was thus fully confirmed, for if a feeling of despair had not been instilled in the Bulgarian people by the pitiless and grasping policy of the Allied commissaries, the Agrarian party while it was in office would not have lost all sense of measure and thus hastened by its insensate policy the ruin which loomed large on the country's horizon.

The purblindness of the financial experts who had imposed the colossal burden of reparations became evident a few years later, when Bulgaria in spite of the financial assistance she received in the form of the two loans advanced to her under the auspices of the League of Nations felt unable to continue the payment of the reparation annuities.

By the end of 1929 Bulgaria had paid in annual instalments 41 million gold francs on this head, while the interest on the capital sum of the "A" share of reparations (550 millions) amounted to 125,984,233. So that she

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found herself in the invidious position of seeing her indebtedness grow in spite of the disbursements she was making, the capital sum of 550 millions having accrued to 634,984,233 gold francs by the end of 1929.

The absurdity of the position became so manifest that when the Young plan for Germany came up for discussion it was decided to revise the commitments imposed on Bulgaria, and on Jan. 20, 1930 a protocol was signed at the Hague by which Bulgaria was relieved of the "B" part of the reparations, namely 1700 million gold francs payable after 1953. This was a dubious gain, for Bulgaria likewise was forced to renounce her counter-claims, which an unbiassed arbitrator would have probably found to exceed this sum. Part "A" of the reparations was somewhat reduced and its mode of payment adjusted as follows:

1 annuity payable on April 1930	of 5,000,000 gold francs.
10 annuities payable between April 1, 1930 and March 31, 1940	each of 10,000,000 gold francs.
10 " " " " 1, 1940 and March 31, 1950	each of 11,500,000 gold francs.
16 " " " " 1, 1950 and March 31, 1966	each of 12,515,238 gold francs.

Bulgaria then agreed to pay these annuities unconditionally and renounced the right Art. 122 of the Treaty of Neuilly conferred on her, namely to invoke an inquiry into her capacity of payment. The transfer guarantee, however, established in connection with the League of Nations' loans was maintained and this was enough to nullify the promise Bulgaria assumed owing to her manifest inability to balance her international income and outgo.

Great Britain, France and Italy also "magnanimously" waived their claim to the balance due to them for the costs of their armies of occupation amounting still to 11,976,633 gold francs, for 'là où il n'y a rien le roi perd

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria E21

ses droits'. The disinterestedness of these Great Powers became even better manifest when they abandoned the quota parts of the problematical Bulgarian reparation which accrued to them to their minor allies, Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia, who being on the spot would better dragoon and coerce Bulgaria into payment by „Balkan" methods the Great Powers would not dare indulge in. Obviously a most hopeful way of promoting goodwill and reconciliation among the Balkan States and to which may be traced the strained relations between Greece and Bulgaria and the tariff war the former has been waging against Bulgarian products.

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The average sum of the reparation annuities which Bulgaria assumed to pay by the Hague arrangement was 11.2 million gold francs. This would have been a reasonable charge if Bulgaria possessed an excess of imports over exports which would have provided sufficient foreign exchange to meet this liability. For the payment of indebtedness requires that the net income of a State from its international trade and service operations should be equal to these outlays. Such, however, was not the case with Bulgaria for the available amount of foreign currency secured by its international income did not even suffice to defray the amortizations of her foreign loans, the payment of reparations was therefore suspended in accordance with the transfer guarantee assumed by the Reparation Commission towards the bondholders of the League of Nations' loans. But the latter did not benefit for long from this illusory guarantee, for Bulgaria bled white and exhausted by the senseless financial policy of some of her governments has practically been unable to meet even the annual charges of these loans as is related in detail in the next chapter.

144 structure Bulgarians of different regions show great, even striking difference".

141 The author presents the results of his observations in Macedonia which show a very great variety in measurements as have been ascertained among the 491 cases which form the basis of his data. Natives of Western Macedonia are according to him distinctly brachycephalic, and differ considerably from those of Eastern Macedonia among whom the dolichocephalic predominate as may be seen form the appended table:

Dolichocephalic		Mesocephalic		Brachycephalic		Huperbrachycephalic	
Index: 68·3 to 75		75·1—80		80·1—85		85·1—98·1	
Western Macedonia	Eastern Macedonia	W.M.	E.M.	W.M.	E.M.	W.M.	E.M.
Cases		Cases		Cases		Cases	
3	37	15	126	79	75	146	10

It is worth comparing these figures with those of A. C. Hadon, ("The races of man") who states that the cephalic index of the Bulgarians varies from 78 on the coast to 85 in the west, and gives as their average stature 1·69 m.

144 175 These views ars confirmed by Prof. A. Ishirkov, who in his "Etude historicoethnographique sur la population du royaume de Bulgarie", remarks that there is no distinctive Bulgarian type and that the people are extremely differentiated. In his survey, he refers to some of the racial elements which have served to build up the Bulgarian people. Thracians, Greek settlers on the Black Sea coast and banks of the Danube, Persians who invaded and occupied Thrace as far as the Struma in 513 B. C., Scythians and the Ghettae, Macedonians, who under Lysimachus occupied all Danubian Bulgaria and the Dobrudja. In the 3rd century B. C. came an invasion of Celts who settled south of the Balkans and built their principal town Tile, in the valley of roses. (this settlement survives under the name of Tulovo) They gradually fell under Hellenic influ-

144 175 ence, their last king, Kavar, minted coins with Greek inscriptions. Some 100,000 Bastarni, a Germanic tribe were settled in Thrace about 280 A. D. by the Emperor Probus. For centuries Roman influence was predominant in the Balkans having penetrated into western Bulgaria as early as 229 B. C. The country was permanently occupied by 5 legions and as many auxiliary troops and many Roman towns founded. Bulgaria to the north of the Balkans was completely Romanised and a further influx of Romans took place on the evacuation of Dacia by the Emperor Aurelian. The historian Priscus affirms that Latin was widely spoken in Danubian Bulgaria in the 5th century. Later came the Goths and Slavs, who overran the whole peninsula, closely followed by the Bulgarians who gave their name to the country. There were two streams of Bulgarians one under Asparuch from Bessarabia and which settled in 679 in North Eastern Bulgaria, and another under Kubert from Pannonia, which settled in Macedonia near Monastir about 670 to 675.

Prof. Ishirkov's analysis is far from complete. Invasions of Moesia by Bulgarians are recorded by Theophanes (Bonnae p. 338/9) in the year 531. While in Marcellini Comitis Chronicon, Migne LI. and Theophylact Simocat VII. 4. references are made to Bulgarian settlements in the valley of the Yantra river in Northern Bulgaria about 535 and 585 respectively. This is explained by the fact that the Emperor Zeno according to John of Antioch, called in the Bulgarians to his help when at war with the Ostrogoths and that subsequently Vitallian also appealed to them for help against Anastassius. It is recorded that in 517, Kutrigurs or Bulgars, had appeared as far south as the Thermopylae, and Justinian is said to have received 2,000 of them, and to have settled them in Thrace. Towards the end of the first Bulgarian Empire however, still greater and more fundamental changes occurred in the ethnogra-

144 phic composition of the population so that one may safely
175 declare that the Bulgarians have nothing Slavonic except their language, and that they are in an overwhelming proportion descendants of various Hunnish tribes. On his advent in Bulgaria, Asparuch found it occupied partly by Slavs, of whom there were to all appearances seven small tribes (Theophanes, De Boor 359.12) which were finally subjugated by the Bulgarians. But the ranks of these Slavs must have been very much thinned since the Emperor Justinian II transferred some 30,000 to Asia Minor, while the Byzantine historians Nichephorus and Theophanes reported that in 761 another body of 208,000 Slavs also migrated from Bulgaria to Asia Minor. While the Slavs were being removed, numerous Syrian and Armenian colonists were being settled by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine V in Thrace and the plain of the Maritsa. Later in the 9th century, some 200,000 Armenians were settled around Philippopolis (Jovan Cvijić: "La Peninsule Balkanique" p 476).

The Slavs did not find in the Bulgarians congeniai companions and they preferred to trek elsewhere because on the whole the Bulgarians were extremely warlike, while the Slavs were a pacific folk. In a letter of the Emperor Romanus Lecapenus to the Tsar Symeon, in which the former was advocating the necessity of concluding a treaty of peace between their respective countries, he stresses the fact that some 20,000 Bulgarians had fled their country in a year and sought refuge in the Byzantine Empire as they were disgusted with Symeon's warlike spirit. The weakening of the Slav element was further intensified by the policy of colonisation of the Slavonic districts in Macedonia by peoples from all parts of the Byzantine Empire which was inauguratsd in 809 by the Emperor Nicephorus. (Theophanes p. 486 10—23).

After the death of Symeon, Bulgaria completely

144 exhausted by the wars she had waged, rapidly collapsed.
175 Five Magyar incursions completely ravaged the country. On their heels came Sviatoslav's Russians in 967 who captured the great Bulgarian stronghold of Silistra and decimated the Bulgarians. It was only with the help of John Zimisces that they were finally driven off two years later and Bulgaria south of the Danube became a Byzantine province, and only the western part under the Tsar Samuel where the Bulgarian element survived in force, was able to ward off the Byzantines until 1018. But submission to the Byzantines did not secure for Eastern Bulgaria exemption from further invasions. In 1048 some 800,000 Petsenegs crossed the frozen Danube and the Byzantines settled them in the region around Sofia and Nisch and Ovtse Pole in Macedonia. In 1064, some 600,000 Kumans invaded Bulgaria and advanced into Thrace and Macedonia. These were veritable migrations affirms M. Yanko Sakuzov in his history of the Bulgarians (p. 121). He derives his figures from the eminent Russian historian Wassilievsky whose two book „The 2nd Bulgarian Empire", and „Byzantia and the Petsenegi" are the best documented on this particular period. In 1079 a yet further invasion of Petsenegs and Kumans took place, they penetrated into Thrace and even threatened Constantinople The Emperor Alexis Comnenus was so alarmed that he appealed to the west for help. These Petsenegs and Kumans must have completely swamped the Bulgarians and what few Slav remnants had survived until then in Bulgaria. The Crusaders when traversing Bulgaria in 1096 had to battle mainly with Petsenegs. Albertus, Bishop of Aix, who compiled a history of the expedition to Jerusalem from the year 1095 to 1121 makes vivid allusion to the „Petsenegs who live in Bulgaria".

This explains why the Byzantine chronicler Nikita Akominat who is the main source of documentation con-

144 cerning the period relating to the restoration of the 2nd
175 Bulgarian Empire, refers to Bulgarians as living mainly in Macedonia, while the inhabitants of present day Bulgaria he refers to as Vlachs or Wallachs. Other Byzantine writers however, such as G. Acropolites and G. Codinus mention that the population was composed of both Bulgarians and Vlachs, and this is to some extent confirmed by such chronicles as have been left by the Crusaders. Such as Ansberte's „Ystoria de expeditione Friderici imperatoris", though Ansberte in a passage referring to the military help which Tsar Peter offered to Frederick Barbarossa against Constantinople mentions only 40,000 Vlachs and Kumans and no Bulgarians Villehardouin again calls tne ruler of Bulgaria: „Johanis le Blac; li reis de Blaquie et de Bogrie", Professor Zlatarski, in a study published by the Bulgarian Academy in 1933 rightly expresses the view that the Assenide dynasty was of Kumanian stock. It was certainly owing to their close relationship with the Kumans that they were able to appeal for assistance to their kinsmen across the Danube. And it was only with their support that they successfully revolted against the Byzantines. Naturally the question arises whence this sudden apperance of Vlachs in Bulgaria? Must we accept as likely Weigand's theory that the Rumanian nationality was formed in Bulgaria between 600 and 900 and then gradually moved north across the Danube and that therefore these Vlach subjects of the Assenide dynasty were but a rearguard which had not yet trekked northward? It would be rather more logical to explain the use of the term Vlach as a synonym for Kuman, owing to the long cohabitation of these two peoples in Wallachia and to their being mistaken for one another.

The advent of the Petshenegs and Kumans in Bulgaria relegated henceforth the original Bulgarian invaders

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to a back place, for the Kumanian Assenides were followed yet by other Kumanian Tsars on the throne of Bulgaria, those of the Terter dynasty and finally the Shishmans. The Dobrudja too, became an independent Kuman fief under the Kuman boliar Balik, from whom the Black Sea port Baltchik derives its name, as does the whole province from that of his son Dobrotitch. Other invasions of Kumans are recorded, in 1233, and still later after the Tartars had begun pressing them in their homeland in Wallachia. In their wake the Tartars too made their appearance in Bulgaria and repeatedly invaded the country, a son of the famous Han Nogai, Tsaka, was crowned in 1299 at Tirnovo as Bulgarian ruler though his reign was ephemeral. Soon after came the Turks who dominated the country for five centuries. It is strange that students of Bulgarian history have not taken seriously the irruption of the Petsenegs and Kumans in Bulgaria in the 11th century and still nourish the illusion that the Bulgarians are Slavs These mass migrations must have completely metamorphosed the ethnic basis of the population. There are no estimates of the Bulgarian population of that period, but the first Turkish census reported by Ubicini places the total population of the Danube vilayet in 1876 at 2,591,116 of whom 1,535,466 were recorded as Christians; this after five centuries of relative peace and prosperity, so that it may be easily assumed that the population of Bulgaria prior to the irruption of over a million and a half of Petsenegs and Kumans in the 11th century must have been extremely sparse and practically overwhelmed by such an influx. The greatest marvel is the survival of the Slav tongue in their midst but this must be ascribed mainly to its use in the Church, the clergy being the only cultural force in existence at the time. We can easily gauge its influence by what happened in Rumania where the Slavonic liturgy had been adopted and used until the 18th

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11: Logio EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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[For history of Bulgaria from the First Bulgarian Empire to the end of the 19th century, see catagory 116, pp. 271-351]

1: Karutz--59 E-4 (no date) 1925 E1 Europe
Bulgaria EE1

/88/ The Bulgarians

000 1. Hair dress of young women, with tresses decorated with silver. 2. and 3. Decorative pendants. 4. Head ornament of the brides, made of flowers and silver coins. 5. Woman wearing an embroidered blouse and a woven carpet apron. 6. Drawing well. 7. Neck ornament. 8. Hand mill for salt. 9. Threshing sled. 10. Cave dwelling on the Loe. 11. Fire saw. 12. Village street. 13. Shelter of the field herders. 14. Household altar. 15. Rattle board of wood, from a monastery. 16. Signalling horn of a country mailman. 17. Sawing frame.[1]

175 At the time of the Romans present-day Bulgaria was called
101 Moesia in its northern (Danube) region, Thracia in its southern section,
144 and it was inhabited by an Indo-European people of North European extraction, at the time when old Greek, and later Roman and Byzantine, immigrants moved there and intermingled with it. From the [illegible] century on, the Slavic wave moved closer, and from the seventh century onwards Finnish Turko-Tataric migrant herders and horse breeders repeatedly found their way into this country from the middle Volga.
463 From these the Bulgarians adopted and kept the herding system, by the side of which the Thracian and Slavic agriculture was maintained. The Ottoman Turks coming from the southeast provided the country
181 with its class of craftsmen and tradesmen. This mosaic of races and peoples developed a particularly powerful and healthy stock of people whose high life expectancy is well known, as well as a temperate,
531 industrious, and sober character. It mirrors a corresponding multiplicity
177 of cultures; thus we have in art types that range from the Scythian style and its predilection for phantastic animal forms to the Byzantine and ancient Oriental motifs; from the cellular stone inlays of the period of the Teutonic migrations (belt clasps) to the Tatar decorative pendants (Figures 2, 3, and 7),[2] and from the Slavic joy in ornamentation and
592 colors to the Turkish, recent Near Eastern household industries. The Slavic household community, which takes up every new generation into the fabric of the family, has as its consequence the form of settlement
342 by individual and separate farmsteads. Aside from occasional underground dwelling pits in the loess, of which only the pointed roof of rushes rises above the ground, there are one-story high, rectangular panel-work houses covered with loam, placed either on a level with the soil, or else on top of a wooden substructure for the working sheds.

1 [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a -- Analyst]
2 [See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 57a -- Analyst]

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and the Slovenes and they did not form a united group. Still in the seventh and eighth centuries we find in the eastern part of the Balkan peninsula an entire series of tribes very slightly united to each other, the Sieveriens and seven anonymous tribes in the north of the present Bulgaria, the Rumeliot Slavs, then the Druguvicnes, /183/ the Smoliani, the Strumenci, the Rynchini*, the Sagudati*, the Berziti in Macedonia. It is evidently to these latter that the Slavs who pushed into Greece and into the Archipelago are related from the linguistic viewpoint, the Velegezites, the Vajuniti, the Milingi, and the Iezerci. Towards this period a union began to develop, but under foreign pressure. In 679 under the leadership of Asparukh a certain number of Bulgars from the Volga--of Turkish origin--crossed the Danube and penetrated into the Dobrudja as far as Varna; they subjugated the neighboring Slavic tribes, unified them, and little by little unified all of the Slavs of the center of the Peninsula.

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On the other hand, the Bulgars of the Volga, who were relatively few in number, became themselves assimilated very quickly with the Slav element and merged with it. (1)

1. Zanetov and Skorpil thought that they found the remains of these ancient Bulgars among the Gagauz (see further on) and among the Turks of Deliorman between Silistra, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), Varna and Rushchouk, whom their Bulgar neighbors called Gadjaly. Mochkov came out against their hypotheses.

Their name alone, which was given to the new state and to its people, recalls the memory of this element of foreign race. Besides the Bulgars have basically always been Slavs, even though they have not hesitated to assimilate foreign elements. Among these elements, along with the Turkish Bulgars, one must cite the remains of the ancient Thracians, the Germans, /185/ especially the Goths, Turks, and Avars, to whom were added later on other Asiatic elements; the Poles, the Cumaeans, the Oguzes, gypsies, and finally the Osmanli Turks.

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The Bulgarian Empire, beginning with the reign of Simeon (893-927) acquired a considerable area; it grew by means of the constant warfare with Byzantines on the one hand and with the Serbs, on the other. The Slavs who belonged to its most remote frontiers at

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the period when the seat of the Tsar and of the Patriarch was at Ochrida (1), felt themselves to be even more Bulgarian the further

1. Today in Macedonia. Translator.

they were removed from the ancient homeland of the nation; they retained this more or less strong sense of solidarity, on the one side against the Serbs whose empire confined them to their region, on the other side against the Osmanli Turks. In 1393 the Turks captured Trnovo; in 1396 after the victory of Nicopolis they achieved the conquest of Bulgaria. The country remained enslaved until the years 1876-1878 when the intervention of Russia gave her back her freedom and independence. The area between the Danube and the Stara Planina (Balkan Mountains) was the first to be freed; in 1885 a peaceful revolution annexed the Bulgarian Rumelia to her, as far as Mount Dospat, to the course of the Arda, the Sakar Planina (Sakar Balkan Mountains) and the Gulf of Burgas. The section of the Bulgars who form a compact group in Macedonia /186/ have vainly been waiting up to the present for their deliverance and for the end of a situation which, despite the efforts of the Powers, still remains a very painful one.

SP [144]

Such is the political history of the Bulgar people. The development of the nation has furthermore been hindered by perpetual troubles, by disturbances, by the displacements of ethnic groups. When the Greeks again took possession of their ancient domain the Slav colonies of the south had to return north, the Slavs of Greece were completely assimilated during the course of the Middle Ages. But the most serious catastrophe was the Turkish invasion.

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When the Turks penetrated into the peninsula, under the reign of Murad I, they settled in the region of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) and of Zagora; in the reign of Bajazet I they settled between Plovdiv and the Balkans and then remained in the basin of the Marica, especially in its lower areas, until the nineteenth century. This would follow from the information furnished in 1819 by Pope Constantine and from the nomenclature of the area which is essentially Turkish (names of villages, fields, streams, woods, pastures, hills, etc.). Of 52 villages of the district of Shirpan only two have non-Turkic names, and only three in the district of Seimen (now Marica). Another center of Turkish colonization was the eastern portion of northern Bulgaria, especially the Dobrudja, which became a desert in the fifteenth /187/ century.

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In this region, before the arrival of the Turks, there were settled a large number of Pecheneg, Uzi, and Cumaeans (whose descendants are today called Gagauz) and later on the Tatars.

It seems that the earliest Turkish colonization took place in the region of Deliorman towards the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries and later on at Tuzluk and at Gerilovo. The Ragusan Pavle Gjordjic, who traveled in these areas, reported a numerous Turkish population at Gerilovo*, at Deliorman, and in the Dobrudja. These areas were not completely assimilated by the Turks until the seventeenth century, and in the case of Gerilovo*, not until the eighteenth century. But many Turkish villages still retain their Slavic names.

All this Turkish colonization in the northeast of Bulgaria evidently had as an object the securing of passageways of the Balkans, especially after the defeats suffered in the war against King Wladyslaw of Poland in 1443.

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Of the original Slav population[7] there remain only a few rare traces near Provadiya, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), and Razgrad. Also in the sixteenth century a great number of Turks, Yurvks*, and Koniars* came from Asia to settle in certain parts of Thrace and of Macedonia.

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The old Slavic Bulgars, after the arrival of the Turks, naturally withdrew into the mountainous regions. In the sixteenth century their boundary was formed by the towns of Devna*, Monastir (now Bitolj), Krivnia*, Ravna*, Nenovo*, /188/ Nevcha*, Kaludjerica, Divdiedovo*, Novo Selo, or, in other words, the line from Varna (now Stalin) to Shumla (now Kolarovgrad). But towards the south the Slav element soon began again to take over and regain the terrian. The Osmanlis perished little by little in the perpetual wars and were not replaced by new colonists. On the other hand, new Bulgars arrived from the northern areas (Lovech, Nikopol), a scene of constant troubles and danger.

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It was on the banks of the Danube that the principal wars were fought and the Slavs moved away from there in all directions. Upon this emigration movement which is a very old one, we have no documentation until after the seventeenth century. Thus we know that in the course of the year 1741 Bulgar colonies went to settle in the Banat of Temesvar where their descendants are still established at Vinga, and Benesov*. From 1752 to 1754 a great number of Bulgars

7 [i.e. in northeast Bulgaria--Analyst]

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and of Gagauz moved into southern Russia, others in 1787-91; during the wars from 1801 to 1812 a very large number came particularly from Vidin to settle in Bessarabia. This emigration was repeated after the war of 1828-1829. In 1821 there were counted in Bessarabia 1,735 Bulgar families with a total of 38,000 persons; in 1829, 4,400 families arrived or about 270,000 souls. Then came the reaction. During the fifty years of peace which followed, many families returned to their own country despite the miseries which they had to undergo. /189/ In 1833, 900 families came back from Bessarabia. On the other hand, from the Balkan regions many of the Bulgars came down to the plain, especially to Rustchuk, the Dobrudja, the country located between Adrianopol (Edirne--Bulg, Odrin) and Burgas, between Shirpan and Stara Zagora, to the outskirts of Kavkalii (now Topolovgrad), of Kyzil Agach*, of Tambol and, under the peaceful reign of Mahmud II, as far as the ouskirts of Rodosto (now Tekirdag), of Derkos* and of Constantinople.

The war of 1877-78 resulted in new movements whose consequences can still be felt today. At the outset of this campaign the Bulgars fled en masse from Stara Zagora, from Kazanlik, from Gjopsa, from Zlatitsa into the country to the north and did not return to their homes until the Russians advanced to the south. In other areas the Turks and the Cherkess evacuated villages which they had occupied for a very long period; the former emigrated through fear of the Russians; the latter did so later on because they were unable to adjust themselves to the new order of things. Mr. Jirecek, historian of the Bulgars, estimates at 100,000 the number of Turks who emigrated from 1878 to 1884. They were replaced by Bulgars who came from Rumelia or from Macedonia, which the Treaty of Berlin retained under Turkish domination.

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On the other hand, emigrants came back from Romania, Bessarabia the Taurida, and Asia Minor and settled in the neighborhood of Svishtov, Varna (now Stalin), and Tuzluk*. With the Macedonians /189/ continuing to move in without interruption, Mr. Jirecek offers figures which give an idea of the changes effected in the population. In 1896, among 338 Christian localities in the dioceses of Varna (now Stalin) and Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), 135 since the war had an entirely new population. There remained only rare traces of the previous generation. On the other hand, according to Miletic, the

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342 selves in the valleys of the Danube, found both troglodyte and sur-
SL face dwellings in use among the previous inhabitants of these areas,
i.e. the Thracians, from whom Roumanians of Vlachia and Moldavia,
[342] and Albanians of the Skodra lake area took over these huts, called bordeiu (1).

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[361] More specially the Bulgars, who in their ancient home were living a nomad life, had no permanent houses. They lived just as the rest of Turanian peoples, in tents they put up in places where they could find pastures for their herds; when the pastures were exhausted, camps were dissolved and the tents carried with the nomads.

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175 When, under the leadership of Asparuch, Bulgars established a
648 strong base in the Delta of the Danube and when, using this strong-
361 hold as a base, they occupied all the area between this river and the
G Balkan mountains, only then began the Bulgars to know the ad-
175 vantages of permanent installation. For a long time, however, they
648 were wild fighters and lived on the peoples they subjugated, the old
SL Thracians, who had been hellenised, or latinised, and the other Greeks
[342] and Slavs who had established themselves in those areas during the
B previous century (2). These Slavs, according to Procopius (3) and to
[727] the Biography of Saint Demetrius (4), knew only how to build (5) «miserable huts» or «tents» besides the underground shelters mentioned above. The thousands of Greek prisoners who were kidnapped during the Bulgarian invasions were «drafted» into the in-

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1) According to **Fr. Nopcsa,** Albanien, 1925, p. 11 these underground dwellings of Roumania and Bulgaria represent the immediate descendants of the pre-historic and Roman housings of the Haimos peninsula. The writings on the tiles found in pre-historic dwellings have a Thracian character. Remains of Thracian tribes have been found despite the Illyric over-layer, both, in the Skodra lake and in Dardania. Dobroutcha has always been a Thracian area.

2) **D. Zakythinos,** Οἱ Σλάβοι ἐν Ἑλλάδι, Athens, 1945, p. 27 «The permanent installation of Slav tribes in the Balkan peninsula begins only during the first years of the 7th Century».

3) **Procop.** De bello Gotth. 3, 14: Οἰκοῦσι δὲ (Σκλαβηνοί τε καὶ Ἄντται) ἐν καλύβαις οἰκτραῖς διεσκηνημένοι πολλῷ μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀμείβοντες δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικήσεως ἕκαστοι χῶρον.

4) **A. Tougard,** De l'histoire profane dans les actes grecs des bollandistes. Paris 1874, p. 184, 190.

5) According to **Niederle,** op. cit. 2, p. 98, «it is easily understood that the Slavs used to build, besides the underground shelters (abris) which were covered by an additional wooden roof, light huts without any trenches on the model of the «koliba», built by the shepherds of the Karpathians and the Balkans, made of inter-woven branches of trees».

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

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vader's country (1) and they were obliged not only to cultivate the land on behalf of their owners, but also to carry out all other work and naturally to build permanent houses which were necessary, since Bulgars were to establish themselves for good in these newly conquered districts.

For a long time Bulgars had either the disposition nor the sense to learning arts and crafts. Even where they had abandoned their incursions and lootings and were giving themselves to peaceful occupations, as agriculture and stock-breeding, they did not take to the arts. The palaces and the churches of Bulgaria have been built by foreigners, especially by Greeks, such as the beautiful palace of Aboba near Schumen, which is a monument of Byzantine style of the 9th or 10th century (2). But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, accord-

1) The Bulgarian inroads on Greek territories for looting and capture of prisoners began in the period of Asparouch (679-701) and continued till the reign of Michael (1246-1257). King Krum, when he captured Adrianoupolis in 813, took away all her inhabitants, as well as those of the surrounding areas, all amounting to 40.000, into Bulgarian territory to the North of the Danube. Another 50.000 prisoners together with other loot, were taken during the winter of the same year from Thrace (**W. Slataraki,** Geschichte der Bulgaren, I, Leipzig, 1918 p. 15,29). According to the Bulgarian historian **Ivan Sakazov** (Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Berlin u. Leipzig, 1929, p. 57 foll.) «Bulgaria was filled up with prisoners and cattle, which formed the Bulgarian national wealth and made their well-being possible. It was on this basis that the material civilization was formed, which Omortag, Krum's heir, bequeathed to his descendents.» Later (1206), during a battle near the Tountza river, when the Bulgarian Ioannitzis or Skyloyiannis was totally defeated by the Greeks, 20.000 prisoners together with 3.000 carts were liberated, while they were led towards Bulgaria together with a great amount of loot. See **Diog. Xanalatos,** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βούλγαροι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θρᾴκην. Α' Athens 1944 pp. 17, 22 etc. 33, 39, 40 etc. Cp. **K. Paparrigopoulos,** Ἱστορ. Ἑλλ. Ἔθνους 6th edition, tome 4, b, 186 and foll. t. 5. a 23. **K. Amandos,** Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους Α' 1939 p. 411. Β' 1947, pp 5, 173, 426. Οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1923 p. 26 and 40 **Ant. Keramopoullos** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες, Athens 1945, p. 167 and foll. **G. A. Megas,** Ἀδριανούπολις ἡ πολυκρουσεμένη in the periodical Ἑλληνικὴ Δημιουργία t. I 1948 pp. 93 and foll.

2) **L. Niederle,** op. cit. 112. **C. Jirecek** says that: «Even in the best years of the Middle Ages, during the reign of Tsar Symeon, according to the evidence given by Joannis Exarchos, there were to be seen but straw-covered huts in Bulgaria, except for the palace of the king». Straw-covered huts in Bulgaria are also mentioned by Kantakouzinos, 1, 144, edit. Bonn.

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According to the Bulgarian historian **I. Sakazov,** op cit. p. 41, «The very beginnings of an economic organisation in Bulgaria appeared in the court of the Tsars and with the aristocracy, who were trying to imitate the Byzan-

G 175 648 B 175 648 [463] [177] [341] [342] [171] G [342] [171] B 177 341

But even later, after the 15Th century, when Bulgaria, according to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builders villages)(1).

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic(!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov**, op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

G [172] [463] [331]

1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2 000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali,** Ἠπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη, Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll.

wealth and freshness of poetic language, and an orig- 538
inality of poetic thought.

With such powers, Vazov— who had the additional [177] ●
merit of first acquainting Bulgarian literature with the tendencies of the Western literatures, especially French Romanticism— could not fail to exert an enormous influence on the social life of his day and even more on the literary life. Without his influence Bulgarian artistic literature would never have reached its present height, its poetry would not have been so enriched with rhythmic excellences, its prose would not have been inspired to discuss such complicated and interesting themes. The impulse exerted by Vazov on the literature of his country is one of the most glorious monuments to his talent and to the consciousness that he had as to his social mission. Conscious too of his duties as a national poet, Vazov, during the entire fifty years of his activity, never for a single moment laid down his pen and tried not to leave a single form of literature in which he had not experimented. He succeeded so well that he discovered new fields: he created new forms which his successors were to develop and he opened new paths from which not even the most advanced modernists have yet passed. A poet and a pioneer and in many fields still unsurpassed, that is what Vazov can say of himself.

One of the first to follow in the footsteps of Vazov was his friend, Konstantin Velichkov (1855-1907), who suffered much because of his enthusiastic love of art and his indifference to money. He had much to struggle against but he succeeded in leaving behind him three monuments, which will maintain his name in the roll of honor of Bulgarian culture. One monument is the

538 against the old and against those authors who had based
517 their art on the desire to give practical help to Bulgaria. The new art could not fail to take a position directly opposite to that of the older school, the dean of which was Ivan Vazov.

As we might expect, the three authors who at the beginning of the twentieth century directed the new movement for the invigoration of Bulgarian literature, Pencho Slaveykov, P. K. Yavorov, and P. Yu. Todorov, declared an open struggle against the influence of Vazov. Today we see that this struggle, which for a while seemed to be between representatives of irreconcilable schools, was unnecessary, that there was no yawning gulf between Vazov and the three younger men, that both sides had much in common, that they were both competent, had a serious idea of their poetical functions which they understood as a real mission to help their neighbors, and did not lose themselves in a struggle over abstract principles. Today we see the influence which his opponents exerted on Vazov and the aid which his ability gave them for the struggle against him. Since Slaveykov, Yavorov and Todorov introduced a new element into Bulgarian literature, their struggle with Vazov can be explained as the obvious development of a new and really independent group.

538 At the head of this group is Pencho Slaveykov (1866-
517 1912), son of the old Petko Slaveykov, whom we have
177 mentioned above. Pencho Slaveykov drew his new ideas from Germany where he lived for a while and where he felt the Hellenic influence of Goethe, the lyric and heroic humor of Heine and the philosophy of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. These influences, combined with

those of Russian literature, led Pencho Slaveykov to 538
break through the limitations of his lyric talents and to 517
create works which have significance for world literature 177
as well as for Bulgaria. The success of Pencho Slaveykov can be judged by the fact that in 1910, when an attempt was made to win the Nobel Prize in Literature for a Bulgarian poet, Pencho Slaveykov was put forward as a candidate, and had it not been for his premature death in 1912 at the age of 46, he would probably have received it. His poetic work which is really inferior to that of Vazov in substance and direct inspiration is superior to it in depth of thought and in its richness in universal problems, which the poet seeks to solve with artistic perfection. Slaveykov is the first conscious esthete among Bulgarian writers and he has also a deeply philosophical intellect. His ripe thought, tinged with pessimism and tempered with stoicism, enlightens and permeates the heavy, golden-sweet honey of his works—his splendid "Epic Songs", his tender lyric collection "Dream of Happiness", his original anthology "On the Islands of the Blessed". In this the poet under the pretence of translating from various foreign poets prints his own poems and he reveals various aspects of his creative personality in a series of clever biographical notes. His thought stands out and gives power to the "Song of Blood", an epic in which Slaveykov describes the uprising of 1876 and in which he tries to emphasize the salient characteristics of the Bulgarians, to explain the objects of their struggles and the nature of their oppression by the Turks, and by drawing a broad panorama of Bulgarian social life before the liberation, to predict the future of his country. It is further remarkable that

538 Slaveykov, although he based his poetic work on phil-
517 osophical and esthetic principles which he adopted from
177 Western Europe, yet remained loyal to the fundamental characteristic of all Bulgarian writers; he did not spurn reality, did not lose himself in impossible intellectual speculations, did not give up his love for his native land, but everywhere in his work he aimed to do good service to his fatherland. Because of this Pencho Slaveykov succeeded in creating works which were thoroughly intelligible to people who knew nothing of Bulgaria and which were yet as Bulgarian in substance as were those of his father Petko Slaveykov or Ivan Vazov. Such recognition is a mark of the high praise which Bulgarians accord his works.

538 Many consider the close friend and companion of Pencho Slaveykov, Peyu Yavorov (1878-1914), to be more gifted and significant than he, and without doubt, although he did not have the philosophical nature of Slaveykov, he was a more inspired and skilful artist. Yavorov enriched Bulgarian literature with nuances which had previously been unknown. He acquainted it with a great number of problems which perplex the modern man, as he is torn between a materialistic view of life and idealistic aspirations.

This struggle between faith and unbelief, between the need to devote himself unreservedly to a cause and the attempt to prove to his consciousness that such a sacrifice is superfluous, between an intuitive acceptance of all truths and a lack of confidence in human reason, between a deep and almost religious reverence for woman and an aversion to her, is the subject of his writings and is also the distinguishing mark of the life of Yavorov.

538 has especial interest, since it compares Yavorov with his predecessors and it shows the union of purely Bulgarian features and universal aspirations, which are so typical of Yavorov who was both a Bulgarian and a member of the modern family of men with all of the contradictions involved.

To become a modern man and to be at the same time a Bulgarian and a Western European was the object of the third member of this group, Petko Yu. Todorov [177] (1879-1916). As a dramatist and an author of refined and elegant idyls, he introduced into his country the influence of Ibsen and he also strove to ennoble the Bulgarian folk songs and tales by using the material for original planned works, some of which have a symbolistic tendency. Todorov zealously strove to introduce into the Bulgarian palette those esthetic and philosophical principles, which seemed to him a logical outcome of literary and social development, and he did not realize at times that some of these principles were alien to the Bulgarian soul. As a result of this he did not find full freedom in the use of the folk lore material, which he might have used on a large scale. His best work are his idyls. These, the best in this form that Bulgaria has yet produced, were insufficiently valued when they appeared but now fifteen years after the death of the poet, they find conscious or unconscious imitation, especially in the works of the youngest writers with their slogan "Back to the native". We can see today that the dramas of Todorov, despite the contradictions between the symbolistic elements adopted from Ibsen and the tales and songs which are drawn from national sources, will also have a revival. The author's dramatic merits are great

648 garia to St Petersburgh, others wanted her chained to London, another party preferred Vienna, while a certain section had preferences for Berlin, and yet another group insisted that Bulgaria's foreign policy should be conducted from Constantinople. Unhappy land, her leaders endeavoured to tie her simultaneously to several mutually antagonistic protectors, and thus unwittingly acted against the interests of their country. Bulgaria suffered not so much from the treason of her neighbours, as from the shortsightedness and lack of scruples of those directing our foreign policy, in association with foreign consuls, whose protégés they were". (Kosta Arseniev, pp. 35-6.).

177 What moral forces remained, having survived Bulgaria's Europeanization, a process which was tantamount to the elimination of the patriarcal traditions of the Bulgarians, and their replacement by what was nothing but a thin veneer of civilization — were wholly absorbed in their confict with Tsar Ferdinand, that great factor of evil in their country.

661 He, in a true Machiavellian spirit, spread corruption
517 broadcast, and vitiated the intelligentsia, in order to render all opposition to him impracticable and impossible. The diabolical refinements with which that process was pursued were set forth by Stoyan Mihailovsky, in his „Book for the Bulgarian people", published in 1897. The ease with which the intelligentsia succumbed to the malign influences which surrounded it, is chiefly due to its extreme poverty. Having sundered all connection with the peasant, artisan or trading class, from which he sprang, the intellectual scorned the idea of obtaining his livelihood by any other means than that of state employ. This desire to get employment under the Government, which is almost a passion among the Bulgarians, could not be satisfied in respect of every claimant owing to the limited number of public posts, and led to the formation of a legion of

1: Karutz--59 E-4 (no date) 1925 E1 Europe
Bulgaria EE1

/88/ The Bulgarians

000 1. Hair dress of young women, with tresses decorated with silver. 2. and 3. Decorative pendants. 4. Head ornament of the brides, made of flowers and silver coins. 5. Woman wearing an embroidered blouse and a woven carpet apron. 6. Drawing well. 7. Neck ornament. 8. Hand mill for salt. 9. Threshing sled. 10. Cave dwelling on the Lon. 11. Fire saw. 12. Village street. 13. Shelter of the field herders. 14. Household altar. 15. Rattle board of wood, from a monastery. 16. Signalling horn of a country mailman. 17. Sawing frame.[1]

175 At the time of the Romans present-day Bulgaria was called
101 Moesia in its northern (Danube) region, Thracia in its southern section,
144 and it was inhabited by an Indo-European people of North European extraction, at the time when old Greek, and later Roman and Byzantine, immigrants moved there and intermingled with it. From the sixth century on, the Slavic wave moved closer, and from the seventh century onwards Finnish Turko-Tataric migrant herders and horse breeders repeatedly found their way into this country from the middle Volga.
463 From these the Bulgarians adopted and kept the herding system, by the side of which the Thracian and Slavic agriculture was maintained. The Ottoman Turks coming from the southeast provided the country
181 with its class of craftsmen and tradesmen. This mosaic of races and peoples developed a particularly powerful and healthy stock of people whose high life expectancy is well known, as well as a temperate,
531 industrious, and sober character. It mirrors a corresponding multiplicity
177 of cultures; thus we have in art types that range from the Scythian style and its predilection for phantastic animal forms to the Byzantine and ancient Oriental motifs; from the cellular stone inlays of the period of the Teutonic migrations (belt clasps) to the Tatar decorative pendants (Figures 2, 3, and 7),[2] and from the Slavic joy in ornamentation and
592 colors to the Turkish, recent Near Eastern household industries. The Slavic household community, which takes up every new generation into the fabric of the family, has as its consequence the form of settlement
342 by individual and separate farmsteads. Aside from occasional underground dwelling pits in the loess, of which only the pointed roof of rushes rises above the ground, there are one-story high, rectangular panel-work houses covered with loam, placed either on a level with the soil, or else on top of a wooden substructure for the working sheds.

1 [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a -- Analyst]
2 [See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 57a -- Analyst]

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia
Bulgaria EE1

474 surplus may or may not remain to be divided among the peasants. Often, as Kolarov admitted, there is none. The rate at which it
423 would have been divided if it had existed is then only of theoretical
661 interest. There is no space here to indicate the punishments awaiting the peasants who infringe the new statute.[11] Even negligence is defined as "treason to the common good" and punished as—treason. But I must add one item contributed by a Bulgarian friend of mine, for it reveals clearly one of the important intentions of present Communist policy in Bulgaria. In this man's native village the coöperative contains both industrial and agricultural workers. The first group is scrupulously allotted the same number of ration cards as the second. Nothing could be fairer, except that the first group contains 14 persons and the latter about 500. "Recipe for horse and rabbit stew: one horse, one rabbit."

Membership in collectives is "voluntary," but the meaning of this is shown by Prime Minister Chervenkov's description of what is to happen to peasants who do not join. "All tractors and agricultural machines belonging to peasants outside the coöperative farms should be confiscated," he has warned, and in future "only peasants belonging to coöperative farms can use tractors and machines." After this gloss on the 1950 model statute there is no need to go into further details. Peasants who do not have the use of farm machinery cannot fulfill their government quotas, let alone have anything left over to feed themselves and their families. They will "volunteer" or starve.

• 177 We have seen repeatedly that Bulgaria is the satellite where ex-
648 treme Soviet measures are given their tryout. She was the first to suppress religious freedom and the first to introduce the system of local government by soviets. She was also the first, as already mentioned, to become officially a one-party state, and Dimitrov was the first satellite leader to proclaim the advent of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Russia's reasons for pushing ahead in Bulgaria seem to be two. It is the country where, with the exception of Rumania, her physical domination comes closest to being absolute. But whereas Russians are contemptuous of Rumanians, and are hated in return, they feel close to Bulgarians in race and language and suppose that they will repay past favors by swinging naturally into their allotted

[11] Details are given in *The Economist*, London, May 27, 1950.

Soviet groove. Secondly, Bulgaria is highly important to Russia strategically. She flanks enemy Jugoslavia. She provides the only direct approach to Greece since Tito has closed the main route. She adjoins Turkey, on whom the Soviets desire to exert pressure from all directions. She is, as we have seen, Russia's chosen instrument of intervention in the Macedonian question. On every count she is the country which, more directly than any other except Poland, can be useful to Russia in the present line-up of European forces. It is not by chance that she and Poland had the honor of being the first to receive high officers of the Soviet Army as commanders-in-chief of their troops. 177 648

The sources of opposition are two. One is nationalism. It may be called Titoism or Kostovism, but it is always treason. Nationalists are dealt with as Petkov and Kostov were dealt with. These two, such poles apart, are simply conspicuous examples among tens of thousands who have suffered for opposing the Communization or Sovietization of their country. Any successors they may have, whether noble like Petkov or hateful like Kostov, will be put down with the same irresistible brutality. 186

The other source of opposition is the peasantry. The peasants resist being made into sharecroppers. They do not think that they are being forced into collectives so that a great social goal can be achieved but in order that a group of adventurers can exploit their hold on them and on the country more conveniently. The Communists are everything that peasants hate and fear—the city slicker, the government bureaucrat. These newcomers in the villages, wearing city clothes, often speaking with a foreign accent, urge the peasants to enter collectives for their own good. Those who do are only one degree better off than those who do not—they are allowed to live, while those who refuse starve. But they live as serfs. They will work for the rest of their lives, as they figure it, to support others who will not or cannot work so hard as they must do—other peasants who have let their lands run down and are glad to merge with those who have kept theirs up, and surplus townsfolk who will never learn to "pay their way." That there are other answers to such arguments than force does not matter. The answer has been given, and it is force. 565 578

[i.e. Opposition to Sovietization---Analyst]

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5
Bulgaria EE1

those whose dream experiences would be the most interesting. Those who take dreams seriously avoid discussing their own dreams. By so doing they may realise an evil or check a propitious dream prophecy. The nature of dreams varies in interpretation as greatly as the interpretations of dream symbols. Some apparently take certain dreams for actual and real experience; some scarcely distinguish these more vivid impressions from actuality; others hold that sleep is a special state of mind and of body; and some that the spirit departs and returns—as many variations, in short, as there are folk-lorists' theories. The eyes, said one, when they close can go away and see things elsewhere. 'It is nothing more nor less than that the soul comes out of a man and goes about the world and only blood remains in the man to keep him alive.'[1] There are others who imply that the sleeper undergoes no change or movement, but, none the less, at times he can see in sleep things that are not actually there; he can have visions. Human beings, who are endowed with a special nature, leave their bodies at night and become spirits, dragons or animals. In the neighbourhood of Gusinje, for instance, this idea of witches still prevails. In other parts I found memories of the *zmaj* or dragon-man, *stuhi*, *vedogoni*, etc.—men who during sleep become spirits or animals, such as bulls or dragons, and meet at night, or, endowed with supernatural strength, battle with evil spirits, enemies of their own villages, bringers of storms. From all accounts these ideas are still alive in parts of Bulgaria, but everywhere else they are disappearing, or turn up only in the form of stories. *Viljanici*, who in ordinary life were herb doctors or seers, were also believed to have these powers of movement in sleep, of flight and of changing form.

A distinction which is more than a linguistic one is made between *duša* (soul) and *duh* (spirit). A man breathes his last (*izdahne*) and his soul (*duša*) departs; for forty days it lingers above the grave or near its old home, after which tradition offers a variety of fates. The spirit (*duh*) is also spoken of as

[1] Zb. XIX, p. 151.

almost all farms have high walls of unfired brick which are topped with a small roof of straw. The large gateway is also roofed over and has a small door for people. In the eastern Marica plain the fence is of wickerwork or consists merely of a hedge (Gellert, 1937: 161-62). In eastern Bulgaria the enclosure, if present, is a low one of brushwood (Gellert, 1934: 5). 351 184

In the Marica plain there appears to be a difference between the enclosures in the east and west that cannot be attributed to the presence or absence of the necessary raw materials. Gellert believes that the high enclosures in the west are due to a persistence of Turkish traits (Gellert, 1937: 162). Also, in Sredna Gora and the Sub-Balkan basins high walls are limited to the west (Gellert, 1937: 162). [177]

In the mountains and the Sub-Balkan basins the yards are small and crowded together because there is little arable land (Gellert, 1937: 164). When the enclosures are of stone the yards are rectangular; when the fences are of wood or hedges the yards are often rounded and there is often much free land between the separate yards (Gellert, 1937: 165). 351 [311]

Since the houses are generally built to shelter both men and farm animals and have a number of annexes built onto them, one would expect fewer separate farm buildings. Barns are not typical of central Bulgaria. In Ihtiman we find two-roomed barns made of timber-framing and mud. The eaves may be extended and supported by pillars to form a shelter. Only in the extreme east of the Marica plain are barns widespread. Here a small side annex is added to the barn; the entrance is on the short side where the eaves are extended to form a shelter (Gellert, 1937: 158). In Juricite one finds Turkish store houses being used by the Bulgarian population, although in east Bulgaria they are used almost exclusively by the Turks (Gellert, 1937: 160). These are large buildings of woven brushwood with a straw roof that extends far out to the sides. They are generally built on an incline. The entrance is on the short side and the back is rounded (fig. 39) (Gellert, 1934: 3). In Karlovo Basin one finds store houses of wickerwork with straw roofs which have poles attached to the ridge to prevent the straw from being blown away (Gellert, 1937: 159). Stables for sheep in east Bulgaria are long narrow huts of stone covered with straw or reed (Gellert, 1934: 3). In general the various sheds and shelters for animals are of poor construction and have no particular regional characteristics (Gellert, 1937: 159). 343 184 [177]

Summer kitchens are numerous; they are either built onto the house or are in the open, in which case they are covered by a roof of straw, reed, brushwood or brick that is supported on four poles (Gellert, 1937: 160; 1934: 3). 343 [342]

Buildings Outside the Village. Outside mountain villages one finds shepherds' huts of brushwood, round or rectangular in shape, 342 233

9:Megas 1,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Bulgaria EE1

Roumelia,—to those houses of the remaining parts of Greek or Turkish Thrace is complete. 342 [171]

This is evident. The whole of Thrace, not only during the Middle Ages, but also during the Turkish occupation, constituted a geograph- [177]

[363]

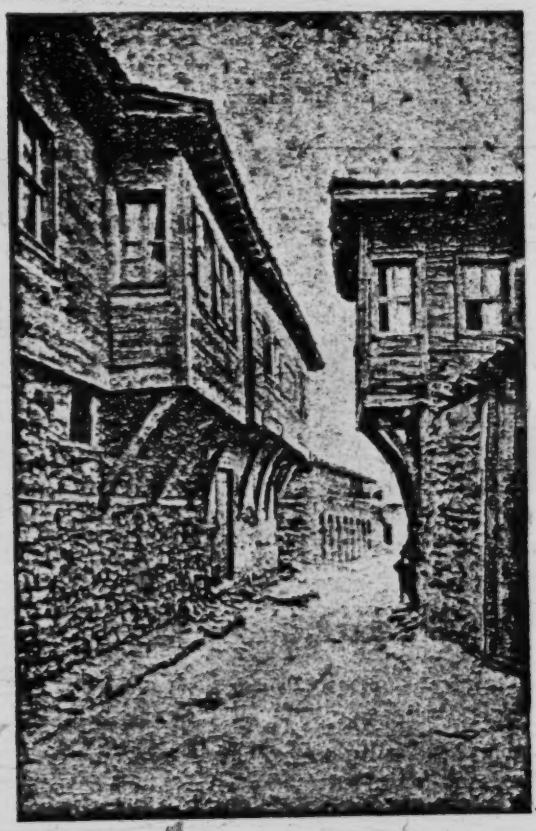

Fig. 35 A street at Messimvria

ical and political entity whose character, from an ethnological and cultural point of view, was purely Greek[1]. The Bulgars who established themselves at various times as labourers and farmers in the Thracian [177]

1) See **K. M. Apostolides**, Ρωμανία—Ζαγορά καὶ τὰ τῆς Θρᾴκης ὅρια ἐπὶ τῆς Βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας ('Αρχεῖον Θρᾴκ. Θησαυροῦ 8 (1941-42) 80 foll. 83 foll).

342 177 farms of Turks or Greeks, found the always existing system of housing better and preferable to the simple hut dwellings to which they had been used, and adapted their way of life and of housing to that of the other inhabitants. The same holds good, as we shall see, for the houses of Middle Mountain (Sredna Gora) and for those of the Bulgarian coastal zone from Agathoupolis to Dionysopolis (to-day Baltsik), where the Greeks, until the anti-Greek actions of 1906, were by far predominating over the Bulgars, as regards population, develop-

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Fig. 36 Houses at Baltsik (ancient Dionysopolis)

342 177 ment of economy and culture. (1) That is why we find the ancient type of the megaron house splendidly retained in all the villages near Messimvria, that is in Aivlassis, Naimonas, Bana, Aspros, Ravdas etc., (see p. 7 above) and the houses of towns and villages there, do not differ, as regards disposition of spaces and general construction, from those of the other Greek urban centres. (Figg. 35 and 36).

[363] C. Jirecek already considers the ancient Greek towns of the coast, such as Messimvria, Sozopolis, etc., as the model for all the small towns situated in the Tyrnavos area, as well as of those built on the

1) See J. Cvijic' op. cit. p. 156.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Bulgaria EE1

Southern slopes of Haimos and the Northern side of Rodope, which are characterised by their stone-built two-storey houses, their tile covered roofs, their stone paved narrow streets and the small commercial street (1). He says on the other hand that «the best houses of Philippople present an entirely Southern character and were used as models in the whole area as far as Koprichtitsa and Kalofer» (2). 342 177 [363]

This truth is recognized by Zlatev who writes on page 156 of his book: «The house of Sredna Gora, as well as that of Southern Bulgaria, has without any doubt originated from the influence of Adria- 342

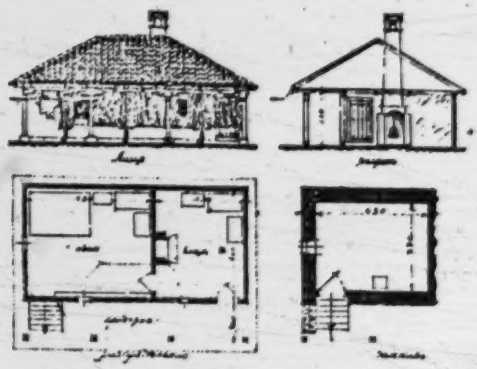

Fig. 37 Plan, section and front of a house in the village of Divlia, district of Radomir
(Zlatev, Balg. kasta fig. 83)

nople and Constantinople», by that he means the influence of Greek architecture on the formation of the houses of Southern Bulgaria.

But even to the West, on the plateau of Sofia, the houses of peasants, according to Zlatev and as it is shown by the plans of two typical houses of that area built in 1860 and 1870 and presented here (figg. 37 and 39), «do not differ at all as regards disposition of spaces,

1) **C. Jirecek,** Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien, Wien 1891, p. 152.

2) **C. Jirecek**, op. cit. p. 163. «From the front-door, one enters a stone-paved courtyard, climbs a wide staircase, comes into an airy veranda supported by wooden beams and through it into the large rooms with big square windows. The well turned edge of the projecting roof and the enclosed or open balconies on the side that overlook the road, complete the pleasant impression caused by this house.» A contrary impression caused by the buildings of the Bulgarian towns is expressed by the author a few lines previously.

Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples E16
Yugoslavia EF1

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342 Among Bulgarians, on the contrary, (Fig. 44) the open hearth
354 (ognichte) is always to be found in the main room which, as it is shown by its name (kăsta=house), originally constituted the whole

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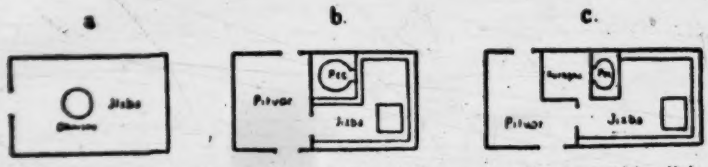

Fig. 45 Three developing forms of a Slovak house in W. Karpathia. jisba=room, ohnisko=hearth, pitvor=ante-room, pec=stove, kuchyňa=kitchen (L. Niederle, Manuel de l'antiquité Slave 2, 107).

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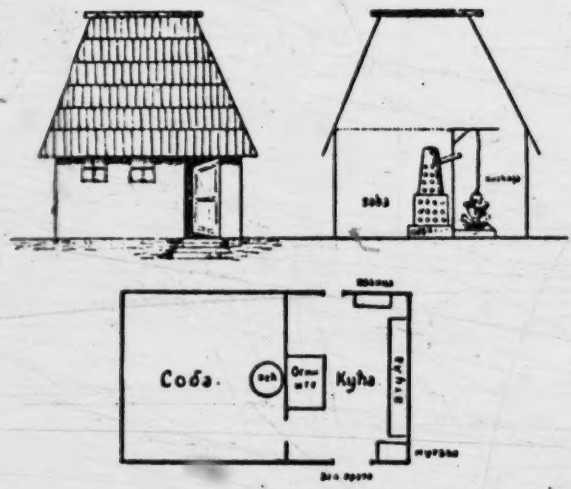

Fig. 46 Plan and section of a Serb house (kuc'a) of Bosnia, after R. Meringer (soba=room with stove, kyha=kitchen)

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342 house. This hearth is often built on one of the main walls or in one
354 corner of it and the stove is in the other room, which is called «soba». On the other hand, this combination of hearth and stove in the Bulgar-
[177] ian house is neither old nor is it generally found since, according to Jirecek's descriptions, bublished towards the end of the 19th century: the Bulgarian house «usually consists of a single space levelling with the

ground and having a beaten earth floor and an open fire-place» (1); as L. Niederle remarks (ibid. p. 108, note 1): «in the Balkans the Latin influence is shown in the addition of the soba to the kuc'a; this change, however, is not older than the 19th century» (2). B 342 [354] [177]

Consequently, even this difference, which is noted at many places, in the system of heating between the Bulgarian agricultural house and the Greek one, is neither original nor basic. G [342] [171]

The houses of the Rodope area are peculiar in their external architectural shape, as they do not have the open portico of the upper storey, which is so typical for the mountainous Bulgarian houses (3). Obviously it is the lack of security in these districts, where there was a lot of banditry (called Momtsilo, Kirtzalis) (4) since the later Byzantine years, that imposed here, as well as in Western Macedonia equally suffering from the incursions of Albanians, the system of fortified buildings, with their heavy and strong walls, reaching as far up as the roof even on the frontage of the house; an internal staircase; a strong main-door, with loop-holes on each side as well as the arrangement of the veranda (heliakos) into a large ante-room, or drawing room, with fine balconies or kioschks, protruding on its ends (fig. 47) (Zlatev, fig. 61 and 67), exactly as it is seen in the covered balconies and the high sofas of the rich houses in Western Macedonia, Epirus and Thessaly (5). It is understood that in the simplest shapes of houses G [171] [342]

1) **C. Jirecek**, op. cit. p. 158.

2) The Russian ethnologist **Tokariof**, when describing the Bulgarian house, says: «Almost all the old houses have an open hearth on the wall with a pot hanging over the fire, and with a wide open chimney that has its exit through the roof The bread is usually baked in this hearth. As for the horizontal plan, the house is divided into two parts: the kitchen with the fire-place and the «oda», the room, that now has an iron stove». (Μόρφωση, Γ' 1946 p. 126). According to **R. Meringer** (Sitzungsber. Philos. Histor. Kl. der Wiener Akad. Abh. 2 p. 13) Bulgaria, Albania and the Hercegovina are placed in the category of the countries with fire-place (Kaminländer).

3) According to **Tokariof** «one sees as completely different thing in the Rodope mountains. We have an example in the village of Baskovo. There, the old houses have an extremely complicated plan which is very difficult to be analysed. Houses are very big; they have three or four floors and sometimes the wall of the front of the house has no windows at all. The upper floors sometimes extend over the lower by covered balconies, as it is the custom in the East. Houses are built one against the other, thus forming whole blocks. This architectural style is entirely different from the Eastern-Slav type of house where the plan is always a simple rectangular parallelopiped».

4) See **W. Slatarski**, Geschichte der Bulgaren, I Leipzig 1918 p. 165.

5) **G. Megas**, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις pp. 55, 88, 97, 104, 109, fig. 50, 80, 90.

[Text continues on p. 75]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

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vader's country(1) and they were obliged not only to cultivate the land on behalf of their owners, but also to carry out all other work and naturally to build permanent houses which were necessary, since Bulgars were to establish themselves for good in these newly conquered districts.

For a long time Bulgars had either the disposition nor the sense to learning arts and crafts. Even where they had abandoned their incursions and lootings and were giving themselves to peaceful occupations, as agriculture and stock-breeding, they did not take to the arts. The palaces and the churches of Bulgaria have been built by foreigners, especially by Greeks, such as the beautiful palace of Aboba near Schumen, which is a monument of Byzantine style of the 9th or 10th century(2). But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, accord-

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1) The Bulgarian inroads on Greek territories for looting and capture of prisoners began in the period of Asparouch (679-701) and continued till the reign of Michael (1246-1257). King Krum, when he captured Adrianoupolis in 813, took away all her inhabitants, as well as those of the surrounding areas, all amounting to 40.000, into Bulgarian territory to the North of the Danube. Another 50.000 prisoners together with other loot, were taken during the winter of the same year from Thrace (**W. Slataraki,** Geschichte der Bulgaren, I, Leipzig, 1918 p. 15,29). According to the Bulgarian historian **Ivan Sakazov** (Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Berlin u. Leipzig, 1929, p. 57 foll.) «Bulgaria was filled up with prisoners and cattle, which formed the Bulgarian national wealth and made their well-being possible. It was on this basis that the material civilization was formed, which Omortag, Krum's heir, bequeathed to his descendents.» Later (1206), during a battle near the Tountza river, when the Bulgarian Ioannitzis or Skyloyiannis was totally defeated by the Greeks, 20.000 prisoners together with 3.000 carts were liberated, while they were led towards Bulgaria together with a great amount of loot. See **Diog. Xanalatos,** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βούλγαροι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θρᾴκην. Α' Athens 1944 pp. 17, 22 etc. 33, 39, 40 etc. Cp. **K. Paparrigopoulos,** Ἱστορ. Ἑλλ. Ἔθνους 6th edition, tome 4, b, 186 and foll. t. 5, a 23. **K. Amandos,** Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους Α' 1939 p. 411. Β' 1947, pp 5, 173, 426. Οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1923 p. 26 and 40 **Ant. Keramopoullos** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες, Athens 1945, p. 167 and foll. **G. A. Megas,** Ἀδριανούπολις ἡ πολυκρουσμένη in the periodical Ἑλληνικὴ Δημιουργία t. I 1948 pp. 93 and foll.

2) **L. Niederle,** op. cit. 112. **C. Jirecek** says that: «Even in the best years of the Middle Ages, during the reign of Tsar Symeon, according to the evidence given by Joannis Exarchos, there were to be seen but straw-covered huts in Bulgaria, except for the palace of the king». Straw-covered huts in Bulgaria are also mentioned by Kantakouzinos, 1, 144, edit. Bonn.

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[342]

According to the Bulgarian historian **I. Sakazov,** op. cit. p. 41, «The very beginnings of an economic organisation in Bulgaria appeared in the court of the Tsars and with the aristocracy, who were trying to imitate the Byzan-

G 175 648 B 175 648 [463] [177] [341] [342] [171] G [342] [171] B 177 341

But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, according to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages)(1).

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic(!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov**, op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

G [172] [463] [331]

1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos**, Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali**, Ἠπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη, Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Bulgaria EE1
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the Greek influence on Bulgarian architecture; but he attributes it to the Italian Renaissance elements of art introduced long before from Byzantium to the Western Europe as well. The Bulgarian author, however, not being able to ignore the historical truth completely, admits somewhat vaguely the links that connected his country with Hellenic cilivisation even during the Turkish occupation. He says that: «The far reaching boundaries of the Ottoman empire isolated the Bulgarian race from the civilized world and thus neutralized the various influences. The Bulgarian people, being thus isolated, was placed under the influence of the Byzantine civilization under which it has been in the past and with which it was closely connected» (p. 155).

B 177 341

The remarks of Jovan Cvijic' are thus proved by the facts; he says the following about the Bulgarian house: «Before the Bulgarian liberation (1878) most of the houses belonged to the farm house (tsiflik) type (1). On the Haimos mountains, however, and in the ends of the Hevros plain, and above all in the Rodope valleys we see big two-storied houses, due to Greco-mediterranean and Byzantine influence».

B [342]

B. THE JUGOSLAV HOUSE

About the Jugoslav dwellings, I did not manage to have under consideration a survey so detailed as that I had about Bulgarian housings(2); that is why I shall limit myself, for the time being, to the studies of R. Meringer on the popular house of Bosnia and Herzegovina(3) and to elements given on the Jugoslav houses by some

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1) He means the agricultural house of the slave-farmers of the Thessalian, Macedonian and Thracian valleys and of the other countries that were under Turkish rule. **J. Cvijic**, Peninsule Balkanique p. 250.

2) The relative surveys, which I could not find in the local libraries, are the following:

Y [113]

1. **M. Murko,** Zur Geschichte des volkstümlichen Hauses bei den Südslaven (Mittheilungen der Anthropol. Gesellschaft, vol. 35-36, Wien, 1906).
2. **K. Rhamm,** Ethnographische Beiträge zur germanisch-slavischen Alterthumskunde I-III, Braunschweig, 1905-1910 (II Altslav. Wohnhaus).
3. **A. Haberlandt,** Volkskunst der Balkanländer, Wien 1918.
4. **A. Haberlandt,** Kulturwissenschaft. Beiträge zur Volkskunde von Montenegro, Albanien u. Serbien, Wien, 1917.

3) **R. Meringer** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina (Wissenschaftl. Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina, VII, 1900, pp. 249 290). **R. Meringer,** Die Stellung des bosnischen Houses und Etymo-

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should report to the committee without discontinuing their work." The decree declares two hours overtime is "lawful," so that the working day in Bulgaria usually consists of ten hours, six days a week, and neither the recesses nor even the time when the workers are paid are included in the working time.[31] Furthermore, "it is an archaic damaging tradition for some workers to be absent from work during religious holidays."[32] And Article 79 of the Labor Code regulates the labor remuneration in cases of work on Sundays and the seven official holidays in a year, thus rendering any day of the year a potential, and usually an actual, working day. A Communist source itself admitted that Bulgarian enterprises "regularly use overtime work and deprive the workers of their week ends."[33]

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Usually, overtime work does not help to fulfill or overfulfill the norm either. But even if it does, the quest for more production and productivity of labor never stops. The principal means for extracting a maximum effort from the workers are the so-called socialist competitions or emulations. They represent officially staged contests between individual workers or among plants to "overfulfill" the established norms. The cruelty of this system lies in the fact that as "competitions" are labelled "voluntary," no worker can claim overtime pay. Furthermore, competitions lead inexorably to the establishment of higher quotas and automatically lower the piece rates of even the general wage level.

● 177.
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"Socialist competition has become a law of the socialist society and has turned into one of the most important methods for Communist education of the working people, an instrument for making them participate in the governmental build-up and the process of production," the Soviet Encyclopedia frankly states.[34] That Communist Bulgaria follows the identical path is plainly evident from the words of the president of the Bulgarian trade unions, Prakhov, who, in 1951, proclaimed "socialist competitions" as "a permanent system for building socialism" and gave the number of participants at "about 70 per cent" of all Bulgarian workers.[35]

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Within the framework of this almost suicidal drive for ever-increasing daily per-

[31] Art. 49, par. 3, and Art. 71 of the Code of Labor.
[32] *Trud*, December 27, 1951.
[33] *Trud*, October 10, 1951.
[34] *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Encyclopediya*, 2d Ed., Vol. 14; *Disciplina Trudoj*, in Russian.

465 human life and that the "social harm" of an offense is all that matters,[a] Communist legislation makes a worker "responsible for an amount higher than the actually caused damages,"[b] besides, of course, his liability under criminal law.

It is evident that all these financial liability provisions not only reduce the already very low wages of the Bulgarian workers but also violate internationally accepted legal principles—such as the exclusion of liability exceeding actual damage or of liability without guilt or negligence. This is not surprising if one bears in mind that the Bulgarian Penal Code also recognizes the application of the principle of analogy in criminal law,[c] and the Labor Code proclaims the principle that "acts of indictment have the force of proof until the contrary is proven"[d]—that is, one is presumed guilty unless he proves his innocence.

● 177- 46 466 185 Analysis of labor and relations in Communist Bulgaria leads to the conclusion that the Bulgarian labor pattern is a carbon copy of the Soviet original. Neither democratic traditions nor social harmony have been taken into consideration. In their blind imitation, the Bulgarian Communists are trying to change the very basis of Bulgarian economy—from agriculture to heavy industry—as if they were mightier than the very nature which deprived the country of the elements required for such a transformation. Their only guiding light is the Soviet example, no matter how detrimental its application on Bulgarian soil might be.[e]

000 The Bulgarian case—most suitable to test Communism in export—has brutally refuted any illusion that Communism can be "different" if applied in more advanced societies. The tragic paradox of the Communist experiment with the Bulgarian workers is that the alleged primary beneficiaries of the new "socialist order" have, instead, received the harshest possible deal. [The End]

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661 461 population that purges of scapegoats and acts of dispair have been a permanent feature in Bulgaria as well. The workers, in particular, have defied pointed guns during the recent open unrest in Plovdiv, the second largest Bulgarian city, and in many other cities (Pleven, Pernik, Haskovo, Gorna Dzhumaja). In order to prevent the worst, the government, under Moscow's guidance, has announced a so-called new course, consisting of promises to raise the living standard and to relax the socialist labor discipline. The implementation of these promises is still to come. They clearly imply, however, that the Communist experiment has not succeeded in either converting the Bulgarian workers to Communism or breaking their spirit of resistance. (For details, see work cited at footnote 29, Ch. VIII-X.)

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which always seemed picturesque to me, a foreigner. It was Zdravka 000
who told me how the women made their garments.

"Women's clothing is made chiefly by hand and of homemade 294
cloth. In the homes we have very few sewing machines, which only the young girls know how to run. Most of the outer garments for men are made by the village tailor. All of us can do the traditional [531]
embroidery patterns which make our dresses so pretty, but we do not have as much embroidery now as formerly; the old women cannot see to do it and the young people want modern things."

Then Yurdan told what clothing the peasants bought:

"The women buy *zabradki* [pieces of cloth for the head]; every 291
once in a while they also buy some flannel or silken goods, and shoes. The old women wear *kozhusi* [sheepskin coats], for which they provide the hides or buy them ready-made. Men also have to buy these *kozhusi* in addition to headwear called *kalpatsi* [pointed brimless caps], or cheap cloth caps. Many men buy ready-made suits, especially if they are unmarried, for use on holidays. Even they, when working in the fields, go back to the more durable homemade garments which do not tear so easily. They also buy some shirts and sweaters, or *shubi* [short overcoats with fur inside], and shoes. In general the tendency of the younger people is toward city dress."

I asked them why everybody dressed so much alike. Both of 626
them chuckled and told me about the time the daughter-in-law from 291
the wealthiest peasant household, who had spent some time in Sofia, 178
tried to appear in a distinctive style at a Sunday promenade, only to find that the next Sunday many other girls were wearing the same innovation. Zdravka concluded from this incident:

"No, there is not much individuality in dress, for whenever someone gets something new the others copy it. Especially the young unmarried girls try to buy or to make something new so as to attract attention. But all the rest, as soon as they see it, won't take time to eat until they have made the same thing so that the one possessing it will not feel that she is in a higher position than others. It is this which makes the richer girls most angry."

This led to a discussion of how changes of style had come to the village. This is what Yurdan said:

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"Since the World War there has been much change. Men stopped wearing their narrow white trousers which belted below the hips because they saw during the war that pants that belted above the hips were better. The women changed to lighter clothes because a woman from Vladaya [another village] came with others to visit here, married a Dragalevtsy man, and settled here. Other women saw that the clothes she wore were more convenient and began to adopt the new style."

The tailor's customers brought their own cloth. Five or six of the more fashion-minded young women brought dresses from other villages to be copied. A girl before marriage accumulated about twenty black *sukmani* (jumper dresses), all of the same pattern. She wore out about three of these a year. The men had one black and one rough everyday suit.

Much of the cloth was dyed at home by the peasants with the use of commercial dyes. Black was the universal color for men except in the case of the old style white trousers. If any man deviated from this fashion, people said mockingly, "You are a gypsy," thereby reminding him that he had better act like other people or run the risk of additional social disapproval.

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Shoes in Bulgaria were definitely a sign of social rank. *Tsarvulin* or "sandal-wearer," once a common term for farmer or peasant, has been somewhat displaced by *selenin* or "villager." As a matter of fact, most men in Dragalevtsy continued to wear the pigskin sandals, whereas all self-respecting village women possessed a pair of cheap western shoes. Comically enough, they frequently walked barefoot and carried these uncomfortable badges of status. Just the same, these shoes periodically needed the services of a cobbler, who in Dragalevtsy happened to be the youngest married son of Bai Milush, a highly respected peasant proprietor. Three sons, their wives and progeny comprised part of the twenty people living in Bai Milush's patriarchal dwelling. As the land which will someday be divided up among the sons was limited, each son agreed to specialize along some particular line: the oldest was the dairyman, the middle son was the crop expert, and the youngest married son (and, incidentally, the most delicate in health) was a cobbler, whom the family agreed to send to a trade school in Sofia. Because he drove in his wooden pegs with the best of them, he was building up a profitable business in the village.

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veniently arranged to be away from home. The villagers occasionally joked about the peasant who climbed a tree to escape the tax collector and had to remain in that uncomfortable predicament for many hours before the visitor left. But the Turks did recognize the traditional form of village government, or government by elders, and let the heads of the zadrugas, or large joint families, run village affairs to their liking. Most of the time, the head of the zadruga had to accept the responsibility for the deeds of all members of his family group.

These zadrugas were little principalities guided by a *stopanin,* usually the oldest male. His word was law; he distributed the work among the men, bought the necessities, sold the produce, and represented the zadruga before the outside world; therefore, the zadruga usually bore his name. Whenever a son, brother, or nephew of the *stopanin* married, he brought his wife back home to become a member of his zadruga. The wife of the *stopanin,* known as the *domakinya,* managed the housework. She kept the women busy making bread, cooking, washing, spinning, and weaving. Everything was owned in common. Work too was done in common, and whatever one earned outside was turned over to the *stopanin* for the common treasury. In return, all the members got clothes and food, which in those days were about all they expected to have.

After the death of the *stopanin,* the members met to select the next most capable male as their leader. At times, the *domakinya* took over the position of responsibility. Such was doubtless what happened in the case of Baba Dragana, or her prototype, since the ending of the word Dragalevtsy would indicate that it had been settled by a zadruga. The old joint family comprised married cousins descended from the same ancestor, with the result that it sometimes numbered as many as one hundred people.

When the older Dragalevtsy peasants talked to me of the zadruga, which persisted as late as 1880 in their village, they showed that wistfulness for the past which runs through the works of many Bulgarian writers. The zadruga was supposed to be a source of plenty and happiness to its members. One aged peasant listed for me the advantages of this joint family over the modern family. First of all, he said, it had great economy. The members had only one lamp,

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one stove, and one of everything, but now the same number of people living separately require many of each thing. In the second place, there was obedience. The young people respected the old. This made for efficiency, since the *stopanin* was like "a general in the army, directing the young." Finally, he concluded, all the people worked together and could earn more, thus becoming richer.

Even under the Turks the zadruga was passing from the scene because it was too unwieldy to adjust to the economic and social changes taking place. Contributing to its decline was the spirit of independence which stemmed from the French Revolution and eventually reached the Balkans. Greeks, and then Serbs, drove the Turks from their midst and established national independence. In Bulgaria and Macedonia, still under the Turks, the *haidutsi,* or guerrillas, went to the mountains every spring on Annunciation Day to spend the summer warring against their Mohammedan masters. It was this same tradition which the Yugoslav guerrillas followed in their resistance to the Nazis. This spirit of independence and the other influences from the West led one zadruga member after another to ask for a division of the common property. Usually the older men, brothers or cousins to each other, secured their shares and then established semi-patriarchal families of their own which consisted of their own sons and their sons' families. What had been common land now became the property of the individual families living in dwellings of their own. But more important sociologically than the smaller size of the individual family unit was the changed basis of authority in the family circle.

In the zadruga the head had been an overseer who achieved his position on the basis of age, ability, and special influence in the community at large. He constantly had to exercise care to keep in the good graces of the zadruga members upon whose assent his office was dependent. In this way the patriarchal pattern, although it ran through the zadruga system, was tempered by the control vested in an elected as opposed to an hereditary head. The father of an individual family, on the other hand, felt that his right of dominance was God-given. He, allied with God, invested himself with the lordship and so held his own in spite of personal unworthiness and in spite of dissension and revolt of the subject children. The father was

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a *paterfamilias,* with a unique concentration of power in his hands. 596
If his grown children did not submit to his control, then they could 178
leave his house but had no means of removing him against his will.
Death alone could do that.

Such was the family situation in Dragalevtsy with the coming 178
of liberation after the Russo-Turkish War in 1878. The changes 642
which have occurred in the family since then have been related in 596
no small degree to the political fortunes of Bulgaria. The Bulgarian constitution was drawn up in Tirnovo in imitation of the constitutions of the West, and made Bulgaria a constitutional monarchy with a national parliament. Unfortunately, the new frame of government disregarded many traditional practices of the peasants and sought to impose upon them foreign ideas and strange governmental processes.

In April, 1879, Alexander of Battenberg, who was an officer 175
in the Prussian army and the favorite nephew of Tsar Alexander II of Russia, was elected Prince over the country. In September, 1885, Bulgaria united with Eastern Rumelia, an area which had been placed back under nominal Turkish control by the Treaty of Berlin. Prince Alexander, because he did not collaborate sufficiently with the Russians in their desire to make Bulgaria completely subservient to Russia, was abducted from Sofia and forced to abdicate in 1886. Then the Bulgarian leaders shopped around Europe for another Prince, and finally in 1887 chose Prince Ferdinand of the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha line. He did much to make Bulgaria a stronger state, but he showed poor judgment in ordering Bulgarian troops to attack Serbia, thereby starting the Second Balkan War in which Bulgaria suffered catastrophic defeat at the hands of her former allies in the First Balkan War. In 1918, because he had been a party to the alliance of Bulgaria with the Central Powers in the First World War, he was forced to abdicate in favor of his son Boris.

From her inception as a state Bulgaria tried to make a success 642
of representative government. Men were urged to vote; in fact, they 666
were fined the equivalent of five dollars if they failed to vote. But in [687]
spite of the dream of Young Bulgaria at Tirnovo, in spite of her

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642 666 vibrant youth and living hope, her fling at democracy failed, primarily because ballots were given to peasants who were not being taught the meaning of citizenship in a national state.

● 178 623 Those interested in democracy have much to learn from the story of government in Dragalevtsy. At the outset the informal rule of the elders, which had been recognized by the Turks, was replaced by a commune or *obshtina* with regularly elected officials. At first these units included a number of villages. By 1890 the increase in population necessitated the breaking up of the larger *obshtini* so as to include only two or three villages. In other words, the pendulum was swinging back in the direction of greater local control, the swing being further accentuated after the First World War.

665 Political parties grew like mushrooms in Bulgaria. In 1930 the country had more than sixteen significant parties; in the village of Dragalevtsy, with its total population of about sixteen hundred, there [557] were six important parties with recognized leaders and platforms. To be a party leader in the village meant added prestige; to be one in the city or on a national scale meant power. In order for a Dragalevtsy man to become a local party leader he had to be acquainted with important people in Sofia. Even though he had only one influential friend in the city, he could persuade this man to come out and help organize a party. Other peasants were invited to the organizational meeting and officers were elected. Naturally, the one who took the initiative would be chosen to an important post. Because of the multiplicity of parties and the intense strife among them, many people throughout the country breathed a sigh of relief when the authoritarian government, which came into power on May 19, 1934, abolished by decree all political parties and started the practice of appointing uni- [622] versity graduates as mayors in villages. This meant that the head of the government in a village was not dependent upon the will of the populace but had to produce results satisfactory to the officials over him. The breakdown of the party system was associated, especially as far as the conservative peasant population was concerned, not only with forces outside the village but also with the failure of popular education to develop into "a bulwark of people rule."

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The attitude of the peasants toward government dates from the days of Turkish rule, when the chief aim of a citizen was to deceive the tax collector. The same spirit was still prevalent in Dragalevtsy in 1937. Furthermore, government had taken such a large share in the affairs of daily life that the peasants had come to feel that government, rather than individual effort, should introduce any reforms or improvements. Typical attitudes were the following: 641

"In general we have enough sense to know that government is necessary, but we do not expect any favors from it except to keep peace and order and to settle disputes."

"Government exists primarily to collect heavy taxes for the purpose of paying high salaries to high officials."

"Laws are things to be written in books and not to be obeyed. There are so many laws that we don't know them. The officials don't even know them. So we don't have much faith in laws."

While these political changes were occurring, things were happening to the large individual family which had come into being with the breaking up of the zadruga. Some of the forces had already been at work before the Liberation but became more evident with the westernization of the country. The impact of westernization was shown by the fact that the Bulgarians still said when they were going to western Europe, "I am going to Europe." That is, psychologically they still felt identified with the Near East, although they were more and more exposed to the material achievements of Euro-American culture. Education, whatever may have been its shortcomings, had spread rapidly and brought many individualizing tendencies; there had been an increase in commerce, which made it difficult for large family units to be as self-sustaining as formerly. The wars also, by quickening social mobility, proved harmful to the large families. One of the younger men listening in on a group of old cronies in their endless discussions of the good old days summed up the change: 178 596

"During the war [1915-1918] and after, people traveled more to other places and saw how people lived there, so we have become more modern and started dividing our estates according to the fashion. We can now live more quietly and peacefully by living separately."

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178 606 596 A daughter-in-law especially disliked to live as a stranger in her husband's paternal home subject to the will of the parents-in-law. Time and time again I heard this opinion clumsily but definitely expressed:

"The large families started to break up after the wars. The chief reason for that was the daughter-in-law. Many of them come from different places and even if they come from the same village, they begin to care more for their own children and to make things for them without the knowledge of the others with whom they are living. This brings trouble among them and so they quarrel. Then they talk to their husbands; finally the brothers, although they love one another, have to separate in order to be at peace."

178 596 Ordinarily most men felt that conditions were better before the separation, though the women were more content apart. Ill will and distrust also grew up between the members of the family when some of them who worked as day laborers failed to hand over their entire earnings to the common treasury. In the villages around Sofia several brothers rarely lived together with undivided possessions after the death of their father as they would have done in the days of the zadruga. During 1935, a record year for the division of families in Dragalevtsy, there were 9 cases of estates being broken up, 3 of them the result of the separation of son and father and the remaining 6 involving the separation of brothers. When a large family divided, the younger brother usually remained in the old homestead and assumed the care of the parents.

594 178 551 This change from the large patriarchal family to the small conjugal family was having consequences which few of the peasants realized.[1] For one thing, in comparison with the larger group, the conjugal family, which consists of parents and their unmarried children, has a short life. It ends, in a sense, with the death of one of the marriage partners. This especially affects the rearing of children, who in the olden days grew up with such a bevy of cousins that a special middle name was useful in identifying each child with his particular parents. More specifically each child received a "small" or given name selected by his godparents; as a middle name he automatically added to his father's given name an *ev* or *ov* ("the son of") or, if a girl, an *eva* or *ova* ("the daughter of"). As a last name he

[1] [Cf pp. 65-69, category 116--Analyst]

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551 would take the larger family name of his father's kinship group. Thus
178 an outsider could immediately place each child not only in the family
594 group as a whole but in the small conjugal group as well. Students of child development have often pointed out the advantage to the child of growing up with a number of intimate contemporaries, as well as having several adults ready to serve as substitute parents whenever occasion demands.

But the change need not be viewed as entirely unfavorable. The smaller family unit was bringing about a more intimate relationship between members, breaking down the formalism between parents and children, and encouraging democratic living.

178 The good old days, if we are to believe the elders of the village,
463 differed not only in the degree of governmental autonomy in community affairs and a patriarchy in which the young respected the old: occupations too were of a different order.

"Half a century ago there were very few educated people, the chief of these being a priest from the monastery and a teacher. The mayor was an ordinary peasant elected by the town council of twelve people. There was a swineherd, as well as other herdsmen, and five merchants, plus a tanner. Practically all of the people were farmers. There was no dairyman; there was no doctor. All dentistry was done by Turks who remedied an aching tooth by pulling it out. We raised no horses, and an itinerant gypsy smith did all the necessary iron work."

When I asked another man about occupations half a century ago, he added this information:

"It was 'simple business' fifty years ago. There was a teacher for boys in the first and second grades; there was no village tailor, and the single tanner had little work. A priest from the monastery min-
652 istered to the people on occasion. We had no tax collector and an
211 illiterate mayor took all the taxes and kept the account on a *rabosh*."

(Here I steered the conversation off the subject of occupations long enough to find out what the *rabosh* was. It was similar to a practice of the Exchequer in twelfth-century England in which accounting was done with pieces of notched wood. Each family had a small piece of wood fitting into another piece kept by the mayor. The notches in the wood told the financial status of the family as far as the tax money was concerned.)

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The notches in the wood told the financial status of the family as far as the tax money was concerned.)

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"There was no barber because shaving and haircutting were done in the home or else by neighbors. When we began to use iron in the wagons, *maistori* came from outside. They also began to help in the building of simple houses. Until their arrival the houses were of straw with no bricks or tiles."

Even half a century ago there were a few young people who wanted to give up agriculture and become artisans, chiefly because there was not enough farm work for all members of the family. But the real shift in the young people's attitude toward farming as an occupation occurred in the 1920's along with the increased importance of the school.

"Formerly we were simple people," my informant concluded. "Now the situation is very different. Many go to study, to be officers and to be priests. Many finish the fifth and sixth class in Sofia. Now young people with ambition can be what they want to be."

One old woman in comparing the present with the period of her childhood said:

"The school is largely responsible for the change. Dragalevtsy would have been the same now as it was fifty years ago if we had had no school. The young people read and write, the discipline is more severe, and the youngsters have to go to school."

Whenever I wanted to stir up a lively discussion at the tavern, or with a group of women spinning thread, or with farmers out in the field, I could rely upon one question to do the trick: "Was life better fifty years ago than it is today?" The oldest person usually led off; after that, the discussion became a verbal free-for-all. Nothing was ever proved to anyone's satisfaction, but it was readily apparent that changes had taken place. The good old days in the opinion of some stood for the best that life had to offer, but others were glad that conditions of half a century ago belonged to the past. Perhaps the village drunk spoke words of wisdom when he finally got the attention of the group long enough to say: "Everything is better now but it is also more difficult." The more I think over that statement the more I feel that the drunk should have been a diplomat.

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Visitors suddenly confronted with the familistic way of life for the first time are often shocked at the low level of living which they observe: animals sharing the same dwelling; monotonous diet and low health standards; waste of time and energy with inefficient tools and methods. Before the peasant is condemned as unambitious, indolent, or stupid, there are a few things the outsider must bear in mind. In agricultural villages throughout the world the land base has been shrinking while the population has been expanding. This has meant decreased economic opportunity. Farms which were once adequate are now divided up strip by strip and handed over to many descendants, with the results that the term "eking out a living" has come to have real meaning for the peasant. The outsider often forgets that the rise in the level of living in the cities through the techniques of mass production and mass distribution has been relatively recent and phenomenally rapid. The villager is not really so far behind the times if one compares his life with that of many cities a few decades ago, or with the blighted areas of these same cities today. But one cannot deny that quite a few peasants seem to take pride in resisting social change; they are slow to experiment with new methods, and they assume that what was good enough for their fathers is good enough for them. This resistance is based, to a great degree, upon the realization that accepting too much from outside will seriously affect the social organization of their community. Urban society is not nearly so close-knit and can allow for contradictions and inconsistencies on a much broader scale than can the village, where life is still intimate and face-to-face. Dragalevtsy people, for example, in 1937 were conscious of the far-reaching changes brought about by the abandonment of sheep raising in favor of dairying. Sometime ago, a number of the peasants actively resisted this economic trend. In the opinion of many, these conservatives were stupid; at the same time they were bright enough to figure out that changes would result in the economy to which they were accustomed. Because they were accustomed to it, they wanted to preserve it.

511 181 369 829 [178] 85

In a familistic society religion has usually become rigidly institutionalized and is closely allied with the family. All family events call for the blessing of the religious intermediary; there are usually household shrines; there is considerable emphasis upon observing the

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441 596 [178] In Dragalevtsy, therefore, familism had yielded some ground to commerce. People did make occasional purchases in the village and in Sofia. They talked more and thought more about money. They even valued it more highly than a generation ago, but the basis of their economic life remained self-subsistent, with an emphasis upon goods, not cash.

476 596 Co-operatives had also come to Dragalevtsy. In a very real sense village life itself was a co-operative enterprise, although it did not possess the specific characteristics of an economic co-operative. The large joint family, which has been widely prevalent throughout the world, also had many elements of the co-operative which have been maintained, at least in the sentiments of the people, even though the family group has become individualized and smaller.

Self-subsistent peasant farmers are accustomed to working together when something needs to be done. Theirs is, after all, a co-operative way of life. They also know that their own hard work and their own planning are responsible for whatever success they achieve. They are suspicious of outsiders who seek to organize them, and are fearful that any tie-up with the business interests outside the village means loss rather than gain. They are not accustomed to using money to make more money, although they know well enough what it means to pay interest on borrowed money.

[369] [423] Agricultural co-operatives often gain adherents more quickly when there is a feeling of distinction or distrust between city and the country people. This is because co-operatives have been identified in such places with the agrarianism which unites the peasants. The profit motive of capitalism is linked, in the minds of many villagers, with the urban businessman, in spite of the fact that the villager who owns his land is also a capitalist. Perhaps it is this idea which Americans find hardest to grasp in their evaluation of peasant Europe. Land is not something to be bought and unfeelingly sold for money. It is rather a means of livelihood, an extension of oneself and one's family.

476 As the merchant groups in the villages are few and insecure, the co-operatives do not have the opposition of vested interests which they face in a more highly developed economy. I realized from the beginning that co-operatives had made much less headway in Dragalevtsy

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2. The reasons for joining were varied:

a. "I have six cows. Need help in case a cow dies."

b. "I wanted to get money from the bank."

c. "The veterinary doctor enrolled me when he organized the association."

3. All members were satisfied with the officers who represented them.

4. The relations with the Co-operative Bank in Sofia had been cordial. Once a year the bank sent out a commission to see that everything in the village was in order; a commission also came out in case of the death of an animal.

The Insurance Association illustrated the way many village organizations arose in Bulgarian villages. The idea of the organization originated in Sofia, was put into effect by a State employee, and members were recruited from those who thought that their interests would be served by belonging. A glance at the list of members, ranging in age from twenty-four to sixty, showed that they were among the most enterprising in the village. The organization would doubtless have been only half as large had it not been for the ruling of the bank which required insurance on any animals put up as collateral. Since the association did not attempt to teach the peasants how to feed or stable the animals, it was missing a real opportunity for further service.

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The traditional economy of Dragalevtsy had therefore been subjected not only to the incursion of commerce with its emphasis upon money, but also to the formation of co-operatives to meet some specific needs of a group of interested persons. In addition there was a concerted effort throughout Bulgaria by the national government to raise the peasants' plane of living. Some of this activity found expression in Dragalevtsy, largely through the initiative of the county agent or *agronom* who was concerned with the improvement of agriculture and livestock. Since he had to care for almost a score of other villages, his visits to Dragalevtsy were few and far between, so the peasants were quite correct in saying that little was being done for the improvement of agriculture in the village. While the county *agronom*

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gave lectures at intervals during the year and consulted with some farmers regarding their work, he could not initiate and carry through a thorough program without the help of a local *agronom.* 476 657 178

As far as livestock was concerned, there were two boars and one village bull for breeding purposes. The law required that each *Obshtina* take charge of its own breeding animals. There was supposed to be a local breeding association, but the mayor was the only member. A fund was being collected for a village barn. Meanwhile, the animals were boarded out to various peasants who received a fixed sum. Improvement of livestock was more easily managed through the control of male animals, which were inspected each spring. Those of bad quality were castrated (the veterinary's fees for this work being the following: pig, 10 leva; donkey, 20 leva; horse, 40 leva). If the animal died, the State paid for the loss. I happened to visit the village at the time the veterinary doctor was making his inspection of horses. Before he could begin his thorough examination, the representative of the *Obshtina* looked over the bills of sale to be sure each man had his own horses. This bill of sale cost 3 per cent of the amount exchanged. If the horses had been foaled at the home of the present owners, the men presented certificates of ownership which they had previously obtained from the mayor for fifteen leva. If the doctor found that a horse was ill, a second examination was made two weeks later. If the animal was still sick, State officials bought the horse for a small sum and killed it. A fine ranging from two hundred to five hundred leva was charged if the horses were not brought for the examination. While a national program for home demonstration work had been prepared, Dragalevtsy so far had received few benefits. 232 476

Recreation, like economic life, had been subjected to efforts at organization. The people of Dragalevtsy customarily associated liquor with holidays and leisure time. In the earlier days there was little organized opposition to the use of alcohol, but by 1922 considerable public opinion had been aroused against the *kruchmi.* On January 1, 1922, all the taverns of the village were closed by order of the Village Council, which thought that the drink shops were a social evil. The village was very much stirred up, most of the men siding with the tavern keepers and the women with the Village Council. The tavern 273 733

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to a position of importance they answered: "We should choose a new executive committee, put the library in order, lend out the books, have more evening entertainments. To do this we should get in touch with people in Sofia." 575 829

Part of the trouble arose from disagreement among the officers. In the words of one member, "An organization cannot get ahead with that sort of business." But even more of the trouble went back to the fact that the organizers had not convinced the villagers of the importance of the group. Meanwhile, most peasants looked upon it as an importation of interest only to the intelligentsia and their hangers-on.

The experiences of the *Chitalishte* and other organizations in Dragalevtsy revealed that the peasants were not organization-minded. Even if we included the governmental groups to be discussed in the next chapter, we would find that less than ten women in the village belonged to any formal group, and only 107 of the 510 men over twenty years of age had an organizational membership. Where people's homes were so conveniently located one would expect greater participation on the part of the men, at least. But almost four-fifths of them avoided any organizational affiliation, largely because they were not accustomed to using an organization to do what they thought needed to be done. One of the most frequent reasons for failure to join was this: "Why should I pay the fees charged when I would get nothing in return?" 575

In this world of competing *isms* Dragalevtsy represented in 1937 a modification of familism, the oldest and most widespread way of life we know, perpetuated by agricultural villages all over the world. But familism was slowly losing out. In some quarters of the world the commercialism of a capitalistic system was supplanting the older values with money values; in other quarters the collectivism of a communist society was shaking the economic foundations of the large family group. 178 596

As far as Dragalevtsy was concerned, commercialism was in its infancy. Back in 1937 communism might have seemed to the outsider to have a hold on this village as well as on others in Bulgaria

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because of the old affection the Bulgarian peasants had felt for the Russians since the days when the Tsar Alexander II of Russia helped free Bulgaria from Turkish control. Contemporary Russia also was making its appeal through Bulgarian communists who had taken the agrarian, or "rights-for-peasants," aspect of the modern Russian system and expounded it to the peasants as communism. Although it was doubtful whether the Dragalevtsy peasant had any clear idea of collectivism, it was certain that he would have been completely bewildered by the idea of giving up his cherished holdings to the state.

Dragalevtsy, therefore, was something of an anachronism, for the familistic system still had a firm grip on many of the adults. Their ideas had been set a generation ago by parents who subscribed unquestioningly to the familistic way of life. The young people, on the other hand, were receptive to other values and other standards and were ready to look more and more to the "people of the world" for guidance and leadership.

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CHAPTER IX

THE NATIONAL STATE AS INTRUDER AND REFORMER

In Dragalevtsy, as in agricultural villages throughout the world, the national state was building up a loyalty in competition with the unquestioned loyalty people used to give to their family group and their community. The spread of the government-sponsored school, though its scientific teachings were elementary, weakened the hold of the formalistic, institutionalized religion which went along with a familistic society. Because of the school there was increased conflict between the older and younger generations. 178 656

Not only in time of war but also in time of peace the national government had been calling its young men to leave their plows and their cattle to take up pick or rifle. The *trudovatsi* handled the picks, and those in military training the rifles. 466 656 702

After the first World War Bulgaria initiated an ambitious program of compulsory labor as a substitute for military training, formerly required. The original plan called for service from both young men and young women. Recruiting of women later ceased for they proved unsuited to the system. The young men of the country were enrolled in labor camps where they performed their *trudova* (compulsory labor). Each young *trudovak* was required to serve eight months, though for two thousand leva, or less than $25, he could buy himself off at the end of six months. Some young men paid a total ranging from 9,000 leva to 32,000 leva, according to their economic status, to be entirely exempted from service.

The *trudovatsi* built many highways and bridges, and worked without pay in government shops, factories, and lumber plants. Their achievements were significant although much of this potential man power was unused or misused because of the lack of sufficient engineers to give proper direction to the work.

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659 794 a year, the priest asked the board members to assemble at the church, minutes were kept, and no outsiders attended. The government's influence was further felt during the period 1934-1937, when all political elections were suspended, and with these all church board elections too. No one was eligible to vote.

659 869 771 As the national school and church authorities had not been satisfied with the type of religious training that the children had been getting in the average peasant home, they had set up in each village an organization called "The Association for the Orthodox Christianization of Bulgarian Youth." In general, the work of the group consisted in teaching the school children the significance of the iconostas, church ceremonies, and other related matters. School hours were used, and attendance was compulsory. The school director, who had been asked by the Archbishop in Sofia to conduct the work of the association in co-operation with the priest, said that they had had about twenty-five meetings during the year. Parents and others who were interested attended these meetings. This was one activity which the peasants had accepted quite willingly because, as one woman said, "the children are kept off the streets when there is a group gathering, and thus do not learn so many bad things." This was the woman's way of berating parents for failing to take better care of their children. But fundamentally the acceptance was based upon the traditional recognition of the church's importance. In the past, whatever had bolstered up the established church had bolstered up the familistic system.

178 181 596 Such a barrage from the batteries of commerce, government, and education[1] had left the familistic way of life in Dragalevtsy battered but not crumbling. The peasants were still amused at the intense activity of the intelligentsia; the few who were asked to confer with the authorities enjoyed reporting back to their families and friends just what they said and did. The people co-operated in the campaigns for this-and-that only when they knew that the mayor would send the policeman along if they did not co-operate. They attended lectures when ordered to do so, but they joined few of the organizations planned outside. Perhaps the best indication that this beehive of governmental activity was still on the surface was the failure of the peasants to seek advice from the intelligentsia who were supposedly there to help

1 [For a detailed account, see category 114, pp. 161-176 -- Analyst]

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them. An exceptional peasant did; but the vast majority kept an eye upon what was going on without becoming involved in any newly initiated affairs.

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Just the same, changes were in the making. Year after year, within given limits, people would be content to do what the authorities told them to do. This was because their family life, with its emphasis upon obedience and respect, had made them docile. If the commands proved too disruptive, however, or took away the things they counted most dear, their family and their land, they resisted.

But the peasants were little interested in fighting for political rights; these were individualistic and not in keeping with familism, which emphasized the welfare of the group rather than the rights of the individual. They did not yet want to have a hand in what went on in Sofia, in Berlin, or Washington. They still were village oriented. To be sure, war affected them, as did the price of grain, but in much the same fatalistic way that a heat wave or a cold snap would. They did not yet feel that they, and millions like them throughout Bulgaria, had the power to control many things affecting their daily life. Some of their fellow villagers in other parts of Bulgaria were alive to this fact, but Dragalevtsy was still politically illiterate.

The leaders in the village were aware of their lack of success. Some of them were disappointed in the peasants for not accepting at face value the words of wisdom they proffered so freely; others cautioned patience. They said, "We can't change things overnight. We will work with the children in the school. Our future lies with them." And they were right. But it was clear that the future they anticipated would be much more distant if the leaders continued to force upon the peasants a way of life imported from "the people of the outside world." Their quickest success lay in evaluating the familistic society that existed, in deciding what should be retained, and what changes should be made. The next step would be to discover by what means, already in use in the village, these changes could be effected. Then, above all, the leaders should have sought to persuade the peasants to help themselves. The governmental paternalism at work in Dragalevtsy created as many local problems as it solved.

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The conflict was on, then, between the old and the new, between familism and the forces from the "people of the outside world." It was a stirring struggle when viewed in terms of people I had come to know and respect. It became a significant struggle when I remembered that Dragalevtsy was only one village out of hundreds of thousands where the conflict was even then being dramatically staged.

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The new way of life that emerges may be more democratic or it may be the basis for additional authoritarian states. Democracy can be assured only if its representatives, who introduce the new, have an insight into the peasants' way of life, a sympathy that is so genuine that it can be quickly sensed by untutored folk, and a skill that can weave into the fabric of the past the strands of the present, in keeping with a sensible pattern for the future.

DEPARTURE—AUGUST, 1937

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THE VILLAGE seemed unusually peaceful on that August day in 1937 when I made the rounds to tell my friends in Dragalevtsy goodbye. Many wanted to know how long the trip to America would take, others asked about my future plans. The majority said, *"do vizhdane"* ("till we meet again"), but several of the older people, who had patiently endured many hours of interviews in the previous months, sensed that their "time" would come before I set foot in Dragalevtsy again. They used the other form of leave-taking—*"sbogom"* ("God be with you"), and also asked God's blessing upon my trip. The mayor told me how much he had enjoyed having me study his village, the priest asked me not to forget my many friends, and Bai Penko took great delight in showing off his new grandson whom I had never seen.

The weather was hot. Few people moved through the Square and only occasionally did a wagon creak down the streets to the fields below the village. Even the flies, usually so troublesome, seemed languid. The dogs slept. Vitosha had lost its cap of snow. Storks

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648 "We would have starved," he said, "if America had not sent that ship of food to Varna on the Black Sea." Truly such an accomplishment by one ship would necessitate a cargo legendary in size, but nevertheless symbolized to Bai Milush and others of his generation the humanitarian America, the land of plenty, opportunity, and democracy. And then he told me of the work that Dominic Murphy, an American State Department representative in Bulgaria, had done in the wake of the last war to meet the relief needs of the people. And even Bai Milush knew that a street in Sofia bore Murphy's name transliterated into the Cyrillic alphabet.

000 Bai Milush's wife, his helpmate through the years, had survived the war too. She proffered food and drink and seemed relieved when I suggested that instead of eating then I would like to take a little of the cheese away with me to use in rounding out my meager hotel breakfasts in Sofia. Later, when I was photographing her outside, I realized that she was unsteady on her feet because she had taken too much *rakiya* as a medicine for a racking cough. *Rakiya* remained the cure-all for every ailment as well as the solace to every sorrow.

178 362 511 Wherever I turned, whether to look at the new houses Bai Milush had erected, or to talk with the peasants about the past few years, I was impressed by the prosperity that the war had brought. Since I had last seen Dragalevtsy, almost one hundred n[illegible]es had made their appearance, constituting a decided boom f[illegible]llage which had boasted only three hundred earlier. Some of these houses had been built as villas by people from Sofia because the city law prohibited any new construction there. The various bombardments had caused so much destruction in the city that nothing but repairs were allowed. Nevertheless, the peasants of Dragalevtsy themselves were replacing old homes with new ones simply because they could afford it now.

178 465 511 I had already learned that during the war the peasants had been the favored element of the Bulgarian population; they had been paid good prices as incentives to increased production; earlier in the war they could use that money to buy articles which they had always wanted but had not been able to afford. For example, the number of radios in the village rose from three or four in 1937 to more than a hundred in 1944.

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But peasant prosperity, especially in a village so close to Sofia, was also based on black-market activities. Even in 1945 economists estimated that about ninety-five per cent of all dairy products reached the urban consumer through the black market at prices fantastically high. The peasants, moreover, had learned new ways of circumventing government requisitioning during the war. Just after harvesting, while rye and wheat crops were still in the field, they would shake from one-fifth to one-fourth of the grain onto blankets and secretly hide this amount from the Germans. Then they would, as the law decreed, take the sheaves to the village to be threshed. A part of this threshed grain, varying in amount each year with the size of the harvest, had to be turned over to the authorities at prices fixed by the government, but the previously sequestered grain could be used at home or disposed of at black market prices. 178 437

One additional economic factor of importance[1] was the rise in land values, which surpassed the general rise in prices. For instance, I had not been in the village long before I learned how valuable was the land on the right as one approached the village from Sofia. Within two years the land had gone up ten times, from 35 leva per square meter to 300-400 leva. No wonder then that peasants had been ridding themselves of their debts, selling a field or two if necessary to put them in the clear. Some of the poorer families had been deriving extra income from the earnings of about twenty teen-aged girls who went daily to Sofia to work in the knitting mill. This was a concession to industrialism which the Dragalevtsy peasants would not have made back in 1937, and it was already having some effect upon village life. 178 423

But perhaps one of the greatest economic changes was the reversal of the trend toward dairying mentioned in earlier chapters. Shortly after my departure from Dragalevtsy, a milk producers' co-operative had been established in the village, largely through government prompting and support, and collected all of the milk formerly taken to Sofia by the individual milkmen. The co-operative also ran a grocery store and sold large quantities of feed to the farmers. Owing to price policies of the co-operative and the government price-fixing agency, the peasants began to consider dairying unprofitable. They 178 234 [474]

1 [Following World War II -- Analyst]

178 234 began to compare the cost of feed with their income from milk and realized that they were losing money. As the war progressed the government bought more and more forage for military animals, feed costs went up, and dairying profits went down. Once this fact became evident and was noised throughout the village there was almost a wholesale withdrawal from dairying. Whereas three or four years before 1,300-1,400 kilos of milk were sold daily, by 1945 only 40 kilos were sold. The 1945 situation was aggravated by the excessively dry season and the reduced yield per cow from 15 liters daily down to 4 or 5. In other words, the number of cows fell off by as much as 90 per cent owing to the low prices of milk and feed difficulties. The peasants liked to mention the fact that *boza,* a fermented millet-seed drink which tastes like sour, liquefied chicken feed, sold for 40 leva a kilo and milk for only 22 leva.

178 233 The loss in dairying, temporary though it may prove to be, meant a corresponding gain in sheep-raising, with 1945 estimates of sheep numbers varying from 12,000 to 15,000. Sheep had also become popular because of the wool they made available for garments in the days of clothing shortage during and following the war. A return to sheep had created interesting social problems connected with pasturing. The sheepmen wanted to go back to the days when sheep could graze freely on uncultivated land, but many of the peasants wanted to keep pasturelands for their own use rather than common use.

178 593 As I talked to the peasants and heard the concerns expressed by the parents and the aspirations voiced by the young, I began to realize that the family trends already under way in 1937 had progressed further than I would have anticipated. Parents, although very much interested, had less to say about the choice of mates for their sons and daughters. Some of them were quite skillful in making use of relatives to advise the young people in choices which the older members of the family group considered wise.

583 178 593 Brides were still stolen but, contrary to the case in former years, the girl could return home immediately if dissatisfied with the man desiring to become her husband. Shortly before I visited the village a young man had "captured" the girl of his choice and taken her to his father's home. When the girl's parents came to ask whether she chose

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to return or remain, the girl decided to go back to her parents. In 1937 this would have made her ineligible, in a sense, for further consideration as a wife. Now she simply explained that when the boy had asked her in advance if she would marry him she had thought that he was joking and told him "Yes," in what she considered to be a jesting manner. She was greatly surprised two weeks later to find that the boy had been serious. The whole affair turned out happily in the end because within another two weeks the young man had found a willing girl, had become engaged to her, and married her. [583] 178 593

Another evidence that the family system was having to change to meet the stress of new times was the lack of social disapproval shown to widows and widowers who married persons previously unmarried. Heretofore, only widows and widowers could marry each other, and this was chiefly because of economic necessity. Although not yet common, it was a growing practice for a widower to take a fancy to a girl whom he later married. The age of marriage was becoming lower, dropping to 18 and 19 years for many of the couples. The engagement period still lasted only one or two weeks, a time sufficient to allow the girl to make her wedding preparations. [587]

Accompanying these changes was a greater freedom among the young people both in relation to each other and in relation to their parents. The *sedenki* for young people followed practically the same patterns which I had previously observed but had not yet popularized the kissing games which featured *sedenki* in northern Bulgaria. Clandestine love-making was increasing as was the tendency on the part of the young people to pair off. [883]

The changed relationship of sons to their fathers was shown by the failure of many of the sons to turn over their earnings to their parents as part of the common family treasury. Formerly more than half of the young men had followed this practice, but estimates in 1945 placed the number at approximately one out of ten.

Of especial interest was the pattern which younger couples were establishing after marriage. Whereas, ten years ago even the young wife would have given implicit obedience to her husband's orders, today many of the families were becoming equalitarian. The older women, however, still clung to the patriarchal pattern, though they [562]

[i.e. in 1945 -- Analyst]

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[562] were willing to grant that the changes introduced by the young people
178 were a part of the times and might not be so bad after all. In talking
593 to these older women I noted a touch of envy, which I would not have suspected ten years ago.

In contrast to these changes many phases of the family system remained the same. These included the attitude of intolerance towards a childless couple, the role of the mother-in-law in the caring for infants, the parents' preference for boys, the reserve between father and the children, the continued dwelling of many married sons with their fathers, and the importance attached to being an older brother or sister in the family. The godparent relationship and the attitude towards the *svatovstvo* (in-law relationships) were still of major importance.

[848] The moral standards remained relatively rigid, with continuing intolerance toward illegitimacy. The one such case within the past ten years[1] had caused a great amount of unfavorable comment. The mother resolved her predicament by leaving her child with relatives in the village and marrying in another place.

178 Many other traditional practices besides those related to the
183 family still maintained their strong grip on the people. The Christmas Horo took place as always and the Sunday afternoon promenade had become more firmly established. The *babi* (older women) were called in whenever illness or childbirth occurred. The smaller families, of course, numbered fewer children these days, but the *babi* were kept just as busy since the state-employed midwife no longer worked for the Obshtina. The dead were buried much the same as formerly, although the priest forbade people to cry messages to the dead while the funeral procession paused at the crossroads on the way from the home to the church.

[527] The people still made much of the mice and wolf holidays. One day after St. Dimiter's Day (November 9) the peasants continued to fast to keep the mice from coming in and eating up not only stored food but even clothes and other prized possessions. Bai Yurdan, the tailor, told me in all seriousness, "When I was in Sofia I didn't observe such holidays but now that I am back in the village I must."

1 [ie. 1935 - 1945 -- Analyst]

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When I pressed him for his reasons, fully expecting him to say that he was yielding to the pressure of his wife or public opinion, he gravely replied: 527 178 183

"You see in Sofia I did not own any of my own cloth but now I have a great deal downstairs which I must protect from the mice." I might mention in passing that Bai Yurdan had become a faithful member of the Communist party.

The wolf holidays were still observed for three days following the Day of the Archangel Michael, which comes on November 21. During these days the peasants were careful to do no work and refused to cook or boil anything. Such rigid observances, they believed, protected their sheep from wolves, which were still numerous upon the mountain.

One event of overshadowing importance in the changes which had occurred in Dragalevtsy since 1937 had been its incorporation in Greater Sofia in 1939. Even though their village was close to Sofia, Dragalevtsy people had always considered themselves quite apart, and looked upon Sofia ways as alien ways. However, Sofia politicians managed to bring the village under the sway of the city's municipality. Most villagers considered this an evil day in the history of their community and could cite a number of disadvantages which had occurred as a result. One of the village officials, whom I had known previously, complained particularly about the following points: 369 178 186

1. The city municipality had taken over the forests.

2. It had taken over the meadows which the peasants owned in common. For instance, the villagers no longer did the haying in the meadows which used to belong to the school because all of the revenue from the sale of this hay went to the Sofia School Fund. This meant that the three Dog Days,[1] described in an earlier chapter, were once more days of idleness.

3. Formerly the Dragalevtsy Obshtina collected seven or eight million leva in taxes, but since incorporation with Sofia had only a budget of one million on which to operate. My informant failed to mention that much of this money came from the factory district down on the Sofia plain which had once, much to the dissatisfaction of the [651]

[1] [cf. p. 58, category III -- Analyst]

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[651] people living in the district, been a part of the village Obshtina. This
178 area had always been referred to by the villagers as the Mahala, or
369 Quarter.

4. Repairs in the village, such as putting a wooden bridge back into commission after a heavy storm, could be made only after the Sofia authorities gave their approval. Thus, maintenance of roads and other services in the village were said to suffer.

[759] 5. No longer did the village have its own doctor, and it had even lost, so the villagers said, all the medical equipment including microscopes and blood-testing units which the village Obshtina had once owned. Instead, a doctor came at irregular intervals to render whatever medical services were required. This loss of medical equipment, even more than the loss of the physician's services, was a hard pill for some of the more active village leaders to swallow.

6. In place of the veterinarian, who formerly lived in the village, one came twice a week to examine animals and to see that the various veterinary regulations were observed.

But whether they liked it or not, the Dragalevtsy people were a part of Sofia, even to the extent of being included in the city's wartime rationing system. The old rural-urban differences persisted, reminding Americans of similar situations in the United States where the businessman's daylight saving time was anathema to the farmer.

159 As I tried to reconstruct the chief occurrences of the years in-
565 tervening between my departure in 1937 and the end of the war, I inquired often as to the whereabouts of some members of the intelligentsia whom I had known well. I learned that the mayor, who had been so helpful during my earlier visit, had given up his post during the days of German collaboration. Apparently he had disagreed with the local committee as to procedures and amounts of grain to be requisitioned from the peasants. He had already been suffering from ill health and could no longer stand the pressure of troubles, arguments, and dissatisfactions which each day brought to his office. From Dragalevtsy my mayor friend had been transferred to the picturesque village of Panchevo, which I shall long remember because of the lunch I had there one summer's day many years ago.

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A friend and I had been cycling on the road which followed the Iskar River and stopped at a Panchevo inn. The waiter brought us white peasant cheese, wrinkled brined olives, and freshly made bread to which warm ashes clung. Cold beer made a perfect drink.

The village priest, who had become such an integral part of village life and managed to keep harmonious relationships between the church and the state functionaries, was no longer in Dragalevtsy. Three years ago he had become involved in an administrative argument with his superior and was told to transfer to a much less desirable parish. Rather than make this shift he went to live in Sofia where, true to his training in finance and commerce, he had a share in a small business enterprise. He still wore his priestly garb, occasionally officiating in a Sofia church. Someone described him as "a minister without portfolio."

The directress of the school was the only member of the intelligentsia who had stuck to her post through thick and thin. She still took the same interest in the all-around development of the children, emphasizing in particular their hygienic training and their religious tuition. There had been considerable shifting in the membership of her teaching staff, but she still had five teachers who, like their predecessors, were more interested in Sofia week ends than village welfare.

The Sekretar Birnik, who had much to do with the collection of taxes and thus enjoyed a social standing out of line with his educational preparation, had also left Dragalevtsy and had been replaced by a local person.

It seemed strange to visit the now completed municipal building and to find the woman doctor no longer there and to notice the absence of her husband from the taverns where he had enjoyed playing cards. Since both were White Russians they knew that their lot under the Communists would be full of uncertainty. No one seemed to know just where they had gone.

Much had been happening to the village organizations as the intelligentsia faded from the scene or were replaced by others with different points of view. The Red Cross, in which the mayor had

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575 taken such an interest, had long ceased to have any importance. This
178 was also true of the Union for Protection of Children, which had had as its chief function the provision of school lunches for the poor children. The Association for the Decoration for Valor was still tottering along, and its members hoped eventually to enroll three or four members who had participated in the recent war. The School Board had become a thing of the past as the control of the school passed into the hands of the Sofia School System. The Church Board, however, was maintaining its existence and was giving its support to a new organization called the Christian Union which had been founded during the Fascist regime as a religious welfare organization. Before the coming of the Russians this Christian Union had collected and distributed to the poor families at Christmas time and the New Year an amount varying from sixty to seventy thousand leva. In 1945 it boasted about seventy-five members and was flourishing.

For the most part, however, the village organizations died at birth or perished in early infancy, as an earlier chapter showed. The
[596] Dragalevtsy peasant had not yet become a joiner.[1] He gained his social status by the position his family held rather than by the numbers and types of organizations to which he, as an individual, was elected

183 Such, then, was the prelude to Communism. The coming of the
178 National State to the village back in 1934 set a pattern by which each peasant household was later on closely geared in with a totalitarian wartime economy. The majority of traditions were holding firm among the middle-aged and old, while many of the younger people no longer disguised their interest in the fascinating ways of the West. The net effect of the war was to commercialize more fully the village's economic life and make the peasants more money-conscious. Their incorporation into the Sofia municipality as well as the Fascist nature of their state made them feel less responsible as individuals for governmental affairs and drew them farther away from the democratic Slavic tradition inherent in their old joint family system. Religion continued to be accepted as a matter of course, for no one questioned the propriety of having a priest officiate on ceremonial or patriotic occasions.

[1] [As of 1945--Analyst]

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The peasants became more nationalistic, since they knew that their own fortunes were closely identified with the fortune of the Bulgarian (that is, Axis) armies. Their social world expanded, and their horizons broadened in a dim, vague way. As defeat stared them in the face, however, they watched their leaders try to extricate the nation from its inevitable doom. A beaten, humiliated people, they knew not where to turn, until Russia made that decision for them.

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622 to qualify for governmental retirement benefits and his former sup-
668 porters were now a part of the opposition. Sofia, too, had a new mayor. It seemed to the village dignitary that all of his trouble was becoming a labor of love for which he would receive little financial return. Upon last report he was seeking a way out of office and was subject to a great deal of jesting in the taverns. The men all laughed one day in December, 1945, when a visitor from Sofia addressed him as "Mr. Mayor," because nobody knew at that time whether he was the mayor or not.

An office more important, however, than that of the mayor was that of the Commune Secretary. In Dragalevtsy this man was a Communist and, although he did not take the public limelight as much as a regular mayor would, he was the key person in the local government. Communist party matters frequently cleared through him, and he was in position to inform higher authorities about all phases of village government. Whereas the mayor's allegiance was primarily to the people of Dragalevtsy and secondarily to the Agrarian party, a luncheon conversation with the Secretary showed me that his loyalty was first of all to his party. Through serving it he felt he was best serving the people.

668 Part of the secret of Communist control in the local community
575 lay in the success which the Communists had in enlisting the aid of
883 many of the young people. In a traditionalistic society, such as one
178 finds in Dragalevtsy, young people have no place of importance. Prestige is reserved for the old; and wisdom is the prerogative of the aged. Therefore a young person is constantly being urged to conform; and whatever idealism may flare up within him in his late teens becomes dissipated in the face of his placid parents and the other apostles of the past. The Communists showed real insight, therefore, in their glorification of the young people, in giving them a place in the sun, as it were. One of the first things they did was to get control of the *Chitalishte,* or Reading-Room Association, and use that as the core for their young people's program. In the house just back of the *Obshtina* they set up clubrooms where members of the *RMS* (Workers Youth Union) could hold meetings, study up on party doctrines, or loaf. The members of this particular organization, although not

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representing the majority of the young people, had an increasing voice in village affairs and were aggressive in their approach to practical problems. Part of this aggressiveness was directed against the young people at that time still active in the *ZMS* (Agrarian Youth Society), which was a part of the opposition.

Another means by which the Communists gained support was in the favoritism shown to party members in the distribution of rationed articles. Just as the ward boss of an American city or the prewar mayor of Dragalevtsy learned that gratitude prompts support or that favors done call for favors in return, so the Fatherland Front made good use of its opportunities. Some of its generosity served purely political ends. The mayor of Sofia, so the Dragalevtsy peasants said, gave one million leva at Christmas time to the *Septemvriche,* or National Children's Communist Organization. Opposition groups, of course, received no such largesse.

But many of the criticisms of pork-barrel politics were due to misunderstanding. The peasants of Dragalevtsy could usually procure no clothing coupons if they had wool at home, and most of them did have a small supply which they were allowed to keep. This amount was based on family size and any surplus was requisitioned by the government. Artisans and laborers, however, who had no sheep, who worked in factories or at their trade, received the clothing coupons, for that was the only way they had of obtaining wearing apparel. Wool and cotton, thread, and goods were still so scarce in both villages and cities that no one group was content with what it had, and peasants were inclined to ascribe whatever others received as due to favoritism rather than the merits of the case. The proof that wool was scarce was the relative inactivity of the carding and spinning *sedenki,* the working bees so popular among the women.

"Why don't you have *sedenki* now," I asked.

"We have no wool to work," was the plausible answer.

Communist party members who used their political standing for self-aggrandizement and enrichment were supposed to be severely dealt with by the party authorities. One story making the rounds in Dragalevtsy had done much to discredit the Communists with those in the opposition. Since living in a Balkan village is a great deal like

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be justified in their opinion. They argued further that all social change was costly, and they firmly believed that the time was ripe for change, their kind of a change.

Many of them felt confident of the future, but some qualified their anticipation by saying, "It all depends upon America and England. If we are left alone, we can work matters out. We want no interference." And as I reviewed the methods by which they attained their present dominant position nationally in the face of hostile opinion in many quarters, I could see that if left alone for a long enough period, they would succeed in instituting the changes they wanted, whatever might be the cost. They controlled the national government and could rely upon Russia for help whenever needed; they were making headway with the young people; they increasingly directed the chief decisions made by village councils and through these councils and secret police knew what was happening throughout the land; they had control over the radio and were biding their time until they could also control the press completely; education was a function of the national government; economic dependence of the peasants upon the local and national authorities was increasing, and there were both tangible and intangible rewards for Communist party membership; fears could be aroused or played down as the government desired, and courts had become not the servant of abstract justice but the instrument of the state.

The time element was of utmost importance. Before the Russian armies left Bulgarian soil upon the conclusion of the peace treaty, the Communists had to have everything well in hand or face the possibility that dissatisfied cliques in the old Bulgarian army could step in to throw the Communists out and set up a military dictatorship which, while anti-Russian, would certainly have few of the earmarks of the democracy known in the West. It would be a recrudescense of irredentist nationalism, and Bulgaria would be on sale to the highest bidder promising to keep the Russian bear at bay. Without the army the Agrarians, who had a realistic, well-thought-out program, would be powerless; but reliance upon the army for a long period would negate most of their plans and make them the bulwark of a dictatorship which they professed to abhor. Such was the unfortunate dilemma

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668 confronting anyone seeking a rational solution to the Balkan impasse back in 1945.

178 578 My visits to Dragalevtsy, however, were not for the purpose of involving myself in the weighty matters of Balkan politics. I simply wanted to see how the village had changed, but soon found that an understanding of political events was necessary to an interpretation of the present situation. This became further apparent when I discovered that the three most significant differences between 1937 and 1945 were heightened factionalism, an increased feeling of insecurity, and a shifting of the relative importance of village institutions. Each of these deserves further explanation.

668 178 578 The coming of Communism had fostered factionalism to a degree never before experienced in Dragalevtsy. That, in fact, was its chief sociological effect. During the times when political parties were flourishing with abandon in the late 1920's and early 1930's the competition between party members was more a recreational pursuit than serious political maneuvering. All parties had had considerable backing from their respective leaders in Sofia, and all to that extent were on a similar footing. With the coming of the Germans some villagers ardently supported Nazi ideology and considered Bulgaria fortunate to be allied with the Axis powers; others had their misgivings, but never to the point of splitting up the village on factional lines. Upon the formation of the opposition in 1945, matters were different. No longer was the political competition an internal affair alone, but was one in which outside powers took an active interest. The Communists openly boasted about the might of Russia and spoke with assurance of Russian support; those in the opposition took what comfort they could from British and American actions and speeches but could not claim unqualified aid.

The splitting up of the village into Communists and non-Communists had therefore caused a tear in the total social fabric. For example, children who belonged to the Fatherland Front organization —the *Septemvriche*—received many small favors from the state. Little *Septemvristi* were sent to conferences within Bulgaria and even to Yugoslavia where they performed for their neighbor Slavs. Children who did not belong because their parents disapproved were taunted

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by the others. They answered back, repeating many of the comments heard around the house, comments definitely unfavorable to Communism and its cause. So the bickering reached into the schoolhouse and the playground, and children early became conscious of political differences not of their own making. 668 178 578

With the young people, as already indicated, the division on the basis of political sympathy was even more marked. The Agrarian young people tended to associate with each other, and watched with dismay the active role that the members of the Communist youth group were playing in village life. Some enamoured couples, where each had differing political loyalties, disregarded political barriers in their devotion to each other, but when broaching the question of marriage to the parents often met stern disapproval. A girl's father would say, "I don't want my daughter marrying a Communist" or "You do what you want, but if you marry a Communist never come back to my house."

The controversy over politics extended also to the various "working groups" which had been such a basic part of village life in the past. A woman who was organizing a corn-hoeing group would invite only those whose political interests were similar. She knew that little work would be done in her fields if she got together women who differed over the present government.

At this stage of accommodation, therefore, factionalism was based on political differences and expressed itself in a separatism which seriously affected village life. People who differed politically simply stayed apart; where they had to mingle, such as on a bus, they made the best of it by teasing and horseplay which seemed to be all in fun but which often gave voice to deeply rooted emotions.

Accompanying the disagreements within the agricultural group itself were disagreements between the Agrarians and the artisans. The peasants of the opposition resented intensely the attempt on the part of the government[1] to classify them with "workers," or men who owned little or no land and who depended entirely upon some skill for a livelihood. The peasant in the past had felt superior, or at least claimed to be more favored in social position than the artisan such as the tailor, although envious of the "easy work" that the tailor had to 668 578 554 178

1. [The Communist government in 1945 -- Analyst]

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668 do. Owing to the Communistic agitation in Dragalevtsy, lines were
578 more sharply drawn between the peasants on the one hand and the
554 artisans on the other. Most of the artisans had learned their trade in
178 Sofia, had been subjected to city influences, and many of them had
become acquainted with Communist ideas there before the war. Even Bai Milosh, the village patriarch so frequently mentioned in this account, had a son who had become an ardent Communist. This son was not the one who took over the management of field crops, nor the one responsible for the livestock. Instead he had become a cobbler. He thought of himself as a worker, whereas his brothers thought of themselves as farmers.

668 Quarreling between the young and old also characterized the
578 factionalism. Although the Agrarian young people opposed the
178 Communists, they were certainly influenced by the actions of their
[888] more progressive or radical contemporaries. The older peasants who were opposed to the present regime emphasized time and time again the danger of having young people run the affairs of the land. This displacement of the aged rather than the indifference of Communists to God seemed to be causing the gravest concern to those who had been steeped in the traditional way of life.

But factionalism was not the only pronounced change which I
668 noted. I found everywhere an insecurity which was foreign to the
178 Dragalevtsy I had once known. The opposition supporters could be
626 expected to feel insecure, for they had to face the possibility that Communism would carry the day. But even the Communists who were definitely in the good graces of the party were having many troubled moments. The wife of one Communist was active in the opposition, and when I asked him why he tolerated such political division in his family he simply laughed. I continued to question him: "Aren't you the boss in this family? Why do you let your wife have such independence?"

He then became deadly serious and sought to lead me out of my cloud of ignorance. "You see, it's this way. Suppose the Communists are overthrown. Where would I be then? But if my wife is active in the Agrarian group, she can then speak for me and get me out of trouble."

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But some of the peasants who turned Communists were having 668
their days of religious doubt. They asked quite frequently, "Can we 178
be Communists and still believe in God?" They voluntarily sent 626
their children to the priest's class in religion held in the schoolhouse. "And the Communist children know their lessons better than the children of the opposition," was the opinion of a member of the intelligentsia.

The ideas of many new converts to the Marxist doctrine had been [789]
rudely shaken the previous summer at the time of the church processional for rain. The drought had been devastating. Corn was drying up; pastures were turning brown. So a band of villagers, with some Communists who went along for old times' sake, accompanied the priest on a circuit of the fields. The boys carried the church relics and the priest walked faithfully along in his hot, black vestments. No rain came and the Communists thoroughly enjoyed scoffing at those who had started out with such bright hopes. Conditions grew worse and worse, so the religious leaders thought another processional in order. The whole performance was repeated, with Communists along again. This time the priest went up high on the mountainside, so as to include village properties not previously visited. His prayers were efficacious, for a shower which later turned to steady rain burst forth upon the band of villagers, wetting them to the skin before they could return to shelter in the village. The religious people thus had the last word when atheism was discussed.

The prevalent feeling of insecurity included more, however, than 668
beliefs and basic attitudes about religion and politics. It stemmed 178
also from the economic uncertainty which characterized the period. 626
Always lurking in the peasant's consciousness was the fear that his 423
holding, his precious acres, would be collectivized as was done in 829
Russia. It mattered not to him that his farming was inefficiently done or that such inefficiency was no solution for the overpopulation which characterized his land. He wanted no part of a great impersonal *kolkhoz* where in the long run he would become a worker instead of an owner, or where he would work land which he could not call his own. That to him was serfdom; it was not freedom. And discussions of these topics trailed off into many beside-the-point objections, which

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668 nevertheless seemed important to the peasant. I recall one such
178 discussion which dealt with the idea of a shortened work-week at the
626 factories. The peasants disapproved of the whole plan and used it
429 as a basis for condemning land collectivization because "We want to
829 be able to work as long as we want without having people tell us that we have to stop working."

Peasants were greatly confused, therefore, over the farm policies to be pursued in the next two or three years. They planned and schemed and talked endlessly about what they should plant, what they should do about their debts, or whether the aged fathers should distribute their land to their sons before they died. But always there was the great unknown of government policy which upset their calculations and kept them insecure.

668 Another important social change was occuring in the institutional
178 pattern of Dragalevtsy. In earlier chapters we noted how the en-
596 croachment of the state was making considerable impact upon the traditional familistic patterns, while economic life was becoming more commercialized and religious activities were declining in importance. The coming of the Communists had begun to weaken the family ties even further, for the Fatherland Front had given votes to all women and had thus attacked the dogma of male supremacy; it had honored the young at the expense of the aged; and it had turned brother against brother as the struggle for control grew more bitter. As the representative of the central government, the Fatherland Front was affecting an even larger area of life than the prewar regime did, especially when its economic regulations and its threat to the hallowed traditional system of landownership.

668 Another disturbing effect was the substitution of Moscow as
771 the center of the universe, for the Communist adherents at least, when
178 formerly Dragalevtsy or perhaps Sofia by courtesy was thought to be
829 the center. These innovations of the present government had done much to prejudice it in the eyes of the people, who made decisions not upon the basic issues which the government was striving to champion, but resisted blindly and perhaps fanatically simply because the new regime spelled the end of their way of life. As they realized this, some of the peasants turned more and more to the church, the institu-

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tion which had kept Bulgarian nationality alive through the centuries and had become the champion of an independent Bulgaria in days gone by. In Dragalevtsy church attendance had increased and more attention was paid to the forms and ceremonies, although fasting was not gaining any in popularity. Nor were the peasants too trustful of Archbishop Stefan, the politically minded head of their church. But they knew that the church and the family served as mutual supports and that if one suffered the other suffered too. Government which was once tolerated as a necessary evil now had become an active menace to be combated whenever possible. The means of struggling against the government were inadequate, but the peasants had patience and said that they would bide their time. But as they bided their time many of them died and were replaced by men and women who had grown up under the tutelage of the Fatherland Front, who had forgotten about the days of village elders, of large family groups, and no longer reverenced out-of-date superstitions or valued quaintness in contrast to that which was modern.

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A new Dragalevtsy was thus being born. Change was nothing new to the village, but this time changes were occurring so fast that the old way of life could no longer absorb the impact of strange traits and differing social values. The transition period was proving painful for those who still wanted to live in the past. Whether it held promise for those gazing toward the future depended upon the decisions or indecisions of men sitting around conference tables in countries thousands of miles away.

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APPENDIX IV

NEIGHBORHOODS AND NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS IN A BULGARIAN VILLAGE*

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During my first three years in Bulgaria, 1929-1932, I became generally acquainted with its rural life. When I returned to Bulgaria in 1934 for another three-year period I chose for special study one village, Dragalevtsy by name, whose 1,669 inhabitants live in houses clustered near the foot of Mount Vitosha four miles from the outskirts of Sofia. I visited the village on frequent occasions and lived there for weeks at a time. Although my investigations led me to consider many things such as the basic institutions, the formal and informal groupings, customs and folklore, along with the operation of the social processes, social control, and social change, one of the most difficult of the social phenomena for me, an outsider, to understand was the *mahala,* or neighborhood.

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THE MAHALA. Dragalevtsy, like the majority of European agricultural villages, is a compact settlement of farmers whose land lies around the village in strips, numbering approximately 16 per Dragalevtsy farmer. The village is at least four centuries old and has grown but slowly during that time. Until three or four generations ago all life was organized around the patriarchal *zadruga,*[1] or joint-family. The members of such a family owned everything in common and worked in harmony under the administrator or *domakin,* the acknowledged head of the *zadruga.* Although their dwellings were crude and overcrowded each *zadruga* needed a large plot of land around the houses for the flocks of sheep and other animals kept at home during the winter months. With the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkey in 1878 forces were let loose which hastened the break-up of the joint-family system.[2] Brothers moved away from the paternal home into dwellings of their own, these usually being

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* This article appeared in *Social Forces,* XVII, No. 4, May, 1939. Reprinted by permission.

[1] Ivan Evstatiev Geshov, *Zadrugite Vv Zapadna Bulgaria,* Per. Spisanie, God. V. Kn. xix i xx, str. 426, Stredets, 1886.

St. L. Kostov and E. Peteva, *Selski Bit i Izkustvo Vv Sofiisko,* Sofia, 1935, str. 58.

[2] Some of the factors contributing to this break-up: (a) individualization following Bulgaria's liberation in 1878 and the spread of popular education; (b) fashion of small, individual families in the West; (c) disagreement between the wives of brothers living together under the same roof; (d) unwillingness of men working outside the *zadruga,* either as laborers or professional men, to hand over their whole earnings to the common treasury; (e) woman's newly-acquired right of inheritance.

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constructed on a part of the large plot of ground belonging to the dissolving *zadruga*. It therefore happened after a generation or so that six or seven houses whose heads all bore the same family name were located in a particular section of the village. Such clusters of houses in Dragalevtsy were called a *mahala* and often bore the name of the oldest living member of the family such as "Grandfather Grigor's *Mahala*." This usage of the term grew up quite unconsciously on the part of the peasants, and even today they use the term *mahala* without any clear conception of just what they mean by it.

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At first glance it seems that *mahala* means a certain section of the village because it is often referred to in giving directions, but it is more correct to say that the peasant really means "over there in that particular section of the village where all of those related Manchevi live." This means that the *mahala* has both a geographical and kinship nature. On the other hand, if one of the Manchev men should for any reason move to another section of the village, he would still consider himself a Manchev, while admitting that he lived in a different *mahala*, and that the Mancheva *mahala* would not be extended to include him. In other words, the *mahala* is not identical with the term *rodstvo*, which means the large family connections. It applies only to those large family connections living in close proximity plus any other families dwelling among them. And this latter element is becoming of more importance. Today traces of kinship are beginning to vanish because the origins go back too far and because outsiders are slowly moving into Dragalevtsy.

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The *mahala* never acts as a unit about anything, because its geographical character is its predominating aspect. Every villager can give the names of the other homes in his particular *mahala* and can even plot the *mahala* boundaries on a map of the village. But this does not mean that he feels any psychological bond connecting him with each of those homes any more than would the people who live on the same street in a small American town. Yet the very fact that they live near one another means that they will tend to interact more with one another than with people living on the other side of the village. This is why the *mahala* becomes important in a sociological analysis: it locates an individual in a given environmental setting.[3]

[3] Louis Petroff in his article "Peasant Primary Groups in Bulgaria" (*Sociology and Social Research*, 13, p. 557) thinks of the *mahla* (so he transliterates the word) as one of the important primary groups of the Bulgarian village. In his article he does not attempt to explain the origin of the *mahala* but thinks of it rather as "A section of the village separated by a small stream, a hill, a main road or a similar boundary. Or it may be a cluster of houses around a centering place, such as an inn or a store, but most commonly around a water fountain or a well." In Dragalevtsy the *mahala* originated as a kinship group, though the land originally owned by a *zadruga* was doubtless determined largely by geographical factors. The kinship origin is also shown by the fact that all the *mahali* in Dragalevtsy bear family names rather than those based on topographical or economic features.

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CONCLUSION

571 178 The concept "social contact" implies both the possibility of contact as well as psychic interaction.[11] The quantitative measurements of this study deal chiefly with the possibilities which the peasants have or create for social interaction, since these were sufficiently clear-cut for the village officials and peasants to measure. But when it came to the more intangible element of psychic interaction I had to rely on direct personal observation. Therefore, the following conclusions are based in part on statistics and in part upon observation:

369 571 178 1. Proximity to a "city-culture" and frequent trips to the city on the part of the villagers does not necessarily mean psychological contact with that "city-culture." For the most part, the peasant moves in a peasant world even while in the city. It is quite natural for him to attach himself to the familiar.

2. Proximity to the city may in itself be a deterrent to the ready acceptance of "city ways" on the part of the villager, since he constantly confronts fashions, habits, and viewpoints which clash decidedly with his own. This leads me to wonder whether or not "modernization," granting that it is desirable, might not come more quickly through a small, provincial town which is more in keeping with rural thought and life than through direct contact with the city. The hikers who visit Dragalevtsy, although causing dissatisfaction, make the mature peasant more resistant to city influences; these visitors do seem to have an influence upon the young; but it would be hazardous to guess to what degree, because so often the seemingly liberal young people become conservative when they have children of their own.

656 369 571 178 3. Government leaders in their attempt to raise the peasants' standard of living visit the village systematically for lectures and some demonstrations. They seem to be overlooking the fact that thousands of peasants regularly visit the city where, if some Peasant Center could be established, methods of improved living could be interpreted in a favorable light. Some such approach would lessen the peasant's negativism toward the city, a negativism which has been built up as a defense or as a result of genuine disapproval.

4. The statistics relative to the reading matter which comes into the village weekly show how little is being done effectively to influence the peasant by letters, journals, and other publications, although the literacy rate for males over fifteen years is 92.

[11] At first I had in mind the formulation of a contact Index such as Kulp used in his Chinese study, *Familism in South China.* I soon found that the various contacts were of varying intensity, concerned different types of people, and would, therefore, require separate weighting. My methods were not refined enough to make such weightings feasible. Furthermore, aside from the methodological interest, the value of such an index would be limited to the study of other Bulgarian villages in the same cultural setting.

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5. This study of one village can be merely suggestive and does not afford the basis for any sweeping conclusions, but it can serve as a pattern for those who wish to measure the social contacts of villages which are similar in many respects to Dragalevtsy. 000

6. In considering the social contact which the peasants have with the city and its implication for social change, we must not overlook the sheer enjoyment derived by the peasant from the very fact of contact itself, whether it be from the thrill of a new experience or the more intimate association with friends from other villages. Because recreation is not yet commercialized and impersonalized, face-to-face contact is the chief form of amusement. Of course, this need is usually met within the village, but a talk with someone from the outside world does possess a novelty not afforded by everyday association. 369 571 178

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APPENDIX VII

THE FOLK APPROACH IN EXTENSION WORK

A BULGARIAN EXPERIENCE*

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THE INCIDENT. One day in Dragalevtsy, a Bulgarian village of 1,600 people, the mayor's courier went from house to house to inform all expectant mothers of a meeting to be held in the schoolhouse the next afternoon. The public health nurse from Sofia wanted to tell them about prenatal and postnatal care. Attendance, according to the courier, was compulsory. As he made his rounds, comments such as these flowed in his wake: "What does that mayor think he's doing? Making a public spectacle of pregnant women!" "I've already had more babies than that nurse will ever have. She can't tell me anything I don't know." By nightfall the women of the village, after discussing it over the stone fences between the yards, had decided that the expectant mothers should not attend the meeting.

The next afternoon two or three women did appear, women whose families felt under obligation to the mayor and consequently supported all of his programs. The mayor and the nurse were much disappointed, but dared not invoke the compulsory part of the courier's invitation. The nurse went ahead with her demonstration for the faithful few, but even these left the meeting much bewildered and quite disappointed. They told their friends, "We couldn't buy all the stuff she told us to buy, even if we should want to do everything she suggested."

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THE PROBLEM. Incidents similar to this occurred so frequently during my three-year study of that village that I tried to discover what more effective approach could be used to bridge the gap between the scientific and the folk knowledge. The mayor and those assisting him were well-intentioned, but the people never seemed to apply the suggestions that the outside lecturers made. Accordingly, the lecturers became more convinced that the peasants were stupid, and the peasants became more self-satisfied with the ways that they already had. What was supposed to be *extension of the new* really became *extinction of the new* before it had time to take root.

The "uplifters," who frequently used the phrase *izdigane na seloto* or "the raising up of the village," were unnecessarily complicating their task.

* This article appeared in *Journal of Applied Anthropology*, II, No. 4, September, 1943. Used by permission. This also appeared later in *Autonomous Groups Bulletin* as Vol. I, No. 3.

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178 181 Instead of concentrating on the improvement of home-making and the encouragement of hygienic practices, which were their primary aims, they were also trying to change the women's meeting habits, or their ways of getting together. They insisted that the women leave their homes and come to the school for an artificially assembled meeting of a stiff, formal sort where they would be on the "receiving end," without the give-and-take of informal conversation to which they were accustomed.

As I sensed this difficulty I became convinced that the folkways already provided an avenue to the village women: namely, the *sedenka,* or "sitting," which is the name the villagers have given to the women's working groups.

574 476 THE SEDENKA.[2] Allegedly, the main purpose of the *sedenka* is to help some woman card her fluffy, newly-washed wool or to help her spin some of the wool into thread. Actually, it is recreational as well, for the women thoroughly enjoy sharing the gossip, the songs, and the food which accompany such get-togethers. Although these *sedenki* (pl.) seem at times to be hit-or-miss affairs, certain unwritten rules govern their activity. If a woman, for example, wants to have the help of her neighbors in carding her wool there are procedures she must follow.

1. She will select the guests quite carefully, inviting those who owe her work in kind or those to whose houses she wants to be invited when they card their wool. She rejects from the number those who cause ill-feeling, who stir up trouble, or who are at odds with each other. Similarly she rejects those whose houses she does not want to visit in a "return engagement" either because their food is poorly prepared or because they are dirty and slovenly in their housekeeping. At times she is prevailed upon by a close friend or a relative to invite some individual who is not popular enough to receive many invitations but who is anxious for the social intercourse that these occasions provide.

2. She will issue the invitations in the time-honored way. Although she may have seen two friends the evening before at the fountain and learned from them that they definitely plan to attend, she nevertheless goes to their homes before daybreak to call out in the crisp autumn air, "Anka, Anka." The dogs set up a terrific roar, and Anka finally appears at the door. "I'm having a *sedenka* today and I hope you can come." Anka accepts most graciously, while the walking alarm clock moves on to issue the next invitation.

3. She will prepare quantities of special food. There are certain dishes that are *sedenka* favorites. In the fall, one of these is *banitsa,* a soggy pumpkin pie two feet in diameter. A stew of beans or one of meat and vegetables is often popular.

4. She will see that the activities at the *sedenka* flow along normally. There must be enough of the comb-like affairs, long spikes set in a small

[2] [For additional material, see pp. 74-77, category 116--Analyst]

000 public schools.

793 A certain amount of religious instruction was given in the primary and secondary schools, religious history being included in the curriculum. However, these subjects were not taught by clerics but by the laymen, in most cases graduates of the theological schools. Clerics served as instructors in the secondary schools only in the first years after the establishment of the Bulgarian State when the demand for educators exceeded the available number of teachers.

IV. Status of the Bulgarian Church Developments Since 1944

A. General Survey

•[178] 659 The seizure of power on September 9, 1944, by the Communist-dominated Fatherland Front coalition signalized important changes in the position of religion and the religious denominations. Ideologically, the dominant Bulgarian Communist Party was committed to a negation of all religion as the "opium for the masses". Practically, its policy toward religion and the Orthodox Church in particular was determined by more realistic considerations.

The communists could only desire to destroy the relationship established between the State and the Church. Likewise, they could not but desire to reduce and if possible, to destroy the great freedom which the Constitution of 1879 granted to the minority denominations allowing them to "be

ruins the Kemalist Republic was established in the Anatolian Highland which is the only truly Turkish region and cradle of the power of the Osmanli Turks. The wars produced a new trend of emigration among the Moslems in all Balkan States. This trend was particularly strong among the Turks in Macedonia and especially those civilians or military who had led the fight against the powerful Macedonian Revolutionary organization. As Mustafa Kemal's campanions in arms, they were given prominent positions in the People's Republican Party founded by him. Mustafa Kemal, having been the Turkish military attache to Sofia before becoming Turkey's liberator, enjoyed great prestige among the Moslem population in Bulgaria. His influence caused a flood of Turkish immigrants to turn to the newly-established Republic. As those immigrants were more civilized and educated than the backward Anatolian peasants, they rapidly took into their hands the rein of business, playing an increasingly important part in the economic and political life of Turkey. Even today, the market of Ankara is dominated by the immigrants from Bulgaria, and one can often hear the Bulgarian language spoken in the shops and stores of the capital.

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The immigration would have been much greater if Ataturk had not enforced his great social, political and cultural reforms which shocked the Moslem world at first and which the Moslems of the Balkan States refused to follow. These reforms had to do with the liquidation of the Caliphate, and consequently of the religious law (Sheriat), in civic matters, the abandonment of the fez (cap) for men and feredje

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(viel) for women, and the change from the Arabic to the Latin alphabet.

These fundamental reforms provoked a schism at first, and for a long time Mustafa Kemal and his followers were considered infidels by other Moslems. The Bulgarian Government, keenly aware of the potential menace presented by the compact and numerous Turkish minority, was only too happy to exploit this schism, which caused the Turks in Bulgaria to turn away from Ankara and Constantinople.

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Bulgaria refused to exert any pressure on the Moslem minority to force it to organize its social and religious life along the lines advocated by the Kemalists. The Moslems were left entirely free to keep the Sheriat and the Arabic alphabet. Nothing was changed in the Turkish clergy and schools in Bulgaria. This was all the easier to effect because the separation of the Church and State, which is the core of the Kemalist reforms, had long been realized in Bulgaria by the very fact of the establishment of the Christian Bulgarian State side by side with an ethnically foreign Moslem minority.

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Left entirely to itself, this minority, whose nationality and religion have always been scrupulously respected, organized itself on the basis of the Sheriat, which governed every phase of its civic and religious life, particularly in matrimonial matters - marriage and divorce (i. e., repudiation of the wife by the husband), as well as in the matters of inheritance.

This organization, which developed side by side with

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

nicus and Galileo who opened for us the celestial world. We 175
have at ths time the invention of the art of printing which helped the spread of ideas by books. Here is the age of most gifted masters of speech, beauty and marble, like Petrarch and Boccacio, Ariosto and Tasso, Camoens and Servantes, of Rabelais and Montaigne, of Shakespeare, Michel-Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Rafael and Tician. This is the period of great philosophers like Bacon, Giordano Bruno etc. etc... Bulgaria was unable to benefit by all these miracles of rich material, intellectual, spiritual and esthetic culture... At this same time, our half illiterate monks the only representatives of our intellectual life in this remote dark age, contemporaries of Ariosto and Tasso, of Shakespeare and Servantes, of Rafael and Tician, devoted their lives to the painstaking and tedious work of copying the lives of saints or of painting ikons, which betryed the complete conventionality and frigidity of Byzantine art!"

But neither the Turkish political, nor the Greek ecclesia- 175
stical slavery were in a position to suppress the spirit of the 814
Bulgarian nation. It was encouraged by the enlightened
groups of artizans, merchants and clergymen. A bright spark 186
flashed all of a sudden in this dark period. This spark was the Slavic Bulgarian history of a Bulgarian monk of Macedonian origin called Paissi Hilendarski[1]. This was a hand written manuscript of 1762, which told the Bulgarian people of their glorious past, of their Kings and Patriarchs. The manuscript was called by the common people „The Book of Kings" and was copied and distributed widely in the Bulgarian lands. The plea of this Bulgarian monk to his people was „Oh Bulgarians, get to know your origin and your language". This was a forward call for the hard struggle to obtain schools and churches, enlightement, civilization and freedom of conscience: a struggle against anything that was Greek. The hatred, accumulated for centuries past — already 1083 years old — broke out with new force. This was the Bulgarian Renaissance.

„The Bulgarian Renaissance, as a process of develop- 178
ment, has something in common with the Renaissance of 186
Westren Europe:

[1]) A monk of the Hilendar Monastery, Mont Alhos.

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„1. The Renaissance in both cases is not a casual or sudden change, but it passes trough a period of transition and preparation. The transitory period is the Middle Ages. The only difference is that the Middle Ages ended for Europe in the beginning of the 14th century, while in Bulgaria it lasted until the end of the 18th century.

„2. In both cases the carriers and promoters of the Renaissance ideas were men of public and economic affairs.

„3. Both in Italy an in Bulgaria, the leader of the movement appeared to be a prominent person: Petrarch in Italy and Paissi in Bulgaria.

„4. What particularly brings our Bulgarian Renaissance close to the Western European is the new conception of things national, of the national spirit and the reversion of language and literature to their original sources to this conception". [1])

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19. Bulgarian Exarchate. National Bulgarian Church, 1872. We find the idea of the church at the bottom of Bulgarian national thought.

The conception of a national church is the fundamental thought that runs through Bulgarian history up to the present times.

The well known Romanian historian prof. N. Yorga stresses particularly the specific significance of the Bulgarian church in the political life of the Bulgarians: [2]) „The Bulgarian tradition, however, continued to live in the church, and this church represented the culture, the city life, the old and only intrinsic opposition in this same imperial conception against Hellenism, which conquered Byzantium".

The Bulgarians had accumulated in their hearts a profound animosity against the Greeks. Anything that was Greek was a synonym of oppression for them. Their ideal for freedom and independence was snugly preserved in their lofty mountains. The struggle for it began with new force and vigor. It was now a struggle for education, cultural advancement, free-

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[1]) Shishmanoff, opus cit. p. 191.

[2]) N. Yorga; Histoire des Roumains et de la Roumanie Orientale vol. III, p. 112, Bukarest 1937; Cif. Prof. Nicolaeff, op. cit. p. 127.

Mikhaylovski, but a tolerant and mild humaneness which 538
remains from the good pre-war times with their quiet and satisfaction.

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This humanity and this wisdom which we see in 538
Stamatov and the writers of his period, are a reflection 178
of the Slavonic elements in the Bulgarian people and were most clearly shown while Bulgaria lived a happy and free life. Since the war with its attendant sufferings and the revival of memories of the Turkish yoke, these qualities are disappearing, partially if not wholly, or are being eclipsed by other elements which are appearing in literature. The national catastrophes which Bulgaria suffered after the Balkan Wars and the World War, when she was forbidden union with Macedonia, the hardships inflicted by the unjust treaty of peace, and the material deprivations embittered all the Bulgarians and took from them their self-confidence and the internal peace with which they were rising to cultural perfection and social well-being. The people turned their attention inwards, to the problems of the soul, questions of life and death, social and class conflicts. They sought in their own past the causes and the explanations of the misfortunes which they had undergone and interested themselves in their national qualities and defects, in which lay the basis for their future success or failure.

As a result of this change in the Bulgarian character, 538
in political life there came a strengthening of partisan struggles, and sharp division into schools in the field of literature. Each of these sought to solve in its own way the problems resulting from the changes in the social and the psychological life of the people.

CHAPTER 1

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR VILLAGE

000 WINTER had begun. The first snow of the year had fallen. It covered the muddy streets of the village, softening the nakedness of the fruit trees which stood lonely in the bare yards. The wind from Mount Vitosha came whistling down the empty lanes, sending both man and beast to seek protection and warmth. The animals huddled in their thatched folds and shelters; the women and children crowded on the little stools near the fireplace at home. The fall sowing of wheat was in. The fields, wind-swept and snow-laden, were deserted, seemingly forgotten by the men and women who had spent so much time with them during the past months.

512 231 One ordinary day followed another. Every morning the water buffalo had to be groomed until they shone; the oxen had to be cleaned after the night in the dirty stall; these, as well as the sheep, had to be fed. Usually the animals received their meager rations before ten [291] o'clock. Shortly thereafter the men, wearing their dirty-gray sheepskin coats, their brimless lambskin hats, and their pigskin sandals, congregated at the taverns to relieve the monotony of their daily routine. At noon they plodded home to a lunch of beans, looked after the cattle once more, and gave commands to their womenfolk. The rest of the day was spent at the taverns in drinking and talking, interspersed with long, easy silences. After the evening meal, the cattle were fed again. Then the men dropped off to sleep along with the rest of the household.

● 181 829 The winds and enforced idleness of winter were not alone responsible for the apparent sluggishness on every hand. Slow motion was characteristic of Dragalevtsy life in general, but especially of the bodily movements of the people. *Ima vreme* (there's ~~ple~~nty of time) was either a practical philosophical tenet which explained their lack of hurry or else it was an expression frequently used to rationalize their casual manner. I never saw a peasant with a watch.

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000 of the milkmen began at once to retrace the long uphill journey from the city's outskirts to the village.

576 Sometimes I overtook these men outside the village and fell in with them.[1] *"Dobra stiga"* ("Well-reached"), I said; and they answered, *"Dal ti bog dobro"* ("God has given you good"). The [822] amenities observed, I then asked about other matters. "How far is it from Sofia to your village?" Always the answer came in terms of "walking hours" and never in kilometers, the accepted measure of distance in Bulgaria. When we would encounter those going in the opposite direction we stopped our conversation long enough to say, *"Dobra sreshta"* ("Well-met"). When I chanced to inquire about the size of Dragalevtsy, the usual answer was, "About three [161] hundred houses." If I wanted to know how many inhabitants this would mean, I multiplied the figure by five, the size of the average household. (The difference between this crude estimate of fifteen hundred and the 1934 census figures of 1,669 persons meant little to the peasant.)

000 No, Dragalevtsy was in no sense of the word a large village, as Sofia savants used to point out to me when they asked where I saw material enough there for a book. Theirs was the loss. An old village with more than sixteen hundred people teems with life. The stuff of which its days are made is rich and lasting; the intricate crisscross of vigorous personalities and deep-rooted folkways proved a never-ending drama for which nature usually provided a superb setting.

788 The meadows were lush from the spring rains, some of the fruit
● 181 trees were in bloom, numberless tiny silver streams spread a glittering net down the side of Vitosha, and a veil of green leaves lay over all the red roofs of the village. Against such a background, a group of peasants made ready for their pilgrimage to Rila Monastery. Such an occasion was as truly an outpouring of joy as was the departure of the Canterbury pilgrims in Chaucer's day. The clanging of the church bell summoned the friends and relatives of the departing pilgrims to the incense-filled church. Inside, before the iconostas, dark and gilt, the priest read a prayer and led the little flock of people to the edge of the village, to the beginning of the outside world, where the

[1] [i.e. milkman delivering their milk to Sofia -- Analyst]

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travelers, dressed in their brightest, newest garments, were speeded on their way. The friends and relatives loaded them with money and presents of clothing, food, and wool, which the pilgrims were to donate to the great and holy monastery. The whole ceremony of leave-taking was made a part of the bright landscape by the flowers everywhere—on the dress of the pilgrims, fastened to the gifts, and carried in huge bunches. Upon their return a few days later the dusty pilgrims were met at the outskirts of the village and escorted home through the blue twilight by those eager to hear of every adventure during the days and nights in the great mountains, whose jagged walls have protected Rila Monastery for hundreds of years.

Formal piety, as shown in pilgrimages, was only one of the major characteristics which these Bulgarian villagers possessed. The Dragalevtsy people, especially the men, were predominantly literate. Bulgaria, despite what seems a forbidding Cyrillic alphabet, has the highest rate of literacy of all Balkan countries, a fact which can be attributed to the tendency to regard education as a panacea for individual and social ills. While only 44 per cent of the women over fifteen years of age could read and write, 92 per cent of the men were literate. Of course, I often came upon groups of peasants crowded around a friend slowly spelling out a newspaper article aloud, but these little clusters of attentive listeners originated because of the scarcity of newspaper subscribers, not necessarily because of illiteracy.

The Dragalevtsy people were also law-abiding. During the first three years I knew the village, and informants said that the record went much farther back than that, no Dragalevtsy peasant had been taken to Sofia for imprisonment. There was no local jail, nor any need for one. This was not a sign of the inefficiency of local police, but rather an indication of the peaceable and honest traits of the people.

In many other characteristics the villagers shared what have come to be known as the universal "rural virtues," for theirs was an agrarian way of life. More than three-fourths of the family heads were peasant proprietors. In addition to these, there were two other occupational groups: the intellectuals and the artisans. Despite their small number, the intelligentsia, as they were called by the peasants, were the most influential group in the community. Whenever the

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stopanin, or male head of the house, killed the cock and held its 243
twitching body over a bag of grain seed so that several drops of blood would fall upon it. He then drove slowly to the field to prepare the ground for the sowing, meanwhile eagerly awaiting the arrival at midmorning of the *domakinya,* his wife, dressed in her most beautiful costume and bearing a pan containing the boiled cock, meal, and bread. The family group made a tour once around the field, whereupon the man solemnly broke the bread and, before sitting with the others in the middle of the field to feast, gave pieces of the bread to the oxen. The peasants called this the "sweetest meal of the year" and delighted in having friends from a neighboring field join them in the repast. Summer's hard work was at an end; the harvests were plentiful; the peasants were deeply grateful.

Life in these scattered fields of Dragalevtsy was hard and labo- 241
rious, but to the peasant, life without the fields would not be worth 423
living, for these narrow strips of land were his children growing under his painstaking care. The land was his companion and friend, as he shared with it the thoughts and dreams of a starlit summer night, with a cloak for a pillow and dew for a blanket. Land meant more to the peasant than money in the bank; it meant more than food on the table; it meant life itself.

Some years ago I heard a Sofia University professor say in a 181
lecture that the Bulgarian peasant was more devoted to his work than 461
to his religion. "There are more songs dedicated to labor than to 275
saints," he added. Because I wondered about the truth of this statement in respect to Dragalevtsy, I polled village opinion. Here are some of the questions I asked, with representative or characteristic responses:

Nowadays, which do people enjoy most: working in the field or sitting in the tavern?

"People work to get bread. They can't earn money enough to save. Some prefer to work in the fields because we quarrel when we are in the *kruchma.*"

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275 461 181 "Most of the people prefer to be in the tavern, though there are some who go there to do *pazarluk* [arrange a business deal], drink a little, then leave to do their work again."

"I prefer to work in the fields than to sit in the tavern."

463 181 *Why do young people want to become artisans and do not want to become farmers?*

"They want easier work. Field work is heavy. If they work inside, they will live longer, the wind won't beat in their faces, they won't remain in the cold."

"It's better to work inside than out in the weather."

"If one is an artisan, one won't become hungry. There will always be work to do. But in the fields things are not so sure. Work is easier as an artisan than as a farmer. The money is only of minor importance."

461 181 *Do people of Dragalevtsy, like the heroes of old folk songs, love hard work more than easy work?*

"They prefer easy work. Fifty years ago people liked the harder work, for there were few occupations. Now parents don't control their children. A son sees his father at one tavern and he goes to the other. If his father comes to the second tavern, then he goes back to the first. Formerly people had big fields and had to do much work. They prided themselves on the amount of work they could get done. They were healthier, because they didn't smoke and drink so much. The one who could work the most was the most honored. Now the fields are small. There is little work to do in them, and so people get out of the habit of working hard."

"They like easier work now. Everyone looks for something that is light. It was not so fifty years ago, but the change came about especially since the war."

"They love easy work. Formerly there were more animals, more fields, less people, and therefore more work."

556 181 *With what adjective would a Dragalevtsy peasant prefer to be described: industrious, rich, influential, wise?*

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"Now all want to be rich and will lie to become so. There is no one who wants to be industrious. They sit in the tavern and say, 'Let those who are foolish work.' There is no shame nowadays. Formerly a man was ashamed to be seen away from his work. Furthermore, people prefer to be influential than wise." 556 181

"People would rather be rich, but think it necessary to be industrious in order to be rich. It is better to be influential than wise."

When I pursued the attitude toward money by further questioning I received such replies as these:

"When I was young I could work and get money, but now I can't, so therefore I think more about it. I sent my son to be a soldier and have to do everything all alone."

"Prices are now higher, money doesn't go so far, and therefore has to be watched carefully. Formerly people didn't have to buy so much. Now there are many who want to get more and more money."

The position of the wealthy man was described as follows:

"Rich men have lots of influence, even more than the priest. The priest is a good man and people listen to his advice, but when they go to Trayko Danev [a wealthy peasant] they take off their hat and ask for money. They give him wine to drink and roast lamb to eat because he is rich. Before the war what the priest said was thought to be what God said. Now he can't get anybody to go to church and stand for five hours hungry. It's a punishment. During the World War our people went many places—Salonika, Serbia, Bucharest—and saw how people lived; they then agreed that life in the village was too hard and not for the likes of them."

Education, which ordinarily was held in very high esteem, had yielded ground to commercialism. Villagers were beginning to prefer money to education, and said:

"In Sofia there are many unemployed educated people, and so if I have money, I'll be better off than if I had education."

Many of the villagers considered it highly desirable to have a government pension, and so valued jobs with the state railways, state telegraph system, or postal service.

556 181 An intelligent woman once summed up for me the peasant's attitude toward labor and money in this terse fashion:

"Most people work because they want money. Everyone looks for money."

511 181 434 Although the peasant considered money of greater importance than formerly because he was becoming more and more a part of a money economy, he really handled very little in the course of a year. The annual income for a family of four or five was less than two hundred dollars, an amount that came into the family coffer in driblets and was paid out as slowly as possible. After the autumn market or the sale of a cow, the peasant was flush with money, but when he had bought the necessities which he could not produce for himself (kerosene, shoes and other articles of clothing, rice, salt, and some hardware) he was little better off financially. If a member of the family worked outside the home, his wages were a considerable help, especially when some of the many taxes were due.

465 181 I asked nine young men, picked at random, about the money they earned. Their monthly income varied from the meager equivalent of $6 a month earned by a twenty-five-year-old servant and an eighteen-year-old shepherd to $66 earned by a twenty-year-old milkman. There was only one who kept more than half of his earnings for himself. He explained apologetically that the reason he did not turn these over to his father was that he had to pay board and rent in Sofia, where he worked.

454 181 Very few Dragalevtsy people accumulated savings in the bank. They preferred, like people all over Bulgaria, to invest money in real estate. The city people did it because of the security of investment, whereas the peasants, especially in Dragalevtsy, were more interested in possessing land for its own sake.

426 181 The great majority of the peasants were in debt, though many debtors were also creditors. Those specializing in field crops preferred long-term loans, usually for fifteen or twenty years, with land as security, while sheep owners usually sought short-term loans of three or four months. One village merchant, to whom many peasants came for advice, estimated that 70 per cent of the loans were taken from [652] banks and 30 per cent from individuals. The government had done much in the past through periodic moratoria to reduce the amount of indebtedness.

One account in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* describes their[1] nomadic existence and the camps they formed out of rings of wagons. "They wore long beards and mustachios, and were dressed in long kaftans. The food of the wealthy was blood and mares' milk; of the poor, millet and mead. They were originally 'magicians', i.e., fire-worshippers; but a form of Islam early became current among them, and the nation was temporarily converted to Christianity in 1007-1008. They were the most dreaded and detested of all the nomads." They were disagreeable in other ways too. But when the writer goes on to describe the *Shopi* of today, the descendants of these Pechenegi, as "despised by the other inhabitants of Bulgaria for their bestiality and stupidity but dreaded for their savagery," I wondered how much he was letting historical antecedents influence his description of the present. He goes on to say: "They are a singularly repellent race, short-legged, yellow-skinned, with slanting eyes and projecting cheekbones. Their villages are generally filthy, but the women's costumes show a barbaric profusion of gold lace." The *Shopi* then have quite a reputation to live up to—bestial, stupid, savage, ugly, filthy, and barbaric in their tastes. Some of these definitely do apply. My version of the *Shopi* necessarily includes some positive as well as negative traits, for I have lived among them and have learned to see their good as well as their bad points.

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But I must admit that if one looks to the Bulgarian ancestors of the *Shopi* for the origin of the parricide story, he will also find forebears capable of such a deed. According to Henry N. Brailsford's *Macedonia* the Volga-men, or Bulgarians, "were polygamists, owned slaves, and were accustomed to military discipline. Like the Turks they shaved their heads and wore pigtails. They burned their widows and indulged in human sacrifices." This is not a pretty picture, but one which bears marked resemblances to the accounts of the tribes in western Europe before the spread of civilization to that area.

The killing of feeble parents has been a common practice among nomadic peoples because of the difficulty of caring for the aged and infirm when on the move. The mention of grain in the story quoted above would indicate that the tribe had settled down, and that parri-

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[1] [i.e. the Pechenegi, Bulgarian ancestors--ANALYST]

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did the most talking. The women found it difficult to say which one helped the others most, because "this depends so much upon one's special knowledge of cooking, caring for the sick, and sewing." Each woman was expert in a different line, but all were willing to help in any way. [476] 571 521

The distinction between age groups broke down when the group was hard at work, as the work was then more important than the flow of gossip. In general, the gossiping groups got together more frequently in the summertime and on Sundays. Women found their chief recreation with women, and men with men, though the men said they needed the stimulation of tavern society. [517]

This willingness of the men to spend money for recreation and to limit their wives to the questionable joys of gossip illustrated the common saying, "Bulgaria is a man's country." A Dragalevtsy peasant saw nothing strange in the sight of a man riding a donkey while his wife trudged along behind carrying their purchases home from market. Or if a man returned alone from market, having ridden all the way in his wagon, his wife, tired from a day in the field, went out to carry in his things, saying, "He's weary and needs my help." She was always careful to make no queries about the day's activities, although she might be bursting with curiosity to know what had happened at market. She went about her work and waited until he was comfortably fed and settled, knowing full well that then she would have a complete report. Usually her husband made himself out to be the hero of each little episode, but "men are like that," she would say. 562 181 593

The well trained wife always deferred to her husband. If ever I asked a question in the presence of both, the woman turned her eyes to see what response her husband made. If he made a gesture as though to say, "You go ahead and answer," then she began to talk, becoming silent whenever her husband wished to interject any comments.

What was even more conclusive proof that Bulgaria was a man's country, and certainly that Dragalevtsy was a man's village, was the obedience of women to their husband's command. I asked thirty wives in the course of my family interviews:

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562 "Suppose you wanted to go to market some Friday and your
● 181 husband thought you ought not to go, what would you do?"

Not a single wife would dare go to market under these cir-
593 cumstances. Two or three said, "I wouldn't even start for the door."

"But suppose you wanted to make some small purchases in the city and your husband disapproved, what would you do?" Only two daring ones out of the thirty said they would make these purchases if they had money.

It paid the women to "behave," because the husband did have the right to beat a disrespectful wife. I never happened upon a wife-beating, but the fact that a few husbands told me with pride, "I never beat my wife," showed me that they considered themselves exceptional.

[208] A wife who received rough treatment, especially if her husband
562 had been drinking, could go to her father's home. She could not stay
593 there very long after her mate had become sober, because her father and the village in general made her feel that her place was with her husband no matter how disagreeable he might be. Usually she waited until her husband came with a meek promise of good behavior to ask her to come back.

In those formal ways a village wife showed respect to her husband. She did not, most of the time, find them burdensome because she knew nothing else. All of her experiences from childhood to
[208] marriage had conditioned her to a subordinate role. Should any woman have tried to rebel against her lot other women would have been her most vigorous critics. They, more than the men, aided in the perpetuation of the existing order.

562 The woman, however, had a far more important place than the
581 social amenities would indicate. Men frankly admitted that they could not make a living without their wives. This feeling of de-
593 pendence overshadowed the traditional masculine superiority to the extent that a partnership resulted. The man, to be sure, was the senior partner, but he knew that he was a member of a team in which co-operation was essential.

This deeper sense of partnership was best shown by the practice husbands had of consulting their wives on every matter of importance as well as on minor matters. Out of twenty-six representative cases,

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intelligentsia, when it came to the point dared not run counter to the old village sanctions against divorce. 586

More often it was the husband who left the home. When he did and in rare cases interested himself in another woman, the villagers did all in their power to make him return. If he refused at first, they made him feel the indignation of public opinion, treating him as an outcast and sometimes going to the length of beating him. If he remained in the village, he had no choice but to go back to his wife. During the time he was away his wife also was put to shame, getting little sympathy from the general public. She knew, furthermore, that in case of a divorce both parties would be held guilty by the villagers, so she was willing to take her husband back and get along with him as best she could. A divorced man was considered to have loose morals; a divorced woman would have been thought thoroughly bad. There was thus a situation in which everyone was expected to marry, with no sanctioned way out once the marriage contract had been entered upon. Though such an attitude meant that unfortunate marriages had to drag on interminably, it also had the effect of forcing couples to adjust themselves to each other. [208] [558]

Dragalevtsy seemed a curiosity indeed: a village in which marriage was little questioned, where there was practically no marital unfaithfulness, and no divorce. What were the reasons for the family stability? For one thing, life was still lived according to ancient customs. People only recently had begun to wonder about the age-old patterns which they had been following so faithfully. Some writers would call them the "dead hand of the past," others "the cake of custom." Whatever their name, they were conducive to a common understanding of the place of marriage. All the people expected the same things from life and from the home. 581 593 181 829

Then, too, earning their living by farming was a joint enterprise. People got used to putting their shoulders to the wheel as a family group. In addition to what they all did together, women were supposed to do certain things, men other things, and children still other things. As long as every person did his part there was no friction, but quiet efficiency. Furthermore, the presence of a number of relatives made for greater stability. In the case of apparent misunderstanding

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between a husband and wife, the proper relative intervened to suggest a way out. Most of the husband's relatives were in the same locality with him and could keep an eye on his behavior.

One was not only tied closely to the husband's blood kin *(rodstvo)* but had to enter upon a formal relationship with one's in-laws. Families related by marriage felt close to each other, the intensity of the feeling depending upon the frequency with which the families met and the way the young couples got along. Ordinarily, however, the family of the bride was considered by the husband's parents to be as close, at times even closer, than blood relatives. For instance, if there was any sort of celebration to which guests were invited, the family of the bride was the first to be asked. One reliable informant estimated that ninety out of one hundred people in Dragalevtsy felt the force of *svatovstvo,* or this relationship springing up through intermarriage. The young people, who are usually so prone to make a break with the past, maintained it in all its vigor. Here was the way one young man explained the *svatovstvo:*

"If my sister married some man in Simeonovo, even though I had never seen him before, his brother and sister would be my *svati,* and if I met them we would feel like cousins. I would never curse them or quarrel with them and would call their father *'dedo'* and their mother *'baba,'* the same names I use for my own grandparents. My parents and the parents of my new brother-in-law would likewise be *svati* and would treat one another reverently." Two brothers could not marry two sisters from another family, though there was no blood relationship, because the second couple were *svati* after the first couple married, and *svati* could not marry. Two brothers could marry two first cousins, but not two sisters. This feeling of closeness in families related by marriage did not stop with the husband and the wife, nor with the single in-law gained by each family. It included, as well, the in-law's parents and brothers and sisters with whom just dealings and proper behavior had always to prevail.

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More than anything else, however, the shared activities of husband and wife developed an understanding which lasted through thick and thin. Some of these shared activities were the trip to market, the

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CHAPTER VIII

FAMILISM, A CHANGING WAY OF LIFE

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THE DAY at last arrived when I could anticipate the peasants' answers to most of the questions that I asked them. When I inquired what they would do if they had five hundred dollars to spend, I could list in advance the items they would name. The older people, especially, thought and acted largely in terms of the Dragalevtsy of the "good old days," when life was lived in a *familistic* way because the family played the major role in the community. When I understood the characteristics of familism, as a result of observing and reading about peasant life in other parts of the world, the many interesting but isolated facts I had noticed in Dragalevtsy began to make sense and to form a pattern. In a familistic society, whether it is in the Balkans or China, life is largely customary and traditional. Individualism is discouraged because of the crises that the unusual person creates in the daily routine. People prefer a dead uniformity, or a leveling of the best toward the mediocre. The family plays the leading part in this task of molding an individual into the accepted pattern. From childhood to old age the kinship group brings pressure to bear upon any nonconformist, since the family as a whole loses prestige in the community if a member gets out of hand. The family, too, is the chief training ground for the young, and parents cannot blithely transfer any responsibility of this sort to an outside agency such as the school or the church. Village opinion holds the parents accountable.

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Furthermore, economic life is centered about the family. Since family members grow or make for themselves most of the things they need, they depend only to a minor degree upon stores, factories, and other commercial agencies. The family is the productive, distributive, and consumptive unit. This is one reason why village families can weather so many wars and so many depressions: they can satisfy most of their immediate wants at home.

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Visitors suddenly confronted with the familistic way of life for the first time are often shocked at the low level of living which they observe: animals sharing the same dwelling; monotonous diet and low health standards; waste of time and energy with inefficient tools and methods. Before the peasant is condemned as unambitious, indolent, or stupid, there are a few things the outsider must bear in mind. In agricultural villages throughout the world the land base has been shrinking while the population has been expanding. This has meant decreased economic opportunity. Farms which were once adequate are now divided up strip by strip and handed over to many descendants, with the results that the term "eking out a living" has come to have real meaning for the peasant. The outsider often forgets that the rise in the level of living in the cities through the techniques of mass production and mass distribution has been relatively recent and phenomenally rapid. The villager is not really so far behind the times if one compares his life with that of many cities a few decades ago, or with the blighted areas of these same cities today. But one cannot deny that quite a few peasants seem to take pride in resisting social change; they are slow to experiment with new methods, and they assume that what was good enough for their fathers is good enough for them. This resistance is based, to a great degree, upon the realization that accepting too much from outside will seriously affect the social organization of their community. Urban society is not nearly so close-knit and can allow for contradictions and inconsistencies on a much broader scale than can the village, where life is still intimate and face-to-face. Dragalevtsy people, for example, in 1937 were conscious of the far-reaching changes brought about by the abandonment of sheep raising in favor of dairying. Sometime ago, a number of the peasants actively resisted this economic trend. In the opinion of many, these conservatives were stupid; at the same time they were bright enough to figure out that changes would result in the economy to which they were accustomed. Because they were accustomed to it, they wanted to preserve it.

In a familistic society religion has usually become rigidly institutionalized and is closely allied with the family. All family events call for the blessing of the religious intermediary; there are usually household shrines; there is considerable emphasis upon observing the

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181 829 596 forms of the religion; and usually the prevailing religion has a monopoly in its field. Where there once existed two or three competing religions, the peasants now have a syncretistic set of beliefs that almost all of the people accept.

[168] The population in a familistic society tends to be stable. The folk legends and religious beliefs stress the importance of remaining at home. Permanence becomes a virtue, for travel outside introduces too much novelty. Separation places a strain upon the family relationships, which must be kept at full vigor in the interest of community self-preservation.

[517] Recreation is personalized instead of being commercialized. Peasants, as far as possible, spend their leisure hours in the company of others, to say nothing of the many hours women spend working with each other within a family or neighborhood circle. Just as the villagers have ceremonial ways of doing many things, they also have formal ways, or proverbs, of saying many things. This we saw earlier in the description of the *Šedenki*. Proverbs reinforce those beliefs that help maintain the familistic society, and serve as convenient means of self-expression. At the same time they are standards of behavior.

[212] Because recreation and economic life are personal, the familistic society has little need for much reading and writing. The priest, the middlemen, the taxgatherers, and a few others who early associated themselves with the village economy needed to "figure," but the rest of the people had little concern with that.

In most family-dominated societies, life is man-centered. In some areas this arrangement is related to religious beliefs; in others, it is related to the economic organization of the family in which somebody has to give orders necessary to the carrying out of the daily activities. A recognized head, conscious of his own importance, acts authoritatively in directing his family group.

The local government is traditionally managed by elders, who represent families rather than political parties or individuals. The village elders make their decisions from the standpoint of what is good for the village as a whole in the light of precedents rather than from a narrow legalism. The religious writings or sacred legends are conveniently cited to justify the actions they take. Such govern-

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mental activity exists primarily to meet crisis situations and to keep the established ways of life moving smoothly. The giving of relief, the provision of education, healing of the sick, insurance of cattle and crops are all left to the family rather than to the government.

It is quite possible for several societies to use the familistic approach, in the sense that the family is the dominant institution, and still differ as to the relative importance of many community values. Most of them would probably respect the heritage from the past, but even here there would be variations. As far as Dragalevtsy was concerned, the chief values or virtues were land ownership, hard work, frugality, premarital chastity, observance of some of the more important religious rites, and being a good neighbor. In connection with the last, the villagers said, "God help those with bad neighbors" and "Without good neighbors life couldn't go on."

The Dragalevtsy people, although their underlying organization and philosophy was primarily familistic, had adjusted themselves to a number of modern ways. Some ways persisted because they fitted in with the established customs, and others because they were kept in vogue by force or by the authority of the mayor.

Commerce, as represented by about ten merchant groups, had become established in the village because it was conducted essentially as a family enterprise. From time to time a local man sold some of his land and started in business for himself. He always employed members of his family rather than outsiders, because he trusted his own. If he needed extra help and had an unmarried son, the normal thing was to urge matrimony. He carried over into his business the same idea of division of labor which prevailed at home and in the field. The men ordered the goods, settled the accounts, sold the liquor in the taverns. The women acted as cooks or clerks. Some of the wives who helped keep the store could not read, write, add, or subtract and had to give whole measurements or else depend upon the customer to hand them the right amount for fractions. A husband explained when I discussed the matter with him, "It is better to lose money through error than through dishonesty." Both men and women co-operated in keeping the place clean. Here the man made a concession which he would seldom have made in the home.

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659 794 a year, the priest asked the board members to assemble at the church, minutes were kept, and no outsiders attended. The government's influence was further felt during the period 1934-1937, when all political elections were suspended, and with these all church board elections too. No one was eligible to vote.

659 869 771 As the national school and church authorities had not been satisfied with the type of religious training that the children had been getting in the average peasant home, they had set up in each village an organization called "The Association for the Orthodox Christianization of Bulgarian Youth." In general, the work of the group consisted in teaching the school children the significance of the iconostas, church ceremonies, and other related matters. School hours were used, and attendance was compulsory. The school director, who had been asked by the Archbishop in Sofia to conduct the work of the association in co-operation with the priest, said that they had had about twenty-five meetings during the year. Parents and others who were interested attended these meetings. This was one activity which the peasants had accepted quite willingly because, as one woman said, "the children are kept off the streets when there is a group gathering, and thus do not learn so many bad things." This was the woman's way of berating parents for failing to take better care of their children. But fundamentally the acceptance was based upon the traditional recognition of the church's importance. In the past, whatever had bolstered up the established church had bolstered up the familistic system.

178 181 596 Such a barrage from the batteries of commerce, government, and education[1] had left the familistic way of life in Dragalevtsy battered but not crumbling. The peasants were still amused at the intense activity of the intelligentsia; the few who were asked to confer with the authorities enjoyed reporting back to their families and friends just what they said and did. The people co-operated in the campaigns for this-and-that only when they knew that the mayor would send the policeman along if they did not co-operate. They attended lectures when ordered to do so, but they joined few of the organizations planned outside. Perhaps the best indication that this beehive of governmental activity was still on the surface was the failure of the peasants to seek advice from the intelligentsia who were supposedly there to help

1 [For a detailed account, see category 116, pp. 161-176 - Analyst]

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them. An exceptional peasant did; but the vast majority kept an eye upon what was going on without becoming involved in any newly initiated affairs. 178 181 ●

Just the same, changes were in the making. Year after year, within given limits, people would be content to do what the authorities told them to do. This was because their family life, with its emphasis upon obedience and respect, had made them docile. If the commands proved too disruptive, however, or took away the things they counted most dear, their family and their land, they resisted. 596

But the peasants were little interested in fighting for political rights; these were individualistic and not in keeping with familism, which emphasized the welfare of the group rather than the rights of the individual. They did not yet want to have a hand in what went on in Sofia, in Berlin, or Washington. They still were village oriented. To be sure, war affected them, as did the price of grain, but in much the same fatalistic way that a heat wave or a cold snap would. They did not yet feel that they, and millions like them throughout Bulgaria, had the power to control many things affecting their daily life. Some of their fellow villagers in other parts of Bulgaria were alive to this fact, but Dragalevtsy was still politically illiterate.

The leaders in the village were aware of their lack of success. Some of them were disappointed in the peasants for not accepting at face value the words of wisdom they proffered so freely; others cautioned patience. They said, "We can't change things overnight. We will work with the children in the school. Our future lies with them." And they were right. But it was clear that the future they anticipated would be much more distant if the leaders continued to force upon the peasants a way of life imported from "the people of the outside world." Their quickest success lay in evaluating the familistic society that existed, in deciding what should be retained, and what changes should be made. The next step would be to discover by what means, already in use in the village, these changes could be effected. Then, above all, the leaders should have sought to persuade the peasants to help themselves. The governmental paternalism at work in Dragalevtsy created as many local problems as it solved.

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178 The conflict was on, then, between the old and the new, between familism and the forces from the "people of the outside world." It was a stirring struggle when viewed in terms of people I had come to know and respect. It became a significant struggle when I remembered that Dragalevtsy was only one village out of hundreds of thousands where the conflict was even then being dramatically staged.

000 The new way of life that emerges may be more democratic or it may be the basis for additional authoritarian states. Democracy can be assured only if its representatives, who introduce the new, have an insight into the peasants' way of life, a sympathy that is so genuine that it can be quickly sensed by untutored folk, and a skill that can weave into the fabric of the past the strands of the present, in keeping with a sensible pattern for the future.

DEPARTURE—AUGUST, 1937

000 THE VILLAGE seemed unusually peaceful on that August day in 1937 when I made the rounds to tell my friends in Dragalevtsy goodbye. Many wanted to know how long the trip to America would take, others asked about my future plans. The majority said, *"do vizhdane"* ("till we meet again"), but several of the older people, who had patiently endured many hours of interviews in the previous months, sensed that their "time" would come before I set foot in Dragalevtsy again. They used the other form of leave-taking—*"sbogom"* ("God be with you"), and also asked God's blessing upon my trip. The mayor told me how much he had enjoyed having me study his village, the priest asked me not to forget my many friends, and Bai Penko took great delight in showing off his new grandson whom I had never seen.

The weather was hot. Few people moved through the Square and only occasionally did a wagon creak down the streets to the fields below the village. Even the flies, usually so troublesome, seemed languid. The dogs slept. Vitosha had lost its cap of snow. Storks

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APPENDIX V

THE SOCIAL CONTACTS OF A BULGARIAN VILLAGE*

It seems an anomaly that the peasants who live in the Sofia region are among the most conservative in Bulgaria. One often hears the statement from Bulgarian and foreigner alike: "Surely the fact that a peasant lives near Sofia, a city of almost 300,000 inhabitants, should have some pronounced effect upon his attitudes and lower his resistance to social change." But there is universal agreement that these peasants are backward, though there is divergence of opinion as to the reason why. An early writer[1] advanced the theory that the *Shopi*[2] stock had been weakened because of the frequent "calls to arms" answered by the peasants. Living as they do on the edge of the important Sofia plain these peasants have been drafted for military service much more frequently than their fellows in the distant mountain recesses. In the little village of Dragalevtsy, four and a half miles from the outskirts of Sofia, more than forty fruit trees grow near the War Memorial, a tree for each son fallen on the field of battle since 1885, the date of the Bulgarian-Serbian War.

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Another explanation for the *Shopi* conservatism is the fact that close proximity to the city makes it easy for the most intelligent and the most ambitious villagers to break with the village and establish themselves in Sofia. One of Dragalevtsy's most brilliant young men now resides in Sofia and visits the village only occasionally. But during his early days in the village he was a dynamic spirit: serving as president of the School Board at the time of negotiations for and erection of the handsome new school building; as chairman of the Committee on the Erection of a War Memorial, carrying the project through to successful conclusion where four previous committees had failed and the funds collected mysteriously disappeared; as president of the Reading Room Association, a "cultural" organization which has become an uplifting force in villages throughout the land. But now that he is gone, no native has arisen to lead as he led.

The *Agronom* for that district explains the conservatism in part by the poverty of the soil. Unproductive soil forms a poor basis for an enlightened,

* This article appeared in *Rural Sociology*, IV, No. 3, September, 1939. Reprinted by permission.

[1] Irechek, Konstantin, who traveled extensively in Bulgaria in the latter part of last century.

[2] *Shopi*—the term used of the peasants in the Sofia region. Formerly it was derogatory in content.

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up-to-date type of farmer. Coupled with poor soil is the dividing up of the farm among all the children upon the death of the family head, with the result that farms become smaller, strips of land more numerous and scattered, and the occupation of farming a less remunerative enterprise.

Other theories take into account the descent of the *Shopi* from stock differing from that of Bulgarians in other parts of the country and their lack of educational facilities under Turkish rule (14th to 19th centuries). Then, too, we should remember that Sofia was nothing but a small provincial town—not much more than an overgrown village at the time of Bulgaria's liberation in 1878.

Part of my purpose in selecting one village for investigation was to determine as far as I could what contacts these villagers had with the outside world. I knew that I would probably arrive at no single all-embracing explanation of *Shopi* conservatism, but I did feel that I could suggest to those interested in overcoming this conservatism the proper modes of attack.

The analysis of Dragalevtsy's[3] social contacts falls naturally into two divisions: (A) the peasants' contacts outside the village, and (B) the peasants' contacts with the "outside world"[4] within the village.

THE PEASANT VISITS THE "OUTSIDE WORLD"

1. To Sell and Buy; to Work. Thirty-eight milkmen go from Dragalevtsy to Sofia every morning. Eight walk beside a donkey; thirty ride in the high two-wheeled horse-drawn carts. The majority of milkmen cover a milk route, knocking at the doors of the regular customers and waiting patiently for the maid to bring a container into which to pour a quart or so of milk from the large cans they carry. The rest, perhaps less energetic and content with a lower price, leave their milk at a milk-station just inside the city limits. They are paid weekly and do not have the bother of making collections from housewives; furthermore, they do not have to rustle out of bed so early in the morning. Some of the milkmen buy newspapers to read on the return trip, some like to go farther into the city for a glass of wine or brandy, but most hurry back home to aid in the work on the farm, especially if a busy season is on.

Besides the milkmen there are sixteen workmen and ten students who make the daily trip and serve as a bond between the village and the outside world. These two groups are usually less opinionated and better trained than the other villagers to whom they attempt to interpret the puzzling aspects of western culture manifested in Sofia.

[3] Population, December 31, 1934: 1,669 inhabitants.

[4] The peasants often speak of Sofia as "the outside world" and people from Sofia as "the people from the outside world," thus showing that a pronounced psychological barrier exists.

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APPENDIX VII

THE FOLK APPROACH IN EXTENSION WORK

A BULGARIAN EXPERIENCE*

178 844 THE INCIDENT. One day in Dragalevtsy, a Bulgarian village of 1,600 people, the mayor's courier went from house to house to inform all expectant mothers of a meeting to be held in the schoolhouse the next afternoon. The public health nurse from Sofia wanted to tell them about prenatal and postnatal care. Attendance, according to the courier, was compulsory. As he made his rounds, comments such as these flowed in his wake: "What does that mayor think he's doing? Making a public spectacle of pregnant women!" "I've already had more babies than that nurse will ever have. She can't tell me anything I don't know." By nightfall the women of the village, after discussing it over the stone fences between the yards, had decided that the expectant mothers should not attend the meeting.

The next afternoon two or three women did appear, women whose families felt under obligation to the mayor and consequently supported all of his programs. The mayor and the nurse were much disappointed, but dared not invoke the compulsory part of the courier's invitation. The nurse went ahead with her demonstration for the faithful few, but even these left the meeting much bewildered and quite disappointed. They told their friends, "We couldn't buy all the stuff she told us to buy, even if we should want to do everything she suggested."

178 181 THE PROBLEM. Incidents similar to this occurred so frequently during my three-year study of that village that I tried to discover what more effective approach could be used to bridge the gap between the scientific and the folk knowledge. The mayor and those assisting him were well-intentioned, but the people never seemed to apply the suggestions that the outside lecturers made. Accordingly, the lecturers became more convinced that the peasants were stupid, and the peasants became more self-satisfied with the ways that they already had. What was supposed to be *extension of the new* really became *extinction of the new* before it had time to take root.

The "uplifters," who frequently used the phrase *izdigane na seloto* or "the raising up of the village," were unnecessarily complicating their task.

* This article appeared in *Journal of Applied Anthropology*, II, No. 4, September, 1943. Used by permission. This also appeared later in *Autonomous Groups Bulletin* as Vol. I, No. 3.

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178 181 Instead of concentrating on the improvement of home-making and the encouragement of hygienic practices, which were their primary aims, they were also trying to change the women's meeting habits, or their ways of getting together. They insisted that the women leave their homes and come to the school for an artificially assembled meeting of a stiff, formal sort where they would be on the "receiving end," without the give-and-take of informal conversation to which they were accustomed.

As I sensed this difficulty I became convinced that the folkways already provided an avenue to the village women: namely, the *sedenka,* or "sitting," which is the name the villagers have given to the women's working groups.

574 476 THE SEDENKA.[1] Allegedly, the main purpose of the *sedenka* is to help some woman card her fluffy, newly-washed wool or to help her spin some of the wool into thread. Actually, it is recreational as well, for the women thoroughly enjoy sharing the gossip, the songs, and the food which accompany such get-togethers. Although these *sedenki* (pl.) seem at times to be hit-or-miss affairs, certain unwritten rules govern their activity. If a woman, for example, wants to have the help of her neighbors in carding her wool there are procedures she must follow.

1. She will select the guests quite carefully, inviting those who owe her work in kind or those to whose houses she wants to be invited when they card their wool. She rejects from the number those who cause ill-feeling, who stir up trouble, or who are at odds with each other. Similarly she rejects those whose houses she does not want to visit in a "return engagement" either because their food is poorly prepared or because they are dirty and slovenly in their housekeeping. At times she is prevailed upon by a close friend or a relative to invite some individual who is not popular enough to receive many invitations but who is anxious for the social intercourse that these occasions provide.

2. She will issue the invitations in the time-honored way. Although she may have seen two friends the evening before at the fountain and learned from them that they definitely plan to attend, she nevertheless goes to their homes before daybreak to call out in the crisp autumn air, "Anka, Anka." The dogs set up a terrific roar, and Anka finally appears at the door. "I'm having a *sedenka* today and I hope you can come." Anka accepts most graciously, while the walking alarm clock moves on to issue the next invitation.

3. She will prepare quantities of special food. There are certain dishes that are *sedenka* favorites. In the fall, one of these is *banitsa,* a soggy pumpkin pie two feet in diameter. A stew of beans or one of meat and vegetables is often popular.

4. She will see that the activities at the *sedenka* flow along normally. There must be enough of the comb-like affairs, long spikes set in a small

[1] [For additional material, see pp. 74-77, category 116--Analyst]

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The mayor has some influence with the Debt Commissions coming from government banks to relieve the debt burdens of the farmers, he distributes whatever relief is available for needy families, and he has a prominent part in the administration of the school, public health, and village improvements. Because of this he is gradually displacing the priest as the most important personality in the village. In other words, the paternalism of the church is now being supplanted by that of the state. 622 105

We find a similar situation in the South where white farmers are beginning to depend less upon landlords, banks, and advancing merchants, and more upon the grants from governmental units, whether in the form of relief or credit facilities. Plantation or small-town paternalism is yielding to governmental paternalism.

The Bulgarian peasant is not a joiner. He does not use the organizational approach in attacking a problem but prefers to work through informal groups. There are two chief reasons why he avoids membership in the numerous formal groups seeking the villagers' support: first, he is penurious and will pay no membership fee unless he sees some prospect of personal advantage; secondly, he does not understand the purpose or program of the organizations, since most of them originate in the cities and are promoted by the *intelligentsia.* There are no church organizations claiming his support as in the case in most Southern neighborhoods. Living in a village as he does the peasant can visit with friends and neighbors without the necessity of having an organization to provide a rallying place. 575 181

The Southern white thinks vertically; the Bulgarian peasant horizontally —a difference in mental pattern which accounts for the difference in social process.

By "thinking vertically" I mean that traditionally the Southern white is dominated by the attraction of the American ladder of opportunity, although for him it has often proved mythical.[20] That is, success in life is determined by the extent to which one approximates the plane of living enjoyed by those of a higher economic level. Climbing means competition rather than co-operation.[20] Frustration seems to be displacing the traditional, optimistic view among many of the Southern whites. They look up the ladder, but say, "What's the use of starting the climb!" As individuals they are pitted against forces over which they have no control.[21]

[20] H. C. Nixon, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Shows the traditional nature of this mind-set in speaking of the Old South: "Nonslaveowners expected to become small slaveowners, and small slaveowners expected to become large ones." The mythical aspect is shown nowadays by the phrase "once a sharecropper, always a sharecropper."

[20] Odum, *op. cit.*, pp. 585-586, emphasizes the need for county and/or community co-operation.

[21] Perhaps Populism in the late 19th century came as near creating a consciousness of kind among the rural whites as anything else has ever done.

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The Bulgarian peasant in thinking horizontally identifies himself with other agriculturalists and accepts their culture as a heritage of which he is proud. He derives strength as an individual from his consciousness of kind. His attitude was forcibly demonstrated when I tried to get answers to a questionnaire on occupational attitudes. I could not get a single peasant to answer one simple question: If you were not a farmer, what would you most prefer to be? It was inconceivable to them that they should be anything other than farmers. Although the Bulgarian peasant rides frequently in a bus or automobile it never occurs to him to want one of his own. If given an additional sum of money to spend he would buy more of what he already has—land, a new house, or animals. Because he thinks horizontally he co-operates with his fellows. As a matter of course he submits to stern social control for the common good.

I would like to say in conclusion that the lot of the Bulgarian peasant is not an enviable one; his plane of living is low, but the improvement that will take place can occur in the social organization already in existence. The Bulgarian does have security for which he has had to pay the price of class distinction, at least as it exists in the minds of others; whether the disadvantaged groups of the South are becoming typed as a class without gaining security in exchange is a matter for serious consideration. In the South we are faced with the fact of disorganization among our rural population and a consequent reorganization. It has not been my purpose to map the plan this reorganization should follow, but to present a comparison which may help to clarify and stimulate our thinking as we search realistically for a solution.

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000 panied by a representative of the American-Turkish Aid Society, undertook a trip during 1857 in South Bulgaria or, as it was called at that time, Roumelia. They passed through Rodosto and then through Andrinople on their way to Plovdiv (Philippople). Hamlin thought than the Bulgarians were found mostly north of the Balkan mountains. He was greatly surprised to discover that half of the inhabitants of Adrianople were Bulgarians. He[1] said about them: „The spontaneous, modest, kind and respectful behavior of the population can not but attract the attention even of the most casual observer. We were not the object of any ridicule, base curiosity or rough language on the part of either young or old people. We can not say, however, the same about the Greek and Turkish villages". The Bulgarians said to Hamlin: „We have no literature, no schools and, we might even say, we have no language".

[181]

Human culture is founded always on the labour spent for the cultivation of land. During the Hellenic civilization, those who worked the land were called barbarians and, instead of benefiting by it, they were robbed by this civilization. Present Balkan culture, however, suffers from the manifestation of actual barbarism, by blocking the outlets to friendly seas for those who work and labour on the land.

162 **33. The Population of Thrace.** The bigger part of the population of Thrace is Bulgarian. Let us use a few important data:

1. The Bulgarian census of 1919 was carried under very unfavourable conditions. Many Bulgarian Moslems were shown under the clasification of Turks and the Bulgarian population had been reduced, after the Turks had exterminated it, during the so called famous „republic of Giumurdjina".

Bulgarian Christians	87.941	
Bulgarian Moslems	17.369	
Bulgarians total	105,310	47.0 %
Turks	79.539	35.4 %
Greeks	28.647	12.75%
ers	10.922	4.85%
Total	224.418	

1 [Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, American missionary in Constantinople, who visited South Bulgaria in 1857--Analyst]

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000 the desire to appreciate this small and suffering country and to develop a respect for her, which she certainly deserves.

39. Bulgaria is the Land of Peace and Labour. The present state of Bulgaria's development is not due to the wealth of any natural resources, as this is the case with other countries more fortunate than she in that respect. She owes her advancement to the hard labour of her population. Hardly any traveller has crossed over her territory and failed to observe sympathetically the distinguishing traits 181 of Bulgaria. Here is how Cyprien Robert, describes the Bulgarians:[1])

„The martial abilities, their wealth and commercial experience made the Bulgarian people so dreadful in the beginning of the Middle Ages; to-day, however, the Bulgarian nation is the least prone and given to luxury as well as the most peace loving among European nations. All who know the present day Bulgarian praise him for his peace virtues. The Bulgarian is ready to render you a favor, he is industrious and has the peculiar ability to act with caution. But once, having made up his mind he goes on to do things with an amazing perseverence supported by an athletic force, which enables him to resist the greatest danger without boasting and with composure. Though the most oppressed of all the other people on the peninsula, the Bulgarians have not succumbed to humiliation and distress. As in all times, the look of the Bulgarian to-day is proud, his robust stature is high and handsome. His honesty is above and beyond reproach. You could safely entrust him with any amount of money and you may be sure that it would be delivered to its destination. People blame him that he trembles at the sight of the Turks. The Bulgarian does not tremble, but when he realizes that all resistance is futile, as a reasonable person, he knows how to submit".

186 Another traveller at the time of the Bulgarian insurrection of 1877, James Baker,[2]) writes the following: „... A peculiar trait of the history of Bulgaria was the great current of national feeling, which obsessed and continues to dominate

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[1]) Cyprien Robert, op. cit. p. 240, a. al.

[2]) J. Baker, Die Türken in Europa; autoris. deutsche Ausgabe. 2-e Auflage. Stuttgart. 1879. p. 24.

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

the consciousness of this people. We do not hear of Bulgarian uprisals against their sovereigns, on the contrary, they always appear as a united nation fighting for its independence. This force of united behavior and of national consciousness makes a remarkable impression on any traveller, who visits the Bulgarians to-day. Each of them would come forward, willingly and in earnest, to offer himself as a sacrifice to the welfare of the nation. This is an attitude fraught with great potentialities and possibilities, provided it is guided properly". 186

Henry C. Barkley,[1]) a British civil engineer, was in Turkish time in charge of the construction of the railroad Tcherna Voda—Constanza (ca 1860) and had an ample opportunity to observe Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks and others at work. He writes: „Amongst the natives proper, far the best and most intelligent workmen were the Bulgars, and with proper education and good example they were capable of doing anything. Unfortunately, at present the only education for the Bulgar is found in the offices and shops of the Levantine merchants in Constantinople and other large towns, where commercial morality is so corrupt that they have no option but to turn out rogues... There are no schools, except those attached to the Greek church, where, I believe, such folly as teaching honesty is unthought of. For this reason the better people are to be avoided as much as possible, but there will be found a great deal of sterling good among the village peasants that only require development. They are steady, quiet, hardworking set of people, patient and unresisting under the Turkish yoke, but at the same time not cringling or servile like their brother-Christians, the Greeks and Armenians. And I have no doubt that were the Turks banished out of Bulgaria, the Bulgars would soon convert into one of the finest and most prosperous countries in Eastern Europe. As much as possible we employed these men on the line, and after years some of them became fitters, cleaners, locomotive drivers, and in fact filled all the places of skilled workmen and it is wonderful to think how they excelled, when one bears in mind how few had been their advantages. 181

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[1]) Henry C. Barkley, civil engineer, Between the Danube and the Black Sea or five years in Bulgaria, London, 1876, pp. 174—176.

11: Logio S-4 . (no date) 1936 EF1 Bulgaria EE1

661 the hard-earned property of their political opponents, the-
641 reby driving the more stable elements to aggressive re-action. The problem of renovation is all the more difficult owing to the national psyche having been perverted
181 by centuries of slavery. It turned the Bulgarian peasant into an extreme egotist, into a man who had no notion of what social solidarity connoted. Excluded for so long from participation in public affairs, he came to view them with extreme suspicion as something separate from his existence and antagonistic to his private interests. Being treated by the Turk as he was previously by his own nobles, and actually by the inteligentsia as an inferior, he came to consider himself as a being apart, in opposition to all the world.

Experience taugh him that wealth was the only means by which he could improve his position, and ensure for himself a measure of respect. Hence his grasping and individualistic propensities. His extreme individualism makes him refractory even to Socialism, for he feels that his instincts are in harmony with anarchism, rather than with the methodical theories of Karl Marx.

641 The Bulgarian has further developed another lamen-
181 table characteristic: that of a boundless disrespect for the law. The law was looked upon as an instrument of extortion, to be used by those in power for their own ends and to be modified or broken by them at their own pleasure. The law has never been for the Bulgarian a system under which the rights of the individual were safeguarded. The widely-diffused notion among members of advanced communities that the law embodies the common conscience and the common interest, not only has not percolated into the depths of the nation, but has not even penetrated the superficial strata of its leading circles, and until recently one witnessed the most iniquitous illegalities being committed by the party in power, which abuses, though they

rouse to fever-heat the indignation of the foreigner, leave the Bulgarian indifferent. It is this lack of public spirit and an extreme self-centredness which renders him apathetic to the wrongs inflicted on others, and which prevent the creation of an alert public opinion capable of checking such misdeeds as the country has been suffering from. 641 181

Such is the social inheritance of the Bulgarian. It is with such a mentality that he has emerged to free life. It would be erroneous however, to assume that psychically the Bulgarians stand at a lower level than their neighbours, or that being a backward people they deserved the dismemberment they sustained by the Treaties of Berlin and Neuilly, to the profit of the other Balkan peoples who are more or less of the same mentality, and what is worse, do not excel by those stirling household virtues of the Bulgarians, that go some way to counterbalance their shortcomings, which could be eradicated by a proper system of education. 181

The high level of the spate of demagogy which submerged Bulgaria was attained soon after the termination of the world war, when her enemies had disarmed her and when, through the weakening of the military factor, the peasant politician Stambuliiski, secured complete control of the state machine. The country then experienced all the horrors of a jacquerie. The evils engendered by the Agrarian regime are tersely set forth by Kosturkov, the capable and outspoken leader of the former Radical party, in a speech delivered in the Sobranye on Sept. 4, 1925: „With few exceptions every Bulgarian government had sown the seeds of corruption and demoralisation, they also however left some positive creative work to their credit. Stambuliiski's regime, however, has left behind an indelible furrow of corruption which it will take scores of years to remove; it is a moral scar that will be most difficult to cure. Moral perversion has been disseminated by the authorities along 661

A PSIHOLOGICAL ESSAY

Owing to the lack of funds, the activities of these reading rooms, of which 1,208 are in rural districts, were rather circumscribed, their stock of books was reported to be 847,426, and the books purchased during the year numbered only 127,757. 217 658

The new educational reforms comtemplate the suppression of about two thirds of the existing colleges so as to impede access to the higher training establishments and the University. The colleges will be replaced by practical schools, after the German „real schule", a system which according to Prof. Yorga has concurred in dehumanising the youth of Germany. Only those students who posses exceptional endowments will be allowed to complete their college training and qualify for a University education. 871

A PSYCHOLOGICAL ESSAY

All who have come in close touch with the Bulgarian people have been impressed by such characteristic traits as their diligence, assiduousness, their fondness of labour and their persevering and indefatigable devotion to the land which they till. Frugal and abstemious in the extreme, the Bulgarian peasant provides for his modest needs from the produce of his farm. This form of life which tends to make him self-sufficing and independent of his neighhours has rendered him self-reliant and self-centred to an extreme degree and has militated strongly against the development of social virtues in him. He is capable of submitting to extreme privations, he scoffs at physical suffering, and is almost insensible to pain. He detests affectation and bragging, and takes pride only in collective achievements, national or military. In this he displays a striking similarity to the Japanese whom he 181

•181 rivals in thriftiness and economical living. Such qualities render him a formidable competitor for his neighbours, all of whom he surpasses in these virtues, and who knowing that separately they can not hold the field against him, have leagued themselves together, to hold down this over-energetic and tenacious rival. Such qualities as the Bulgarian possesses do not win or attract, and consequently he has failed to inspire affection; he has only succeeded in securing the respect and esteem of the positively minded American and British, who refuse to be beguiled by superficial appearances and who by temperament are better able to appreciate such positive attributes as the Bulgarian has been endowed with.

This hard-toiling mode of life led for centuries by the Bulgarian peasantry has habituated them to live solely for themselves, to depend only on their own efforts, to be suspicious of those about them. They are stoics, without pity for themselves, whose sealed springs of sensibility cannot be set flowing for others. Their sense of sympathy seems blunted and the apathy they display for the wrongs suffered by others explains their inability to feel indignation at the committal of injustices when they are not personally affected. Such lack of sympathy and tenderness for others, is incompatible with the formation of an alert public opinion and the exercise of collective volition, which characterises nations endowed with better developed social instincts. The harshness and dourness which characterises the Bulgarian, implies an inherent weakness of what psychologists designate as the Tender emotion.

000 Tender emotion, which is closely related to the parental instinct, must be considered as one of the primary factors in our evolution. As we pass from the lower to the higher types of animals, we indiscriminately find that this instinct becomes more and more powerfully deve-

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

wealth that has corrupted a large number of the „intelligentsia". In their efforts to satisfy this insensate craving of altering their style of living and adopting luxurious manners, they have not hesitated to make a litter of all principles. Bulgaria being a poor country, there is no room within her precincts for Sybarites. In Spartan austerity and simplicity will she alone find salvation, for it is such qualities that breed the social virtues and devotion necessary for her renovation.

Of course there are other ways of attacking the evil spirit of acquisitiveness, namely by changing those parts of the social fabric which promote its growth, which is the socialist or communist way, or by setting an example of complete disinterestedness and the military who have been brought up in the stern school of austerity, living ascetic lives of service to the community, and who are in charge of the Government are just the most suitable men for this purpose. There is some chance therefore for them to succeed seeing that both Hitler, and Mussolini, owe mainly their success to their disinterestedness and not only to their effective leadership. It is the combination of both these qualities that have raised them in popular estimation in their respective countries, and it is to be hoped that Bulgaria's leaders will not fail altogether where others have triumphed.

Much has been said of the dourness, and suspicion of the average Bulgarian, but these traits are also due to the social environment in which he has hitherto grown. He necessarily had to hide his thoughts, and desires from his Turkish overlord, and keep these to himself. He thus became unsociable and uncommunicative, a world to himself, and even to-day his social self-consciousness does not extend beyond the narrow limits of his family. What is indispensable is the gradual extension of this sentiment of devotion beyond the family, in order that it might emb-

race a larger group, such as the nation. For much of the corruption, and avarice arise from a genuine conviction that one's first duty is to one's own family, a trait which the Bulgarians share with the Chinese, among whom owing to the Confucian philosophy, the same view prevails, and has done much to stunt the growth of public spirit. (see Bertrand Russell's. „The Problem of China"). 181

As the Bulgarian is certainly not defective in his attachment to his near kin, and this is patent by the extreme sacrifices which he readily makes in order to provide for the education of his children, the expansion of this existing sentiment so as to comprise the nation as a group would be possible, and the value of such an expanded sentiment can be easily grasped. Group self-consciousness and a sentiment developed about the idea of the group becomes a power capable of holding the group together in spite of all physical, and moral difficulties. It is indispensable therefore that such a socially valuable sentiment should be cultivated to the utmost, all the more so since even such an eminent psychologist as Wm. Mc Dougall („The Group Mind" p. 79) does not hesitate to declare: 000

„The group spirit destroys the opposition and the conflict between the crudely individualistic end the primitive altruistic tendencies of our nature. — This is the peculiar merit and efficiency of the complex motives that arise from the group spirit; they bring the egoistic self-seeking impulses into the service of society and harmonise them with the altruistic tendencies. The group spirit secures that the egoistic and the altruistic tendencies of each man's nature instead of being in perpetual conflict, as they must be in its absence, shall harmoniously co-operate and re-enforce one another throughout a large part of the total field of human activity.

For it is of the essence of the group spirit that the individual identifies himself with the group more or less; that is to say, in technical language, his self-regarding sentiment becomes extended to the group more or less completely, so that he is moved to desire

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village and start inundating them in a spate of demagogic rhetoric. The orators of each political group would start vituperating and abusing their rivals, thus undermining completely the prestige of the intellectuals until the peasantry came to look on all with undisguised hatred and contempt. There has not been an example of such a deep cleavage within a people in recent times except in Tsarist Russia, with the well-known consequences, and if something is not done to assure the peasantry that the State will henceforth uphold and protect their interests, and instil in them the conviction that the abuses of the past are definitely over, we may well be anxious as to the future, for however self-sacrificing and patriotic the rulers of Bulgaria may be, the task they have shouldered is a stupendous one and the organs they must depend on for carrying it out are not as reliable as could be wished. And yet it is through the efforts of this „intelligentsia" that the country will have to work its way upwards, for the salvation of countries, the evolution of which has been retarded, depends on the predominance of urban civilisation over rural backwardness.

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It is of undoubted interest to record the views of one of the leaders of the sole political party which was actuated by a true conception of democratic principles and which persistently upheld them, but which failed to rally round it sufficient supporters to impose them because the Bulgarian elector expected to get some direct advantages in exchange for his vote, a practice the Bulgarian Radicals always denounced and fought against.

Thus M. Kosturkov speaking in the Sobranye on December 21, 1926 said among other things:

„We are with servile souls. A nation impregnated with a sense of freedom and having a sense of self-respect does not allow the authorities to usurp its liberty and its rights. It is always ready to place its rulers in their due place. I am not indignant at the servi-

lity of the masses but at that of the greater part of the intelligentsia, and it is in disgust that I hear their servile speeches when in presence of influential men. According to me none can equal our average man for his envy and our demagogues exploit to the utmost this sentiment. Instead of combatting this inherent defect we make capital out of it in our political struggles. Another national defect is our greed which we exploit and excite. We lack all sense of measure, we are extremists with an anarchic individualism that has no equal. All these defects are being fostered by our politicians and the Bulgarian who is by nature most peaceful is being made pugnacious by our dremagogues who rouse his low instincts and incite him against his brethren. Bulgarians love science and knowledge and they should be guided towards this goal, for while absorbed in creative work their bad instincts will slumber. Although very suspicious, if once confidence is instilled they become extremely credulous. So long as a government uses force there will be no pacification in Bulgaria. Only democracy will give a government of order. Violence and hatred does not create anything lasting but on the contrary will further deepen the existing chasm between rulers and ruled".

Unfortunately M. Kosturkov's prognostication as to the efficacy of democracy was wrong. Bulgaria secured in 1931 a really democratically elected government which to all appearance was perfectly democratic in its composition yet it brought and engendered disorder, and what was most surprising, it encompassed the overthrov of M. Kosturkov himself, who as all will admit, was the only true representative of democracy in the Cabinet. M. Sakuzov, the veteran leader of the Social-democrats was apparently better inspired when he admitted in the Sobranye on December 24, 1926: „Such popular forces as come to the surface are incapable of coordination and harmonious co-operation. The Agrarian regime dealt a stuning blow to the conception of a government by the popular masses".

The Bulgarian is characterised by a sense of fairness and honesty in his dealings with his fellow-men, this is in striking contrast with his attitude towards the State which he does not scruple to cheat or despoil because he believes

181 641 that he need not stand on ceremony with it since it has mercilessly exploited him. He is generally a man who will abide by his promise but he expects that others will likewise do so, and it is very often disregard for assumed obligations that leads the Bulgarian to wreak savage vengeance on the person who breaks a compact.

181 157 In spite of the fact that the Bulgarian people have been subjected for centuries to a rigorous negative selection, for all outstanding personalities were either exterminated by the Turks with whom they necessarily entered in conflict, or became denationalised by offering their services to more advanced nations, in the midst of which they alone could exert their talents, they, nevertheless may be considered as intellectually one of the most gifted of the Balkan peoples.

The value of a people is not gauged by the level of the average individual, but by that of the exceptional men belonging to it; such at least is the opinion of leading sociologists such as Dr. G. le Bon, and Wm. Mc. Dougall so that in this respect Bulgarians have little cause to envy their neighbours. The appearance of exceptional individuals amongst the Bulgarian people has been noted even by Prof. Jovan Cvijić, who writes in his „La Peninsule Balkanique", p. 479:

„De cette très ancienne histoire il y a un fait à retenir, c'est l'apparition d'individus doués d'une volonté extraordinairement puissante. . . La prépondérance de ces fortes individualités nous frappe encore dans les époques plus récentes de l'histoire bulgare. même après la liberation. Le personnage le plus representatif à cet égard fut Stefan Stambulov. Les politiciens bulgares paraissent doués d'une force de volonté plus agissante que ceux des autres types yougoslaves etc"

If in one generation from amongst five million Bulgarians, arose at least three men of genius such as Slaveikoff, Vazoff and Mihailovski this proves that the Bulgarians are a stock worth conserving, not only for

itself, but also on account of the good that humanity might ultimately derive from the flowering of such genius as may arise from its midst. Many will retort that the above mentioned men though talented can in no way be considered as geniuses, but this assertion is obviously refutable, for one in forming a true appreciation of their value should first of all take into consideration the environment in which these men were nurtured. If in spite of the stunting influences which they encountered in the midst of which they have developed, they nevertheless attained such an indisputable preeminence, it cannot be denied that these men must have possessed exceptional mental attainments. 181 157

LITERATURE AND ART

There are few peoples who in such a brief space of time have equalled the achievements of the Bulgarians in the domain of literature. Without any literary or artistic traditions, except perhaps for the writings of the poet-revolutionary, Christo Botev, without even a literary language, the Bulgarians within the half century of their independent existence as a State, have attained to a level of development in the realm of letters of which many older nations would have justly been proud, and which more than the remarkable material progress accomplished by them, marks them out as a higly endowed people worthy of our admiration and esteem. 538

Several decades ago, the translation into English of Ivan Vazov's novel "Under the Yoke", proved a revelation and evoked the unstinted applause of all critics. No less a person that Edmund Gosse wrote a most eulogious preface to the book. Yet this was one of Vazov's early works, written at a time he had not yet attained maturity,

1: Karutz--59 E-4 (no date) 1925 E1 Europe
Bulgaria EE1

/88/ The Bulgarians

000 1. Hair dress of young women, with tresses decorated with silver. 2. and 3. Decorative pendants. 4. Head ornament of the brides, made of flowers and silver coins. 5. Woman wearing an embroidered blouse and a woven carpet apron. 6. Drawing well. 7. Neck ornament. 8. Hand mill for salt. 9. Threshing sled. 10. Cave dwelling on the Lon. 11. Fire saw. 12. Village street. 13. Shelter of the field herders. 14. Household altar. 15. Rattle board of wood, from a monastery. 16. Signalling horn of a country mailman. 17. Sawing frame.[1]

175 At the time of the Romans present-day Bulgaria was called
101 Moesia in its northern (Danube) region, Thracia in its southern section,
144 and it was inhabited by an Indo-European people of North European extraction, at the time when old Greek, and later Roman and Byzantine, immigrants moved there and intermingled with it. From the sixth century on, the Slavic wave moved closer, and from the seventh century onwards Finnish Turko-Tataric migrant herders and horse breeders repeatedly found their way into this country from the middle Volga.
463 From these the Bulgarians adopted and kept the herding system, by the side of which the Thracian and Slavic agriculture was maintained. The Ottoman Turks coming from the southeast provided the country
181 with its class of craftsmen and tradesmen. This mosaic of races and peoples developed a particularly powerful and healthy stock of people whose high life expectancy is well known, as well as a temperate,
531 industrious, and sober character. It mirrors a corresponding multiplicity
177 of cultures; thus we have in art types that range from the Scythian style and its predilection for phantastic animal forms to the Byzantine and ancient Oriental motifs; from the cellular stone inlays of the period of the Teutonic migrations (belt clasps) to the Tatar decorative pendants (Figures 2, 3, and 7),[1] and from the Slavic joy in ornamentation and
592 colors to the Turkish, recent Near Eastern household industries. The Slavic household community, which takes up every new generation into the fabric of the family, has as its consequence the form of settlement
342 by individual and separate farmsteads. Aside from occasional underground dwelling pits in the loess, of which only the pointed roof of rushes rises above the ground, there are one-story high, rectangular panel-work houses covered with loam, placed either on a level with the soil, or else on top of a wooden substructure for the working sheds.

1 [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a -- Analyst]
2 [See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 57a -- Analyst]

[562] 178 593 were willing to grant that the changes introduced by the young people were a part of the times and might not be so bad after all. In talking to these older women I noted a touch of envy, which I would not have suspected ten years ago.

In contrast to these changes many phases of the family system remained the same. These included the attitude of intolerance towards a childless couple, the role of the mother-in-law in the caring for infants, the parents' preference for boys, the reserve between father and the children, the continued dwelling of many married sons with their fathers, and the importance attached to being an older brother or sister in the family. The godparent relationship and the attitude towards the *svatovstvo* (in-law relationships) were still of major importance.

[848] The moral standards remained relatively rigid, with continuing intolerance toward illegitimacy. The one such case within the past ten years[1] had caused a great amount of unfavorable comment. The mother resolved her predicament by leaving her child with relatives in the village and marrying in another place.

178 ●183 Many other traditional practices besides those related to the family still maintained their strong grip on the people. The Christmas Horo took place as always and the Sunday afternoon promenade had become more firmly established. The *babi* (older women) were called in whenever illness or childbirth occurred. The smaller families, of course, numbered fewer children these days, but the *babi* were kept just as busy since the state-employed midwife no longer worked for the Obshtina. The dead were buried much the same as formerly, although the priest forbade people to cry messages to the dead while the funeral procession paused at the crossroads on the way from the home to the church.

[527] The people still made much of the mice and wolf holidays. One day after St. Dimiter's Day (November 9) the peasants continued to fast to keep the mice from coming in and eating up not only stored food but even clothes and other prized possessions. Bai Yurdan, the tailor, told me in all seriousness, "When I was in Sofia I didn't observe such holidays but now that I am back in the village I must."

1 [ie. 1935 - 1945 -- Analyst]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

When I pressed him for his reasons, fully expecting him to say that he was yielding to the pressure of his wife or public opinion, he gravely replied: 527 178 183

"You see in Sofia I did not own any of my own cloth but now I have a great deal downstairs which I must protect from the mice." I might mention in passing that Bai Yurdan had become a faithful member of the Communist party.

The wolf holidays were still observed for three days following the Day of the Archangel Michael, which comes on November 21. During these days the peasants were careful to do no work and refused to cook or boil anything. Such rigid observances, they believed, protected their sheep from wolves, which were still numerous upon the mountain.

One event of overshadowing importance in the changes which had occurred in Dragalevtsy since 1937 had been its incorporation in Greater Sofia in 1939. Even though their village was close to Sofia, Dragalevtsy people had always considered themselves quite apart, and looked upon Sofia ways as alien ways. However, Sofia politicians managed to bring the village under the sway of the city's municipality. Most villagers considered this an evil day in the history of their community and could cite a number of disadvantages which had occurred as a result. One of the village officials, whom I had known previously, complained particularly about the following points: 369 178 186

1. The city municipality had taken over the forests.

2. It had taken over the meadows which the peasants owned in common. For instance, the villagers no longer did the haying in the meadows which used to belong to the school because all of the revenue from the sale of this hay went to the Sofia School Fund. This meant that the three Dog Days,[1] described in an earlier chapter, were once more days of idleness.

3. Formerly the Dragalevtsy Obshtina collected seven or eight million leva in taxes, but since incorporation with Sofia had only a budget of one million on which to operate. My informant failed to mention that much of this money came from the factory district down on the Sofia plain which had once, much to the dissatisfaction of the [651]

1 [Cf. p. 58, category III -- Analyst]

575 178 taken such an interest, had long ceased to have any importance. This was also true of the Union for Protection of Children, which had had as its chief function the provision of school lunches for the poor children. The Association for the Decoration for Valor was still tottering along, and its members hoped eventually to enroll three or four members who had participated in the recent war. The School Board had become a thing of the past as the control of the school passed into the hands of the Sofia School System. The Church Board, however, was maintaining its existence and was giving its support to a new organization called the Christian Union which had been founded during the Fascist regime as a religious welfare organization. Before the coming of the Russians this Christian Union had collected and distributed to the poor families at Christmas time and the New Year an amount varying from sixty to seventy thousand leva. In 1945 it boasted about seventy-five members and was flourishing.

For the most part, however, the village organizations died at birth or perished in early infancy, as an earlier chapter showed. The [596] Dragalevtsy peasant had not yet become a joiner.[1] He gained his social status by the position his family held rather than by the numbers and types of organizations to which he, as an individual, was elected.

183 178 Such, then, was the prelude to Communism. The coming of the National State to the village back in 1934 set a pattern by which each peasant household was later on closely geared in with a totalitarian wartime economy. The majority of traditions were holding firm among the middle-aged and old, while many of the younger people no longer disguised their interest in the fascinating ways of the West. The net effect of the war was to commercialize more fully the village's economic life and make the peasants more money-conscious. Their incorporation into the Sofia municipality as well as the Fascist nature of their state made them feel less responsible as individuals for governmental affairs and drew them farther away from the democratic Slavic tradition inherent in their old joint family system. Religion continued to be accepted as a matter of course, for no one questioned the propriety of having a priest officiate on ceremonial or patriotic occasions.

[1] [As of 1945-- Analyst]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Bulgaria EE1

SECTION II.

CHAPTER VIII.

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Albania and Southern Yugoslavia. The Costumes worn by Men and Women.

After experiencing nearly five hundred years of Turkish rule it is not surprising to find that much of the costume in Albania and in southern Yugoslavia, which as far north as Pljevlja and Priboj was part of Turkey in Europe until 1913, if not actually Turkish in character shows very strong Turkish influence.

There is also much greater variety in the garments worn by the hill tribes and the peasants and the townsfolk, therefore in the description of those in the collection it has been found advisable to group specimens on some of the Plates so as to give an indication of a complete costume such, for example, as that of the Bulgarian woman from Monastir (Bitolj) (Plate IX), the Catholic woman from Scutari (Plate V) and the essential parts of a woman's dress from Zadrima (Plate X).

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Franz, Baron Nopcsa says that as early as 1912 international European dress had begun to be adopted, more particularly by the men, the young Catholics of Scutari deprecating the older styles, and wearing a combination of European garments with the older head-dress, the fez, and shoes. The younger women also have to some extent discarded the wide trousered skirt and the veil; therefore as all the specimens in this collection belong to the period previous to 1914 they represent native dress when it had its own individuality and, as such, will become increasingly valuable as records.

The following short lists of garments worn by women and men in some of the different districts have been compiled from the collection, and from the works of Baron Nopcsa* and Max Tilke†.

A Catholic woman from Scutari would wear:

(a) A shirt ("kmis") with sleeves, sometimes gathered at the wrist, either short in the body or of three-quarter length.

(b) A full-trousered skirt, often of striped silk, similar to the Moslem example on Plate VIe or "enormous baggy trousers formed of a very wide and much gathered skirt of imported, glazed, purple-black calico, the lower edge of which was sewn together leaving a hole at each corner for the feet. This was not really a trouser, as the legs were not divided, and was very cumbrous" (M.E.D.).

(c) Some form of girdle, either striped silk or a long strip of material with embroidered ends (Plate XVIF).

(d) A sleeveless coat ("giubba") with full skirt reaching to the knees (Plate XIII).

(e) A square of dark or light cloth as a head-dress, or a large net or gauze, embroidered veil, the latter being worn by married women only.

* Franz, Baron Nopcsa: "Albanien, Bauten und Geräte." Berlin, 1935.
† Max Tilke: "The Costume of Eastern Europe." London, 1926.

[Text continues on p. 36]

342 the entrance is generally in the center of the long side of the house, there are a number of houses (some of them two-story) where the door is on one of the short sides. In this case, the veranda is also found on the short side (Gellert, 1934: 6-7). Gellert (1934: 14) states that complicated houses such as appear in western [171] Bulgaria and Macedonia are missing in east Bulgaria. The Turkish-Oriental style present in southwestern Bulgaria is likewise missing.

[184] In central Bulgaria the same building materials are used as in eastern Bulgaria. In Ihtimanska Sredna Gora the ground floor may be of stone and bond timbers. The upper story is of brushwood, with or without plaster, or timber-framing filled with mud or unfired bricks. Whitewashing is frequent. Straw is rarely used for roofing and tiles predominate. On the foothills near Čirpan thin chalk slabs are used for roofing. Shingled roofs are absent (Gellert, 1937: 152-3).

One-story houses with a veranda enclosed at the sides are common. The veranda rarely extends along the whole front of the [184] house. In general, these houses are larger in the plains than in Sredna Gora and the Sub-Balkan Basins. In south central Bulgaria (Taleŝmanli and Monastirski Vrh) the side rooms protrude to such an extent that they are covered with separate hipped roofs the ridge-poles of which are connected with the main roof (Gellert, 1937: 154).

Two-story houses are numerous in the mountain regions. They are usually built on an incline. Very frequently, the veranda is changed into an anteroom and a balcony is added (fig. 56a) (Gellert, 1937: 155). Generally the lower story serves as a shelter for animals, as storage rooms and also as winter living quarters for the family (Ivimy, 1939).

[184] In the mountain regions near Golak and in Mečka on the Topolnica River the houses tend to be squarer and in this case the veranda is bordered only on one side by a room. The roof is in the shape of a flat pyramid, or has only a very short ridgepole (Gellert, 1937: 157). In central Bulgaria one finds the čardak, a [341] balcony on a two-storied house. It differs from the veranda in that it is not as massive and is not built into the building (fig. 56d) (Gellert, 1937: 151).

351 184 Farm Buildings. The material used for the enclosure of farm-yards varies from region to region, and there may be a great variety of forms in a single area. In the mountain regions and in the Sub-Balkan basins the enclosure is made of woven brushwood or, less commonly, of dry masonry or mud. The entrance is a door of simple wickerwork or boards. In some villages at the foot of Sredna Gora and in some western villages the yard is enclosed by a stone wall with inserted bond timbers. In some areas, particularly around Mečka on the Topolnica River, a fence may be lacking. In general however, wood and brushwood are preferred in the mountain regions. In the Marica plain, between Ihtimanska Sredna Gora and Čirpan,

almost all farms have high walls of unfired brick which are topped with a small roof of straw. The large gateway is also roofed over and has a small door for people. In the eastern Marica plain the fence is of wickerwork or consists merely of a hedge (Gellert, 1937: 161-62). In eastern Bulgaria the enclosure, if present, is a low one of brushwood (Gellert, 1934: 5). 351 184

In the Marica plain there appears to be a difference between the enclosures in the east and west that cannot be attributed to the presence or absence of the necessary raw materials. Gellert believes that the high enclosures in the west are due to a persistence of Turkish traits (Gellert, 1937: 162). Also, in Sredna Gora and the Sub-Balkan basins high walls are limited to the west (Gellert, 1937: 162). [177]

In the mountains and the Sub-Balkan basins the yards are small and crowded together because there is little arable land (Gellert, 1937: 164). When the enclosures are of stone the yards are rectangular; when the fences are of wood or hedges the yards are often rounded and there is often much free land between the separate yards (Gellert, 1937: 165). 351 [311]

Since the houses are generally built to shelter both men and farm animals and have a number of annexes built onto them, one would expect fewer separate farm buildings. Barns are not typical of central Bulgaria. In Ihtiman we find two-roomed barns made of timber-framing and mud. The eaves may be extended and supported by pillars to form a shelter. Only in the extreme east of the Marica plain are barns widespread. Here a small side annex is added to the barn; the entrance is on the short side where the eaves are extended to form a shelter (Gellert, 1937: 158). In Juricite one finds Turkish store houses being used by the Bulgarian population, although in east Bulgaria they are used almost exclusively by the Turks (Gellert, 1937: 160). These are large buildings of woven brushwood with a straw roof that extends far out to the sides. They are generally built on an incline. The entrance is on the short side and the back is rounded (fig. 39) (Gellert, 1934: 3). In Karlovo Basin one finds store houses of wickerwork with straw roofs which have poles attached to the ridge to prevent the straw from being blown away (Gellert, 1937: 159). Stables for sheep in east Bulgaria are long narrow huts of stone covered with straw or reed (Gellert, 1934: 3). In general the various sheds and shelters for animals are of poor construction and have no particular regional characteristics (Gellert, 1937: 159). 343 184 [177]

Summer kitchens are numerous; they are either built onto the house or are in the open, in which case they are covered by a reef of straw, reed, brushwood or brick that is supported on four poles (Gellert, 1937: 160; 1934: 3). 343 [342]

<u>Buildings Outside the Village</u>. Outside mountain villages one finds shepherds' huts of brushwood, round or rectangular in shape, 342 233

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

ancient megaron type house of the Indo-europeans. For our object, however, the interesting point is the detailed and concrete description of the farmers' houses of modern Bulgaria, which the writer illustrates with many photographs, plans and sections, so that we may get a clear picture of the architectural shapes and evolution of the Bulgarian house. However, in order, to be clear and to render possible the exact comparison of the Bulgarian house to the Greek one, and considering the fact that the Bulgarian language is not widely known, I shall dwell rather fully on all that concerns this type of house (1). For greater help I am attaching plates, showing the evolution of the Bulgarian house, as it can be drawn from the plans of Bulgarian houses presented by Zlatev.

G 171 342 B 342

A. THE BULGARIAN HOUSE

As it can be deduced from Zlatev's study, the Bulgarian agricultural house does not present the variety of shapes of the Greek house. If we except the troglodyten house which is frequent in some parts of Northern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian country houses belong to the straight-lined rectangular buildings with an eagle-type or saddle-type roof; according to the nature of the ground, they are separated into mountainous and plain types The lowland types are as a rule just like the Greek ones, one-storey and they are built out of stones or bricks, and roofed with tiles or thatch (2). The mountainous types are two-storey, the ground floor being out of stone and the upper either entirely out of wood or with wooden frames which are filled with unbaked bricks or woven branches, and sprayed on both sides with mud mixed with straw. The roof, in the mountainous areas, is covered with tiles or plates, but in some places thatch is also used.

B [184]

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1) I must here express my warm thanks to Mr. K. Th. Stamatiades who, with his knowledge of the Bulgarian language, has rendered possible my study of Zlatev's book.

G [127]

2) According to **C. Jirecek**, Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien, Wien 1891 p. 157 and foll. « over the largest part of the country one can see but poor houses in the villages, of brown earth colour without whitewash; their roofs were mostly covered with mere thatch during the time of Turkish occupation. It is only since the latest years after the liberation, that an increase of tile-roofs is seen from year to year.

1: Lee H-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
Yugoslavia

After

becoming premier in October, 1919, Stambolisky's first task was that of signing the peace terms drawn up by the victorious Allies. 728

The Treaty of Neuilly, November 27, 1919, reduced Bulgaria to a smaller area than it had held before the First Balkan War of 1912 and imposed new burdens. Bulgaria lost the Aegean coast (Western Thrace) to Greece, southern Dobruja to Romania, and strips of land on the west to Yugoslavia. The army was limited to a total of 20,000. Reparations amounting to $450,000,000 were to be paid in thirty-seven years, beginning in 1921. The existence of Bulgarian minorities in all the neighboring states furnished a basis for revisionism which steadily grew, particularly after the rise of fascism throughout Europe in the thirties.[2] The provision for an exchange of populations with Greece greatly heightened the volume of refugees who streamed into Bulgaria, adding to the political ferment and economic burdens of the country. In these and other ways, the settlement exacerbated conditions under which radicalism throve. [131] [701] [668] [167]

Stambolisky won a commanding position in the parliamentary elections of March, 1920, and proceeded to ride roughshod over both the middle class and conservative parties on the right and the Communists on the left. He instituted a number of reforms, including a land law designed to break up the crown lands and larger estates, the imposition of a heavy income tax, and the establishment of a compulsory labor service which in the first four years of operation secured the equivalent of five million wage days of work for the Ministries of Public Works and Railways. In foreign policy he sought to fulfill the treaties and to effect a reconciliation with Yugoslavia among whose Communist and Agrarian parties his concepts of Slavic federation found support. His dictatorial methods, however, won him enemies on all sides, not least among them being the Macedonians who opposed his policy of rapprochement with Yugoslavia. In June, 1923, he was overthrown by a *coup d'état* organized by a group of intellectuals, led by Professor Tsankov, and the League of Army Reserve Officers, among whom Colonels Velchev and Georgiev were leaders. A few days later Stambolisky was assassinated. 643 185 656 648 669

Following the Stambolisky regime, the Tsankov government (1923-26) represented a swing to the right. "Communist" insurrections and violence were suppressed with great severity. The increased activity of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) caused difficulties at home and abroad, although after the assassination of its leader Alexandrov (1924) it was split into two factions under Protoguerov and Mihailov who became bitter rivals. A threat of war with Greece arose, but was averted by the action of the League of Nations. A more conciliatory government 642 668

[2] See G. P. Genov, *Bulgaria and the Treaty of Neuilly* (Sofia, 1935).

[185] **The administration [vocational rehabilitation] program provides that during 1955, 70 thousand persons would be rehabilitated, 100 thousand in 1956, and the number would be progressively increased until 1959 some 200 thousand disabled persons would be rehabilitated and returned to useful work.—James P. Mitchell**

466 right of freedom on the job and a legal principle requesting mutual consent for any modification of existing conditions.[32]

The check upon the workers' movement is performed via so-called "personal passports" and "workbooks." The first, issued by the police and the second by the first employer are labelled "official documents" and must be presented on request. According to the provisions of the Labor Code, as well as of the special Decree for Workbooks,[33] every worker is required to present his workbook, in order to be eligible for any kind of job. The book contains the whole employment record and, specifically, "the reason for the discontinuation" of a previous job.[34] It is kept by the employer and is aimed primarily at the prevention of arbitrary quitting.

471 Before discussing the core of labor relations—collective bargaining—it is important to recall the main characteristics of the parties between which the bargaining is supposed to take place. Due to the complete disappearance of private ownership in industry, the one and only owner and employer in Bulgaria is the Communist state. And bargaining with the state, even if duly protected, is always burdensome, especially when such protection is entirely lacking. In fact, Bulgaria's form of government being that of a dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, "a power limited by nothing . . . directly based on violence,"[35] and the sole repository of power being the Communist Party and government, all protective in-

[32] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year IV, No. 14, February 17, 1953.

[33] The Bulgarian Communists themselves seem to have been embarrassed by the shockingly frank language of the Stability Law (cf. author's study cited at footnote 3, p. 20, quoting speach by Vice-President Yugov), so that they repealed it nine months later (*Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year IV, No. 90, November 10, 1953). No change in the actual situation has been reported, however.

[34] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year IV, No. 26, March 31, 1953.

[35] Art. 17, par. 2 of the Labor Code, and Art. 6 (g) of the Decree for Workbooks.

[36] See footnote 6.

page 612 b.

465 human life and that the "social harm" of an offense is all that matters,[45] Communist legislation makes a worker "responsible for an amount higher than the actually caused damages,"[46] besides, of course, his liability under criminal law.

It is evident that all these financial liability provisions not only reduce the already very low wages of the Bulgarian workers but also violate internationally accepted legal principles—such as the exclusion of liability exceeding actual damage or of liability without guilt or negligence. This is not surprising if one bears in mind that the Bulgarian Penal Code also recognizes the application of the principle of analogy in criminal law,[47] and the Labor Code proclaims the principle that "acts of indictment have the force of proof until the contrary is proven"[48]—that is, one is presumed guilty unless he proves his innocence.

177 46 466 185 Analysis of labor and relations in Communist Bulgaria leads to the conclusion that the Bulgarian labor pattern is a carbon copy of the Soviet original. Neither democratic traditions nor social harmony have been taken into consideration. In their blind imitation, the Bulgarian Communists are trying to change the very basis of Bulgarian economy—from agriculture to heavy industry—as if they were mightier than the very nature which deprived the country of the elements required for such a transformation. Their only guiding light is the Soviet example, no matter how detrimental its application on Bulgarian soil might be.[49]

000 The Bulgarian case—most suitable to test Communism in export—has brutally refuted any illusion that Communism can be "different" if applied in more advanced societies. The tragic paradox of the Communist experiment with the Bulgarian workers is that the alleged primary beneficiaries of the new "socialist order" have, instead, received the harshest possible deal. **[The End]**

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661 461 population that purges of scapegoats and acts of dispair have been a permanent feature in Bulgaria as well. The workers, in particular, have defied pointed guns during the recent open unrest in Plovdiv, the second largest Bulgarian city, and in many other cities (Pleven, Pernik, Haskovo, Gorna Dzhumaja). In order to prevent the worst, the government, under Moscow's guidance, has announced a so-called new course, consisting of promises to raise the living standard and to relax the socialist labor discipline. The implementation of these promises is still to come. They clearly imply, however, that the Communist experiment has not succeeded in either converting the Bulgarian workers to Communism or breaking their spirit of resistance. (For details, see work cited at footnote 29, Ch. VIII-X.)

516b

010 above all have the principle of discipline and that of respect for his superiors inculcated in him, for no well-ordered State can survive without the existence of some form of hierarchy in it.

185 It must be admitted that the circumstances with which Bulgaria has had to contend were exceedingly adverse to the development and uplifting of the mass, necessary preliminaries to the exercise of democracy. The nation, dismembered at Berlin, directed all its energy to its reunion. To effect this purpose, it expended the greatest part of its resources on military preparations, and scant attention was given by the governing classes to cultural enterprise. Though many far-seeing Bulgarians, amongst whom Stoyan Mihailovsky, maintained that the policy pursued was wrong, and that a cultural development was the indispensable prerequisite to territorial aggrandisement. Bulgaria's ethnic unification being more easily attained by a process of evolution, and the establishment of a Balkan federation — these views naturally found little favour or encouragement with the classes which wielded power.

648 Moreover, the ruling classes succumbed to foreign influence, Russian or Austrian, whose object was to keep the Balkan nations in as backward a state as possible, in order to turn them more easily into blind tools for themselves. So that the moral ascendency which the outward world, and especially those great empires with which Bulgaria was in close touch, exerted on her, instead of being edifying and elevating was, on the contrary, demoralising and pernicious in the extreme. Dr. D. N. Popov, the biographer of Kosta Arseniev (1864-1899), an exemplary honest democratic politician, alluded in the following terms to that stormy period of Bulgaria's history. „Demagogy created immorality. Electoral abuses, brigandage below, and corruption above, became endemic. Some would have tied Bul-

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Bulgaria EEI

One may therefore summarize by saying that there has been virtually no religious struggle in Bulgaria, even though the victims are not few in number. This does not mean that all has been tranquil and serene. Georgi Dimitrov was not a man to give that sort of content to the word "peace." Nowhere have the Russians shown greater ruthlessness in carrying out the policies to which Leninism-Stalinism is committed. Marxist theorists consider the independent farmer as the greatest obstacle to social progress. They think it inevitable that industry should spawn the proletarian worker, and hold this worker to be at one and the same time a carrier of the Marxist virus and a member of the class majority in whose hands collective power over productive properties collectively owned and managed properly belongs. Accordingly there is only one way in which to speed arrival at the Communist goal, defined by Marx in the first volume of *Das Kapital*. The agricultural operation must be collectivized, so that eventually all tillers of the soil will cease to be owners of property and will work instead for the State. On this belief has been based the otherwise curious and paradoxical procedure of the Communists in Eastern Europe. In countries containing large estates, the Land Reform method is used to break them up and to parcel out small holdings; but as soon as this has been done the process is reversed, and the peasant owners are squeezed until they can only surrender their land for the organization of a "cooperative."

Therefore, Bulgaria was almost made to order for Communist experimentation. Nearly four-fifths of the population earned a living by the soil; and, though after the First World

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and now the number of Mohammedans expelled is in excess of 150,000. Moslem religious activities are, as a matter of course, subject to the existing laws concerning religion. Turkey has therewith been faced with a grave problem of refugee resettlement, and reliable reports indicate that she has dealt with it skillfully. Refugees are receiving farm lands in Anatolia, which has been sparsely populated. Naturally there need be no fear of Communist infiltration.

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Bulgaria EEI

185 829 War a program of cooperative farming was inaugurated on a voluntary membership basis, the vast majority of farmers were small landowners of the type which once was so characteristic of the Ukraine. As early as August, 1945, the first of a series of decrees was promulgated, to liquidate the hated kulak and incorporate him into the kolkhoz, or State farm, system. At the same time a blueprint of industrialization was drawn, on the [466] basis of the familiar Two- and Five-Year Plans. The blueprint required first of all cheap compulsory labor in quantity. The published legislation outlines the methods by which that labor force was to be obtained. The police received authority "to commit to communities for educational labor, or to a new place of residence, persons guilty of fascist or antidemocratic manifestations." It was also decreed, soon after the seizure of power, that many hundreds of thousands of persons should be "sent to the factories or shifted to industry." On none of these matters was any effort made to maintain secrecy.

[371] 697 466 Soon dams and electric power plants were being constructed in various parts of the country. The exploitation of Bulgaria's very modest coal deposits was greatly intensified. In order to supply the needed labor force, concentration camps were erected in a surprising variety of places. One of the better known is that at Belene, the inmates of which work at digging canals. Here are cooped up many prominent Bulgarian intellectuals, businessmen, and officers of divers political organizations once opposed to Communism. The Communists themselves have advertised widely this camp, where, it is estimated, 9,000 persons are interned under the most primitive penal conditions. If the accounts of prisoners who have escaped from it are to be credited (and there is no reason why they should not be), it is in all truth an infamous place. The methods of committing people to it have been spelled out in carefully devised legislation, which makes no provision for haling anyone before

1: Lee H-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
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eventually held in March, 1938, under a changed electoral law which permitted married women to vote but forbade candidates to run as members of the old political parties. In May, 1938, the *sobranie* met for the first time since 1935, but found itself reduced to the position of a consulting body. 646 666

The political crises of the period after 1933 were but outward expressions of the serious economic condition in which Bulgaria, along with all other predominantly agrarian countries of eastern Europe, had found itself as a result of the world-wide economic depression. At the same time both Italy and Germany sought to bring Bulgaria into their political and economic orbits. Bulgaria for several years seemed to waver between them and their rivals in power politics. Although its refusal to join the Balkan Entente, because of its revisionist territorial claims, seemed to align Bulgaria with Italy, a tense situation was avoided by the signature of a Pact of Friendship with Yugoslavia on January 24, 1937. In 1938 when the east European atmosphere had become clouded because of Germany's annexation of Austria and the developing Munich crisis, Bulgaria gained recognition of the right to rearm by means of an agreement in July with Greece who acted on behalf of the Balkan Entente. This was followed by an Anglo-French loan amounting to ten million dollars to assist in Bulgarian rearmament, although Germany had already supplied much material toward this end. Nevertheless, Germany had two advantages over its rivals. One was its freedom to encourage Bulgarian revisionist ambitions which, after the Bulgar-Yugoslav pact, tended to create greatest tension with Romania over the Dobruja. The other was the powerful economic tie developed between the two countries by means of trade agreements. After Austria and part of Czechoslovakia had been incorporated in the Nazi Reich in 1939 about 52 per cent of Bulgaria's exports went to Germany and about 63 per cent of its imports came from there. 648 [439]

It is doubtful, however, if the developing ties with Germany influenced the feelings of the Bulgarian people. Tsar Boris and his governments, even though they sanctioned agreements by which the political police cooperated with the Gestapo in pursuing "Communists," sought to keep down native fascism. There was, moreover, very little antisemitism in Bulgaria. The political opposition composed of the former Agrarian, Liberal, Radical, Socialist, and Democratic party elements, was by its nature antagonistic to Nazism. And, finally, the people had always retained a deepseated feeling of sympathy and respect for Russia against whom the Nazis were ostensibly aligned. Indeed, right down to 1941 there was much ground for believing that Bulgaria might well maintain neutrality in the second World War. 648 186 665

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

trees above, pitiful reminders of a once-proud forest. A hurried mountain stream called Dragalevtsy River passes through the village and, in doing so, turns the grist mills and assists with the washing of clothes. 133

A mile to the east of Dragalevtsy is Simeonovo, a settlement decidedly run-down at the heel. It was here that I spent a busy morning trying to explain to two villagers that the earth was really global rather than flat. Farther on around the shoulder of the mountain is Bistritsa, where the people are said to sing as they dance the *horo:* 186

> "There is no city more populous than Sofia,
> There is no river more majestic than the Iskar,
> There is no mountain more lofty than Vitosha."

This is an accurate illustration of ethnocentrism, or the belief prevalent among most people that they, and they alone, are the center of the universe and God's chosen children.

My usual approach to the village was across the unfenced fields and up the mountainside. Sometimes I came along the dull road from Sofia. By either way, the great mountain, changing color from hour to hour, was a rest to the eyes. The way across the fields led one gently into the village through patches of vegetable gardens and clumps of overhanging fruit trees. Upon entering the village from the direction of Sofia I passed the cemetery and then was closed in between whitewashed walls which lined the curving streets. Animals also felt much at home in these streets. Just before sunset the village goatherd headed the two hundred animals in his care toward the settlement. Into Renaissance Square they trotted, a capering mass of gray, black, and white. At each street several goats detached themselves from the rest to run unguided into their respective dwellings. The same scene occurred when the pigs came squealing home. At other times of day peasant girls passed by carrying washing to be pounded on rocks and dipped into the icy water of Dragalevtsy River. Hikers, many of them, lounged around Bai Penko's, or tramped through the streets obviously amused at the manners of the peasants. 631 [231]

Few things were as dependent upon the weather as the state of the village streets: muddy beyond description in the autumn and spring, 132

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

888 cide was by that time an out-of-date practice no longer linked with the precarious economic existence of a wandering people.

539 But it was a far cry from the cessation of the killing of aged
888 parents to the "Honor thy father and mother" of the Decalogue, which
593 later became a part of the Bulgarian family system. The peasants had another story to explain this dramatic change:

"In the olden days, when fathers died the sons would drag the bodies with a hook to a stream or gully and push the bodies in. One day a middle-aged man returned home from disposing of his father's body in this way, but failed to bring back the hook. Whereupon his own son in greeting him said:

" 'But, father, where is the hook? What will I use when I drag you away?'

"This made the father thoughtful, then remorseful. It was then that he retrieved his father's body and gave it a proper burial. Since then sons have been more respectful."

593 At any rate, whatever may be the explanation, the patriarchal
562 system with its respect for and obedience to the father won out. Con-
175 tact with Byzantine culture until the coming of the Turks must have reinforced the Bulgarian father's right to dominate his family. He
186 became more fully acquainted with the *patria potestas* which had been too strongly entrenched in the Roman family system to be forgotten by the Byzantines. Likewise, the patriarchal emphasis of the Old Testament and the Pauline epistles of the New aided in the continuance
175 of male supremacy. It is fascinating indeed to observe the response that the Slavicized Bulgarians made to the Byzantine culture in general. First they opposed cultural assimilation by force of arms; more than once the armies of the Bulgarian kings thundered at the gates of Constantinople in Bulgaria's proud golden age (about 900). Military expeditions, however, proved inadequate, with the result that the Bulgarian leaders sought to build a Slavic culture to rival that of the Greeks. It was this new culture which kept the feeling of national uniqueness alive among the Bulgarians, while other tribes upon entering that region became so thoroughly absorbed into the Byzantine Empire that they ended as curious names of the past with no modern representatives.

000 resemble you." Confused, the Pasha looked at Dragana's sons, saw the resemblance, and called off the death sentence.

●186 175 This story,? in addition to its glorification of Baba Dragana's love of country at the expense of her morals, gives us a picture of government under the Turks. Despite the claims of some Bulgarian historians, Bulgaria was not badly off before the end of the seventeenth century. It was during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that Turkish rule became oppressive in its efforts to stamp out the spread of revolts owing, in no small measure, to the spread of national consciousness among the subject peoples. As a matter of fact, Bulgarian historians deplore more vigorously the actions of the Greek clergy who arranged with the Sultan to collect all religious fees from the people. Whereas the Turks were little interested in mass conversions to Mohammedanism, the Greeks were said to be desirous of so Hellenizing the Bulgarians that they would lose their sense of nationality. These Greek priests, however, had so much contempt for the villagers that they made little effort to influence the peasant population.

175 This period of bondage to the Turks and the Greek priests must have made the family and the village community much better integrated social units. Struggle with an outsider tends to do that. The peasants put higher walls around their yards so Turkish soldiers would not be attracted by something seen while passing. Girls who went to a friend's home for an evening spinning bee spent the night there rather than risk the possibility of capture by the Turks on the dark way home. Even today this custom persists, perhaps because Dragalevtsy youths occasionally steal their brides. Certainly Turkish influence did nothing to weaken the man's authority; at the same time it probably strengthened monogamy because of the unpleasant association of polygamy with things Turkish.

Many of the older Dragalevtsy residents with whom I talked looked back upon the Turkish rule as preferable to their present lot. They said that they were seldom disturbed by the Turkish officials unless they molested the Turks or were forced to contribute men and materials to the Sultan's army. Of course, the Turkish tax collectors also made their regular visits, at which times many peasants con-

? [See p. 63, category 116--Analyst]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

585 were busily preparing the big meal to be served after the church ceremony every now and then rushed out with something for me to taste, with the groom's father insisting that I sample some of the choice wine or brandy purchased just for the wedding.

535 585 [186] The dance I had come to see did not begin until afternoon. It lacked the enthusiasm which I had learned to anticipate, but was nevertheless colorful: the girls and women wore their most beautiful costumes; the men were neatly dressed, some in army uniforms; the leader of the *horo* carried the Bulgarian flag of white, green, and red, taking care that it did not catch in the overhanging branches. (In time of war the colors are reversed with the red bar on top.) This dance really was the prelude to the gay procession which headed for the church about two-thirty. First came the musicians with their battered instruments; then the principals of the wedding, followed by the guests. The flag was there, as well as Bulgarian tricolor sashes over the shoulders of the men.

585 292 Ordinarily the bride was a gay figure in the procession, her somber black overdress brightened with huge silver belt buckles and cherished strings of thin gold coins handed down for generations from mother to daughter. Hair and face shining with cleanliness, she moved in her wedding procession, happy, although considerably confused by her prominent position. But this particular bride had no ornaments—(Had her parents refused to send them?)—except a flower over her ear and the usual short, coarse white veil on her head. She did have on real leather shoes, instead of the customary pigskin sandals, but that was the only elaboration of her costume. It was hard to get her to smile for her picture; but when her new brother and sister each took an arm to encourage her, the broad, rather dull face suddenly lit up and a pair of beautiful dark eyes looked shyly at my camera.

585 All the village turned out to see the procession pass. Swarms of children came racing down the principal streets at the sound of the music. Once we had entered the churchyard I learned that they were there to scramble for the candy and coins which were thrown in the air along with rice to symbolize sweetness, wealth, and productivity. But this came at the end of the ceremony, and the children stood

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

When I pressed him for his reasons, fully expecting him to say that he was yielding to the pressure of his wife or public opinion, he gravely replied: 527 178 183

"You see in Sofia I did not own any of my own cloth but now I have a great deal downstairs which I must protect from the mice." I might mention in passing that Bai Yurdan had become a faithful member of the Communist party.

The wolf holidays were still observed for three days following the Day of the Archangel Michael, which comes on November 21. During these days the peasants were careful to do no work and refused to cook or boil anything. Such rigid observances, they believed, protected their sheep from wolves, which were still numerous upon the mountain.

One event of overshadowing importance in the changes which had occurred in Dragalevtsy since 1937 had been its incorporation in Greater Sofia in 1939. Even though their village was close to Sofia, Dragalevtsy people had always considered themselves quite apart, and looked upon Sofia ways as alien ways. However, Sofia politicians managed to bring the village under the sway of the city's municipality. Most villagers considered this an evil day in the history of their community and could cite a number of disadvantages which had occurred as a result. One of the village officials, whom I had known previously, complained particularly about the following points: 369 178 186

1. The city municipality had taken over the forests.

2. It had taken over the meadows which the peasants owned in common. For instance, the villagers no longer did the haying in the meadows which used to belong to the school because all of the revenue from the sale of this hay went to the Sofia School Fund. This meant that the three Dog Days,[1] described in an earlier chapter, were once more days of idleness.

3. Formerly the Dragalevtsy Obshtina collected seven or eight million leva in taxes, but since incorporation with Sofia had only a budget of one million on which to operate. My informant failed to mention that much of this money came from the factory district down on the Sofia plain which had once, much to the dissatisfaction of the [651]

1 [cf. p. 58, category III -- Analyst]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
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CHAPTER XI

COMMUNISM KNOCKS AT THE DOOR

668 COMMUNISM came in the dead of the night. Dragalevtsy people awoke on September 6, 1944, the morning after Russia had declared war on Bulgaria, to find big posters proclaiming throughout the village such slogans as "Welcome to the Heroic Red Army" or "Long Live Stalin."

The peasants realized in retrospect how well organized everything must have been, for these signs showed that the local Communist sympathizers had been ready for this big event. One or two had fought in the mountains against the Germans as Bulgarian Partisans and had been schooled in the part they were to play when the Germans were finally driven out.

668 648 186 On September 16, 1944, at least eighty villagers from Dragalevtsy had gone to Sofia to welcome the Russians. Traditions live long in Dragalevtsy, and especially the tradition of brotherly Russia and its overwhelming contribution in emancipating Bulgaria from the Turks in 1878. So this demonstration of admiration for the Russians was genuine and spontaneous. Many parents took their children along so the youngsters could describe to their children and their children's children the excitement and greatness of this day. And the spectacle was one that was memorable, not like the arrival of the Nazis for whom there had been admiration mixed with fear, but rather the arrival of brother Slavs who would help Bulgaria grow great and strong. Thus the peasants had thought.

But news travels fast in Bulgaria and usually becomes altered in the traveling. Within five days, the people of Dragalevtsy heard so many rumors about the Russians that they soon had become afraid. They were especially nonplussed by the Russians' disregard for property. They heard about a man from another village who had been

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hauling corn in his oxcart. Russian soldiers told him to stop, get out, and give them the oxen, the cart, and the corn. He insisted that they must pay him, at which they laughed. Stubborn as only a *Shop* peasant can be, he sat rigidly in his cart to protect his own. From this point on versions differed: some said he was pulled out and beaten, others that he was shot and left dead by the roadside. And always the tale ended with, "The Germans always paid us, but the Russians never did." 668 648 186

But the Communists offered an explanation for the differences in the behavior of the two armies. The Russians invaded in battle order, which necessitated eating off the land on a catch-as-catch-can basis. The Germans, on the other hand, had sent large staffs ahead to make preparations for the coming of their troops. The net effect upon the peasant mentality was radically different, since property rights seemed violated by the Russians and respected by the Nazis.

Eventually a detachment of Russians had been established around Dragalevtsy. They frequented the taverns so constantly and with such enthusiasm that the peasants had a new saying: "There's nothing worse than drunken Russians." They began to judge the Russian nation by the off-time indulgences of its soldiers.

Although the "great disillusionment" regarding Russian soldiers had begun soon after their arrival, the people still hoped that all would go well politically. Most of the major political parties—the Agrarians, the Zveno, and the Democrats—joined with the Communists in September, 1944, to form a coalition, which they called the Fatherland Front. It was this government that conducted the purge, or the sentencing of about three thousand men and women by the people's courts on the grounds of collaboration with the enemy. About two thousand of these were executed. Some observers now feel, in the light of later developments, that the real basis of selecting victims for trial was not only their complicity with the Germans but also their danger as potential rallying points for a counterrevolution against the Fatherland Front. Two Dragalevtsy young men were tried and executed for collaboration with the Nazis. According to village reports, Communist sympathizers tried to exert pressure upon the new priest in the hope of preventing his officiating at any funeral ceremonies or memorial services for these men. According to the Com- 668 [661]

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port was the unquestioned popularity in Dragalevtsy of the *Green Banner,* the newspaper published by the opposition Agrarian group. As long as the opposition press continued to circulate throughout the country, the tried and trusted technique of one-sided interpretation could not be brought into full play. Schoolbooks could be rewritten, pamphleteering could be done in the Communist children's and youth organizations, but these activities were much less effective when other groups could print their versions to serve as antidotes. One-party control, such as the Fatherland Front wanted for Bulgaria, was authoritarian. It preferred to have no alternative opinions presented to the people, and felt that as long as it alone could tell the people what they ought to believe, the people would be well off, for they would be indoctrinated with the truth, as the Communist saw the truth.

Another weapon which the Communists hoped to use as a means of penetration was Pan-Slavism, especially among the Bulgarians. The members of the Red Army, however, instead of being missionaries of this mystic racial dogma, did it the greatest harm. Occupying armies seldom become popular, especially when the mass is held accountable for the sins of the few. The peasants were only too prone to fall into the error of the "lumping fallacy," and condemned all Russians on the basis of a few spectacular events which occurred in the village. One happening which Dragalevtsy peasants used in forming their attitude involved two peasant girls whom I had photographed as children several years before. Now that they were in their late teens they proved unusually attractive to two drunken Russian privates who tried to break into their house late one night. Although a noncommissioned officer came to order them away, these soldiers cursed him and kept on pounding against the door of the living-room. The door held fast, and they finally gave up and went away. Had they but known it, the lock had already been smashed; all they needed to do was to turn the knob and enter a room where the peasant family sat in mortal fear. The father knew that to fight for the honor of his daughters would have meant a bullet from a drunken soldier's pistol; the mother sat in prayer before the crude iconostas, while the girls cried softly at the thought of what seemed to be in store for them. In a village where immorality was frowned upon so strongly, this

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668 attempted assault was an experience which would be told and retold
186 generation after generation, with some such bitter moral at the end as "And those were our brother Slavs."

668 Perhaps the most important technique of control was the effective
626 play upon the fears of the people. Fearful people are a paralyzed people, and it was this creeping paralysis which was beginning to wear down the opposition and make possible Communism's eventual triumph. Sometimes events reached such a climax that fear was turned into action, but matters in December, 1945, were not reaching such a climax. Little by little the people were being made more fearful of the future, especially with the decline of British and American prestige. One never knew when the walls might have ears, or whom one could trust, or when one's home would be invaded and searched. One woman Communist spread a story about a neighbor's hoarding; he was twice arrested and his house searched three times, although the rumor was apparently unfounded. Grudges were sometimes "settled" when one of the parties tipped off the authorities to the failure of the other party to follow some unpopular regulation. Accompanying this fear was the belief that one would not have due protection of the law at a trial, since the new law was being written as cases came up, with little reference to prewar statutes or precedents. One was at the mercy of the court where the all-important question too often had become, "Did you or did you not fight against the Fascist German hordes?" Conceivably in the not-too-distant future the "sixty-four dollar question" might be, "Have you ever been sympathetic to Anglo-American interventionists and reactionaries?"*

When I asked my Communist acquaintances how they justified the interpretation of justice which I have been describing, they flashed back, as though well drilled: "But in America does the Negro or the poor man get justice? Don't the courts serve the interests of the rich? Here in Bulgaria our courts do not serve the interests of the privileged, but rather the good of the masses." I already knew that some of these Communist converts had been motivated by the highest idealism, that they felt they had a remedy for the economic and political evils of their country, and that any means they used to correct those evils would

* An observation made in 1946, which has become only too true in 1948.

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with a relationship as deep-rooted as that of the Balkan peasant to his land, he is also creating the seeds out of which a spontaneous resistance movement could grow. There is little evidence of collectivization at present, but the peasants are not convinced that it is not just around the corner.

Then too, the Balkan peasants, especially in the settled agricultural areas, have not taken kindly to Communism because they characterize it as an urban movement. When seasoned Communists try to converse with peasants about the merits of the Russian system their factory-oriented dialectic falls flat. Nor have they developed an agricultural vocabulary with which to communicate intelligibly with the rural people. The more the Balkan Communists talk, the more the peasants are convinced of the urban orientation of the new government. They consider it anti-Agrarian and anti-peasant. In an attempt to overcome this reserve to their program the Communists organize deputation teams of artisans who spend Sundays out in carefully selected villages helping the peasants repair their wagons, mend their pots and pans, or they even bring along a corps of barbers to cut the villagers' hair. The spirit behind such a move is to have the artisans show by their deeds, "You see, we are your friends. We're all brother Bulgarians [or Yugoslavs, as the case may be]." But it takes more than this to sell such a radical program as Communism to the capitalistic-minded peasant.

The rural villagers elsewhere in the Balkans, as well as in Dragalevtsy, resent the term worker. Newspapers studiously attempt to get the worker ideology accepted by the rural citizens, but the social statuses of the peasant and the worker are such that the government is asking the former to step down a rung, in the peasant's estimation. So Communism is thought to represent a backward rather than a forward move, and is related to the all-important matter of land: the peasant generally possesses it, whereas the worker is usually landless.

Many analyses of the Balkan problems play up rightly the role of the church, whether it be Eastern Orthodox or Roman Catholic, in the peasants' lack of enthusiasm for Communism. Others stress the generations-old nationality antipathies which have some influence. Certainly Pan-Slavism is not paying high dividends in rural areas in

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spite of heroic efforts by Russian ballet and athletic troupes who tour the provinces of all the Balkan lands. Other writers seek to show that modern Communism is merely a fulfillment of the traditional Communism of the zadruga, but they fail to point out that the zadruga was built around the family and land owned by that family, whereas modern Communism is centered around an impersonal state and ideology. To shift their loyalties from the family to such a state or to replace their religion with a new ideology is asking a great deal of the relatively inelastic peasant mass. State loyalties in the past were built upon joining the army and fighting, even to death, when one's country was threatened, but in times of peace one returned to the native village and had as little as possible to do with the national government after that. But the new turn of events in the Balkans seeks to whip up enthusiasm for the government, morning, noon, and night, when all that the peasants ask is "Please leave us alone."

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The future seems to hold little peace for the landed peasants. Russia is in the Balkans to stay. Granting no American armed intervention, only some great upheaval in the heart of Russia itself could weaken the grip of the present National Front governments to the point that the opposition in the Balkan countries could take over the control. Given enough time, the Communists can coerce compliance and can train up a new generation which would enthusiastically repudiate the past, thereby consolidating the Communist position.

The process will, however, not be one-sided. The peasants of the Balkans will in turn influence Communism and indirectly help fashion a type which, like Chinese Communism, is somewhat different from that imported from the Kremlin. (Since this was originally written, Tito's failure to push the collectivization of the Yugoslav peasants has gotten him into trouble with Moscow.)

Americans then must more and more regard the area as Russian-occupied, a conquest of war, which the Reds will continue to dominate because of their advantageous diplomatic and geographic position. Out of their occupation Russian sympathizers have argued that two decided gains would come: the lessening of the nationality and ethnic differences, which have heretofore been such a fertile field of ex-

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nicus and Galileo who opened for us the celestial world. We 175
have at ths time the invention of the art of printing which helped the spread of ideas by books. Here is the age of most gifted masters of speech, beauty and marble, like Petrarch and Boccacio, Ariosto and Tasso, Camoens and Servantes, of Rabelais and Montaigne, of Shakespeare, Michel-Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Rafael and Tician. This is the period of great philosophers like Bacon, Giordano Bruno etc. etc... Bulgaria was unable to benefit by all these miracles of rich material, intellectual, spiritual and esthetic culture... At this same time, our half illiterate monks the only representatives of our intellectual life in this remote dark age, contemporaries of Ariosto and Tasso, of Shakespeare and Servantes, of Rafael and Tician, devoted their lives to the painstaking and tedious work of copying the lives of saints or of painting ikons, which betryed the complete conventionality and frigidity of Byzantine art!"

But neither the Turkish political, nor the Greek ecclesia- 175
stical slavery were in a position to suppress the spirit of the 814
Bulgarian nation. It was encouraged by the enlightened
groups of artizans, merchants and clergymen. A bright spark 186
flashed all of a sudden in this dark period. This spark was the Slavic Bulgarian history of a Bulgarian monk of Macedonian origin called Paissi Hilendarski[1]). This was a hand written manuscript of 1762, which told the Bulgarian people of their glorious past, of their Kings and Patriarchs. The manuscript was called by the common people „The Book of Kings" and was copied and distributed widely in the Bulgarian lands. The plea of this Bulgarian monk to his people was „Oh Bulgarians, get to know your origin and your language". This was a forward call for the hard struggle to obtain schools and churches, enlightement, civilization and freedom of conscience: a struggle against anything that was Greek. The hatred, accumulated for centuries past — already 1083 years old — broke out with new force. This was the Bulgarian Renaissance.

„The Bulgarian Renaissance, as a process of develop- 178
ment, has something in common with the Renaissance of 186
Westren Europe:.

[1]) A monk of the Hilendar Monastery, Mont Alhos.

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„1. The Renaissance in both cases is not a casual or sudden change, but it passes trough a period of transition and preparation. The transitory period is the Middle Ages. The only difference is that the Middle Ages ended for Europe in the beginning of the 14th century, while in Bulgaria it lasted until the end of the 18th century.

„2. In both cases the carriers and promoters of the Renaissance ideas were men of public and economic affairs.

„3. Both in Italy an in Bulgaria, the leader of the movement appeared to be a prominent person: Petrarch in Italy and Paissi in Bulgaria.

„4. What particularly brings our Bulgarian Renaissance close to the Western European is the new conception of things national, of the national spirit and the reversion of language and literature to their original sources to this conception".[1])

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19. Bulgarian Exarchate. National Bulgarian Church, 1872. We find the idea of the church at the bottom of Bulgarian national thought.

The conception of a national church is the fundamental thought that runs through Bulgarian history up to the present times.

The well known Romanian historian prof. N. Yorga stresses particularly the specific significance of the Bulgarian church in the political life of the Bulgarians:[2]) „The Bulgarian tradition, however, continued to live in the church, and this church represented the culture, the city life, the old and only intrinsic opposition in this same imperial conception against Hellenism, which conquered Byzantium".

The Bulgarians had accumulated in their hearts a profound animosity against the Greeks. Anything that was Greek was a synonym of oppression for them. Their ideal for freedom and independence was snugly preserved in their lofty mountains. The struggle for it began with new force and vigor. It was now a struggle for education, cultural advancement, free-

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[1]) Shishmanoff, opus cit. p. 191.

[2]) N. Yorga; Histoire des Roumains et de la Roumanie Orientale vol. III, p. 112, Bukarest 1937; Cif. Prof. Nicolaeff, op. cit. p. 127.

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000 the desire to appreciate this small and suffering country and to develop a respect for her, which she certainly deserves.

39. Bulgaria is the Land of Peace and Labour. The present state of Bulgaria's development is not due to the wealth of any natural resources, as this is the case with other countries more fortunate than she in that respect. She owes her advancement to the hard labour of her population. Hardly any traveller has crossed over her territory and failed to observe sympathetically the distinguishing traits
181 of Bulgaria. Here is how Cyprien Robert, describes the Bulgarians:[1])

„The martial abilities, their wealth and commercial experience made the Bulgarian people so dreadful in the beginning of the Middle Ages; to-day, however, the Bulgarian nation is the least prone and given to luxury as well as the most peace loving among European nations. All who know the present day Bulgarian praise him for his peace virtues. The Bulgarian is ready to render you a favor, he is industrious and has the peculiar ability to act with caution. But once, having made up his mind he goes on to do things with an amazing perseverence supported by an athletic force, which enables him to resist the greatest danger without boasting and with composure. Though the most oppressed of all the other people on the peninsula, the Bulgarians have not succumbed to humiliation and distress. As in all times, the look of the Bulgarian to-day is proud, his robust stature is high and handsome. His honesty is above and beyond reproach. You could safely entrust him with any amount of money and you may be sure that it would be delivered to its destination. People blame him that he trembles at the sight of the Turks. The Bulgarian does not tremble, but when he realizes that all resistance is futile, as a reasonable person, he knows how to submit".

186 Another traveller at the time of the Bulgarian insurrection of 1877, James Baker,[2]) writes the following: „... A peculiar trait of the history of Bulgaria was the great current of national feeling, which obsessed and continues to dominate

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[1]) Cyprien Robert, op. cit. p. 240, a. al.

[2]) J. Baker, Die Türken in Europa; autoris. deutsche Ausgabe. 2-e Auflage. Stuttgart. 1879. p. 24.

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the consciousness of this people. We do not hear of Bulgarian uprisals against their sovereigns, on the contrary, they always appear as a united nation fighting for its independence. This force of united behavior and of national consciousness makes a remarkable impression on any traveller, who visits the Bulgarians to-day. Each of them would come forward, willingly and in earnest, to offer himself as a sacrifice to the welfare of the nation. This is an attitude fraught with great potentialities and possibilities, provided it is guided properly". 186

Henry C. Barkley,[1]) a British civil engineer, was in Turkish time in charge of the construction of the railroad Tcherna Voda—Constanza (ca 1860) and had an ample opportunity to observe Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks and others at work. He writes: „Amongst the natives proper, far the best and most intelligent workmen were the Bulgars, and with proper education and good example they were capable of doing anything. Unfortunately, at present the only education for the Bulgar is found in the offices and shops of the Levantine merchants in Constantinople and other large towns, where commercial morality is so corrupt that they have no option but to turn out rogues... There are no schools, except those attached to the Greek church, where, I believe, such folly as teaching honesty is unthought of. For this reason the better people are to be avoided as much as possible, but there will be found a great deal of sterling good among the village peasants that only require development. They are steady, quiet, hardworking set of people, patient and unresisting under the Turkish yoke, but at the same time not cringling or servile like their brother-Christians, the Greeks and Armenians. And I have no doubt that were the Turks banished out of Bulgaria, the Bulgars would soon convert into one of the finest and most prosperous countries in Eastern Europe. As much as possible we employed these men on the line, and after years some of them became fitters, cleaners, locomotive drivers, and in fact filled all the places of skilled workmen and it is wonderful to think how they excelled, when one bears in mind how few had been their advantages. 181

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[1]) Henry C. Barkley, civil engineer, Between the Danube and the Black Sea or five years in Bulgaria, London, 1876, pp. 174—176.

the contempt of the Turks and Greeks, they did not need 175
to be ashamed of their own traditions. In the past the 814
Bulgarians had had their own empire and had received tribute from the wise Greeks and they had had the most progressive tsars and patriarchs of all the Slavonic peoples and they had been among the first peoples to accept the Christian faith, which they had later handed on with a rich literature to the other Slavs.

With its poetic inspiration and its ardent love for his [186]
country, the History of Paisi appeared as a torch to kindle the lowly and undeveloped national consciousness of Bulgaria. It set it ablaze and thus caused the surprising advance of the Bulgarian people. In one century 2/n they turned from an amorphous mass to one of the strongest nationalities of the Balkans. They raised their level of culture, and developed their art, science and literature.

It goes without saying that the History of Paisi could 533
not have worked this miracle, if it had not found a fertile 814
soil in the souls of the Bulgarian people, and more than 186
that, if the soil had not been cultivated by a long series of enthusiastic imitators of Paisi. Between 1800 and 1850 these writers, without stopping, first in manuscripts and later in printed books, continued to arouse the national consciousness of the Bulgarians and to spread enlightenment in their native land. The aims of these men were purely practical. The definite object of Sofrony Vratchanski, of Neofit Bozveli, of Neofit Rilski in their works which are almost always of a didactic character, was to help their people, to educate them and to lead them on the path of proper development. Yet so strong and so inspired was the love that these men had for their

2/n [i.e., the eighteenth century --- Analyst]

between 1840 and 1847 and we can say without exag- 538
geration that he became a poet with the definite patriotic 186
aim of adding the power of the living word to the other means which he was employing in the service of his people. For participating in conspiracies within the Turkish Empire, Rakovski lay for three years in a prison in Constantinople and later he organized a revolting band with which he operated in the Balkans. At the same time he composed the poem "A Mountain-Wanderer", he published journalistic articles, and made studies in folklore, all with the one aim of arousing the Bulgarians to revolt against the Turkish yoke, of giving them faith in their own power, and of convincing them that they are one of the chosen peoples of the earth, who are assured of a glorious future. Like Paisi and his followers, Rakovski was so inspired by his love for his country that he became a true poet and towers among his people not only for his personal heroism but for his books which won hundreds of adherents for the idea of Bulgarian independence.

The same is true of Lyuben Karavelov (1837-1879), for between 1870 and 1875 he took a personal part in the revolutionary struggle of the Bulgarians and he had great political influence as one of the founders of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee. Yet he left a still greater reputation from his literary work which he treated as part of his patriotic mission. Like his contemporaries, he had a definitely practical aim—to arouse the spirit of the Bulgarians and urge them to struggle; amid the difficulties and tragedies of the time in which he worked, he kindled the souls of his people, became inspired himself and was turned into a true artist. Thus it was granted

538 people that without their endeavor, their works became
814 works of art and formed a stage in the development of
186 Bulgarian literature and the Bulgarian literary language. This gradually evolved under the guidance of the democratic spirit of the authors from the dead Church language which had predominated in the work of Paisi, until it approximated the Bulgarian colloquial dialects on which the modern language is based.

538 Not a little credit for the formation and crystalization
186 of the Bulgarian literary language and the development of modern Bulgarian literature must be given to the writers who walked in the steps of Paisi and his school and who were also public spirited men. This last circumstance explains the fact that the list of the most prominent authors includes the names of those Bulgarians who in the epoch preceding the political liberation of Bulgaria, the period between 1840 and 1875, took the leading and most self-sacrificing part in the cultural struggle for their country, for its spiritual awakening and its ecclesiastical independence, who fought in the revolting bands of various heroes, who worked inside the country in various revolutionary committees or with the Central Committee in Bucharest (Rumania was already free), and who thus tried in every way to secure the liberation of their country. Thus, whether we consider the men who appealed for aid in the struggles for ecclesiastical and national independence or list the writers or the leaders in any popular movement, we always come upon the names of Rakovski, Lyuben Karavelov, Drumev, and above all Khristo Botev.

The character of Sava Rakovski (1821-1867) is especially interesting and original in this group. He worked

538 to him to write such stories as the "Child of Mamin" and
186 "Bulgarians of the Old Times." These have permanent value and are more and more highly regarded for their clever observation and understanding and the realistic manner in which they picture the life and manners of the people in the little Bulgarian cities at the middle of the nineteenth century, and they are still counted among the most happy productions of Bulgarian artistic prose.

Another man who was primarily interested in public work was Vasil Drumev (1841-1901), who in 1872, following the steps of the first Bulgarian theatrical writer Dobri Voynikov, wrote a historical drama "Ivanku" which is one of the best Bulgarian dramas. Unfortunately Drumev did not find in literature a satisfactory outlet for his patriotism and his desire to aid his people and therefore after finishing "Ivanku" he entered the priesthood and devoted himself exclusively to educational and political activity, a clear example of the way in which the Bulgarian writers of this period were led by patriotism to commence or to terminate literary and artistic work.

This same patriotic fervor developed and forged Petko Rachev Slaveykov (1827-1895), one of the greatest Bulgarian poets of the older epoch, a man who exerted great influence on later Bulgarian literature. Slaveykov became a poet quite accidentally, in furtherance of his patriotic aims. His first poem was a satire, which he wrote when he was barely 16 or 17 against Ilarion, Bishop of Tirnovo, a Greek by nationality and a well-known Bulgarophobe. This commenced his struggles against the Greek clergy and the Turkish government which filled his entire life. While Slaveykov was wandering as a teacher throughout the whole of Bulgaria,

unable to remain long in any one spot because of the persecutions of his enemies, he began to write lyric poems to take the place of the Greek love songs, which were then sung throughout Bulgaria and which were a powerful factor in the Hellenizing of the educated Bulgarians. To aid the Bulgarian national rebirth, Slaveykov became a journalist and edited a satirical journal and later a political paper. Then from patriotic motives, he commenced the enormous task of translating the Gospels with the support of the American Bible Society. But the social-literary activity of Slaveykov did not exhaust his powers; it merely inspired the poet in minutes of quiet reflection to write some of the most beautiful lyric productions of Bulgarian literature. In 1927 when the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Slaveykov was being celebrated— his poems, although they had been neglected by the younger generation, showed the sincerity, deep sensitiveness and warm feeling of their author and again won high regard.

Far above these writers of the pre-independence period, above Lyuben Karavelov, Drumev, and Petko Slaveykov, stands the dazzling and blinding Khristo Botev. Botev is the greatest Bulgarian poet and the most revered national hero. His short life created a mass of legends and these legends are even now repeated in Bulgaria from north to south and he wins all hearts by the clarity, beauty, and moral earnestness of his actions.

Khristo Botev (1848-1876) was born in the middle of the nineteenth century in Kalofer, a city in the Balkans not far from the celebrated Valley of Roses. His father was a good and enlightened teacher but he was loyal to

538 186 the Turkish government. At home Khristo was trained to quiet and self-restraint but from his early years he felt in his veins the urging to a revolt against the Turkish oppressors and against the lamb-like toleration of his contempararies, especially their leaders (the Chorbadji), who looked upon every attempt to rouse the people against the Turks with even greater horror and consternation than did the Turks themselves. Who knows what would have happened to Botev in his little native city, where his patriotic revolutionary tendencies would have led him to ruin and destruction and where they could not have been guided and enlightened, had his father not sent him to Russia when he was 17? There in the land of Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky and Turgenev, Botev developed his character, thought over his career, and learned that he was to sacrifice himself for his people. But to sacrifice one's self in the best sense of the word, is to acquire unconquerable power— the power of a symbol, which cannot be separated from the conscience of the nation for which it serves as a noble example. His decision once made, Botev strove stubbornly and constantly to carry out his aims: to lay down his life for his country, without any other idea than that, as he puts it in one of his ballads, the people should some day say of him, "He died, poor man, for truth and freedom."

The last years of Botev's life were stormy. He remained in Russia until 1867; then for a short time he was a teacher in his native city, but later, instead of returning, as his father wished, to complete his education in Russia and become a physician, he emigrated to Rumania and began to prepare himself for active revolutionary work in Bulgaria. He became a member of

the Central Revolutionary Committee, edited the journals Budilnik (Alarm) and Zname (Banner), suffered poverty and maintained himself by writing and teaching. He finally wearied of emigré life and foreign conspiracies which revolted him by their uselessness and the atmosphere of intrigue with which they were surrounded. In 1876, when he was 28 years old, the revolts broke out in Bulgaria which gave the Turks the excuse for the reprisals characterized by Gladstone as the Bulgarian atrocities. Botev organized his own revolutionary band of about 200 men, seized an Austrian steamship, the "Radetski", crossed the Danube, landed on the Bulgarian coast and prepared to fight with his comrades for the liberation of his people. He failed to receive assistance from his compatriots and three days later he fell dead on the Vola, a barren Balkan height, and no one knows the location of his grave. 538 /86

Thus the life of Botev is filled with the beauty of active self-sacrifice and with harmony between preaching and action. This beauty is increased by one remarkable fact; that it is dominated and permeated by the gleam of a poetical inspiration which surges in direct proportion to the revolutionary activity of Botev and is its direct expression. This inspiration he poured out in 22 poems, but among these are the most pieces of Bulgarian authorship; the ballad "Hadji Dimitar" and the lyric poems, "To my first love", "May", "On farewell", etc.

To analyze the poems of Botev without being able to cite them is sacrilegious for a Bulgarian and it is impossible to translate them. We can only say in characterization of them that they arose incidentally amid 538

538 the stormy life of Botev as sparks of molten gold which reflected his ardent soul. They speak the language of Botev; they are diverse in content and rhythm and dazzle by their imagery. Full of undoubted originality, they are sketched with an economy of means such as only world-poets use. The poems of Botev are short and yet they embrace much. Every element is powerful and harmonious and like an unexpected flash of lightning each directly affects the feeling of the reader, so that he understands easily and surely the aim and idea of Botev's life, love for his country, above which there is nothing in the world and for the liberation of which, if a man falls, "he does not die, but even the animals and nature mourn for him and the bards sing in his honor", as he says in one of his poems.

How true these thoughts of Botev were can be seen from the fact that after fifty years every Bulgarian mourns for him. His name is echoed in the defiles of the Balkan Mountains and the broad Thracian and Danubian plains and rings without ceasing in the souls of the Bulgarians as the expression of the finest man whom their country has brought forth.

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538 186 The gigantic shadow of Botev falls across the gulf which separates enslaved from free Bulgaria, for as is well known, the country was separated from Turkey as an autonomous principality as a result of the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-8. On the later side of the gulf stands the figure of another great poet, balancing the work of Botev. This man has a significance for Bulgarian culture and Bulgarian literature, if we estimate this by direct and evident influence, perhaps even greater than

has Botev. It is Ivan Vazov who first carried the fame 538
of Bulgarian literature beyond the boundaries of his 186
native land and whose activity of 50 years from 1872 to 1921 witnessed the joys and hopes of young Bulgaria, its heroic struggles for national unification and the crushing failure of these hopes in 1918 and who was a sensitive echo of all the joys and sorrows of his country.

Ivan Vazov (1850-1921) is the first Bulgarian poet who gave expression to his patriotism not by direct public work— as did his predecessors— but exclusively by unceasing artistic production through which he strove to express all that he saw in his country: its nature, its people, and also the ideals towards which it should strive. Bulgaria in all its manifold aspects— that is the content of the literary work of Vazov, who sacrificed to his inspiration his personal life and all his other interests, so that he could offer it worthy service solemnly and convincingly.

The sacrifice which Vazov offered to his country was not in vain. There is no Bulgarian writer who so truly and accurately reflects his country as does Vazov. There is no Bulgarian writer like Vazov whose works demand the attention of every foreigner who would know Bulgaria.

For example, if a man is interested in the past of 175
Bulgaria, let him turn to the historical dramas of Vazov 538
on themes from the old Bulgarian Empire, or his "Leg- 186
ends of Tsarevets", which describe touchingly the struggles between Bulgaria and Byzantium. If he seeks the less distant past or the rebirth of Bulgaria, he has the splendid "Epic of the Heroes", in which he represents as in living marble the figures of Paisi, Rakovski,

538 Levski and the Brothers Milandinovi. If he wishes to
186 learn of the uprisings which were the indirect cause of
175 the liberation of Bulgaria and turned the attention of Western Europe to its fate, he can read the best novel of Vazov, "Under the Yoke" which has been translated into every culture-language and which describes with surprising artistry the life of a Balkan city before the liberation, the secret work of the group of rebels, the uprising which they prepare and which the Turks suppress with fire and sword. If he desires to understand the life of the newly liberated Bulgaria, he can find what he seeks in the novels of Vazov as "The New Land" and the "Empress Kazalar." If he would know how Bulgaria passed through the series of war which she waged, in which she conquered heroically without being able to reap any profit from her victories, he must turn again to Vazov and to his many collections of poetry, in which we find expression of all the pains of Bulgaria, all her hopes and disillusionments. Thus every one must turn to Vazov who wishes to know of Bulgaria with her landscape, her fields and mountains, the Balkans, Rilo and Rhodope, the Danube and the Black Sea.

538 It is superfluous to list the works of Vazov, for this would be merely the listing of all the inner and outer characteristics of Bulgaria in a perfect mirror. It is better to say that their significance is to be found not only in the fact that they focus as in a lens everything that is important in Bulgarian life but that this is done artistically, with the aid of a talent which is gifted for both poetry and prose, and which produces its effects with great music of phrase, vividness of imagery, a

Bulgaria E E1

Soviet groove. Secondly, Bulgaria is highly important to Russia strategically. She flanks enemy Jugoslavia. She provides the only direct approach to Greece since Tito has closed the main route. She adjoins Turkey, on whom the Soviets desire to exert pressure from all directions. She is, as we have seen, Russia's chosen instrument of intervention in the Macedonian question. On every count she is the country which, more directly than any other except Poland, can be useful to Russia in the present line-up of European forces. It is not by chance that she and Poland had the honor of being the first to receive high officers of the Soviet Army as commanders-in-chief of their troops. 177 648

The sources of opposition are two. One is nationalism. It may be called Titoism or Kostovism, but it is always treason. Nationalists are dealt with as Petkov and Kostov were dealt with. These two, such poles apart, are simply conspicuous examples among tens of thousands who have suffered for opposing the Communization or Sovietization of their country. Any successors they may have, whether noble like Petkov or hateful like Kostov, will be put down with the same irresistible brutality. 186

The other source of opposition is the peasantry. The peasants resist being made into sharecroppers. They do not think that they are being forced into collectives so that a great social goal can be achieved but in order that a group of adventurers can exploit their hold on them and on the country more conveniently. The Communists are everything that peasants hate and fear—the city slicker, the government bureaucrat. These newcomers in the villages, wearing city clothes, often speaking with a foreign accent, urge the peasants to enter collectives for their own good. Those who do are only one degree better off than those who do not—they are allowed to live, while those who refuse starve. But they live as serfs. They will work for the rest of their lives, as they figure it, to support others who will not or cannot work so hard as they must do—other peasants who have let their lands run down and are glad to merge with those who have kept theirs up, and surplus townsfolk who will never learn to "pay their way." That there are other answers to such arguments than force does not matter. The answer has been given, and it is force. 565 578

[i.e. Opposition to Sovietization---Analyst]

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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the abdomen, breast and throat with laurel oil.) *Madrun*, *matrun*, *matica*, *mantrun*, *materica*, *matra*, *madron*, etc., means in general an acute internal pain, colic, flatulence, pleuralgia, a disease of the liver, etc. In Bosnia *matra* is a disease (a swelling?) of the male organ. The other meanings of this group of words include 'womb' and 'hysteria', but whether the association is popular in origin it is difficult to say.

An exorcismal formula runs as follows: 'In the name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Amen. I conjure you *Matrun*! Why do you torment the body of the servant of God? And bellow like a bull, leap like a stag, bark like a dog, trumpet like a lion, swim like a fish, creep like a snake, torturing the whole body of God's servant NN. I conjure you... *Matrun*, to go back to your own place and not to molest the body of God's servant NN....'[1]

Even the smallest creatures have souls, it is said, and the animal soul-form which has been remarked above immediately brings to mind the shapes of disease demons, of demonic parasites, and of the separate bodily organs. Both to diseases and to parts of the body, animal names have been given, apparently on the grounds of something more fundamental than likeness of shape. For the type example *mus*—*musculus*, etc., Serbian produces *miš*—*mišica*, and a colloquial *krtica* for the hand of a thief,[2] while the disease name 'scro-

[1] Fr. D' All Asta, *Narodna Medicina* (*Hrvatsko Primorje*), Zb. XXVI (*Almanaco Fiumiano*, 1857); cf. Zb. XV, i, p. 158; M. Medić, *Četiri Ljekarule*, Zb. XIV, p. 172; V. Ardalac, *Basme* (*iz Bukovice*), Zb. XVII, p. 362; M. Medić, *op. cit.* Zb. XII; *Tri Ljekarule*, Gl.Z.M. XVI (1904), p. 206. In some written sources and in Western dialects there is a 'male' and 'female' variety of the disease, which may be quite different complaints.

[2] *bik*, *bičić*, the sexual parts of a young ram (*bik*, a bull); *guska*, etc., buttocks; *gušter*, *gušter*, *kušlar*, etc., muscle; *jež*, womb, hedgehog; *kanji*, eyelids (*kanja*, a bird, but the etymology is more probably *kan-* as in *kanuti*, to drip), also an eczema on the eyelids; *kona*, muliebria infantis; *kuna*, *kunica*, *lasa*, muliebria, weasel, Bg. *kunica*, menthula infantis; *konj*, antlers, horse; *kobilica*, breast bone of a fowl, collar bone of a man, the bone under the belly of a fowl, a mare; *kokot*, *petao*, *pivac*, Bg. *kokoška*, etc., menthula, etc.; *knjist*, fingers of the hand; *knjist*, an insect (a more recent usage); *kurica*, vulva; *kuk*, *kukac*, thigh, hip, an insect, the mantis; *kit*, menthula infantis; *kopilo*, fat on the lower part of the abdomen; *mišić*,

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774 753 fula' has a Serbian *calque* or parallel *prase*, *svinja* or plural *svinje*, in the double sense of 'pig' and 'scrofulosis'.

B S 753 164 In a collection of prescriptions of 1843 a disease is mentioned: '*kratorija*, *kurta*...which is like a dog biting at a man's stomach (*acerbitas*)'. The term is an old one since it is used as an equivalent of gangrene in the twelfth century. In modern Bulgarian: *kərticina*, *kərtica* = scrofula, icterus. The animal cognate is *krt*, *krtica*, etc., a mole.[1] In Orehovsko, in Bulgaria, swellings which are elsewhere called *kərtovi pəpki* (scrofula?) are cured by making a child who has them B S [757] urinate on a mole hill (after using a counting-out formula), and by applying the mud to the parts affected.

Some of the homonyms arise from similar characteristics of the disease and the animal. For instance, *mlamosi* (the disease) is brought about when a child is left too long in the sun. The insect *mlamosnica* is yellow in colour. *Žaba* (the disease) appears as boils with black centres on the tongue which resemble a frog's eyes.[2]

B S 192 muscle, menthula; *miška*, *paci*, vulva, Bg. *pačence*; *mura*, an animal's stomach, rennet; the name of a black animal, dog, goat, horse; *oko*, eye, a kind of snail; *pupak*, umbilicus, belly; *bubac*, stomach of a fowl; *plovak*, womb, placenta (*plovka*, duck, etc.); *ptic*, menthula infantis; *riba*, muscles, buttocks, fish; *ribice*, kidneys, intestines; *zec*, breast bone of an animal, a hare; *žabe*, *žabice*, glands, testicles; *žlezde*, glands, scrofula, O.B. *žəlva*, a tortoise, etc. (For a discussion of some of these etymologies, cf. H. Gunter, K.Z. Bd. XLV, p. 43 *passim*; also *Archiv für Slav. Philologie*, XXVII, XXXII, etc.)

[1] Cf. T. Bratić, *Ljekaruša iz* 1843 *godine*, Gl.Z.M. XX (1908); V. Jagić, *Entstehungsgeschichte d. kirchenslawischen Sprachen* (1913), p. 305; cf. *Bəlgarska Starina*, I.

[2] E.g. *buba*, gangrene, carcinoma, apoplexy; *bubinjaca*, a boil, etc.; *bubuljice*, acne; *buba*, *zla buba*, a suppuration or inflammation round the nails, a gumboil (an insect is supposed to gnaw the flesh; the pus is its excreta); *buba u glavi*, a disease in young children when the skin turns yellow, dry and translucent, and they frequently touch their heads and are generally sickly (also brain fever); *buba*, an insect, beetle; *badlje*, *balji*, *badljivi*, eczema of scalp and brows, trichiasis, a sty, a tumour, cf. *plamac*, *sklopac*, *jarac*, etc. (also a maggot of some kind); *baga*, disease of a horse—in Stulli's dictionary *bagoče* is *maxillarium nervosum convulsio*, adj. *bagav*, lame, generally of horses (*bagal*, *baguda*, an insect, perhaps from It. *bago*); *crv*, various sores, wounds, etc., a worm, a scalp disease; *gulteri*, diphtheritis, cf. *guteri*, adenoids, etc.; *kultər*, a swelling, sprain,

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B S 753 164 B S [776] B S 192

Names of the source of the disease, particularly names of supernatural beings, can be used of the disease itself—with what degree of personification it is difficult to decide in every case. In the eastern regions it seems that a number of terms used elsewhere of common diseases, would be defined as evil

a lizard; *lisa*, disease of scalp or beard causing the hair to fall out (also a disease caused by a spirit); *metilj*, disease of the liver, in sheep or cattle; *metiljka*, a cataract, disease of the eye, an insect, moth; *mlamosi*, sunstroke (?), cf. *mlamosnica*, a centipede, a yellow larva; *magarac*, *magarevac*, whooping cough, a donkey; *mravi*, shuddering as in fever, ants; *mačka*, a cold in the nose, cat, cf. *mačić*, typhus, erysipelas, a whitish rash on the face; *mrav*, *pamrav*, 'something in the brain rolls about as though alive', brain fever, cf. *pamrava*, larva of *Gastrophilus equi*, the disease caused by it; *pauk*, syphilis, spider; *nerast*, splenitis, morbus lienis, cf. *nerast*, a young boar; *pesićevo*, *pesice*, a parasite infested wound; *prasići*, a swelling under the ears; *paučina*, herpes, a cobweb; *ospice*, variolae, wasps; *rak*, cancer, an ulcer, a festering wound, etc., crayfish; *ribine*, a swelling, a sprain, a hard knot 'like hardened arteries' which is caused by strain or by chill, rupture, cf. *riba*, a fish; *štene*, a festering wound, a young dog, cf. Bg. *skuli*, boils, eruptions; *stenći*, atheroma; *svinja*, *svinje*, scrofulosis, Bg. *svinja*, a fistula, a swelling; *prase*, scrofulosis, a pig; *srdomasi*, an illness in the head of a young child caused by a worm of the same name; *trud*, ulcer, panaritium, a hornet; *vuk*, gangrene, wolf, cf. Bg. *vulk*, laryngitis; *gagalki*, blisters in the mouth; *gogolj*, a swelling, a diving bird; *guta*, diphtheritis; *guta*, *gutal*, a pigeon, etc.; *gusenica*, a boil or tumour on the legs of cattle, a caterpillar; *guba*, *gubavica*, lepra, a swelling, a toad, also a fungus—*Coccus lecanium*, etc.; *grič*, *griža*, morsus, dysentery, etc., cancer, an open sore, cf. *griža*, *grizica*, *grižlica*, a moth or maggot, a kind of snake, a worm; *grinta*, the same, an ulcer, wound, disease of the scalp, a minute parasite, cf. *grinja*, a moth; *moljac*, a moth, a worm which breeds in the flesh; *jarac*, inflammation of the eyelids, a skin rash, cf. *jaricanje*, white spots or small blisters round the mouth and chin, an infection from cattle, a swelling on the body of cattle; *jašterica*, *gušterica*, a swelling on the tongue or foreleg, especially of cattle, a lizard; *jašterice*, small sores or boils on the side of the tongue; *koza*, *kozice*, variolae, chicken pox, a goat; *krava*, *kravica*, a swelling under the ears, on the arm, a sprain, a cow; *kukac*, panaritium, insect, salamander; *vočić*, inflammation round a bite, an inflamed wound, dim. *vo*, ox; *žaba*, *žabice*, angina, swelling in throat, any swelling, abscess, ulcer, etc., in cattle and sheep a boil on the tongue; *žaba*, frog, Bg. *zvjerinac*, herpes; *žabka*, *žalva*, fistula; *želve*, *žabe* (Slo.), scrofula, an abscess; Bg. *želka*, *želva*, tortoise; *živina*, *zverice*, *zverinac*, *živa rana*, etc., gangrenous sore or wound, cancer, inflammation, Bg. *živina*, *živinica*, *živenica*, syphilis, scrofula, swellings on the body; *živina*, *zver*, etc., animal, wild animal, etc.; *žutuga* (*žutice*, *zlatica*), icterus, a kind of fish.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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spirits. It will also be noted that these names include a number of animal names.[1]

Any attempt to discover a primal relationship between these categories or the initial reason for the adoption of animal names, would, of course, be so much waste of time if the investigation is confined to one linguistic area. In the examples that follow there will be found ample evidence of

[1] The following are names of the various kinds of supernatural beings, any of which may cause disease or harm. The greater number of these words also signify specific diseases. Even *plašnja* and *strava* may mean personal forces or beings. *Smlata*, which is generally nothing more than *Hexenschluss*, and often has ceased to have any connection with witchcraft, also means a witch or *mora*. Note that the names of supernatural beings, of the witch or fairy order, also occur as names of professional magicians and witch doctors (*viljenak*, *vilovnjak*, *vještnik*, *vještica*, *brodnik*, *brodnica*, *vila*, *vračarica*, *bajalica*, *baharica*, *madžionica*, etc.); i.e. these can be either human beings or supernatural beings. Note that some of them are generally referred to in the plural.

Beštija, *brodnica*, *coprnja* (*ica*), *čuma*, *čumica* (pl. *čumice*), *duh*, *lošduh*, *zao duh*, *izdat*, *izdajnica*, *jude*, *kamenice*, *okameni*, *okamenica*, *kuga*, *krivo oko*, *karan*, *karakandžeri*, *krvopilica*, *kratelj*, *skrat*, *skrata*, *kosac*, *kudlak*, *vukdolak*, *lisa*, *lune*, *leptir*, *netopir*, *vampir*, *lumpir*, *vampirčići*, *ljutice*, *mora*, *tmora*, *pomora*, *muravini*, *mekarine*, *mame*, *mamica* (pl. *mamice*), *mlamusi*, *matić*, *medivančići*, *nastrijelice*, *nastrelina*, *namerice*, *namet*, *nametnice*, *nežid*, *nežit*, *naprasnik*, *naprasnica*, *nahud*, *nahudnica*, *hudnici*, *nažurenice*, *žura*, *žuravice*, *nastrijelina*, *naletnice*, *noćnice*, *noćni osjen* (*sjen*), *senka*, *nečestivi*, *nečastivi*, *nečisnjak*, *nepomenica*, *ogram*, *ogramnica*, *otrovnica*, *proždreljevica*, *poganica* (pl. *-e*), *plašnja*, *uplah*, *polegać*, *rusak*, *rusa*, *ruse*, *rusalje*, *roške*, *stuhe*, *stihiji*, *sekarine*, *striga*, *sekarice*, *slute*, *sklopci*, *strava*, *strašnice*, *strijelica*, *sihir*, *strelka*, *ustrijel*, *šejtan*, *sotona*, *saturnica*, *tentacija*, *talasam*, *tenčac*, *utvar* (pl. *-i*, *-e*), *vila*, *samovila*, *samodiva*, *vještica*, *vile otrovnice*, *vrag*, *vražići*, *vražalica*, *vada*, *povada*, *vadine*, *urok*, *uročica*, *uročići*, *vadika*, *vražalica*, *viruške*, *uljezina*, *urama*, *uramnica*, *vlas*, *vlasi* (*ovi*), *vihor*, *vihorice*, *usadi*, *usov*, *zmet*, *zmaj*, *zduhovi*, *stuhe*, etc. Note the variations of meaning such as *činilica*, a witch, a charm worker, an evil spirit, a mental disease; *lahus*, a lying-in woman; *lahusi*, spirits that attack her or her child, an illness (also *kokošite lahusi*, a disease of fowls); *babice* is the usual Serbian word for this series, and also means diarrhoea. In Bulgarian we also find *ermenki* (a kind of evil spirit) which can also be equivalent to *urismice*, spirits which foretell the fortune of a new-born child; *usov*, a sheep disease, as well as a spirit; *ustrel*, a spirit, in particular a spirit which attacks sheep, or the spirit of an unchristened child, a vampire and so on, also a disease without reference to the agency of spirits; *čumice* are the children, *čuma*, plague; *bolehčići* are disease-spirits collectively. (Šiškov, *Život na Bulgarite v Srednja Rodopa* (Plovdiv, 1886), p. 46.)

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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342 **1. The Bulgarian house of the lowlands.**

192 This type of house mostly consists of two wide front spaces and of a prostoon, i.e. vestibule which is open as a rule on both its lateral sides.

[354] One of these spaces has the hearth (ognichte) and is called the kăsta, or more rarely hyza (1), i.e. house. It can hence be concluded that this space originally constituted the entire house. The other space is heated up by a stove and it is called the «soba», which means stove.

[252]

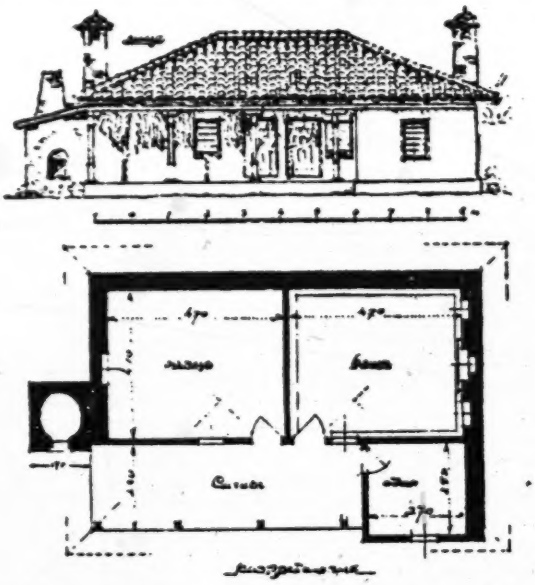

Fig. 33 House at the village Makrolivado (Usúntsovo) in district of Chaskovo (Zlatev, Balgar. kăsta, fig. 91)

The vestibule extending in front of the rooms, takes up either all the front part or only part of it, and is called by the Greek name «prust» (2) or by the Turkish names zardak, or saivan, or sundurma (3).

1) This word originates from the German hûs, Haus. Small and lightly constructed houses are also called by the Bulgars and the Slavs koliba or chalupa, from the Greek word καλύβη. (**L. Niederle**, Manuel de l'antiquité slave, II la civilisation Paris 1926 p.98 note 5).

2) Cf. the «μπροῦστι», i.e. the προστῷον, of the Greek houses in the Haimos area and the «μπρόστι» or «ἀμπρόστι» of the Roumloukion house near Thessaloniki (**G. Megas** Θρᾳκ. Οἰκήσεις p. 27).

3) According to **Jirecek**, Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien, p. 158, «the Bulgarian houses have always an open vestibule (prust, sundurma) formed by the extention of the roof and supported by wooden poles».

This type of house is as a rule in the middle of a large courtyard, surrounded by a plaited fence; the secondary parts of the housing, such as stable, hay-barn, cereal store, etc. are dispersed into this yard. B 342 [351]

In Southern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian farmers' houses do not present any difference from the rural houses of the Greeks, who were established there many centuries ago in the areas of Kavakli and Messimvria, as I have described them in my survey Θρρκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις (pp. 27-29 and 43-44), or from the houses of Southern, Eastern and Western Thrace. This is evident from the plans of two houses, one from the village of Macrolivado (Ouzountsovo) of the Chaskovo district (fig. 33) and the other from the Karatoprak village, of the Philippople district (fig. 34). 343 [171] G [342] [171]

The first one was built in 1780; it consists of two main rooms, completely separated from each other, and of a portico which originally covered all the frontage of the house. The small room (odaja) on the right hand end of the portico is an addition of recent years. According to Zlatev «the existence of a fire place in both rooms is not normal» (p. 104) «and it is characteristic to note that the hearth in the main room, the kǎsta, has been built on the external wall». In the other room, called here «zantsa», the hearth has derived from repair and it is obvious that the use of the other room was different, namely it was used to stabling the cattle or storing fruits, ect, as it is usual in the rural houses of Southern Thrace (1). On one end of the building, in line with the two rooms, the oven has been built on one end of the portico, which is often seen in other parts of Thrace. Zlatev says that, «the division of space was not changed in bigger houses, possessing more rooms. The additional spaces are placed in line, and the portico is increased by expansion along the entire lengthened frontage of the house (2). When this lengthening is extended too much, and the length has an oppresive influence on the external appearence, the portico is then adapted so that it is extended outwardly from its centre, in the shape af a square, thus very much reminding the shape ot the mountainous house» (Zlatev, p. 104). B [354] B [252]

The same is noted in the house of the Karatoprak village (built in 1912) which is tripartite and consists of two rooms and a stable, but a part of one of its rooms (of the soba) has been separated and formed a special space which was called, from the Greek language, B [192]

1) G. Megas, Θρρκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 13.
2) Cf. G. Megas, ibid. figg. 10 and 13.

342 killer i.e. cellar. The oven is also called by a Greek name, «fourna» and here it has also been added on one side of the house (fig. 34). Finally the beautiful portico of this house, due, according to Zlatev, to the influence of the more developed mountainous house (1), brings

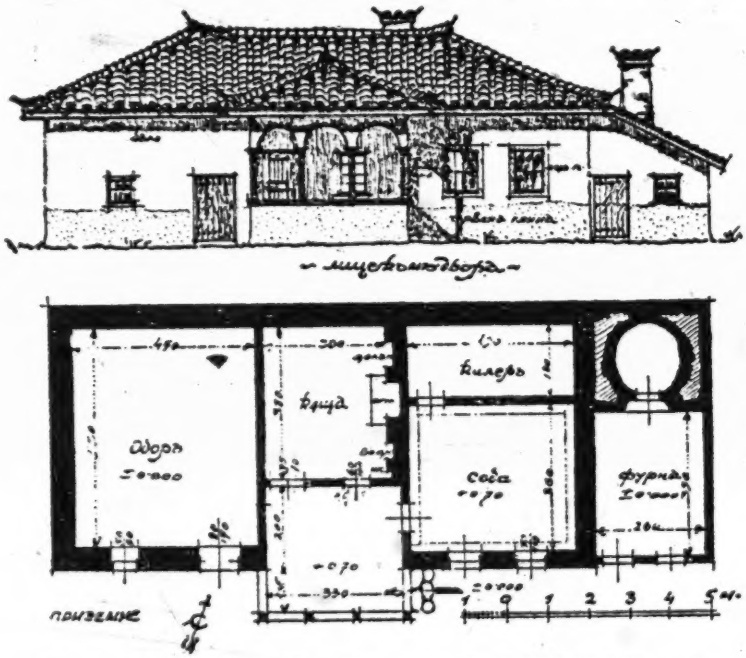

Fig. 34 House in the village of Karatoprak, district of Philippople
(Zlatev, Bălgar. kăsta, fig. 94)

to our memory a similar arrangement of the portico in semi-urban dwellings of Greece (2).

Thus the similarity of the farmer's house in Southern Bulgaria—which is nothing else but the former Northern Thrace, called Eastern

1) «This house» says Zlatev (p. 105), «is fully adapted to the needs and to the economy of a plain's farmer, the monotonous appearance of the pure lowland house; it has taken some elements from the mountainous house, which was more developed, and has influenced it in places where the communications with highland populations rendered this influence possible».

2) See **G. Megas**, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 67 Plate A, 3. Comp. with mountainous houses of Agrapha, ibid. figg. 43 and 45.

G
B
342 of Zeravna (Plate XV 4, 5) one end of the portico is arranged as a
171 balcony (kioschki) slightly projecting and giving a view on the road, with its floor higher by 50-70 cm. from that of the rest of the portico, exactly as in the case of the sofas in the rich Greek houses of Northern Greece (1).

According to the above survey and after the mere examination of plates XIII-XV of the appendix, it is proved, I think, that, if we except the zadrouga-systems 6-8 pl. XIII, the general disposition of space both in one-storied and two-storied Bulgarian houses does not differ from that of the Greek house and especially the North Greek one; it also displays the same consistency and the same evolution from simpler to more complex forms. Exactly as in the external shape and the entire arrangement, the internal arrangement of the space in the Bulgarian house does not differ from the Greek and especially
B the Northern Greek house. The hearth, in the Bulgarian house, is
[354 built in the middle of one of the walls or in one corner of the main room
[352 with a chimney that semi-circularly protrudes over it. We also find there our well known shelves high on the walls of the room, wall cupboards (doulapze), little opening (juklouk) and large wooden cupboards (moussandri) on both sides of the hearth; the sofas (menderia) also here extend along the walls and are covered with manifold patterns, rugs and cushions.

B Facing the hearth there is the pitcher-stand and next to it, in the
[352 wall, the cutlery cup-board. Bread is baked in a clay tray down in
[252 the hearth, just as in the houses of Agrafa in Thessaly. A low round table is used for eating, exactly as in the Greek rural houses in older times (2).

B C. Jirecek, when describing the interior of the Bulgarian rural
● 192 house towards the end of the 19th century, also mentions some articles
342 whose names originate from the Greek language: chromel (χειρόμυλος) = a hand-mill for wheat or salt; stomna or stovna (στάμνα) = water pitcher with narrow neck; charkomka (χάλκωμα) = brass-utensil; paploma (πάπλωμα) = bed-cover; sakul (σακκοῦλι) = bag; ikona (εἰκόνα) = an ikon placed in the corner of the room (3).

B 1) See **G. Megas** Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις, pp. 86, 93, 97, 99.

[192 2) According to Jirecek's note where he describes the Bulgarian urban house «Bulgars use only foreign words for the table. These are the Greek «trapeza», the Rumanian «massa» and the Turkish «sofra».

3) **C. Jirecek,** op. cit. p. 158, K. Myrtilos Apostolides in Ἀρχεῖον Θρᾳκικοῦ Θησαυροῦ vol. 8 p. 102 mentions many names of everyday objects which are orig-

Serbs EF6
EH1
Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples E16

[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains] SL

The only difference lies in the method of heating of the second room. This is not heated as the main room by an open hearth, but by a stove. This is the reason why this room is called soba (i.e. stove). In order to allow the smoke of the stove to escape through the chimney of the hearth, the latter is often built at the party wall and thus it is possible to feed the stove from the side of the hearth (see fig. 44).

B 342 354 C [342] [171]

This system of heating, the combination of hearth and stove, the latter being fed on the side of the hearth, it is generally seen, in the Slav dwellings and is probably due to German influence (1). The arrangement of the space, however, is in the Slav house entirely different from that of the Bulgarian one. With Slavs, and even with the Serbs of Bosnia the stove (Slav. pec) is in the main room, which originally constituted the entire house (called jisba or kuc'a); this stove took the place of the open hearth because of the German and Latin influence (fig. 45 a-b). The ante-room, (pitvor) which originally had no heating, was changed into a kitchen with a hearth (called kuchyna in Czech or kyha in Serb) (2) since the time when the opening of the stove it was moved and opened on the party wall, so that the fuel could be cast from the ante-room; for in front of the mouth of the stove, a base for a hearth was thus created. (Fig. 45c and 46).

B [171] SL 342 354 [177] Se [342] [354]

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inating from the Greek and are to-day used in the written Bulgarian language: gonia (γωνία)=corner; dilavia (λαβίς)=pincer; enghistra (ἄγκιστρον) =hook; kerami (κεραμίδι)=tile etc.

B 192 342

1) The word **isba** which is also used by the Bulgars, and means the house or rather the basement is found in Russian texts of the 10th and 11th centuries as «istuba» and originates from the German word «Stube», meaning a place for baths, equipped with a stove, and generally a warm place (**Niederle,** Manuel 2, 105, **E. Berneker,** Slavisches etymol. Wörterbuch, word istuba (istba, izdba, izba). According to **Niederle,** op. cit. p. 106 Note 3 «Slavs may have even before learned to know the very oven through their immediate relations to the Greeks (Romains) and the Greek towns of Pontos. The construction of the upper floor and other details of the Russian and generally the Slav house are also due to the German and Norman influence». (**Niederle,** ibid. 2, 108).

B [192] SL [177]

2) This changing of the ante-room (antichambre or vestibule according to Niederle) into a «cuisine à foyer» (kitchen with a fire-place) was not performed with all Slav peoples and is not older than the 11th cent. We do not see it with Russians, part of the Poles and Slovaks, who preserved the vestibule as a non-heated room (**Niederle,** ibid. 107 foll). Cf. **R. Meringer,** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina in Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien VII, 1900 Wien, 248 foll.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

we see here also the open portico in the ground-floor and the external staircase to the upper floor (fig. 48 Plate XVI 1 and 1a, 2); so the similarity of the building shapes of Rodope to that of the rest of Greece is very evident (See Plate XVI, 5. 6; comp. Plate VIIa, 4a, 4b).

B 342
G [342 171]

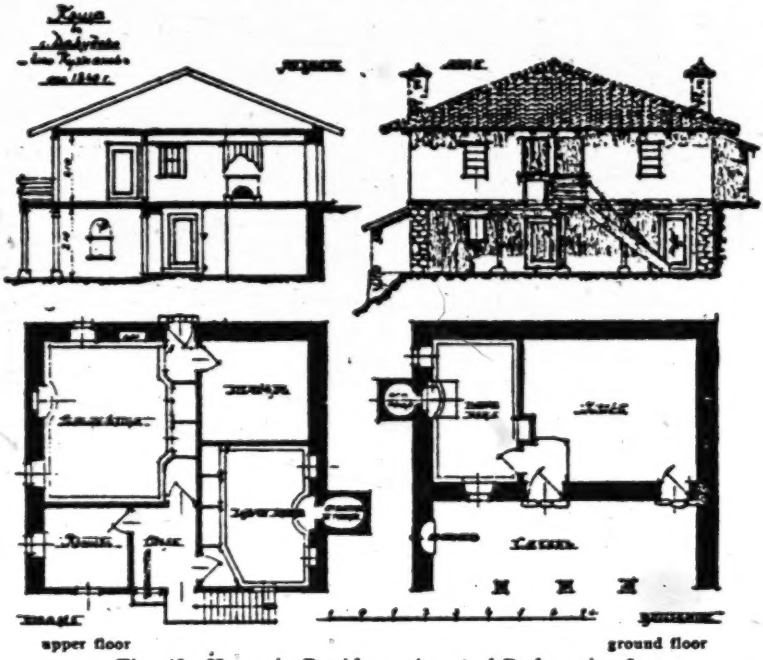

Fig. 48 House in Davidovo of central Rodope, in 1840.
(Zlatev, Bălg. Kăsta, fig. 63).

This may also be said generally for the house of the Orvelo (Bulg. Pirin) district, which, owing to the great use of wood, shows some unimportant variations (1).

3. The Troglodyte Houses.

The troglodyte houses (called by the Bulgars «bourdel» from the Roumanian word «bordeiu») are, by origin and construction, entirely different in shape from those already examined above.

B [192]

1) See Zlatev, Bălgar. kăsta pp. 81-89.

113
192

Slovenes EF7
Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For the use of special terms associated with the parts of a dwelling or of a non-residential structure, see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

144 175 to a back place, for the Kumanian Assenides were followed yet by other Kumanian Tsars on the throne of Bulgaria, those of the Terter dynasty and finally the Shishmans. The Dobrudja too, became an independent Kuman fief under the Kuman boliar Balik, from whom the Black Sea port Baltchik derives its name, as does the whole province from that of his son Dobrotitch. Other invasions of Kumans are recorded, in 1233, and still later after the Tartars had begun pressing them in their homeland in Wallachia. In their wake the Tartars too made their appearance in Bulgaria and repeatedly invaded the country, a son of the famous Han Nogai, Tsaka, was crowned in 1299 at Tirnovo as Bulgarian ruler though his reign was ephemeral. Soon after came the Turks who dominated the country for five centuries. It is strange that students of Bulgarian history have not taken seriously the irruption of the Petsenegs and Kumans in Bulgaria in the 11th century and still nourish the illusion that the Bulgarians are Slavs these mass migrations must have completely metamorphosed the ethnic basis of the population. There are no estimates of the Bulgarian population of that period, but the first Turkish census reported by Ubicini places the total population of the Danube vilayet in 1876 at 2,591,116 of whom 1,535,466 were recorded as Christians; this after five centuries of relative peace and prosperity, so that it may be easily assumed that the population of Bulgaria prior to the irruption of over a million and a half of Petsenegs and Kumans in the 11th century must have been extremely sparse and practically overwhelmed by such an influx. The greatest marvel is the survival of the Slav tongue in their midst but this must be ascribed mainly to its use in the Church, the clergy being the only cultural force in existence at the time. We can easily gauge its influence by what happened in Rumania where the Slavonic liturgy had been adopted and used until the 18th

197

197 century. As a consequence the Rumanian language was slavicised to the extent of 2/5, while the Latin element was reduced to the proportion of only 1/5 of the total. (Cihac, „Dictionnaire d'étymologie Daco-Romane". Francfort S. M. 1879. Cf. its preface).

197 103 The irruption and settlement of the Petsenegs and Kumans as was to be expected, left numerous traces in the topography of the country both to the north and south of the Danube. Such names as Petsenoge, Petsenevtse, Petseniaga, Petseneshka, Koman, Kumanitsa, Kymanovtsi, Comanca, Comani, Comanitsa, Comanesti, Comanca, Kumanovo and Gumendja abound and clearly indicate their origin. The Kuman tongue was akin to Turkish, and there is a written M. S. in it in Venice, the study of which would reveal that many words used in the Bulgarian and Rumanian languages and supposed to have been adopted from Turkish, were more probably borrowed direct from the Kuman tongue. This would be more evident in Rumanian where there was no direct contact between Rumanians and Turks, but where on the contrary Wallachs and Kumans lived side by side for centuries

162 According to the census of 1926 the ethnic minorities in Bulgaria were classified as follows according to race, language, and faith. At the time the total population was 5,478,741, including 4 3,011 foreigners, (mainly White Russians, 19,000).

Turks:	577,552	Turkish-Speaking:	588,105	Orthodox:	4,568,773
Gipsies:	134,844	Gipsy „	134,844	Moslems:	789,296
Rumanians:	69,080	Rumanian „	70,631	Jews:	46,431
Jews:	46,558	Judeo-Spanish „	46,322	Armeno-	
Armenians:	27,322	Armenian „	27,322	Gregorians	25,402
Greeks:	10,564	Greek „	10,564	Protestants	6,735
Tartars:	6,191			Various	1757
Gagauses:	4,362				
Kutso-Vlachs:	1,551				
Total	878,024				

B. S. S.P. 101 time to determine the facts and here are the terms in which Mr. Florinskii worded his decision in 1908:

B. S. S.P. 197 101 "It seems to me," he said,[1] "that there is no valid reason at all for making the Macedonians a special ethnographic group. The principal criterion is deciding upon the division of this group between the Bulgarian and Serbian nationalities is established by the linguistic data. According to these, insofar as they are known at present--it has been determined that the majority of the Macedonian dialects have the fundamental characteristics of the Bulgarian language. It is only in northern Macedonia, in the districts of Skoplje, Tetovo, and Kratovo that the peculiarities of the Serbian language appear clearly in the Slavic idioms, through they are with certain peculiarities of the Balkan tongue."

Mr. Florinskii concludes by awarding the north /ix/ of Macedonia to the Serbs, and the remainder to the Bulgars.

000 "I do not know," I wrote in 1908, in connection with the publication of Mr. Florinskii's book (1), "if this judgment of Solomon

1. In l'Energie francaise, issue of 29 February.

will satisfy the two parties. In any case one may be certain that the Greeks will make fierce outcry. Be that as it may, I cannot urge the Serbs and the Bulgars too strongly to find a definitive modus vivendi. The Slavs could not possibly make too many concessions in order to unite themselves against the eternal enemies of their race: the Germans, the Magyars, the Greeks, the Turks."

In those matters which relate to the Slavs of Macedonia, Mr. Niederle has arrived at almost the same conclusions as Mr. Florinskii; but he has supported them by other arguments.

III.

S.P. 114 In writing the article "Slavs" for the Czech Encyclopedia, Mr. Niederle found it necessary to study certain problems of demography and anthropology. At that precise moment the Academy of Sciences of Saint Petersburg proposed the publication of an Encyclopedia of Slavic Philology under the direction of Mr. V. Jagic (1), the eminent /x/

1. See my article about Monsieur Jagic in the Journal des Savants, (Year 1908).

professor at the University of Vienna. Probably at the instigation of this distinguished scholar, they requested Mr. Niederle to write for this collection a volume upon the Slavic race. This volume written

[1] [Mr. Florinskii, professor in the University of Kiyev, 1908 - August]/

S.P. B. 167 previous Bulgar population did not date back further than one hundred and twenty years.

To the west of the Iantra* there are very few old villages and many new ones founded by the immigrants who have come from the areas of Lovech and of Sevlievo. These new populations were distinguished from the old ones by traditions, costume, and especially by dialect. On the other hand, there were many new immigrants to the south of the Balkans in the areas of Burgas, Aitos, and Yambol.

COO Therefore, the Bulgar country has been the theater of perpetual movements, and definitive order will not be reestablished there until the Macedonian question has been finally resolved. However, the solution of the Macedonian problem is constantly delayed by the neighboring powers.

S.P. B 101 S 34. Territory Occupied by the Bulgars. ---It is bounded on the north by the Danube, from Cherna Voda to Vidin and then by a line which runs from Vidin through Tsar-Petrovo, Boinitsa and Shchichintsi to the Serbian frontier. From this line at Vidin there runs off a narrow section which goes up as far as Novo Selo on the Danube. The western boundary follows the Timok which serves as the political frontier between Serbia and Bulgaria. But the philologists are not in agreement upon the characteristics of the intermediate dialect of the area of Pirot-Vranje. Belic assigns it to Serbian, Tsonev to Bulgarian and considers only as intermediate the dialect of the Morava and the Resava. As we have already explained, in the basin of the Timok, in the area of Pirot, Nish, Vranje and Prizren a dialect intermediate between Serbian and Bulgarian is spoken. But, leaving aside the dialectic shadings which are of no importance from the viewpoint of nationality, and bearing in mind the other factors which determine national consciousness, it cannot be said that the boundary of the Bulgar national group follows the Timok and runs up towards Nich and Vranje, as Tsonev would have it, but that it starts from Veliki Izvor on the Timok, that it follows the ridge of the Stara Planina (Mountains), otherwise known as the political frontier, as far as Mount Kom; then it passes between Pirot and Caribrod (now Dimitrovgrad), crosses the Ruia Planina (Mountains), passes near Vlasina and reaches the upper Morava at Vranje. Then it follows the road from Nich to Skoplje, runs around that city and runs across the eastern spurs of Mount Chardagh towards the Debar (Alb., Dibra).

S.P. B. 197

1: Niederle--127 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples E16
Bulgaria E61

S.P. B. 796 101

They have settled by preference in the Rhodope (Grk., Rodope), where they constitute a rather large group between Plovdiv and Salonica. They are met with here and there to the north of the Balkans in the region of Lovech, Pleven (Plevna), especially between the Vid and Panega Rivers, to the south of Pleven. In the Kingdom of Bulgaria their number has greatly diminished; for, as a result of their Turkish sympathies, they have since 1878 been in perpetual conflict with the other Bulgars. The latest statistics numbered 20,644 of them in Bulgaria, of whom 17,055 were in the district of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) and 2,837 in that of Pleven.

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From the viewpoint of education, the Bulgars are not very much advanced, which is explained by the difficult conditions in which they have lived, deprived of all the advantages of civilization. They are now making an effort to make up for lost time. According to the latest statistics the number of literate persons in the principality was an average of 28.4%. The districts may be placed in the following order:

Ruse 38.5%; Shumla 35.9%; Varna 34%; Trnovo /205/ 34%; Plovdiv (Philippopolis) 29.6%; Burgas 29.4%; Sofia 28.8%; Stara Zagora 28.3%; Pleven 23.1%; Kustendil 20.1%; Vidin 19.8%; Vratsa 19%. The highest degree of education is found naturally in the regions of the great cities: 60% at Sofia, Ruse, and Varna; 49% at Plovdiv; 47% at Kotel and at Shumla; 37% at Kazanluk. The least literate areas are those of Radomir (20%), Tsaribrod (now Dimitrovgrad) (19%), Kyzilagatch (19%), Berkovitsa (16%), Kula (14%), Belogradchik (13%), Ferdinandovo (13%).

S.P. B. 197 101

S 38. Internal Differentation.--The Bulgars are divided into three groups from the point of view of language.

1). That of the western dialect: it is bounded on the east by a line which starts from the confluence of the Vid and the Danube and runs towards Salonica across the regions of Nikopol, Pleven, Lovech, Teteven, Pirdop, Novo Selo, Panagyurishte, Ikhtiman, Chepino, Rezlog, Nevrokop, Melnik, Petrich, Demir Hissar (now Siderokastron), Seres, and Salonica.

2). The eastern group is divided into two branches:

A. That of the northeast where the people bear the general name of Zagortsi (Mountaineers), or Khertsoi*, or Poliantsi*.

B. That of the southeast, or branch of the Rhodope, whose

S.P. B. 197 101

representatives are called the Ruptsi, the Rupalani; their nucleus is located between Stanimaka /206/ and the sources of the Arda in the area called Rupchos. The boundary between these two eastern groups is given as the chain of the Balkans and of the Sredna Gora (central chain). But this boundary is crossed alternately by the two dialects. The other limits thought up by the philologists are not in very close agreement with each other and it is impossible to decide which is the most accurate. Tsonev draws a line from Burgas through Yambol and Stara Zagora to Pazardzhik; Miletic, from Adrianople to Plovdiv along the Maritsa (with spear-heads towards Chirpin and Kotel).

To the west the dialect of the Rupci goes as far as Chepino. Evidently, before the invasion they reached as far as the Balkans and to the Sredna Gora and constituted the most powerful southern tribe. There is no agreement either regarding the boundaries of the western dialect. According to Miletic it runs as far as Pazardzhik (in the region of Schopi*).

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Among the Bulgars of the three groups, there exist many secondary groups provided with special names and distinguished by customs, traditions, local names or dialects. Thus the inhabitants of the mountainous regions of the Balkans are generally called Balkantsi, those of the Rhodope Mountains (in Bulgarian Rodopska Planina) Planintsi (1), those of the valleys of Sofia, of Kustendil, of Kratovo, Poliantsi, Poltsi, and Polchene. (2)

1. Planina means "mountain" in Bulgarian. Translator.

2. Pole means "field". Translator.

/207/ The Bulgars of the south call the Bulgars of the north the Zagortsi (the people across the mountains), and the Bulgars of the north call them the Otvedentsi (the separated ones). But we find Zagortsi from the north in the neighborhood of Aitos and of Burgas. Miletic notes from the east to the west the following designations borrowed from the names of localities: Erkechani (Erkech) (now Kozichino), Golichani (Golica), Chengentsi (Chenge), Richani (Rich), Kotlentsi (Kotel), Tichani (Titsa), Bebrovtsi, Bebroveni (Bebrovo), etc. The people from Rumelia receive surnames borrowed from their place of origin: Odrintsi (from Odrin or Adrianople), Yamboltsi (from Yambol), Starozagortsi (from Stara Zagora), etc.

In Bulgarian Macedonia one encounters an infinite number of

B-101 Many Bulgarian Gagauz are to be found also in Bessarabia, in the district of Benderj, where they are concentrated in the outskirts of Komrat. Mochov estimates their number at 70,000; but in the official statistics they are considered to be Bulgars. According to Zanetov the Bulgarian Slavs of Bessarabia should be called Tukani.

S.P. B. 141 [197] /211/ From an anthropological viewpoint, the best documented specialist, Mr. Vatev distinguishes a certain number of groups in the Bulgar nation. But up to the present these groups have not coincided with the linguistic groups. What is certain is that the east differs from the west, noticeably from the region of Sofia and of Macedonia, and that the south offers characteristic traits.

Basing himself upon the measurements of 320,000 school children, 36,000 soldiers and 1,330 skulls, he arrived at the following conclusions regarding the Bulgarian type:

This type is of medium height: 1.665 millimeters for the men, 1,567 millimeters for the women; dark complexion predominates (50 % against 5% light blond; the remainder mixed). But it must be noted that the dark complexion predominates in the east, while in the west and in Macedonia, which formerly was the center of the Balkan Slavs, the dark type is still rare. The Bulgars have a regular nose, high eye sockets, and an erect head. As to the shape, there are 77% mesocephalics (index 75-80). The average index among the soldiers is 79.65 (in Macedonia 79.45) and among the skulls 77.97.

The dolichocephalic types are found especially in the south, the brachycephalic in the west; in the south of Macedonia the average index exceeds 85.

S.P. C.M. 101 648 S 39. The Slavs of Macedonia.---As we have already mentioned, the Slavs of Macedonia and of Old Serbia are claimed /212/ by both the Serbs and the Bulgars.

Let us note at the outset that it is not well known where Macedonia and Old Serbia begin and end. Thus, the Bulgars attach to Macedonia the regions of Skoplje, Tetovo, and Koumanovo; on the other hand, the Serbs attach Skoplje and Tetovo to Old Serbia; some of them lay claim even to Prilep, Bitolia, Ochrida, and Veles; all of these claims, of course, have a political objective.

Macedonia and Old Serbia represent the country bounded, roughly

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

535 to the prescribed two or three, tiring themselves out to the plaudits of
527 those close by.

To the old-timers, however, the modern version of the traditional dance was a sad commentary on the state of things. They thought the young people too soft. After I had been watching the *horo* for some time an old man hobbled up to me. I had seen him shaking his head and muttering to himself, so I asked him, "What do you think of it, *dedo*?" He grunted, "It's all right for the young people to have a little fun, but they aren't as strong as I used to be when I was young. I used to hoe corn, harvest wheat, and come back to dance all evening. The young people can't do that now. And I wasn't as healthy as my father used to be."

535 The village registrar, Bai Angel, told me why there had been a declining interest in the *hora,* especially those which used to occur around the neighborhood fountains. About seven o'clock the people used to go to the pasture to get their animals. If the animals were slow in coming, then the people danced the *horo* there in the fields. When the animals had been taken home, and after the girls had finished up their housework, they went with jugs to one of the three fountains in the village and there danced again until eleven o'clock. In 1924 more fountains were installed in the village, thus tending to break up the larger groups which gathered around the three original fountains. The girls preferred to carry water from the fountains nearest their homes, and no longer attended the evening *horo.*

517 Tavern life was another, less colorful way of passing the bleak
521 winter days. In the four ill-ventilated *kruchmi* the men gathered to
275 discuss the harvest and to argue over the news read aloud from yester-
203 day's newspaper. Some man sought his godfather, or the godfather of a recently christened son or daughter, and invited him to have a drink of *rakiya* (plum brandy) or wine. Sometimes men who had completed a business deal drank to clinch it. Men who had been in the army together told the same tall tales of adventure over and over again, re-creating those experiences which lifted them for a while out of their limited village environment. There were seldom any fights, because the frequenters put an end to disagreements before they got

out of hand. The fact that not all patrons of the tavern drank liquor was shown by the comment of one of the villagers: 517 521

"I come to the tavern chiefly for the newspaper. I have a strong will, drink little, and know when to stop. The young men when starting the temperance association asked me to be president but I couldn't give up coming here for the newspaper. The small coffee house across the square has only room enough for five or six people and there's no point in going there. Many blame me for going to the tavern, but they have no interest in finding out what is going on in the world." 275 203

One advantage of visiting the tavern included the announcements that the town crier always made there as well as out in the square.

The tavern keepers, however, had no illusions about their standing in the public estimation. All of them were of the same peasant stock as their patrons, but had sold some of their land in order to set themselves up in business. 554 463

"If the people of the village took a vote, the majority would favor shutting up all the taverns. The people don't like us," was the tart comment of one tavern keeper. This dislike sprang from the indebtedness of so many people to the tavern keepers, as well as from the strong feeling many have toward the social consequences of excessive alcoholism.

There were, however, a number of men who had to miss the morning session at the Dragalevtsy *kruchmi*. They were the milkmen. Each morning while it was still dark eight tiny donkeys left their yards, pattered down the slope just outside the village, and followed the straight gravel road five miles to Sofia. They were accompanied by their prodding masters who kept an eye on the two or three large cans of milk which had been strapped onto the wooden saddles. These donkeys long ago learned to swallow any pride they might have had, for each morning, with monotonous regularity, they were overtaken by the high two-wheeled horse-drawn milk carts used by the remaining thirty Dragalevtsy milkmen. Once in Sofia, the majority of the milkmen covered their routes, knocking at the doors of the regular customers and waiting patiently for a container into which to pour a quart or so of milk from the large cans. The round completed, most of the milkmen began at once to retrace the long uphill journey from the city's outskirts to the village. 463 [231]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

668 661 687 living in a goldfish bowl, it was not long before the peasants knew that almost a million leva (notice how rounded or approximate the numbers are in such stories) had disappeared from local public funds. There was no official explanation as to its whereabouts, but one Communist had become quite rich and built himself a house better than the village expected of him. Later he was expelled from the party, reputedly because of conversion of funds, but even this action did not restore the funds to the public treasury.

Unquestionably, a loyal supporter of the Fatherland Front was able at times to use his political connections for personal advantage. The peasants would have been surprised if this were not the case, for they philosophically said, "Whoever sticks his fingers in honey is apt to lick them."

207 668 Mention was made in the last chapter of the phenomenal increase in radio ownership since 1937. Now about every third home has a receiving set and is thus in contact with the propaganda line of the government-controlled broadcasting service. Listening to the radio had become a new recreational pattern for many people. Over and over again I asked them what programs they preferred. The men, perhaps because they deemed it the proper answer, often said that they listened to the news. Quite a few were quick to add, "It's nothing but lies though." Many of the women preferred the folk music, and the young people jazz. Long speeches claimed few listeners. The net effect of radio listening then was recreational, with some political influence exerted upon the devotees of the newscast. As yet, the radio had not become a channel for education or raising the standard of living. I wondered, too, just when it would, for the peasants had little hesitation in turning off the set if the program became too serious, and most educational programs under Communist leadership were inclined to be serious.

204 668 American and British influence was sufficiently strong to force the Fatherland Front officials to allow an opposition press. Although this press was beset with difficulties in 1945, it nevertheless became a vehement, at times vitriolic, critic of the regime in power. It took a strong pro-American, pro-British complexion, though never out-and-out anti-Russian. A good check on Agrarian claims of majority sup-

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

port was the unquestioned popularity in Dragalevtsy of the *Green Banner,* the newspaper published by the opposition Agrarian group. As long as the opposition press continued to circulate throughout the country, the tried and trusted technique of one-sided interpretation could not be brought into full play. Schoolbooks could be rewritten, pamphleteering could be done in the Communist children's and youth organizations, but these activities were much less effective when other groups could print their versions to serve as antidotes. One-party control, such as the Fatherland Front wanted for Bulgaria, was authoritarian. It preferred to have no alternative opinions presented to the people, and felt that as long as it alone could tell the people what they ought to believe, the people would be well off, for they would be indoctrinated with the truth, as the Communist saw the truth.

Another weapon which the Communists hoped to use as a means of penetration was Pan-Slavism, especially among the Bulgarians. The members of the Red Army, however, instead of being missionaries of this mystic racial dogma, did it the greatest harm. Occupying armies seldom become popular, especially when the mass is held accountable for the sins of the few. The peasants were only too prone to fall into the error of the "lumping fallacy," and condemned all Russians on the basis of a few spectacular events which occurred in the village. One happening which Dragalevtsy peasants used in forming their attitude involved two peasant girls whom I had photographed as children several years before. Now that they were in their late teens they proved unusually attractive to two drunken Russian privates who tried to break into their house late one night. Although a noncommissioned officer came to order them away, these soldiers cursed him and kept on pounding against the door of the living-room. The door held fast, and they finally gave up and went away. Had they but known it, the lock had already been smashed; all they needed to do was to turn the knob and enter a room where the peasant family sat in mortal fear. The father knew that to fight for the honor of his daughters would have meant a bullet from a drunken soldier's pistol; the mother sat in prayer before the crude iconostas, while the girls cried softly at the thought of what seemed to be in store for them. In a village where immorality was frowned upon so strongly, this

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

TABLE 5

Literacy and Illiteracy by Age and Sex Groups, Dragalevtsy and the Mahala, Census of 1934

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Age (Years)	Literate			Illiterate		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
15-20	106	85	191	4	10	14
21-25	140	65	205	2	49	51
26-30	101	44	145	4	39	43
31-35	89	35	124	0	41	41
36-40	61	17	78	1	46	47
41-45	47	8	55	4	41	45
46-50	52	12	64	5	45	50
51-55	33	9	42	3	28	31
56-60	17	5	22	2	24	26
Over 60	43	5	48	33	44	77
Total	689	285	974	58	367	425
Per cent of total	49.2	20.4	69.6	4.2	26.2	30.4
Per cent of men	92.2	—	—	7.8	—	—
Per cent of women	—	43.7	—	—	56.3	—

TABLE 6

204

Newspaper and Magazine Subscription, Dragalevtsy, Census 1934

Newspapers:

Families which buy or receive newspapers		21
Daily newspaper every day	13	
Daily newspaper twice a week	2	
Daily newspaper once a week	1	
Weekly newspaper regularly	5	
Families which receive no newspaper		257
Unreported		1
Total number of questionnaires		279

Magazines:

Families which receive a magazine	7
Families which receive no magazine	271
Unreported	1
Total number of questionnaires	279

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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[204] After metal type for printing has been "set" on a machine like the one whose keyboard is shown on the cover, the type is "locked up" in "chases" on a "stone," which means that it is fastened into a rectangular frame on a table. When the letter-press method is used, the type then goes directly to a press.

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681

formance, the "socialist labor discipline" represents the most immediate threat facing the worker on the job. Its most important features are absenteeism and inefficiency. Thus, a Bulgarian worker violates the labor discipline and may incur disciplinary or court punishment when he is absent from work, when he is late for work, when he leaves work prematurely, or when he is not efficient enough during his working day.[28] The disciplinary punishment imposed by the administration of the enterprise may range from a warning, reprimand, severe reprimand or transfer, to a lower-paid job in the same or a different enterprise, or dismissal.[29] With the exhaustion of the disciplinary punishments the way is open for criminal prosecution, either under the new Penal Code or under the Law of the People's Militia.[30]

Immediate dismissal is imposed when the worker is "negligent toward his obligations" or "comes to work in evidently drunken condition" and also when he is "absent from work without valid reasons for more than half of a working day as well as late for more than

[28] *Trud*, December 17, 1951.
[29] Cf. Art. 129 of the Labor Code.
[30] Cf. Art. 130 of the Labor Code.
[30] Penal Code in *Izvestiya na Narodnoto Sobranje*, No. 13, February 13, 1951. Law on the People's Militia, cited at footnote 14.

poetry approaches to some extent the perfection and emotional intensity of that of Slaveikov. 538

Another estimate of the literary activities of the Bulgarians may be formed by the number and serious character of the books that are being published. Thus in 1931, a total of 2222 different books was printed, of which 1782 were original productions, and 229 translations, some 201 of the former being in languages other than Bulgarian. The bulk of the works published dealt with scientific subjects. Thus 591 books were on economics, sociology and politics, 349 on culture and pedagogy, 301 on literature, 262 on applied sciences, 175 on medicine, 131 on religion, 97 on law, 84 on history, 44 on art, and 39 on geography and ethnography. 214

The number of newspapers which appeared in 1931 was stated to be 571, and the number of periodicals 352 of which 26 appeared in foreign languages.[1] The largest newspaper circulation was that of the *Utro*, a morning newspaper, which reached daily 60,000 copies, while that of its rival, and the more serious, *Zora*, attained 40,000. The *Mir*, under its able editor, Peev-Platskov, a graduate of Robert College, and an accomplished English scholar, is admittedly the leading newspaper with a daily sale of 20,000 copies. From among the periodicals the *Bulgarski Voin* had the largest number of subscribers, namely 41,300 (mainly reserve officers), while other excellent reviews, such as the *Philosophski Pregled*, and the *Journal of the Economic Association* boasted 3000 and 1400 subscribers respectively. 204

[1] Among these is the „Bulgarian-British Review," a monthly periodical published in English chiefly aiming at promoting cultural and economic intercourse with Anglo-Saxon countries. This review offers to its American and English readers an accurate survey of Bulgarian life, and constitutes a much appreciated means of approach between the English-speaking communities and the Bulgarian people.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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S: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

491 **55. Other Means of Communication.** The development of road construction is in no way less interesting. After the war of 1877/78 Bulgaria inherited from the Ottoman empire 3,727 km. of delapidated roads. She has to-day 33.000 km. of roads, completed or in process of completion, which makes a ninefold increase. Bulgaria had no regular automobile lines until 1920. Now she owns 18.000 km. of such lines or 16.4 km. per 100 sq. km. of territory, over which 10.000.000 passengers are carried annually. If we keep in mind, that the annual passenger traffic over the Bulgarian railroads is about 16.000.000 passenger, we would appreciate the significance of these authomobile lines for the country and the development that might be anticipated for the Bulgarian road system both in size and in quality. The advance estimate for 1970 is that Bulgaria may have 60.000 km. of roads which will probably be the point of saturation.

496 Bulgaria has to take long strides in the development of her communications system. Such effort would be beyond her possibilities in size and resources, but she can not afford to lag behind the general European standard. The student, prompted by good will in seeing and comprehending things according to their proper light, will not fail to realize the laudable endeavors and exertions of our poor, industrious and patient people. The railroads in Bulgaria are built and managed by the State and, consequently, their exploitation goes only to benefit the entire national economy. While financial soundness of the railways is not overlooked, the benefit that they will bring to the national economy is foremost in the mind of the legislator. Bulgaria owes her advancement and her reputation for such advancement to her railroads. The same scruples and views the Government has in regard to the exploitation of automobile roads also. Despite the fact that this exploitations is fostered at the present time on the basis of private concessions, the tendency for the state is to take over entirely their exploitation, because of the constantly growing public interest in them.

205 As another mark of the advanced instruction and enlightenment of our people, we will take as a practical example the movement of mail for 1939 and compare it to the other neighbouring countries in the Balkan peninsula.

205

States:	Population in millions	Private mail in thousands of letters	Letters per each inhabitant annually
Bulgaria	6.29	192,460	30.55
Greece	7.11	134,516	17.55
Romania	19.85	462,327	23.30
Yugoslavia	15.70	392,006	25.—

We should remember, with regard to the last two countries, the acquisition of the Austro-Hungarian territory in 1918 with a population much higher in culture than the culture of the native inhabitants. Bulgaria has one Post-Office for each group of 1930 persons, and Greece has one for each group of 4,000.

56. An Important Balkan Problem of Communications.[1]) Bulgaria is the bridge land between two important water routes: The Danube and the Aegean Sea. (Fig. 1 to 5). A huge traffic is liable to rise from the natural hinterland of the Aegean Sea, had this hinterland, extending north of the Danube as far as the Baltic Sea, had a natural outlet southwards to the Aegean. The whole mass of this traffic moves down to the south and stops at the Bulgarian-Greek frontier which, at one point, is only twenty one kilometers from the sea. The major railway starting at Roussé, the extension of which was planned when Bulgaria had dominion of the Aegean coast (1913 — 1918), runs through Stara-Zagora and stops at Momchilgrad at a distance of 64 kilometers from the sea after a course of 415 kilometers.

487 496

The Rhodope mountains are divided in two parts and a small part is left on Greek territory. The other huge part, with a mountainous population, is separated from the sea coast and the planes of Western Thrace which were the markets of this population and the winter pasture of the numerous cattle and sheep. The Rhodope population were the artisans of this district: masons, tailors and even fishermen. The Inter-Allied Comission, which administered under Governor-General Charpy (1918 — 1920) Western Thrace, taken from Bulgaria, until its transfer by virtue of the Peace Treaty of Sèvres (August 10, 1920), established that the inhabitants of Aegean Thrace were pre-

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[1]) Cf. I. Boshkoff, Quelques Notes sur les Communications dans les Balkans. Sofia, 1945.

[See category 116, pp. 9, 10, 12, 13, 38 -- Analyst]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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Kosharki (Sheep folds). This was a game which had been played extensively a generation ago, but its use was dying out in the village. The children would build miniature sheep folds, houses, and fences out of rocks. This game corresponded after a fashion to our building with blocks. 857 524

The outstanding characteristic of all these games was that they required little equipment and few participants. At home, the play groups were inevitably restricted to the family and nearest neighbors, often relatives. At school, children could choose relatives and other children in the same grade. Play groups in the fields were formed on the basis of family ownership of land and common pasture. These latter groups often gathered in the village and went to the fields together, the youngsters carrying loaves of bread, baked peppers, and fresh tomatoes. Even in play, the family was important, for every type of play group almost automatically included relatives. As was previously pointed out, there was less quarreling among the children who were related. I often heard: "You shouldn't hit him; he's your relative."

The new types of play were still limited. The radio, comic papers, and movies were almost unknown to the village child, just as they were to the average adult. Only twenty-five newspapers reached the village daily, and these had few comic strips. Magazines and books were a rarity. Sofia bookshops had some exquisite children's books, but I never saw one in the village. Sometimes when I came into a village home on a winter evening, I would see an unforgettable picture. Near the fire the father sat quietly, elbows on knees, the mother was spinning near the one dim electric bulb, and in the center, crouched at the low table, a boy, nine or ten years old, was laboriously reading some fragment of a periodical to his parents. Their pride and pleasure was unspoken but obvious. [214] [593]

There was one radio in the village, and the children were of course conscious of it as it blared incessantly in Renaissance Square, but it was not a part of their life, any more than the movies or trains. Only 45 per cent of the total population, including babies, had ever attended a movie, and less than 40 per cent had ever been on a train. [207] [517] 369

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

668 661 687 living in a goldfish bowl, it was not long before the peasants knew that almost a million leva (notice how rounded or approximate the numbers are in such stories) had disappeared from local public funds. There was no official explanation as to its whereabouts, but one Communist had become quite rich and built himself a house better than the village expected of him. Later he was expelled from the party, reputedly because of conversion of funds, but even this action did not restore the funds to the public treasury.

Unquestionably, a loyal supporter of the Fatherland Front was able at times to use his political connections for personal advantage. The peasants would have been surprised if this were not the case, for they philosophically said, "Whoever sticks his fingers in honey is apt to lick them."

207 668 Mention was made in the last chapter of the phenomenal increase in radio ownership since 1937. Now about every third home has a receiving set and is thus in contact with the propaganda line of the government-controlled broadcasting service. Listening to the radio had become a new recreational pattern for many people. Over and over again I asked them what programs they preferred. The men, perhaps because they deemed it the proper answer, often said that they listened to the news. Quite a few were quick to add, "It's nothing but lies though." Many of the women preferred the folk music, and the young people jazz. Long speeches claimed few listeners. The net effect of radio listening then was recreational, with some political influence exerted upon the devotees of the newscast. As yet, the radio had not become a channel for education or raising the standard of living. I wondered, too, just when it would, for the peasants had little hesitation in turning off the set if the program became too serious, and most educational programs under Communist leadership were inclined to be serious.

204 668 American and British influence was sufficiently strong to force the Fatherland Front officials to allow an opposition press. Although this press was beset with difficulties in 1945, it nevertheless became a vehement, at times vitriolic, critic of the regime in power. It took a strong pro-American, pro-British complexion, though never out-and-out anti-Russian. A good check on Agrarian claims of majority sup-

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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CHAPTER V

THE COURTSHIP AND WEDDING

WHENEVER I asked a man or a woman "How did you come to marry?" the response was always the same. After an embarrassed laugh, the person would say, "Oh, it's so long ago. I have forgotten. I have not had time to remember such foolish things." Then would come a quick look at me from dark eyes that never seemed to lose their brilliance even when the broad face was sagging, deeply lined with the years. "You really want to know?" First it came haltingly; then soon the man would drop the harness he was mending or the woman would lay aside her distaff to give undivided attention to the story. I needed to do little prompting. My interruptions were usually questions about attitudes toward courtship or marriage in general. 581

There was never any self-pity, even among those women who had been stolen. Even for them something bright had flashed across their days. And for all—"It was so long ago, I thought I had forgotten. There has been much work." From all their reminiscences, stripped of their meager romance, there emerged the village conception of marriage.

Marriage was expected of young people in Dragalevtsy and was an affair which they usually handled in a matter-of-fact way. The peasant youth did not trouble himself as to whether he should or should not marry. He simply concerned himself, sometimes much and sometimes little, about whom to marry.

A woman who had not married by her twenty-fifth year was considered an old maid. People began to wag their heads and ask: "Why doesn't Vesela marry? She's a nice looking girl. There must be something wrong with her about which we do not know." As a matter of fact, in 1937 there was only one peasant girl over twenty-five un- 208 582

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

582 married in Dragalevtsy. Because she had a physical deformity her
208 parents had given up all hope of marrying her off since they knew she would be unable to attend properly to her housework and field work. During the first World War there were two old maids in the village who had not been chosen for marriage because each of them had a goiter. A doctor with the German forces cured the goiters
[554] and these two unmarried women became desirable prospects, one of them marrying a priest's son in Sofia, one of the highest prizes a village girl could capture in her matrimonial venture.

[208] Since public opinion made life miserable for unmarried women,
[562] even a girl of independent temperament looked upon marriage as an inevitable event, especially if she stayed in the village. With men it
581 was different. They could choose to remain unmarried and not lose prestige in the community. People only said: "Well, Asen simply doesn't want to marry. He's a bit shy of skirts, you know."

The young men to whom I talked were outspoken in regard to those qualities which they looked for in choosing a mate: good health, industry, efficiency in the house and field, and proper care of the person. The girls, on the other hand, had little to say regarding the qualities they wanted in a husband. They seemed willing to accept whatever luck brought them. But marry they must.

584 There were many ways in which the husbands and wives had
574 become acquainted with each other. If both had been born in
883 Dragalevtsy, as was the case with a little more than half the couples, they were already aware of the other's characteristics either through personal acquaintance or hearsay. Many of the married couples had played together as children while tending the cattle in the sun-drenched pastures, only to become distant until most of the adolescent period passed. Then began frequent meetings at the fountain at sunset, shy flirtation at the *horo* and *sedenki*, or rambling conversation on the way to and from the Friday market. At the *sedenki*, held by the young people in various girls' homes on winter evenings, games involving forfeits were played. At one *sedenka* I attended, the girl giving out the penalties sent a couple obviously in love to the dark outdoors "to see what the weather was like." A few minutes later she sent a second couple out to see where the first had gone. All four of the

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

562 "Suppose you wanted to go to market some Friday and your
181 husband thought you ought not to go, what would you do?"

Not a single wife would dare go to market under these cir-
593 cumstances. Two or three said, "I wouldn't even start for the door."

"But suppose you wanted to make some small purchases in the city and your husband disapproved, what would you do?" Only two daring ones out of the thirty said they would make these purchases if they had money.

It paid the women to "behave," because the husband did have the right to beat a disrespectful wife. I never happened upon a wife-beating, but the fact that a few husbands told me with pride, "I never beat my wife," showed me that they considered themselves exceptional.

[208] A wife who received rough treatment, especially if her husband
562 had been drinking, could go to her father's home. She could not stay
593 there very long after her mate had become sober, because her father and the village in general made her feel that her place was with her husband no matter how disagreeable he might be. Usually she waited until her husband came with a meek promise of good behavior to ask her to come back.

In those formal ways a village wife showed respect to her husband. She did not, most of the time, find them burdensome because she knew nothing else. All of her experiences from childhood to
[208] marriage had conditioned her to a subordinate role. Should any woman have tried to rebel against her lot other women would have been her most vigorous critics. They, more than the men, aided in the perpetuation of the existing order.

562 The woman, however, had a far more important place than the
581 social amenities would indicate. Men frankly admitted that they could not make a living without their wives. This feeling of de-
593 pendence overshadowed the traditional masculine superiority to the extent that a partnership resulted. The man, to be sure, was the senior partner, but he knew that he was a member of a team in which co-operation was essential.

This deeper sense of partnership was best shown by the practice husbands had of consulting their wives on every matter of importance as well as on minor matters. Out of twenty-six representative cases,

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

intelligentsia, when it came to the point dared not run counter to the old village sanctions against divorce. 586

More often it was the husband who left the home. When he did and in rare cases interested himself in another woman, the villagers did all in their power to make him return. If he refused at first, they made him feel the indignation of public opinion, treating him as an outcast and sometimes going to the length of beating him. If he remained in the village, he had no choice but to go back to his wife. During the time he was away his wife also was put to shame, getting little sympathy from the general public. She knew, furthermore, that in case of a divorce both parties would be held guilty by the villagers, so she was willing to take her husband back and get along with him as best she could. A divorced man was considered to have loose morals; a divorced woman would have been thought thoroughly bad. There was thus a situation in which everyone was expected to marry, with no sanctioned way out once the marriage contract had been entered upon. Though such an attitude meant that unfortunate marriages had to drag on interminably, it also had the effect of forcing couples to adjust themselves to each other. [208] [558]

Dragalevtsy seemed a curiosity indeed: a village in which marriage was little questioned, where there was practically no marital unfaithfulness, and no divorce. What were the reasons for the family stability? For one thing, life was still lived according to ancient customs. People only recently had begun to wonder about the age-old patterns which they had been following so faithfully. Some writers would call them the "dead hand of the past," others "the cake of custom." Whatever their name, they were conducive to a common understanding of the place of marriage. All the people expected the same things from life and from the home. 581 593 181 829

Then, too, earning their living by farming was a joint enterprise. People got used to putting their shoulders to the wheel as a family group. In addition to what they all did together, women were supposed to do certain things, men other things, and children still other things. As long as every person did his part there was no friction, but quiet efficiency. Furthermore, the presence of a number of relatives made for greater stability. In the case of apparent misunderstanding

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

551 would take the larger family name of his father's kinship group. Thus
178 an outsider could immediately place each child not only in the family
594 group as a whole but in the small conjugal group as well. Students of child development have often pointed out the advantage to the child of growing up with a number of intimate contemporaries, as well as having several adults ready to serve as substitute parents whenever occasion demands.

But the change need not be viewed as entirely unfavorable. The smaller family unit was bringing about a more intimate relationship between members, breaking down the formalism between parents and children, and encouraging democratic living.

178 The good old days, if we are to believe the elders of the village,
463 differed not only in the degree of governmental autonomy in community affairs and a patriarchy in which the young respected the old: occupations too were of a different order.

"Half a century ago there were very few educated people, the chief of these being a priest from the monastery and a teacher. The mayor was an ordinary peasant elected by the town council of twelve people. There was a swineherd, as well as other herdsmen, and five merchants, plus a tanner. Practically all of the people were farmers. There was no dairyman; there was no doctor. All dentistry was done by Turks who remedied an aching tooth by pulling it out. We raised no horses, and an itinerant gypsy smith did all the necessary iron work."

When I asked another man about occupations half a century ago, he added this information:

"It was 'simple business' fifty years ago. There was a teacher for boys in the first and second grades; there was no village tailor, and the single tanner had little work. A priest from the monastery min-
652 istered to the people on occasion. We had no tax collector and an
211 illiterate mayor took all the taxes and kept the account on a *rabosh*."

(Here I steered the conversation off the subject of occupations long enough to find out what the *rabosh* was. It was similar to a practice of the Exchequer in twelfth-century England in which accounting was done with pieces of notched wood. Each family had a small piece of wood fitting into another piece kept by the mayor. The notches in the wood told the financial status of the family as far as the tax money was concerned.)

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 .EE1 Bulgaria EE1

travelers, dressed in their brightest, newest garments, were speeded on their way. The friends and relatives loaded them with money and presents of clothing, food, and wool, which the pilgrims were to donate to the great and holy monastery. The whole ceremony of leave-taking was made a part of the bright landscape by the flowers everywhere—on the dress of the pilgrims, fastened to the gifts, and carried in huge bunches. Upon their return a few days later the dusty pilgrims were met at the outskirts of the village and escorted home through the blue twilight by those eager to hear of every adventure during the days and nights in the great mountains, whose jagged walls have protected Rila Monastery for hundreds of years.

Formal piety, as shown in pilgrimages, was only one of the major characteristics which these Bulgarian villagers possessed. The Dragalevtsy people, especially the men, were predominantly literate. Bulgaria, despite what seems a forbidding Cyrillic alphabet, has the highest rate of literacy of all Balkan countries, a fact which can be attributed to the tendency to regard education as a panacea for individual and social ills. While only 44 per cent of the women over fifteen years of age could read and write, 92 per cent of the men were literate. Of course, I often came upon groups of peasants crowded around a friend slowly spelling out a newspaper article aloud, but these little clusters of attentive listeners originated because of the scarcity of newspaper subscribers, not necessarily because of illiteracy.

The Dragalevtsy people were also law-abiding. During the first three years I knew the village, and informants said that the record went much farther back than that, no Dragalevtsy peasant had been taken to Sofia for imprisonment. There was no local jail, nor any need for one. This was not a sign of the inefficiency of local police, but rather an indication of the peaceable and honest traits of the people.

In many other characteristics the villagers shared what have come to be known as the universal "rural virtues," for theirs was an agrarian way of life. More than three-fourths of the family heads were peasant proprietors. In addition to these, there were two other occupational groups: the intellectuals and the artisans. Despite their small number, the intelligentsia, as they were called by the peasants, were the most influential group in the community. Whenever the

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181 8a9 596 forms of the religion; and usually the prevailing religion has a monopoly in its field. Where there once existed two or three competing religions, the peasants now have a syncretistic set of beliefs that almost all of the people accept.

[168] The population in a familistic society tends to be stable. The folk legends and religious beliefs stress the importance of remaining at home. Permanence becomes a virtue, for travel outside introduces too much novelty. Separation places a strain upon the family relationships, which must be kept at full vigor in the interest of community self-preservation.

[517] Recreation is personalized instead of being commercialized. Peasants, as far as possible, spend their leisure hours in the company of others, to say nothing of the many hours women spend working with each other within a family or neighborhood circle. Just as the villagers have ceremonial ways of doing many things, they also have formal ways, or proverbs, of saying many things. This we saw earlier in the description of the *Sedenki.* Proverbs reinforce those beliefs that help maintain the familistic society, and serve as convenient means of self-expression. At the same time they are standards of behavior.

[212] Because recreation and economic life are personal, the familistic society has little need for much reading and writing. The priest, the middlemen, the taxgatherers, and a few others who early associated themselves with the village economy needed to "figure," but the rest of the people had little concern with that.

In most family-dominated societies, life is man-centered. In some areas this arrangement is related to religious beliefs; in others, it is related to the economic organization of the family in which somebody has to give orders necessary to the carrying out of the daily activities. A recognized head, conscious of his own importance, acts authoritatively in directing his family group.

The local government is traditionally managed by elders, who represent families rather than political parties or individuals. The village elders make their decisions from the standpoint of what is good for the village as a whole in the light of precedents rather than from a narrow legalism. The religious writings or sacred legends are conveniently cited to justify the actions they take. Such govern-

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TABLE 5

LITERACY AND ILLITERACY BY AGE AND SEX GROUPS, DRAGALEVTSY AND THE MAHALA, CENSUS OF 1934

AGE (YEARS)	LITERATE			ILLITERATE		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
15-20	106	85	191	4	10	14
21-25	140	65	205	2	49	51
26-30	101	44	145	4	39	43
31-35	89	35	124	0	41	41
36-40	61	17	78	1	46	47
41-45	47	8	55	4	41	45
46-50	52	12	64	5	45	50
51-55	33	9	42	3	28	31
56-60	17	5	22	2	24	26
Over 60	43	5	48	33	44	77
Total	689	285	974	58	367	425
Per cent of total	49.2	20.4	69.6	4.2	26.2	30.4
Per cent of men	92.2	—	—	7.8	—	—
Per cent of women	—	43.7	—	—	56.3	—

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TABLE 6

NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTION, DRAGALEVTSY, CENSUS 1934

Newspapers:

Families which buy or receive newspapers		21
Daily newspaper every day	13	
Daily newspaper twice a week	2	
Daily newspaper once a week	1	
Weekly newspaper regularly	5	
Families which receive no newspaper		257
Unreported		1
Total number of questionnaires		279

Magazines:

Families which receive a magazine	7
Families which receive no magazine	271
Unreported	1
Total number of questionnaires	279

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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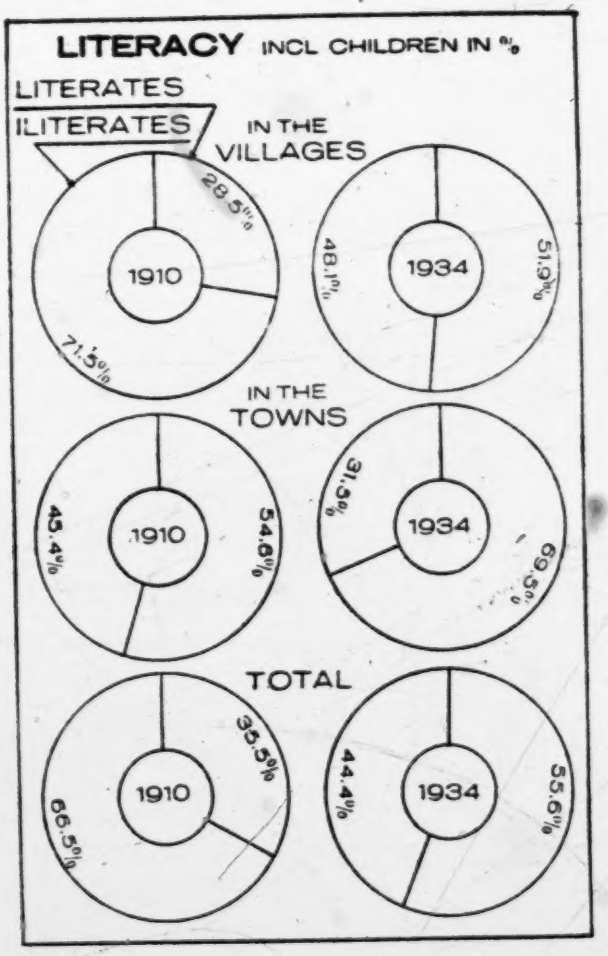

Fig. 23.

50. Literacy and Education. If we exclude children under 7 the average percentage would be 68.4 for those who could read and write in Bulgaria. 81% were city residents and 64.8% peasants. If we include all children, then the average for those who could read and write would be as follows:

	1910	*1934*
	%	%
For the rural population	28.5	51.9
For the city population	54.6	69.5
General	33.5	55.6

there were more educated persons in the countryside there would be less inducement for the educated to congregate in towns. 871 369

It is an erroneous view to believe that Bulgaria is suffering from overeducation. What Bulgarians have a right to complain of is rather of a maldistribution of educated forces. It was the political system which rendered politics the best and easiest career to earn a livelihood, and thereby attracted the intellectuals to this mode of life. Politicians in their turn fostered this tendency since they utilised this intellectual proletariat from which to recruit their partisans. 871

M. Iordan Tabakov in his book "The political situation of Bulgaria after June 9", affirms that on questioning fifteen deputies elected while Stambuliiski was Prime Minister, it was found that eight had not read the Constitution and seven had read it partly, and yet all had taken the oath to govern after its spirit and to defend it! None knew what the capitals of Czechoslovakia and Switzerland were. When asked whether they considered themselves fit to be deputies, some admitted that they were not, for they had not received the requisite education, while some considered themselves worthy of the posts they held since "the people had chosen them". Dr. D. Gabrovski in his Illiterate Bulgaria," affirms that: the percentage of illiterate voters in 1920 was 52 %, and that the statistics of 1928 show that the percentage of illiterates in the country was 40 %. Many who have been to school, and had later lived in an uncultured environment could no longer read. Of the total population, only 2000 to 3000 read books, and about 30,000 nothing else save newspapers. School attendance was not very satisfactory. In the year 1929-30 there were 727,670 children of school going age, but of these only 670,872 attended school, while another 37,139 dropped off during the course of the year. Those who 871 646 212 871

S.P. B. 796 101

They have settled by preference in the Rhodope (Grk., Rodope), where they constitute a rather large group between Plovdiv and Salonica. They are met with here and there to the north of the Balkans in the region of Lovech, Pleven (Plevna), especially between the Vid and Panega Rivers, to the south of Pleven. In the Kingdom of Bulgaria their number has greatly diminished; for, as a result of their Turkish sympathies, they have since 1878 been in perpetual conflict with the other Bulgars. The latest statistics numbered 20,644 of them in Bulgaria, of whom 17,055 were in the district of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) and 2,837 in that of Pleven.

S.P. B. [871] 212

From the viewpoint of education, the Bulgars are not very much advanced, which is explained by the difficult conditions in which they have lived, deprived of all the advantages of civilization. They are now making an effort to make up for lost time. According to the latest statistics the number of literate persons in the principality was an average of 28.4%. The districts may be placed in the following order:

Ruse 38.5%; Shumla 35.9%; Varna 34%; Trnovo /205/ 34%; Plovdiv (Philippopolis) 29.6%; Burgas 29.4%; Sofia 28.8%; Stara Zagora 28.3%; Pleven 23.1%; Kustendil 20.1%; Vidin 19.8%; Vratsa 19%. The highest degree of education is found naturally in the regions of the great cities: 60% at Sofia, Ruse, and Varna; 49% at Plovdiv; 47% at Kotel and at Shumla; 37% at Kazanluk. The least literate areas are those of Radomir (20%), Tsaribrod (now Dimitrovgrad) (19%), Kyzilagatch (19%), Berkovitsa (16%), Kula (14%), Belogradchik (13%), Ferdinandovo (13%).

S.P. B. 197 101

S 38. Internal Differentation.--The Bulgars are divided into three groups from the point of view of language.

1). That of the western dialect: it is bounded on the east by a line which starts from the confluence of the Vid and the Danube and runs towards Salonica across the regions of Nikopol, Pleven, Lovech, Teteven, Pirdop, Novo Selo, Panagyurishte, Ikhtiman, Chepino, Rezlog, Nevrokop, Melnik, Petrich, Demir Hissar (now Siderokastron), Seres, and Salonica.

2). The eastern group is divided into two branches:

A. That of the northeast where the people bear the general name of Zagortsi (Mountaineers), or Khertsoi*, or Poliantsi*.

B. That of the southeast, or branch of the Rhodope, whose

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Kosharki (Sheep folds). This was a game which had been played extensively a generation ago, but its use was dying out in the village. The children would build miniature sheep folds, houses, and fences out of rocks. This game corresponded after a fashion to our building with blocks. 857 524

The outstanding characteristic of all these games was that they required little equipment and few participants. At home, the play groups were inevitably restricted to the family and nearest neighbors, often relatives. At school, children could choose relatives and other children in the same grade. Play groups in the fields were formed on the basis of family ownership of land and common pasture. These latter groups often gathered in the village and went to the fields together, the youngsters carrying loaves of bread, baked peppers, and fresh tomatoes. Even in play, the family was important, for every type of play group almost automatically included relatives. As was previously pointed out, there was less quarreling among the children who were related. I often heard: "You shouldn't hit him; he's your relative."

The new types of play were still limited. The radio, comic papers, and movies were almost unknown to the village child, just as they were to the average adult. Only twenty-five newspapers reached the village daily, and these had few comic strips. Magazines and books were a rarity. Sofia bookshops had some exquisite children's books, but I never saw one in the village. Sometimes when I came into a village home on a winter evening, I would see an unforgettable picture. Near the fire the father sat quietly, elbows on knees, the mother was spinning near the one dim electric bulb, and in the center, crouched at the low table, a boy, nine or ten years old, was laboriously reading some fragment of a periodical to his parents. Their pride and pleasure was unspoken but obvious. [214] [593]

There was one radio in the village, and the children were of course conscious of it as it blared incessantly in Renaissance Square, but it was not a part of their life, any more than the movies or trains. Only 45 per cent of the total population, including babies, had ever attended a movie, and less than 40 per cent had ever been on a train. [207] [517] 369

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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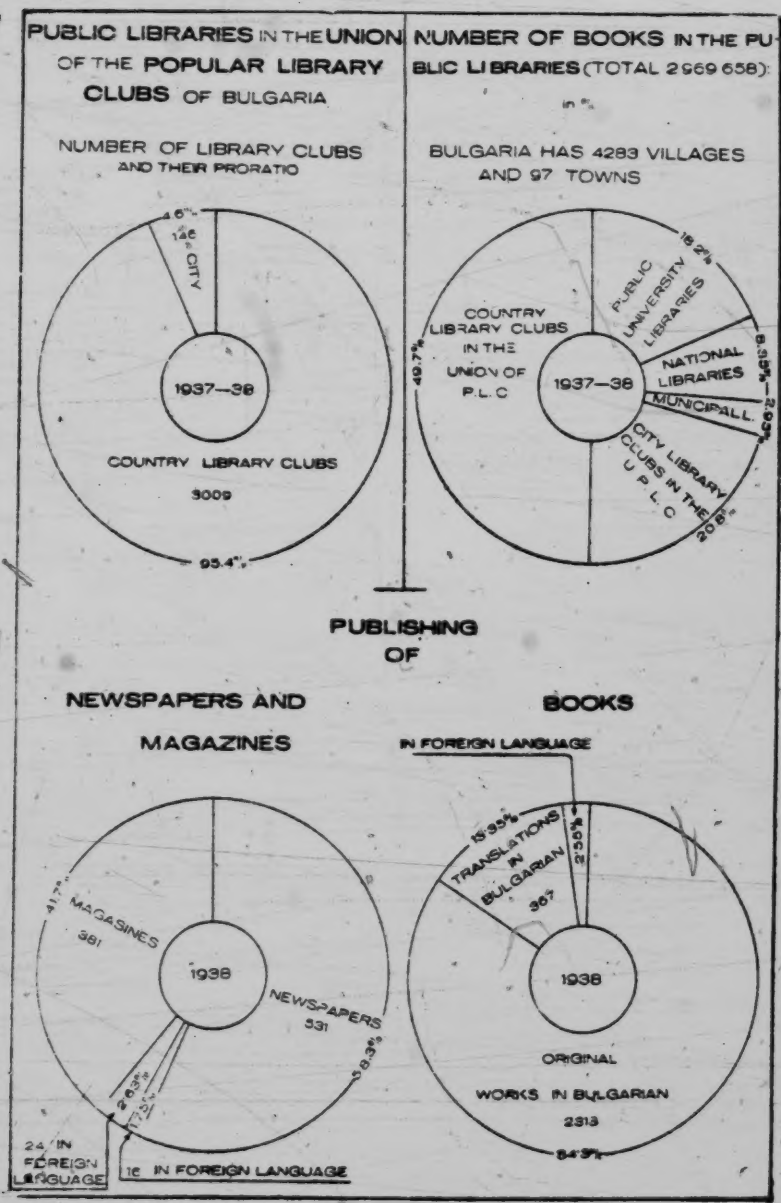

214

Fig. 24.

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

poetry approaches to some extent the perfection and emotional intensity of that of Slaveikov. 538

Another estimate of the literary activities of the Bulgarians may be formed by the number and serious character of the books that are being published. Thus in 1931, a total of 2222 different books was printed, of which 1782 were original productions, and 229 translations, some 201 of the former being in languages other than Bulgarian. The bulk of the works published dealt with scientific subjects. Thus 591 books were on economics, sociology and politics, 349 on culture and pedagogy, 301 on literature, 262 on applied sciences, 175 on medicine, 131 on religion, 97 on law, 84 on history, 44 on art, and 39 on geography and ethnography. 214

The number of newspapers which appeared in 1931 was stated to be 571, and the number of periodicals 352 of which 26 appeared in foreign languages.[1] The largest newspaper circulation was that of the *Utro*, a morning newspaper, which reached daily 60,000 copies, while that of its rival, and the more serious, *Zora*, attained 40,000. The *Mir*, under its able editor, Peev-Platskov, a graduate of Robert College, and an accomplished English scholar, is admittedly the leading newspaper with a daily sale of 20,000 copies. From among the periodicals the *Bulgarski Voin* had the largest number of subscribers, namely 41,300 (mainly reserve officers), while other excellent reviews, such as the *Philosophski Pregled*, and the *Journal of the Economic Association* boasted 3000 and 1400 subscribers respectively. 204

[1] Among these is the „Bulgarian-British Review," a monthly periodical published in English chiefly aiming at promoting cultural and economic intercourse with Anglo-Saxon countries. This review offers to its American and English readers an accurate survey of Bulgarian life, and constitutes a much appreciated means of approach between the English-speaking communities and the Bulgarian people.

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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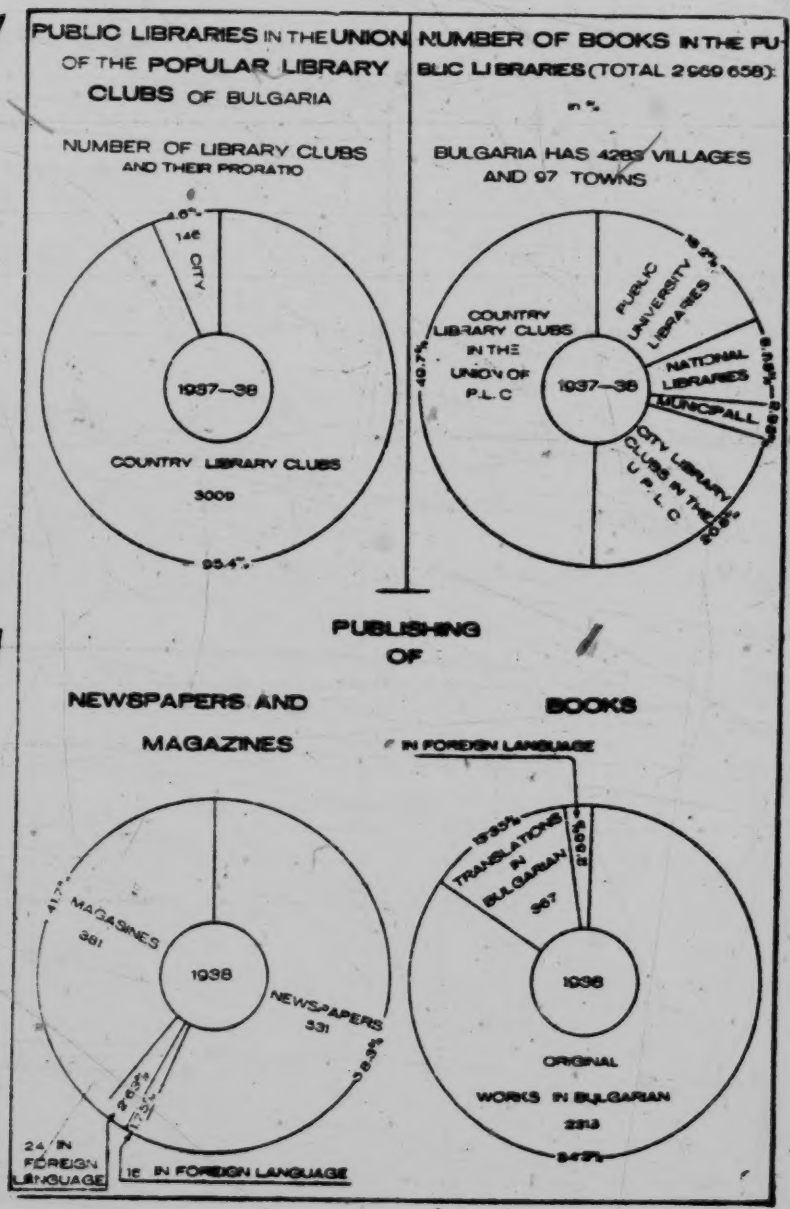

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Fig. 24.

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Particular features of public instruction in schools are given in the drawings (fig. 21-23). Bulgaria could properly boast of a vast system of instruction dating from the time of Turkish political and Greek spiritual dominion and oppression. This national system of public instruction penetrated down to the lowest strata of the population and helped the Bulgarian people to preserve their existence for centuries past. 871

51. Bulgarian Reading Rooms. The Bulgarian reading rooms (libraries) are a national institution for education, which were started during the Turkish domination (1393-1878), when the people guarded and developed their enlightenment with their own means. The national reading rooms to-day are organized in a National Union of Reading Rooms, supported by the State. Supplementing the information given in the drawings (Fig. 24) we will give the following data: 217

The books in the reading rooms are distributed, according to their topics and subject matter, in the following manner for 1938:

	Village reading rooms		*City reading rooms*	
	Number of books	*%*	*Number of books*	*%*
Art and literature	679,885	47.7	269,898	45.3
General works	210,330	14.8	88,987	14.9
Medecine, agriculture, household economy	124,606	8.8	32,704	5.5
History, geography, biography	114,333	8.0	51,501	8.6
Social science	100,415	7.0	60,154	10.1
Mathematics, natural history	32,677	2.3	20,053	3.3
Religion	32,644	2.3	13,401	2.2
Philosophy	30,613	2.2	19,128	3.2
Others	98,705	6.9	40,998	6.9
Total	1,424,208	100.0	596,824	100.0

We have not included in the above statement the books in the municipal libraries, in the large national libraries, supported by the state, as well as in the libraries of the universities and other learned institutions.

52. Cooperative Activity in Bulgaria We may safely say that Bulgaria is a country of cooperative organizations. This tendency in the economic life of the country is inherited too from the long submission to Turkish authority (1393-1878), which was devoid of any 474

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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658

Another cultural Institution which deserves mentioning is the National Library at Sofia which contains a magnificent collection of some 4,000 old Bulgarian monuscripts dating as far back as the 13th century, some 10,000 Arabian and Turkish manuscripts, containing a vast amount of material relative to the history of the Balkan peninsula, about 100,000 historical documents, letters, etc. The Library possesses some 200,000 volumes in Bulgarian, being copies of all books which have been published in Bulgaria, as well as a certain number of foreign works. The present premises are altogether too exiguous to lodge the collections of books and provide reading accomodation for the ever-pressing throng of students and visitors. The writer, who often visited the library and wishes to ackowledge the courtesy he has always met from its much harassed officials, was strongly impressed by the strenuous efforts visitors to the library used to make and the patience and perseverance they displayed in order to secure access to its very limited reading room. It is very much to be regretted that neither the Carnegie nor Rockfeller Foundations, which have endowed so many public libraries, which often remain whole days without visitors, should not have rendered some materiel assistance to this particular library which is perpetually overcrowded. It is a great pity also that the Bulgarian Government has not been able to provide some resources wherewith to remedy, at least partially, to this lack of accomodation, which hampers the work of all visitors to the library. There are national libraries at Plovdiv, Tirnovo and Shumen, and all municipalities of large towns have well organised public libraries, of which at least 200 function regularly throughout Bulgaria. Much has been done to organise public reading rooms in villages and in April 1934 it was reported that some 2,356 such public reading rooms had already been opened, of which 1243 were organised in one syndicate with a total membership of 103,000.

Owing to the lack of funds, the activities of these reading rooms, of which 1,208 are in rural districts, were rather circumscribed, their stock of books was reported to be 847,426, and the books purchased during the year numbered only 127,757. 217 658

The new educational reforms comtemplate the suppression of about two thirds of the existing colleges so as to impede access to the higher training establishments and the University. The colleges will be replaced by practical schools, after the German „real schule", a system which according to Prof. Yorga has concurred in dehumanising the youth of Germany. Only those students who posses exceptional endowments will be allowed to complete their college training and qualify for a University education. 871

A PSYCHOLOGICAL ESSAY

All who have come in close touch with the Bulgarian people have been impressed by such characteristic traits as their diligence, assiduousness, their fondness of labour and their persevering and indefatigable devotion to the land which they till. Frugal and abstemious in the extreme, the Bulgarian peasant provides for his modest needs from the produce of his farm. This form of life which tends to make him self-sufficing and independent of his neighhours has rendered him self-reliant and self-centred to an extreme degree and has militated strongly against the development of social virtues in him. He is capable of submitting to extreme privations, he scoffs at physical suffering, and is almost insensible to pain. He detests affectation and bragging, and takes pride only in collective achievements, national or military. In this he displays a striking similarity to the Japanese whom he 181

342 and the stables; in the mountains there are usually structures with many
stories. Formerly the windows used to have wooden sashes that ran
along a groove and that one could slide to the side, in place of window
262 panes. The style of life is simple; in the country the herders were often
contented with sour milk, and the farmers with maize and millet beer.
231 The raising of livestock specializes in cattle, sheep, and goats, and
[221] takes place in the form of a migratory herding system, which commutes
back and forth between the mountains in the summer and the plains
241 in the winter. The agriculture produces wheat, maize, barley, and
rye, and in the temperate, nay, even hot, South, it cultivates rice,
cotton, and sesame; from here, too, come the olive trees, the citrous
412 trees, and the chestnut trees. The hand mill is mostly used only for
salt, other kinds of primitive tools have scarcely been preserved. The
threshing sled (Figure 9) came from the Orient; it is made of hard
planks that have been bent upward at the front and into which sharp-
edged fire-stones have been forced. When it is in use it is weighted
down enough by the stones and by the weight of the leader to be able
to press out the ears of grain. The rattle board (Figure 15) has its
counterparts all over ancient Europe. The sawing frame of the wandering
wood cutters is an original invention. It includes a box filled with
stones which is fastened by two rods and revolves around a horizontal
axis, so that by its weight it supports the backward movement of the
291 saw. Through the universal joy in colors and in ornaments the national
dress displays a great deal of variety. The basic elements of the men's
clothing are a long, rough shirt with a wide cut which is embroidered
with colored wool along the chest opening and along the shoulder;
cloth or leather trousers, pleated in the Turkish manner in the east,
in the west evenly tight-fitting, with a long woollen waistband; and
legging-like calf cloths, as well as sandals; a sleeveless jacket or
coat-like upper garment with wool trimmings and laces; a sheep's fur
or hooded mantle; a dark and low lambskin cap. The women wear
blouses with embroidered and crocheted ornamentation, skirts with
belts, firmly woven, embroidered apron skirts, sleeveless vests or
sleeve jackets, kerchiefs, headdresses and garlands around their fore-
302 heads with fringe bands covered with coins and hanging far down. The
301 girls wear their hair in from 20 to 30 tresses which are held together
just below shoulder level by means of chains or buckles with silver
coins and pearls, and which, at the end, are gathered together into
one single tress (Figure 1). They also have costly ornaments of little
gold and silver plates, as well as of filigree work for which the threads
were formerly often taken from ancient coins.
*[see 1; Karutz, E1 Europe, Cat. 116, p. 59a --- Analyst]

CHAPTER 1

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR VILLAGE

000 WINTER had begun. The first snow of the year had fallen. It covered the muddy streets of the village, softening the nakedness of the fruit trees which stood lonely in the bare yards. The wind from Mount Vitosha came whistling down the empty lanes, sending both man and beast to seek protection and warmth. The animals huddled in their thatched folds and shelters; the women and children crowded on the little stools near the fireplace at home. The fall sowing of wheat was in. The fields, wind-swept and snow-laden, were deserted, seemingly forgotten by the men and women who had spent so much time with them during the past months.

512 One ordinary day followed another. Every morning the water
● 231 buffalo had to be groomed until they shone; the oxen had to be cleaned after the night in the dirty stall; these, as well as the sheep, had to be fed. Usually the animals received their meager rations before ten
[291] o'clock. Shortly thereafter the men, wearing their dirty-gray sheepskin coats, their brimless lambskin hats, and their pigskin sandals, congregated at the taverns to relieve the monotony of their daily routine. At noon they plodded home to a lunch of beans, looked after the cattle once more, and gave commands to their womenfolk. The rest of the day was spent at the taverns in drinking and talking, interspersed with long, easy silences. After the evening meal, the cattle were fed again. Then the men dropped off to sleep along with the rest of the household.

181 The winds and enforced idleness of winter were not alone respon-
829 sible for the apparent sluggishness on every hand. Slow motion was characteristic of Dragalevtsy life in general, but especially of the bodily movements of the people. *Ima vreme* (there's ~~plenty~~ of time) was either a practical philosophical tenet which explained their lack of hurry or else it was an expression frequently used to rationalize their casual manner. I never saw a peasant with a watch.

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out of hand. The fact that not all patrons of the tavern drank liquor was shown by the comment of one of the villagers: 517 521

"I come to the tavern chiefly for the newspaper. I have a strong will, drink little, and know when to stop. The young men when starting the temperance association asked me to be president but I couldn't give up coming here for the newspaper. The small coffee house across the square has only room enough for five or six people and there's no point in going there. Many blame me for going to the tavern, but they have no interest in finding out what is going on in the world." 275 203

One advantage of visiting the tavern included the announcements that the town crier always made there as well as out in the square.

The tavern keepers, however, had no illusions about their standing in the public estimation. All of them were of the same peasant stock as their patrons, but had sold some of their land in order to set themselves up in business. 554 463

"If the people of the village took a vote, the majority would favor shutting up all the taverns. The people don't like us," was the tart comment of one tavern keeper. This dislike sprang from the indebtedness of so many people to the tavern keepers, as well as from the strong feeling many have toward the social consequences of excessive alcoholism.

There were, however, a number of men who had to miss the morning session at the Dragalevtsy *kruchmi*. They were the milkmen. Each morning while it was still dark eight tiny donkeys left their yards, pattered down the slope just outside the village, and followed the straight gravel road five miles to Sofia. They were accompanied by their prodding masters who kept an eye on the two or three large cans of milk which had been strapped onto the wooden saddles. These donkeys long ago learned to swallow any pride they might have had, for each morning, with monotonous regularity, they were overtaken by the high two-wheeled horse-drawn milk carts used by the remaining thirty Dragalevtsy milkmen. Once in Sofia, the majority of the milkmen covered their routes, knocking at the doors of the regular customers and waiting patiently for a container into which to pour a quart or so of milk from the large cans. The round completed, most of the milkmen began at once to retrace the long uphill journey from the city's outskirts to the village. 463 [231]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

trees above, pitiful reminders of a once-proud forest. A hurried mountain stream called Dragalevtsy River passes through the village and, in doing so, turns the grist mills and assists with the washing of clothes. 133

A mile to the east of Dragalevtsy is Simeonovo, a settlement decidedly run-down at the heel. It was here that I spent a busy morning trying to explain to two villagers that the earth was really global rather than flat. Farther on around the shoulder of the mountain is Bistritsa, where the people are said to sing as they dance the *horo:* 186

> "There is no city more populous than Sofia,
> There is no river more majestic than the Iskar,
> There is no mountain more lofty than Vitosha."

This is an accurate illustration of ethnocentrism, or the belief prevalent among most people that they, and they alone, are the center of the universe and God's chosen children.

My usual approach to the village was across the unfenced fields and up the mountainside. Sometimes I came along the dull road from Sofia. By either way, the great mountain, changing color from hour to hour, was a rest to the eyes. The way across the fields led one gently into the village through patches of vegetable gardens and clumps of overhanging fruit trees. Upon entering the village from the direction of Sofia I passed the cemetery and then was closed in between whitewashed walls which lined the curving streets. Animals also felt much at home in these streets. Just before sunset the village goatherd headed the two hundred animals in his care toward the settlement. Into Renaissance Square they trotted, a capering mass of gray, black, and white. At each street several goats detached themselves from the rest to run unguided into their respective dwellings. The same scene occurred when the pigs came squealing home. At other times of day peasant girls passed by carrying washing to be pounded on rocks and dipped into the icy water of Dragalevtsy River. Hikers, many of them, lounged around Bai Penko's, or tramped through the streets obviously amused at the manners of the peasants. 631 [231]

Few things were as dependent upon the weather as the state of the village streets: muddy beyond description in the autumn and spring, 132

296 formation as to wash days: "We wash twice a week: on Monday and Wednesday, or on Wednesday and Saturday."

351 Many of the yards still had the threshing floor, reminiscent of Old Testament days. This could be located by a forlorn post which seemed to be serving no useful purpose. In the fall great quantities of drying wool hung from the clotheslines; and a little later the family piled in the yard the winter supply of wood from the forest.

342 The eaves of the house, deep as they were, sheltered such things as strings of drying peppers and ears of corn; milk utensils hung beneath them practically the year round; even the scythes and wooden hayforks found frequent lodging there. Storks nested in the trees and chimneys. With the coming of the warmer weather the sheep left their folds in the yards for the pastures, and the shepherd took with him his wattled shelter, which he moved on sleds across the grassy meadows.

[789] In many yards a heavy, large-wheeled wagon stood near the
351 primitive sheds for the animals and the ever-present strawstack. If the peasants were unusually superstitious, there would be dabs of blue paint on the wagon to keep the Evil Eye away. When the weather
● 231 was nice there were usually children at play in the yard. Upon seeing
609 a visitor they added their lusty shouts to the ominous barking of the dogs. They chased the dogs away from the gate by throwing sticks and stones at them, and at the same time warned the visitor to be on the alert. Far too often the dogs sneaked up behind to nip an ankle of the unsuspecting visitor.

247 The yards had few flowers, because chickens of a nondescript
351 variety pecked freely throughout the premises. One or two scraggly trees, from which the children shook most of the fruit before it had
735 time to ripen, stood in a corner wistfully seeking to give a touch of
511 beauty to the scene. In the spring the blossoms of such trees made the village bright, but when the fruit and leaves were gone the bare, black skeletons of the trees fitted in only too well with the poverty and sternness of village life. Poor land, inefficiently tilled, contributed to this poverty. Although the peasants worked hard in their fields, they had little cash on hand after selling their crops and paying their debts. Home improvements were postponed from year to year, but the hard work kept on just the same.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

CHAPTER III

LAND, LABOR, AND MONEY

[241] 512 461

A PEASANT'S life in spring and summer centered around the narrow strips of earth which surrounded the village. If the scene of labor was distant from the village, the tired workers who had been at their tasks since sunup often spent the night in the field rather than trudge the long way back home. In the middle of the morning, at noon, and again in midafternoon, the toilers stopped long enough for food, sometimes only bread and salt, and a little sleep. The burning noonday sun sifted through the leaves of the solitary tree beneath which the people sprawled. Fragile rays danced upon tired faces, old-fashioned costumes, a hand raised to brush away a fly, and oxen chewing lazily. Like animals the peasants worked, like animals they slept; but when harvest time brought an end to their toil they experienced the joyous satisfaction of work well done.

241 [134]

The average farm was about eighteen acres in size and was composed of sixteen separate and widely scattered strips. (See Table 10, Appendix I.) This land sold for a comparatively high figure because of its nearness to Sofia, but not because of any superior quality. In fact, most of the soil was sandy and gravelly, with a mixture of heavy clay.

[423] 231 241 [407]

In addition to a house in the village and his land, the peasant also owned a few animals and agricultural implements. The work animals numbered fewer than two for an eighteen-acre holding, and the plow was the only large implement found on every farm. More than any other joint operation, plowing had the flavor of an antique ritual. At dawn a slow procession moved from the village. The distant Balkan range loomed vaguely blue far across the Sofia plain, and the golden dome of Alexander Nevsky Cathedral in Sofia shone in the thin, clear light of morning. Behind the village, the slopes of

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

Vitosha and snow-covered Cherni Vruh, its peak, looked raw and wild. Against this background a trio of woman, ox, and man was repeated over and over as the households fell into line. The woman came first, leading the moon-eyed oxen which drew the crude wagon with the wooden plow inside. Behind them walked the man who was to guide the plow. He carried a long staff to poke the oxen when they grew sluggish at their task. With the stately pace set by the animals, the peasants walked as gravely through the hush of early morning as though they were moving to some pagan altar rising in the dewy fields. Time slipped back for me countless centuries when I saw the first spring plowing, for small boys had hung the oxen with garlands as though these animals had been meant for sacrifice.

As the days passed, this picture had its variations. Black buffalo, with a cruel crocodile look on their faces, sometimes replaced the oxen; occasionally the woman was busy about something else and the man plowed alone. If the beasts got off the track, a flood of abusive language burst forth from the exasperated peasant. The sound of the language and the pitch of the voice were even more effective than the meaning. Not only in Dragalevtsy but all over Bulgaria, slowly and laboriously the heavy earth was broken with endless patience, for almost three-fourths of the plows had wooden shares, and oxen outnumbered horses four to one.

After the seed was in the ground the peasants left the responsibility mainly to God, but partly to the field policeman and his routine patrols. To ensure God's benevolence the village had a special day for a religious procession through the fields: the first Thursday after St. George's Day (May 6). Once the constant beating of the church bell coming from a strange direction attracted my attention to a spot about one mile east of the village. There was Father Sava, the priest, in his official regalia, accompanied by several boys carrying the church cross, the bell, a flag, and large icons. From forty to fifty villagers followed in a winding line. The procession stopped to pray for rain in several places where there had been insufficient rainfall. Later I learned that on one occasion the party had climbed almost to the top of Vitosha in order to fulfill to the letter their mission of encircling all of the fields owned by the Dragalevtsy people.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

the shoulder. In late July harvesters came from other villages to help 243
at least one-third of the families (the others harvested their own grain) to cut the grain with sickles and place the stalks in little piles. An old man, expert through years of practice, then made up the sheaves by tying together a bundle of stalks with the longest stalks taken from a previous sheaf. He used a round, pointed stick about fourteen inches long to make the grain compact and to tie the knot ingeniously.

Most of the grain was threshed by the hoofs of animals, usually 231
horses, on the packed, earthen threshing floors near the house. The 243
Karakachani, a band of Wallachians from the village of Yakoruda in the Rhodope Mountains, brought about fifty horses to the village at threshingtime. A peasant paid the equivalent of a dollar a day for the service of a team. The grain was placed in the center of the floor, near a pole to which the animals were hitched. Around and around the pole the horses walked until the rope's length was used up, whereupon they reversed their direction. Much grain was threshed [407]
by the machine owned by some of the wealthier men of the village, which was beginning to supplant the old-fashioned threshing floors. Some of the families still winnowed the grain by tossing it in the face of a stiff breeze, but many others had access to a separating machine in the neighborhood.

But this *smes,* or wheat and rye mixture, was not the only crop 241
raised. Quite a few of the homes had garden patches, either in the yard or on the edge of the village, where peppers, mealy potatoes, cabbages, and tomatoes were grown. The white beans from Dragalevtsy were said to be the best in this part of Bulgaria.

Some families grew sunflowers in order to sell the seeds for oil. Pumpkins from the cornfields were prized for use in a soggy pumpkin pie called *banitsa.* Fruit raising was decidedly underdeveloped, but the trees that were properly cared for produced very well. Straw for the animals was frequently borrowed or purchased from the wealthier peasants who had a surplus from the threshing.

The crop second in importance to *smes,* however, was corn. 462
Of considerable interest were the groups of women who hoed the 241
cornfield first in one direction, and a week later in a different direc- 476
tion. Varying in number from three to fifteen, these groups did 576

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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407

"Plowing had the flavor of an antique ritual." *See page 42.*

243

". . . harvesters . . . cut the grain with sickles, and placed the stalks in little piles." *See page 44.*

[Facing p. 48]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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TABLE 9

DRAFT ANIMALS OWNED BY DRAGALEVTSY FARMERS, CENSUS, 1926

SIZE OF FARM IN DECARES	HORSES	OXEN	COWS*	WATER-BUFFALO	TOTAL
0- 10	7	0	0	0	7
10- 20	1	4	2	0	7
20- 30	8	10	5	5	28
30- 40	7	11	5	6	29
40- 50	8	16	5	0	29
50- 60	9	32	4	4	49
60- 70	7	27	3	5	42
70- 80	12	20	4	3	39
80- 90	3	6	0	4	13
90-100	5	11	0	0	16
100-150	41	60	6	14	121
150-200	14	16	0	11	41
200-300	5	0	0	6	11
Total	127	213	34	58	432

* Cows includes buffalo cows.

407
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TABLE 10

FARM MACHINERY OWNED BY DRAGALEVTSY PEASANTS, CENSUS OF 1926
(EXCLUDING MONASTERY FARM)

TYPE OF IMPLEMENT OR MACHINE	NUMBER OWNED BY ALL 232 FARMERS
Wooden plow	176
Plows with wheels	157
Metal plows without wheels	5
Harrows	1
Rollers	13
Planters	2
Hay rake	1
Winnowing machines	57
Cream separator	1
Honey separator	1
Others	7

231 The development of cocoon production is remarkable

	in thousands leva
1938	99.391
1939	109.140
1940	135.134

Domestic animals (big)

horses	531.519
mules	36.648
donkeys	180.695
cattle of the bovine genus	1.497.624
black buffaloes	374.977
Total	2.621.463

This represents 2.04 heads per household. The Government endeavors to increase and improve the breed.

Domestic animals (small)

sheep	8.839.492	
goats	913.088	
swine	901.976	
Total	10.654.556	or 8.3 heads per household.

235

Domestic Fowl

hens and rousters	11.813.579	
geese and ganders	303.616	
turkeys	333.860	
ducks	321.685	
Total	12.772.740	or 9.95 per ordinary household.

439 The increasing fowl and eggs export is an indication of the country's improved poultry farming:

Exported live hens:

	Number	*1000 leva*
1936	293.204	10.426
1937	798.694	27,602
1938	883.378	29.836

Exported dressed domestic fowl:

	Metr. tons	*1000 leva*
1930	872	38.265
1932	2.248	84.248
1934	2.934	86.288
1936	4.367	145.129
1937	5.385	168.762

241 fold, and its market value fourfold which would render the execution of this plan profitable. In south Bulgaria two
312 crops instead of one could be grown annually on irrigated land which moreover would be safeguarded against drought The Ministry of public works also contemplates the harnessing of the river Ossem in north Bulgaria. that some 42,000 hectares may be irrigated in the region of Lovets. This scheme would render available hydraulic energy to the amount of 38,000 H. P. which could be utilised for pumping water from the Danube and in order to water certain parts of the Danubian plain. A smaller scheme, that of bringing about 6000 hectares under irrigation near Nevrokop, in south western Bulgaria, by utilising the river Mesta is also receiving attention and will be carried out in the near future. From a close study of the data collected, it would appear that the irrigation of south Bulgaria is quite feasible and economically sound. The difficulty which stands in the way is the remuneration of the capital invested in the undertaking which could be secured under the present circumstances only by payment in kind, a consideration which is likely to discourage would-be promoters.

312 Concerning irrigation and water-adduction plans, it would be pertinent to mention the efforts which have been made to supply the waterless area of the Deli Orman in north-eastern Bulgaria with a supply of water. In this area of some 600 square klm. wholly devoid of springs and rivers, a network of water mains has been recently laid in order to supply some 569 villages with water, a considerable achievement in view of the financial stress in which the country finds itself. A similar noteworthy work was the adduction of water from the Rila mountains to Sofia, a distance of 82 klm. at a cost of 740 million leva completed in 1933; the difference of altitude being utilised to generate electric energy of 15,000 H. P.

3231 Cattle raising and aviculture are fairly well developed, eggs figuring after tobacco as the second item on the list

of exports as regards value. According to the census of 1926, the livestock population was composed as follows: 231

		Per 1,000 hectares	Per 1000 habitants
Horses.	482,180	46,75	87·94
Asses & mules .	212,371	20·59	38·74
Horned cattle. .	2,265,657	219·65	413·20
Sheep	8,739,769	847·32	1,593·94
Goats	1,260,647	122·22	229·91
Pigs	1,002,089	97·14	182·76
Farm birds. . .	10,117,874	980,94	1,945·28

The large number of sheep are mainly kept for their wool; the consumption of which amounts to 2.3 kg. per head annually, owing to the fact that the peasantry spin and weave their own clothing from this wool. The local supply does not suffice and about 2 million kg. of foreign wool and 300,000 kg. of woollen yarn are annually imported. Successful attempts have been made to cross the local breed of ewes with Hungarian rams and it is said that the weight of the fleeces of the cross-bred sheep weigh one to two kg more than the average weight of 2.3 kg. of the native sheep, and that the quality of the wool is superior, fetching 20 to 30 leva per kg. more than that of the local breed. In 1934 the amount of wool produced reached 11,892,421 kg. 236

The value of the above head of cattle was estimated at 10,000 to 12,000 million leva at the end of 1934 and the annual income derived was computed at 5,800 million leva, this last figure being made up of the following items: 231

Milk . . .	600	million	litres at	4 leva	=	2,400,000,000 leva
Meat. . .	220	»	kg. »	10 »	=	2,200,000,000 »
Wool . .	10·5	»	» »	40 »	=	420,000,000 »
Hides . .	20	»	» »	20 »	=	400,000,000 »
Eggs . .	508	»	at 0·80 leva each		=	400,000,000 »

The value of the livestock can not he assessed merely by the income which is directly derived from it as it

231 is also employed almost exclusively for ploughing and as draught animals, their manure being also used to fertitise the fields.

235 439 The export of eggs has been steadily diminishing owing to the poverty of the peasantry who can not provide for the proper feeding of ther farm birds, exports of poultry, however, have maintained themselves as may be seen from the following figures:

	1932		1933		1934	
	Quantity kg.	Value in million leva	Quantity kg.	Value in million leva	Quantity kg.	Value in million leva
Eggs. . . .	18 804,000	624	15,670,000	457	14,534,000	341
Live poultry	1,103,0?7	47	1,089,766	34	1,040,146	34
Poultry in cold storage	1,831,000	73	1,640,030	48	2,689,116	80

231 439 The export of cattle is very limited, only 2067 horned cattle and 3700 sheep, valued respectivery at 10 and 3·7 million leva having been exported in 1932. Efforts are actually being made to export bacon to England, and the few trial consignments sent are reported to have been successfully marketed. Certain varieties of cheese much appreciated in the Near East continue to be exported to that part of the world to the extent of 1,202 tons, worth 35 million leva in 1934.

246 The scarcity of fodder militates against a rational development of the cattle raising and dairy industries. The government is making strenuous efforts to increase the area of artificial prairies (32,000 hectares in 1934) and foster the cultivation of clover etc, but so far little headway has been made owing to the shortage of land. The annual supply of fodder is computed at 4800 million kg., when as much as 12,000 millions are necessary. In 1932 592,000 hectares were planted with hay and grass as against 649,000 hectares in 1934, of which 281,000 hectares were described as natural prairies. The most easy solution of

the problem is the utilisation of the fields lying fallow by sowing them with clover and similar plants, and this is being increasingly done, thus in 1932 the total arable land lying fallow had decreased to 434,000 hectares from 665,000 in 1910. 246

Sericulture too was once another promising branch of agriculture, as may be gauged by the fact that as many as 4600 hectares were planted with mulberry trees (1932) on the leaves of which the silkworms are fed. Unfortunately the decline in prices has discouraged production. In 1935 1,456,924 kg. of silk cocoons were produced all of which were bought up by the local silk weaving workshops. In order to protect the industry, a tax of 600 leva per kg. is levied on artificial silk produced in Bulgaria. 231

Apiculture is another side line in which farmers take a live interest. There are as many as 257,672 beehives in the country, the production of honey having attained in 1933 2,392,000 kg. and that of wax 114,399.

However persevering and laudable may be the efforts of the Bulgarian people to extricate themselves from their difficult position, these can only be crowned with success if markets can be found for their produce. France and Italy, despite their efforts to solve the difficulties facing the Danubian States can do little to assist them, for from the agricultural point of view both these States are practically self-sufficing, and they even antagonise Bulgaria as purveyors of fruit, poultry and eggs in the markets of Central Europe. England and Germany alone can help. The former country sells three to four times as much as she buys from Bulgaria, and it would not only be a matter of fairness, but even of foresight if she allowed a broader access to her markets to Bulgarian produce, if the Bulgarian market is not to be definitely lost to British manufacturers. Germany on the other hand is in the throes of an ever- 439

342 and the stables; in the mountains there are usually structures with many
stories. Formerly the windows used to have wooden sashes that ran
along a groove and that one could slide to the side, in place of window
262 panes. The style of life is simple; in the country the herders were often
contented with sour milk, and the farmers with maize and millet beer.
● 231 The raising of livestock specializes in cattle, sheep, and goats, and
[221] takes place in the form of a migratory herding system, which commutes
back and forth between the mountains in the summer and the plains
241 in the winter. The agriculture produces wheat, maize, barley, and
rye, and in the temperate, nay, even hot, South, it cultivates rice,
cotton, and sesame; from here, too, come the olive trees, the citrous
412 trees, and the chestnut trees. The hand mill is mostly used only for
salt, other kinds of primitive tools have scarcely been preserved. The
threshing sled (Figure 9) came from the Orient; it is made of hard
planks that have been bent upward at the front and into which sharp-
edged fire-stones have been forced. When it is in use it is weighted
down enough by the stones and by the weight of the leader to be able
to press out the ears of grain. The rattle board (Figure 15) has its
counterparts all over ancient Europe. The sawing frame of the wandering
wood cutters is an original invention. It includes a box filled with
stones which is fastened by two rods and revolves around a horizontal
axis, so that by its weight it supports the backward movement of the
291 saw. Through the universal joy in colors and in ornaments the national
dress displays a great deal of variety. The basic elements of the men's
clothing are a long, rough shirt with a wide cut which is embroidered
with colored wool along the chest opening and along the shoulder;
cloth or leather trousers, pleated in the Turkish manner in the east,
in the west evenly tight-fitting, with a long woollen waistband; and
legging-like calf cloths, as well as sandals; a sleeveless jacket or
coat-like upper garment with wool trimmings and laces; a sheep's fur
or hooded mantle; a dark and low lambskin cap. The women wear
blouses with embroidered and crocheted ornamentation, skirts with
belts, firmly woven, embroidered apron skirts, sleeveless vests or
sleeve jackets, kerchiefs, headdresses and garlands around their fore-
302 heads with fringe bands covered with coins and hanging far down. The
301 girls wear their hair in from 20 to 30 tresses which are held together
just below shoulder level by means of chains or buckles with silver
coins and pearls, and which, at the end, are gathered together into
one single tress (Figure 1). They also have costly ornaments of little
gold and silver plates, as well as of filigree work for which the threads
were formerly often taken from ancient coins.
* [see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a --- Analyst]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Bulgaria EE1

entrance is covered by a wide wooden roof, resulting from the influence of the neighbouring houses of Sredna Gora. This village originated from an old Turkish farm estate (Zlatev, p. 97). 342

The same arrangement of space is also shown in the agricultural house of the village Sapantsi in the same area, and as for the outer picture there is no difference from the houses of Thrace (Fig. 40) (1).

The village house presents the same disposition in the whole of Western Bulgaria but the floor is usually here at a hight of

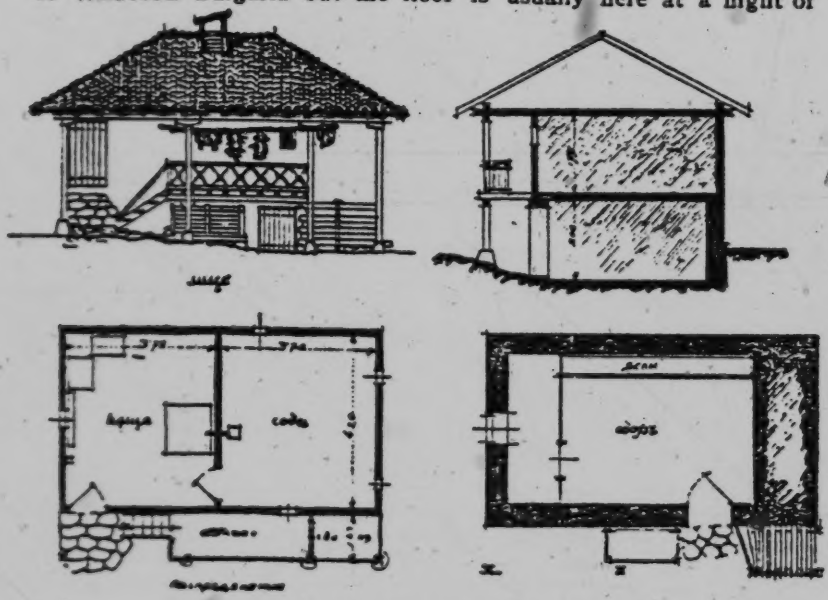

Fig. 41 House in Zianozéne, district of Berkov
Zlatev, Bălg. kăsta fig. 84)

1-1.20 metres from ground level and has under it a basement, excavated to a depth of one metre into the earth, and it is used for the stabling of cattle. [231]

1) Evidently, in older days, the houses of the poorer inhabitants of Sofia did not differ from the huts of the villagers. «The low doors of the Christian and Jewish houses of Sofia, says Jirecek (op. cit. p. 163), caused surprise to the travellers of the 16th and 17th centuries, who knew the reason for it: these houses were built so that the mounted Turkish bands would not use them as billets on their way to Hungary» (See G. Megas, Θρακ. Οἰκήσεις pp. 23-26).

Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples E16
Serbs EF6

The typical form is shown by a house of the village of Zianozene of the Berkof district, built in 1890 (Fig. 41) «In these areas», says Zlatev (p. 98), «southward and northward of the Haimos, in the plain or even in the mountains, this house is the normal type used. The portico here appears in various forms and positions, depending on the construction, which is here primitive and without any particular sense of shape». Part of the space under the portico has been enclosed with oak-tree boards and it is used as a pig-sty. The walls of the ground-floor are made of stone, and those of the upper floor of daubed wicker-work (Bulg.: pletarka). The floor of the upper storey is made of oak planks, roughly planed, and plastered with a thick layer of clay. Windows are few and small, and thus results a poor lighting in the house. The height of the basement is of 2 metres, and that of the upper floor 2 - 2.5 metres. The portico, formed on the frontage and called «islak» (Greek: ἡλιακός), appears as a non-organic part, attached to the main body, although its roof is a part of the whole roof of the house. It is mainly used for the drying of fruits[1]).

B 342
B [231]
B [354]
B [251]

The need to house a large family, as e.g. the so-called zadruga, created a difficult problem which remained architecturally unsolved in the case of the Serbs and the other Slavs: the young people and the young couples sleep in separate small buildings (vajat, klijet, staja or koliba from the Greek καλύβη = hut) which are constructed alongside or around the family house (called kuc'a), having no hearth and being also used as a stable or a store house[2]). The number of klijeti existing round the kuc'a gives the number of couples living in that cluster[3]). As for the Bulgarians, this problem has been solved through the following two methods: 1. By the addition of rooms, in direct organic connection with the original region of the hearth. 2. By the unification of two independent bipartite or tripartite houses through covered entrances or corridors.

Se
Sl
[342]
[592]
[513]

The first method is shown by the house in the village Zabel (Zlatev, fig. 16), one of the oldest houses in NW Bulgaria, which, «some

B [592]

1) It is interesting to note the nomenclature of each part of the wooden bone in W. Bulgaria, which is often similar to that used in Thessaly and Epirus (Zlatev, p. 101, fig. 86) 1. Temel (θεμέλιον) = the basis of the post. 2. Direk = the post. 3. Gredi = (γρεντιά) beam. 4. Pope (παπᾶς = priest) (cf. **G. Megas**, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις p 20).

2) See **J. Cvijic'**, La Peninsule Balkanique, Paris, 1918, p. 233 and foll.

3) See **L. Niederle**, Manuel de l'antiquité Slave, Vol. 2 Paris 1926, p. 109.

[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains]

In these two-storey houses as well, we distinguish in the upper-floor the two basic spaces just as in the Bulgarian house of the plains, namely the kăsta and the oda or soba with the so-called tsardak (or islak or soundourma) that is the open portico, in front of them. The lower storey is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the stabling of cattle and the storing of fruits, but very often it also includes a room with a hearth for the residence of the family during the winter. This is also called «kăsta» i.e. house, or even better, «lower house» and «small house» in contrast to the «upper», or «big house» that is the main room of the upper floor, where the family lives in the summer months. B 342 B 231 251 354

The second room, called soba, is also used as sleeping quarter for the family, and more seldom for the storing of food and other articles. For this last purpose, another additional space is also used and is called «killer»; the upper floor is thus divided into three spaces (Plate XV). B 513 251 353

This distribution is shown by the house of Sredna Gora (Messon Oros) which is very important as it exercised an influence upon the houses of Balkan, according to Zlatev (1). (See Fig. 43, 44 and Plate XV 1-2).

The portico in the upper floor is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the drying of fruit and as a living room of the family during the summer months. Parts of it are usually divided by light wooden or brick partitions, forming spaces called «ambar» (stores) for cereals, or even small rooms called «odaja» and «soba». B 251 353

Finally, in some more composite forms of houses there is a space between the two main rooms, used as an anti-room, having the floor higher by 0.15-0.20 m. and called prust (Greek «μπροῦστι»); and also some other smaller spaces, divided off and used as hiding-places or cellars. In the more developed forms, such as in the houses of the village G 342 171 B 171

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towns, even in their palaces. Slavs never used stone construction until the 10th cent., except for their Southern tribes who, having arrived in the Balkan peninsula and the Italian boundaries on the 6th cent., could see for themselves the models of Byzantine and Roman architecture». Stone construction was first used in the building of churches and of palaces by experts specially invited from abroad. Cf. **J. Cvijic'**, op. cit. pp. 228, 230, 241, **G. Megas**, Θρακ. Οἰκήσεις, p. 48. SL 342 333

1) According to **Cvijic**, op. cit. p. 250, «the house of Srendnja Gora is the one that corresponds better to the desires of all Bulgarian farmers, because it has spread all over the country after the Turkish occupation».

attached plan of such a house of the village of Dolna Mitropolia in the Plevna District of the year 1895 (fig. 50). 342

This consists of two underground galleries. The first and main gallery has, after the entrance, three spaces, meant for the housing of the family and of the cattle. The first is the anteroom (prust), the second is the stable (zemnik) and the third is the room (breg). The second gallery which is perpendicular to the first, comprises the house (kăsta) with the hearth and the cellar (called zadnik = back side). [231]

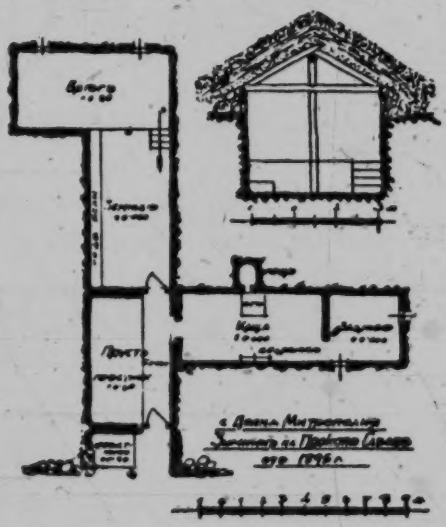

Fig. 50 Village Dolna Mitropolia. Trogle of Prokopi Savoff, 1895
(Zlatev, Balg. Kăsta fig. 98)

The entrance, protected by the roof which is protruding, has, as a rule, an earthen plat-form (prastnik) where the inhabitants sit, or even sleep, in summer. [513]

After a slight slope of the ground, one goes through the entrance into the prust, which plays the role of an ante-room and which, in winter protects the inner spaces from the influence of the atmosphere and in summer, it is used for the habitation of the family, having for this purpose, an earthen sofa. Two doors open from the «prust» to the two main spaces of the house, the zemnik and the kăsta.

The zemnik is never less than 7 m. long and has mangers for the cattle on one side. After this room, one goes to the breg, that [231] [513] [354]

342 has a floor higher by 0.80–0.90 than the rest, and is used as a
[513] bedroom for the members of the family. No wall separates these two
[354] spaces from each other, neither is there any provision for heating.

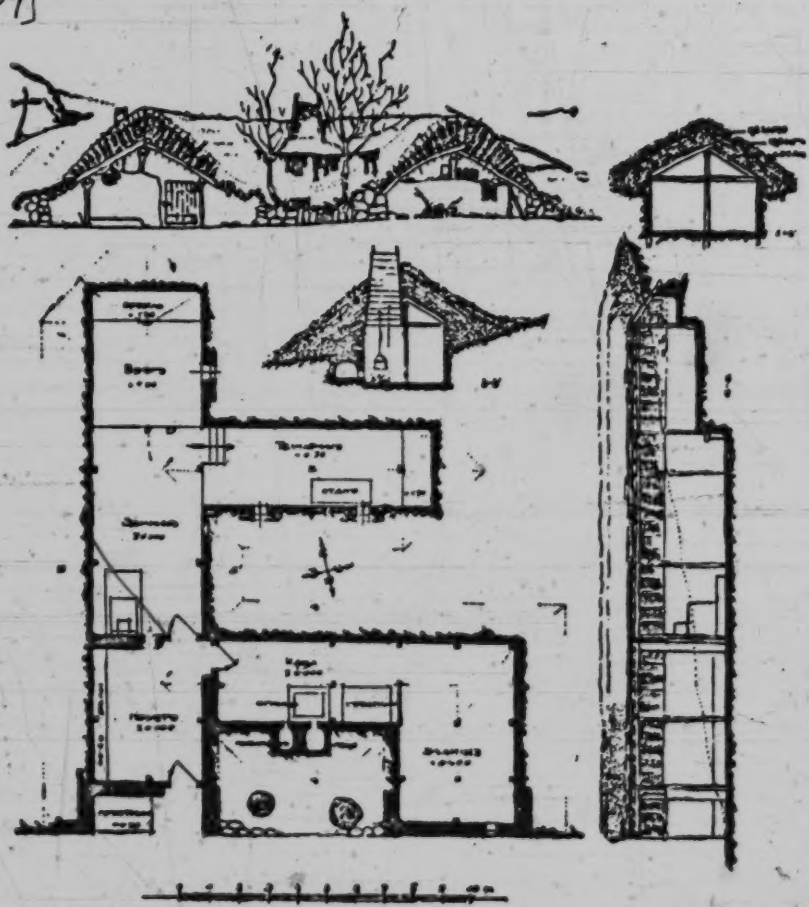

Fig. 51 Trogle of Pentso Tsoloff in the village Dolna Mitropolia, 1876
(Zlatev, Bulg. kŭshte, fig. 97)

[354] Instead of heating, the inhabitants keep warm by the heat omitted by
[231] the cattle in the zemnik. For this reason, the male and female buffalo

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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are tied nearer the breg, for these animals emanate a lot of heat while feeding. One or two sky-lights are to be found on the roof of the breg and give some light to this very dark dug-out.

In the second gallery, as we have said, there is the main house. It has a fire-place, 2×2 m., with a wide chimney for the escape of the smoke. The bread is baked under the ash of this hearth and there is an opening near the fire-place for the collection of the ashes. Finally, the zadnik is the space behind the house, where food, agricultural products and other useful articles are kept (1).

The same formation is seen in another lair of the same village, which was built in 1876 (Fig. 51.)

Dug-out houses existed from the ancient times among the Slavs, and other peoples of central and Nothern Europe, but, as it is shown by the remnants found, these dwellings constituted simple shelters (abris). That is to say, the Slavs dug out a deep trench, of more than one meter depth, which they covered with a roof of timbers, branches, hay and mud. According to Niederle «the construction of the house, or rather of the roof, was more or less simple, according to whether the stay in that place was to be of short duration; because the Slavs, used to live a nomadic life for a long time and till the beginnings of historic times». Such shelter-holes (fosses-abris) were already found in the Slav countries, of dimensions 1.50×4 meters, dating from the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries. Their construction has been retained, though on a less primitive shape, until the 19th century in some districts of Russia and Poland (2). The reason of such a form of housing is the lack of forests and of timber for construction of houses in the steppe districts.

The troglodyte houses of Bulgaria prove of an evolution, obviously due to the influence exercised by surface houses; they are neither of Slav nor of Bulgarian origin. Ancient authors, such as Strabo VII, 5, 12, Plinius, Nat. Hist. IV, 80, Ptolemaeus (C. Müller, Ptolemaei Geographia I, 463), mention the «troglodytes» in the district of Little Skythia, now Dobroutcha, and in Dardania, who lived, like the Phrygians and the Armenians, in subterranean dwellings (3).

Consequently the Bulgars, and the Slavs who established them-

1) **T. Zlatev** op. cit. p. 112 figg. 97 98.
2) **L. Niederle,** op. cit. 2 p. 96 foll., 98.
3) See **C. Jirecek,** op. cit. 157. **G. Kazarow,** Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Thraker, Sarajevo 1916, p. 30.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece

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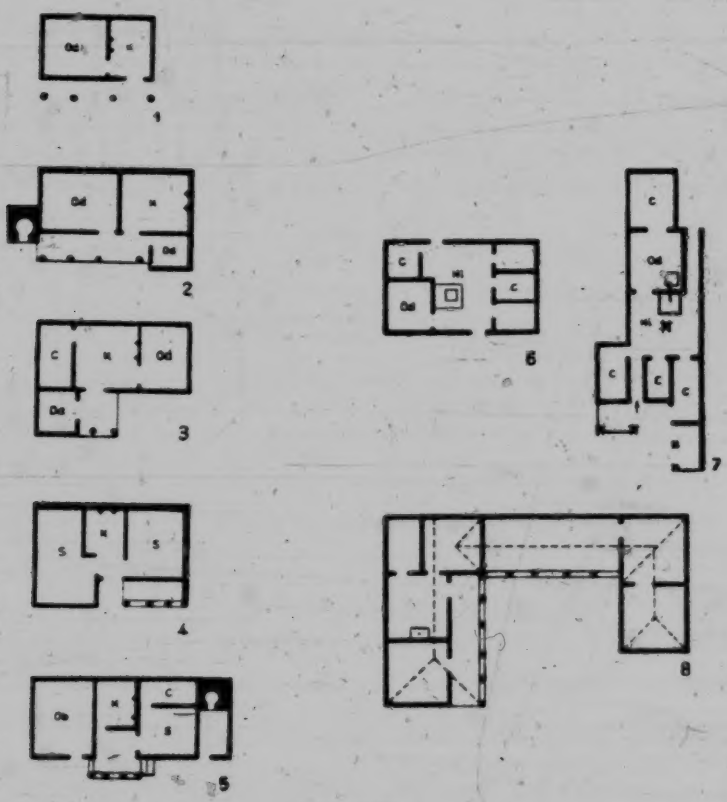
342 BULGARIAN HOUSE

PLATE XIII

TYPES OF WIDE FRONTED (OR ONE-STOREY) PLAIN HOUSE



MEMORANDUM

C cilier, cellar
Hi hiza, house, the main room
K kasta, house, the main room
Ob obór, stable
Od odaja, room
S oba, room with stove

[231]

[End Plate 13]

9:Megas I, B-5, 4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece

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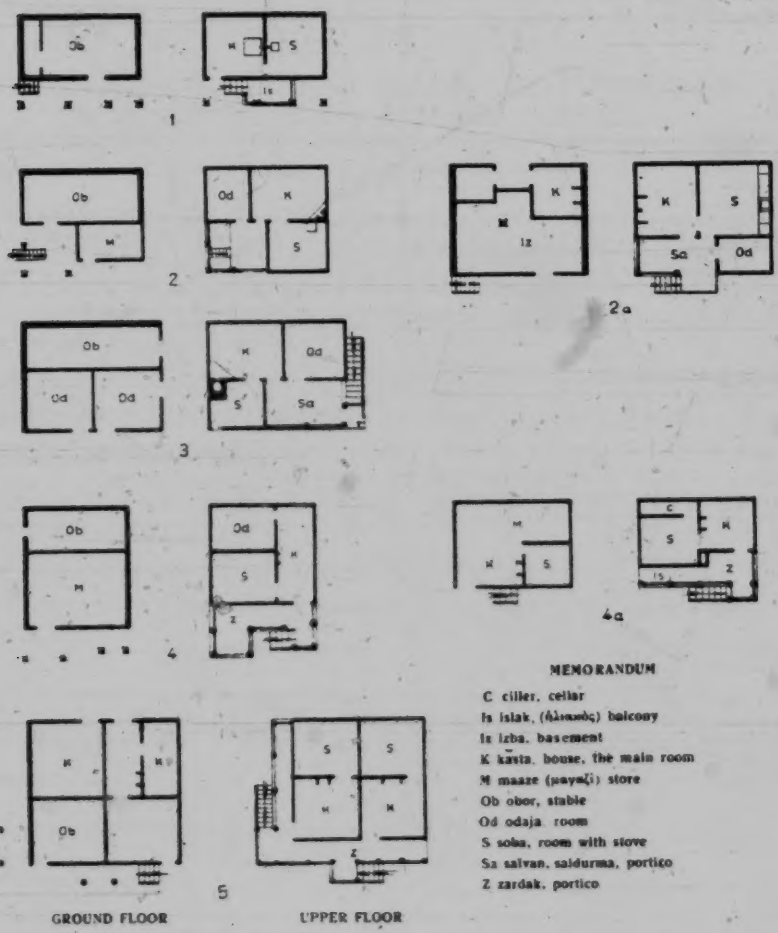
342 BULGARIAN HOUSE

PLATE XIV

TYPES OF MOUNTAINOUS (OR TWO STOREY) WIDE FRONTED HOUSE;

ORIGINALLY TWO ROOMS ON THE UPPER FLOOR.



MEMORANDUM

C cilier, cellar
Is islak, (ἀλιανός) balcony
Iz izba, basement
K kasta, house, the main room
M maaze (μαγαζί) store
Ob obor, stable
Od odaja, room
S soba, room with stove
Sa salvan, saldurma, portico
Z zardak, portico

[231]

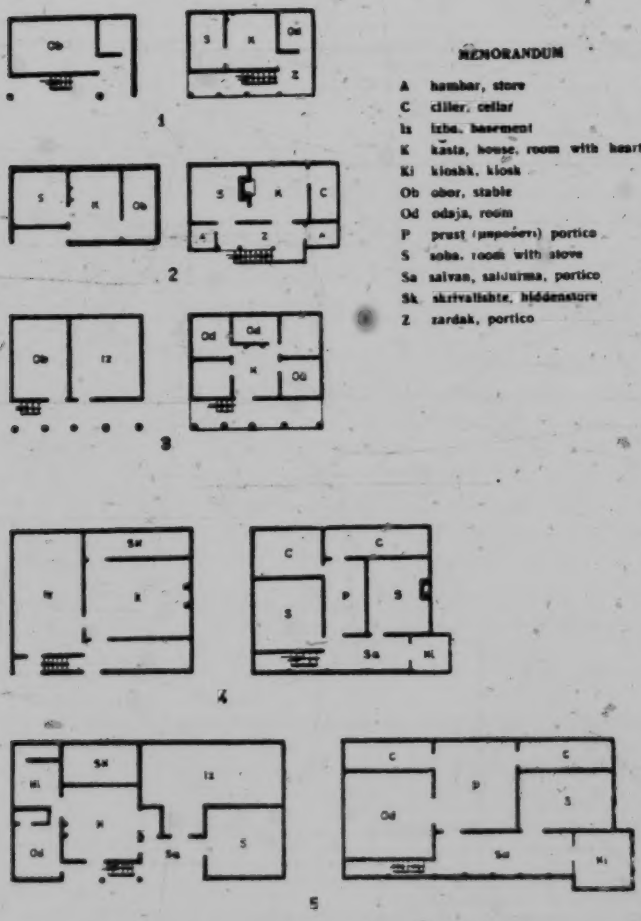
[End Plate 14]

9:Megas I, B-5, 4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Bulgaria EE1

BULGARIAN HOUSE

PLATE XV 342

TYPES OF MOUNTAINOUS (OR TWO STOREY) WIDE FRONTED HOUSE, OF ORIGINALLY THREE ROOMS IN THE UPPER FLOOR.



GROUND FLOOR

UPPER FLOOR

MEMORANDUM

A hambar, store
C ciller, cellar
Iz izba, basement
K kasta, house, room with hearth
Ki kioshk, kiosk
Ob obor, stable
Od odaja, room
P prust (пръстен) portico
S soba, room with stove
Sa salvan, salidurma, portico
Sk skrivalishte, hiddenstore
Z zardak, portico

[231]

[End Plate 15]

113	Yugoslavia EF1
231	Albania EG1
233	Rumania ED1
235	Bulgaria EE1
	Slovenes EF7

/For information on the types of shelter provided for domesticated animals (including cattle), see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

gave lectures at intervals during the year and consulted with some farmers regarding their work, he could not initiate and carry through a thorough program without the help of a local *agronom.* 476 657 178

As far as livestock was concerned, there were two boars and one village bull for breeding purposes. The law required that each *Obshtina* take charge of its own breeding animals. There was supposed to be a local breeding association, but the mayor was the only member. A fund was being collected for a village barn. Meanwhile, the animals were boarded out to various peasants who received a fixed sum. Improvement of livestock was more easily managed through the control of male animals, which were inspected each spring. Those of bad quality were castrated (the veterinary's fees for this work being the following: pig, 10 leva; donkey, 20 leva; horse, 40 leva). If the animal died, the State paid for the loss. I happened to visit the village at the time the veterinary doctor was making his inspection of horses. Before he could begin his thorough examination, the representative of the *Obshtina* looked over the bills of sale to be sure each man had his own horses. This bill of sale cost 3 per cent of the amount exchanged. If the horses had been foaled at the home of the present owners, the men presented certificates of ownership which they had previously obtained from the mayor for fifteen leva. If the doctor found that a horse was ill, a second examination was made two weeks later. If the animal was still sick, State officials bought the horse for a small sum and killed it. A fine ranging from two hundred to five hundred leva was charged if the horses were not brought for the examination. While a national program for home demonstration work had been prepared, Dragalevtsy so far had received few benefits. 232 476

Recreation, like economic life, had been subjected to efforts at organization. The people of Dragalevtsy customarily associated liquor with holidays and leisure time. In the earlier days there was little organized opposition to the use of alcohol, but by 1922 considerable public opinion had been aroused against the *kruchmi.* On January 1, 1922, all the taverns of the village were closed by order of the Village Council, which thought that the drink shops were a social evil. The village was very much stirred up, most of the men siding with the tavern keepers and the women with the Village Council. The tavern 273 733

S: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

439

Exported Eggs:

	Metr. tons	1000 leva
1934	14.534	341.388
1935	17.490	465.559
1936	17.516	430.106
1937	15.180	436.623
1940	19.593	807.957

[232] The country has a veterinary staff of 660 doctors and 175 assistants, 90% of which are government employees.

46. Export of Agricultural Products in 1938.

	1000 leva
grain	525.146
of which 69% wheat and 29% corn;	
grain products	34.587
92% of which are bran;	
industrial plants	2.626.510
of which 90% leaf to acco, 4.1% oleaginous seeds and 2.4% rose oil;	
forage	15.601
white beans, broad beans, lentils, peas and potatoes	22.435
of which 83% beans;	
vegetables	32.942
of which 83% fresh vegetables;	
fruit	980.867
of which 56.4% grapes, 27.3% canned fruit;	
beverages (131.105.000 leva for 1939!)	950
live stock	199.554
animal products	752.700
of which 58% eggs, 13.8% dressed fowl;	
hides and skins	94.739
miscellaneous	32.884
Total	5.318.915, which

makes 95.4% of the total (5.578.341.000 leva) export of the country (Fig 19).

47. Foreign Trade Development. The rapid increase of the country's foreign trade or rather in the value of the export per capita, is as follows (Fig. 20):

Year	Millions of inhabitants	Foreign trade in mill. gold leva	Per capita gold leva	Index
1880	2.82	42.24	14.9	100
1890	3.23	155.60	48.2	323
1912	4.43	369.52	83.4	560
1939	6.25	595.25	95.3	640

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

178 234 began to compare the cost of feed with their income from milk and realized that they were losing money. As the war progressed the government bought more and more forage for military animals, feed costs went up, and dairying profits went down. Once this fact became evident and was noised throughout the village there was almost a wholesale withdrawal from dairying. Whereas three or four years before 1,300-1,400 kilos of milk were sold daily, by 1945 only 40 kilos were sold. The 1945 situation was aggravated by the excessively dry season and the reduced yield per cow from 15 liters daily down to 4 or 5. In other words, the number of cows fell off by as much as 90 per cent owing to the low prices of milk and feed difficulties. The peasants liked to mention the fact that *boza,* a fermented millet-seed drink which tastes like sour, liquefied chicken feed, sold for 40 leva a kilo and milk for only 22 leva.

178 233 The loss in dairying, temporary though it may prove to be, meant a corresponding gain in sheep-raising, with 1945 estimates of sheep numbers varying from 12,000 to 15,000. Sheep had also become popular because of the wool they made available for garments in the days of clothing shortage during and following the war. A return to sheep had created interesting social problems connected with pasturing. The sheepmen wanted to go back to the days when sheep could graze freely on uncultivated land, but many of the peasants wanted to keep pasturelands for their own use rather than common use.

178 593 As I talked to the peasants and heard the concerns expressed by the parents and the aspirations voiced by the young, I began to realize that the family trends already under way in 1937 had progressed further than I would have anticipated. Parents, although very much interested, had less to say about the choice of mates for their sons and daughters. Some of them were quite skillful in making use of relatives to advise the young people in choices which the older members of the family group considered wise.

583 178 593 Brides were still stolen but, contrary to the case in former years, the girl could return home immediately if dissatisfied with the man desiring to become her husband. Shortly before I visited the village a young man had "captured" the girl of his choice and taken her to his father's home. When the girl's parents came to ask whether she chose

almost all farms have high walls of unfired brick which are topped with a small roof of straw. The large gateway is also roofed over and has a small door for people. In the eastern Marica plain the fence is of wickerwork or consists merely of a hedge (Gellert, 1937: 161-62). In eastern Bulgaria the enclosure, if present, is a low one of brushwood (Gellert, 1934: 5). 351 184

In the Marica plain there appears to be a difference between the enclosures in the east and west that cannot be attributed to the presence or absence of the necessary raw materials. Gellert believes that the high enclosures in the west are due to a persistence of Turkish traits (Gellert, 1937: 162). Also, in Sredna Gora and the Sub-Balkan basins high walls are limited to the west (Gellert, 1937: 162). [177]

In the mountains and the Sub-Balkan basins the yards are small and crowded together because there is little arable land (Gellert, 1937: 164). When the enclosures are of stone the yards are rectangular; when the fences are of wood or hedges the yards are often rounded and there is often much free land between the separate yards (Gellert, 1937: 165). 351 [311]

Since the houses are generally built to shelter both men and farm animals and have a number of annexes built onto them, one would expect fewer separate farm buildings. Barns are not typical of central Bulgaria. In Ihtiman we find two-roomed barns made of timber-framing and mud. The eaves may be extended and supported by pillars to form a shelter. Only in the extreme east of the Marica plain are barns widespread. Here a small side annex is added to the barn; the entrance is on the short side where the eaves are extended to form a shelter (Gellert, 1937: 158). In Juricite one finds Turkish store houses being used by the Bulgarian population, although in east Bulgaria they are used almost exclusively by the Turks (Gellert, 1937: 160). These are large buildings of woven brushwood with a straw roof that extends far out to the sides. They are generally built on an incline. The entrance is on the short side and the back is rounded (fig. 39) (Gellert, 1934: 3). In Karlovo Basin one finds store houses of wickerwork with straw roofs which have poles attached to the ridge to prevent the straw from being blown away (Gellert, 1937: 159). Stables for sheep in east Bulgaria are long narrow huts of stone covered with straw or reed (Gellert, 1934: 3). In general the various sheds and shelters for animals are of poor construction and have no particular regional characteristics (Gellert, 1937: 159). 343 184 [177]

Summer kitchens are numerous; they are either built onto the house or are in the open, in which case they are covered by a roof of straw, reed, brushwood or brick that is supported on four poles (Gellert, 1937: 160; 1934: 3). 343 [342]

Buildings Outside the Village. Outside mountain villages one finds shepherds' huts of brushwood, round or rectangular in shape, 342 233

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Rumania ED1

B 342 233

with straw roofs. They are rarely plastered with mud. In western Sredna Gora, transportable sheep pens are used (Gellert, 1937: 169).

RUMANIA

R 361 175 177 648

In Rumania there exists a marked difference between settlements in the lowlands and those of the Carpathian Mountain region. While topograpny and the presence or absence of such building materials as stone, wood or clay are important factors, political considerations also played a significant role. With the beginning of the 18th century Greek influence became predominant in Moldavia and Wallachia. The Porte set up Greek rulers in these principalities, thus in reality the Rumanians were as much under Turkish dominion, although indirectly, as were the people of the Balkans. It was only after the rebellion of 1821 that Rumanian rulers were reinstated. During all periods of unrest and foreign invasion the mountains and forests served as areas of refuge; the Serbian hajduk has his counterpart in the Rumanian heydoick (Stratilesco, 1907: 30-34).

R 361 R [133]

Location and Types of Settlements. The older settlements were in the nature of hamlets (catăn). These were generally not built on the top of hills, but rather in depressions, on the edge of forests, and away from the military roads (Grothe, 1907: 54). In the hilly regions of Oltenia and Moldavia the villages were located close to a river or on the slope of a hill. Farmsteads are generally spaced fairly far apart, in no definite order. Villages may extend over two or three hills facing one another (Stratilesco, 1907: 205). Villages in the Wallachian plains are located close to the roads. The prevalent type is the road village; buildings are located on either side of the highway which forms the main road of the village. Larger villages may have additional cross-roads (Jänecke, 1918: 7). While mountain villages average a population of 350, the largest being around 700, villages of the plains average 700 and may reach 2000 (Grothe, 1907: 55).

R [491] R [621]

R 342 R [335]

House Types. Due to the scarcity of wood and stone in the plains, buildings are generally constructed of wicker and daub, in which technique the Rumanians are masters. The roof is made first, the walls afterwards. The principle posts are first set into the ground, then the studs of the outer walls and inner partitions are spaced at 1 to 2 foot intervals. After the roof has been formed walls are built up. Mud is kneaded down with the feet, mixed with straw, and shaped into lumps that take the place of bricks. These lumps are then set between the studs and left to dry (Stratilesco, 1907: 208). More often walls are of wickerwork, plastered inside and out with a mixture of mud, straw and cowdung to a thickness of 15-25 centimeters (Jänecke, 1918: 10). The rough walls are smoothed out by applying thinner and thinner layers of mud and cowdung mixture. They are then whitewashed inside and out. Floors of timber are recent; the floor is commonly of tamped earth.

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Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1
Slovenes EF7

/For information on the types of shelter provided for domesticated animals (including cattle), see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

596 their sons or sons-in-law succeeded to the control of their shares. The
476 five Danevi outnumbered the others, forming a unit around which
243 clustered three other members. There was some friction whenever meetings were held, but the minority was easily suppressed by the majority.

Most of the group considered membership an honor, symbolizing wealth and importance. Generally the village approved its existence, as shown by the increasing number of families who sought its services at threshing time.

476 Twenty-one Dragalevtsy men also belonged to the Animal Hus-
● 234 bandry-Dairy Cooperative, with headquarters in Sofia. This group had a twofold aim: (1) to enable members to get animal feed on credit and more cheaply; (2) to develop a milk distributing center. Though Dragalevtsy members did not have regular meetings in the village, most of them attended the annual meeting held in Sofia at which the reports of the officers of the co-operative were read. Before this annual meeting the Dragalevtsy men got together in the village and agreed on common action at the Sofia meeting. Dragalevtsy had one representative on the Executive Committee and one on the Control Committee. These men kept the villagers informed as to the condition of the co-operative. Two or three Dragalevtsy people had resigned, recently saying that "there were hidden matters." Most of the men who still belonged said that their membership entitled them to cheaper feed for their animals. I asked ten of the members why they belonged to the co-operative:

"I get cheaper feed through the co-operative."

"I joined in order to work collectively; to have a central depot for milk."

"The co-operative gives credit for food at a lower price."

The agricultural crisis through which Bulgaria had been passing reflected itself in the life of this co-operative. With the hard times, peasants said they did not have enough ready cash for their dues, and so dropped out. However, one could not consider this a true village organization because its physical basis was Sofia, and there was no formal organization operating in Dragalevtsy as a local.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

But peasant prosperity, especially in a village so close to Sofia, was also based on black-market activities. Even in 1945 economists estimated that about ninety-five per cent of all dairy products reached the urban consumer through the black market at prices fantastically high. The peasants, moreover, had learned new ways of circumventing government requisitioning during the war. Just after harvesting, while rye and wheat crops were still in the field, they would shake from one-fifth to one-fourth of the grain onto blankets and secretly hide this amount from the Germans. Then they would, as the law decreed, take the sheaves to the village to be threshed. A part of this threshed grain, varying in amount each year with the size of the harvest, had to be turned over to the authorities at prices fixed by the government, but the previously sequestered grain could be used at home or disposed of at black market prices. 178 437

One additional economic factor of importance[1] was the rise in land values, which surpassed the general rise in prices. For instance, I had not been in the village long before I learned how valuable was the land on the right as one approached the village from Sofia. Within two years the land had gone up ten times, from 35 leva per square meter to 300-400 leva. No wonder then that peasants had been ridding themselves of their debts, selling a field or two if necessary to put them in the clear. Some of the poorer families had been deriving extra income from the earnings of about twenty teen-aged girls who went daily to Sofia to work in the knitting mill. This was a concession to industrialism which the Dragalevtsy peasants would not have made back in 1937, and it was already having some effect upon village life. 178 423

But perhaps one of the greatest economic changes was the reversal of the trend toward dairying mentioned in earlier chapters. Shortly after my departure from Dragalevtsy, a milk producers' co-operative had been established in the village, largely through government prompting and support, and collected all of the milk formerly taken to Sofia by the individual milkmen. The co-operative also ran a grocery store and sold large quantities of feed to the farmers. Owing to price policies of the co-operative and the government price-fixing agency, the peasants began to consider dairying unprofitable. They 178 234 ● [474]

1 [Following World War II -- Analyst]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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583 178 593 Brides were still stolen but, contrary to the case in former years, the girl could return home immediately if dissatisfied with the man desiring to become her husband. Shortly before I visited the village a young man had "captured" the girl of his choice and taken her to his father's home. When the girl's parents came to ask whether she chose

231 The development of cocoon production is remarkable

	in thousands leva
1938	99.391
1939	109.140
1940	135.134

Domestic animals (big)

horses	531.519
mules	36.648
donkeys	180.695
cattle of the bovine genus	1.497.624
black buffaloes	374.977
Total	2.621.463

This represents 2.04 heads per household. The Government endeavors to increase and improve the breed.

Domestic animals (small)

sheep	8.839.492	
goats	913.088	
swine	901.976	
Total	10.654.556	or 8.3 heads per household.

235

Domestic Fowl

hens and rousters	11.813.579	
geese and ganders	303.616	
turkeys	333.860	
ducks	321.685	
Total	12.772.740	or 9.95 per ordinary household.

439 The increasing fowl and eggs export is an indication of the country's improved poultry farming:

Exported live hens:

	Number	*1000 leva*
1936	293.204	10.426
1937	798.694	27,602
1938	883.378	29.836

Exported dressed domestic fowl:

	Metr. tons	*1000 leva*
1930	872	38.265
1932	2.248	84.248
1934	2.934	86.288
1936	4.367	145.129
1937	5.385	168.762

231 is also employed almost exclusively for ploughing and as draught animals, their manure being also used to fertitise the fields.

•235 439 The export of eggs has been steadily diminishing owing to the poverty of the peasantry who can not provide for the proper feeding of ther farm birds, exports of poultry, however, have maintained themselves as may be seen from the following figures:

	1932		1933		1934	
	Quantity kg.	Value in million leva	Quantity kg.	Value in million leva	Quantity kg.	Value in million leva
Eggs. . . .	18 804,000	624	15,670,000	457	14,534,000	341
Live poultry	1,103,0[illegible]7	47	1,089,766	34	1,040,146	34
Poultry in cold storage	1,831,000	73	1,640,030	48	2,689,116	80

231 439 The export of cattle is very limited, only 2067 horned cattle and 3700 sheep, valued respectivery at 10 and 3·7 million leva having been exported in 1932. Efforts are actually being made to export bacon to England, and the few trial consignments sent are reported to have been successfully marketed. Certain varieties of cheese much appreciated in the Near East continue to be exported to that part of the world to the extent of 1,202 tons, worth 35 million leva in 1934.

246 The scarcity of fodder militates against a rational development of the cattle raising and dairy industries. The government is making strenuous efforts to increase the area of artificial prairies (32,000 hectares in 1934) and foster the cultivation of clover etc, but so far little headway has been made owing to the shortage of land. The annual supply of fodder is computed at 4800 million kg., when as much as 12,000 millions are necessary. In 1932 592,000 hectares were planted with hay and grass as against 649,000 hectares in 1934, of which 281,000 hectares were described as natural prairies. The most easy solution of

113	Yugoslavia EF1
231	Albania EG1
233	Rumania ED1
235	Bulgaria EE1
	Slovenes EF7

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of exports as regards value. According to the census of 1926, the livestock population was composed as follows: 231

		Per 1000 hectares	Per 1000 habitants
Horses.	482,180	46,75	87·94
Asses & mules .	212,371	20·59	38·74
Horned cattle. .	2,265,657	219·65	413·20
Sheep	8,739,769	847·32	1,593·94
Goats	1,260,647	122·22	229·91
Pigs	1,002,089	97·14	182·76
Farm birds. . .	10,117,874	980,94	1,945·28

The large number of sheep are mainly kept for their wool; the consumption of which amounts to 2.3 kg. per head annually, owing to the fact that the peasantry spin and weave their own clothing from this wool. The local supply does not suffice and about 2 million kg. of foreign wool and 300,000 kg. of woollen yarn are annually imported. Successful attempts have been made to cross the local breed of ewes with Hungarian rams and it is said that the weight of the fleeces of the cross-bred sheep weigh one to two kg more than the average weight of 2.3 kg. of the native sheep, and that the quality of the wool is superior, fetching 20 to 30 leva per kg. more than that of the local breed. In 1934 the amount of wool produced reached 11,892,421 kg. 236

The value of the above head of cattle was estimated at 10,000 to 12,000 million leva at the end of 1934 and the annual income derived was computed at 5,800 million leva, this last figure being made up of the following items: 231

Milk . . .	600	million	litres at	4 leva	=	2,400,000,000 leva
Meat . . .	220	»	kg. »	10 »	=	2,200,000,000 »
Wool . . .	10·5	»	» »	40 »	=	420,000,000 »
Hides . .	20	»	» »	20 »	=	400,000,000 »
Eggs . . .	508	»	at 0·80 leva each		=	400,000,000 »

The value of the livestock can not he assessed merely by the income which is directly derived from it as it

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

CHAPTER III

LAND, LABOR, AND MONEY

[241] 512 461

A PEASANT'S life in spring and summer centered around the narrow strips of earth which surrounded the village. If the scene of labor was distant from the village, the tired workers who had been at their tasks since sunup often spent the night in the field rather than trudge the long way back home. In the middle of the morning, at noon, and again in midafternoon, the toilers stopped long enough for food, sometimes only bread and salt, and a little sleep. The burning noonday sun sifted through the leaves of the solitary tree beneath which the people sprawled. Fragile rays danced upon tired faces, old-fashioned costumes, a hand raised to brush away a fly, and oxen chewing lazily. Like animals the peasants worked, like animals they slept; but when harvest time brought an end to their toil they experienced the joyous satisfaction of work well done.

241 [134]

The average farm was about eighteen acres in size and was composed of sixteen separate and widely scattered strips. (See Table 10, Appendix I.) This land sold for a comparatively high figure because of its nearness to Sofia, but not because of any superior quality. In fact, most of the soil was sandy and gravelly, with a mixture of heavy clay.

[423] 231 241 [407]

In addition to a house in the village and his land, the peasant also owned a few animals and agricultural implements. The work animals numbered fewer than two for an eighteen-acre holding, and the plow was the only large implement found on every farm. More than any other joint operation, plowing had the flavor of an antique ritual. At dawn a slow procession moved from the village. The distant Balkan range loomed vaguely blue far across the Sofia plain, and the golden dome of Alexander Nevsky Cathedral in Sofia shone in the thin, clear light of morning. Behind the village, the slopes of

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

Vitosha and snow-covered Cherni Vruh, its peak, looked raw and wild. Against this background a trio of woman, ox, and man was repeated over and over as the households fell into line. The woman came first, leading the moon-eyed oxen which drew the crude wagon with the wooden plow inside. Behind them walked the man who was to guide the plow. He carried a long staff to poke the oxen when they grew sluggish at their task. With the stately pace set by the animals, the peasants walked as gravely through the hush of early morning as though they were moving to some pagan altar rising in the dewy fields. Time slipped back for me countless centuries when I saw the first spring plowing, for small boys had hung the oxen with garlands as though these animals had been meant for sacrifice.

As the days passed, this picture had its variations. Black buffalo, with a cruel crocodile look on their faces, sometimes replaced the oxen; occasionally the woman was busy about something else and the man plowed alone. If the beasts got off the track, a flood of abusive language burst forth from the exasperated peasant. The sound of the language and the pitch of the voice were even more effective than the meaning. Not only in Dragalevtsy but all over Bulgaria, slowly and laboriously the heavy earth was broken with endless patience, for almost three-fourths of the plows had wooden shares, and oxen outnumbered horses four to one.

After the seed was in the ground the peasants left the responsibility mainly to God, but partly to the field policeman and his routine patrols. To ensure God's benevolence the village had a special day for a religious procession through the fields: the first Thursday after St. George's Day (May 6). Once the constant beating of the church bell coming from a strange direction attracted my attention to a spot about one mile east of the village. There was Father Sava, the priest, in his official regalia, accompanied by several boys carrying the church cross, the bell, a flag, and large icons. From forty to fifty villagers followed in a winding line. The procession stopped to pray for rain in several places where there had been insufficient rainfall. Later I learned that on one occasion the party had climbed almost to the top of Vitosha in order to fulfill to the letter their mission of encircling all of the fields owned by the Dragalevtsy people.

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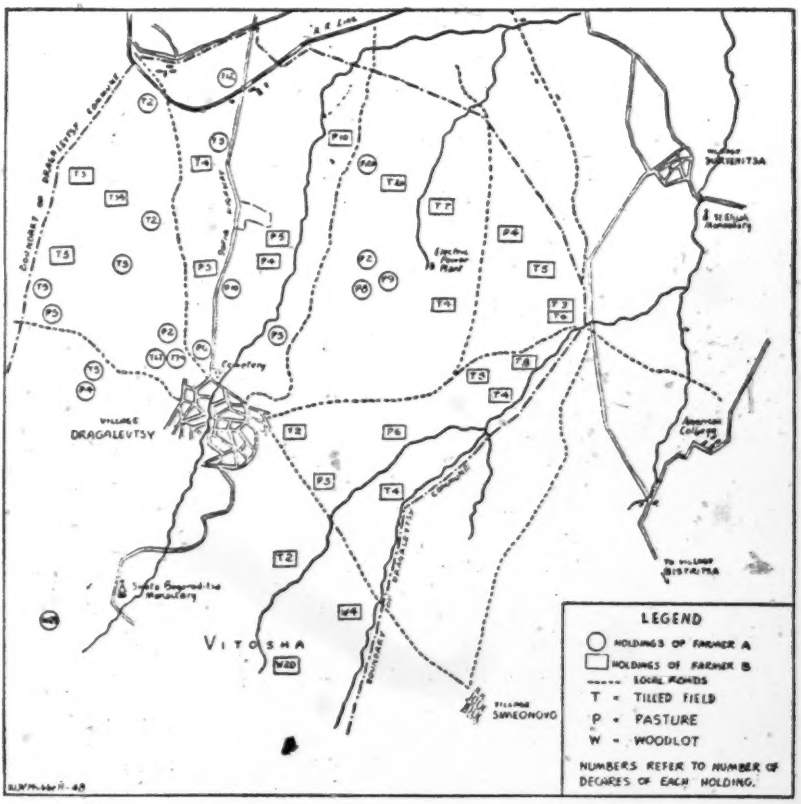

Map of holdings of two Dragalevtsy farmers

527 731 Should drought be very severe, say in midsummer, the villagers asked for another procession and additional prayers to do more effectively what the May procession had failed to do.[1] The need for such ceremonies was explained to me one day by a tavern keeper: "While the people know in their minds that wind keeps the rain away from their fields, they believe in their hearts that the cause of drought, like that of sickness, is the sinfulness of the world today for which God is punishing the people."

243 The chief bread-grain used in this region was called *smes,* a mixture of wheat and rye. It was sown by hand from a bag slung over

[1] [i.e. ensure a good harvest -- Analyst]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

the shoulder. In late July harvesters came from other villages to help 243
at least one-third of the families (the others harvested their own grain) to cut the grain with sickles and place the stalks in little piles. An old man, expert through years of practice, then made up the sheaves by tying together a bundle of stalks with the longest stalks taken from a previous sheaf. He used a round, pointed stick about fourteen inches long to make the grain compact and to tie the knot ingeniously.

Most of the grain was threshed by the hoofs of animals, usually 231
horses, on the packed, earthen threshing floors near the house. The 243
Karakachani, a band of Wallachians from the village of Yakoruda in the Rhodope Mountains, brought about fifty horses to the village at threshingtime. A peasant paid the equivalent of a dollar a day for the service of a team. The grain was placed in the center of the floor, near a pole to which the animals were hitched. Around and around the pole the horses walked until the rope's length was used up, whereupon they reversed their direction. Much grain was threshed [407]
by the machine owned by some of the wealthier men of the village, which was beginning to supplant the old-fashioned threshing floors. Some of the families still winnowed the grain by tossing it in the face of a stiff breeze, but many others had access to a separating machine in the neighborhood.

But this *smes,* or wheat and rye mixture, was not the only crop 241
raised. Quite a few of the homes had garden patches, either in the yard or on the edge of the village, where peppers, mealy potatoes, cabbages, and tomatoes were grown. The white beans from Dragalevtsy were said to be the best in this part of Bulgaria.

Some families grew sunflowers in order to sell the seeds for oil. Pumpkins from the cornfields were prized for use in a soggy pumpkin pie called *banitsa.* Fruit raising was decidedly underdeveloped, but the trees that were properly cared for produced very well. Straw for the animals was frequently borrowed or purchased from the wealthier peasants who had a surplus from the threshing.

The crop second in importance to *smes,* however, was corn. 462
Of considerable interest were the groups of women who hoed the 241
cornfield first in one direction, and a week later in a different direc- 476
tion. Varying in number from three to fifteen, these groups did 576

462 more than merely chop weeds and loosen the soil; they also afforded
241 an opportunity for visiting and conversation. A day or two ahead
476 of time the woman needing help broached the matter to those whose
576 assistance she wanted in her cornfield. She was careful to include only those women who would work in a congenial manner, shunning those known to be gossipy or quarrelsome. At four in the morning on the day of the hoeing the hostess had to go to the home of each guest.

"Anka, Anka," she called above the barking of the menacing dogs. Anka came to the door to greet her walking alarm clock with a cheery *"Dobro utro"* ("Good morning"). Since Anka owed the visitor two days of work for having helped with her cornfield, she readily accepted, hurried about her household tasks, and was ready to leave for the fields by six o'clock. Young women received many invitations because they could better withstand the summer heat. Occasionally, young men, upon hearing that their sweethearts were to be invited, asked the hostess the night before to call them along with the others in the morning. In the field all day long they had a wonderful opportunity to hoe next to the girls of their choice and "to tell secret things and to speak what they shouldn't."

461 Each woman brought her heavy, semicircular hoe and her own
436 bread, but the hostess provided the vegetables and other food. Some-
576 times the people were paid in cash for their work, but more often the work was repaid in kind. The oldest maiden was "at the post." She apportioned the number of rows and kept the workers from getting in each other's way. She set the pace as the workers moved in a line, side by side, across the field. Her word was supreme, and even the hostess kept quiet, although she might think the girl was giving poor directions. The hostess watched the time and told the group when to stop working for the three meals she served. The girl "at the post" gave the signal to resume work, but she did not urge others to work until she saw that the group sentiment favored it. If one woman was not ready to start, the others began anyway. But the niceties of etiquette were always observed: the hostess, who was profiting from the work, invited the group to stop to eat; a guest, who was directing the group, rather than the hostess, suggested that they take up work once more.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

was directing the group, rather than the hostess, suggested that they take up work once more. 000

I spent many hours in the fields chatting with these women. There was a hypnotic rhythm of sound and color in their work as the line of black-clad bodies, and white headcloths, swayed forward together through the thin green blades. In the high altitude everything was sharply defined: the red-roofed village two miles away, the puffs of white cloud infinitely high in the blue, the strong harsh peasant voices close by. While the women worked they sang old folk songs about beautiful heroines and the brave Krali Marko, a legendary Balkan hero who carried out prodigious feats against the Turks, or of peasant girls knitting gay stockings for village boys. The songs were usually romantic and often were cheerful in theme; but now and then one was moved by a haunting sadness deeper even than that of the Negro work songs. Hour after hour I used to hear the unhappy music rise in its bizarre cadence; day after day for three weeks the corn was hoed in one field after another. Week after week the sun beat down on Vitosha and the Sofia plain, while summer burned itself away. The corn grew waist high, then shoulder high, and finally yielded the golden ears to the strong brown fists of some boy or girl at the autumn cornhusking *sedenki.* 461 241 [533]

Early July was the haying season. Each sunrise would find most of the villagers out in the fields. Some of the men with their sharp scythes cut the hay in even swaths, letting it lie as it fell, to dry in the parching sun. Others would load the cured hay onto the wagons fitted out with ladderlike sides. As the wagons rolled through the village streets they were greeted by the little children who had had to stay at home with their aged grandparents or great-grandparents. The haystacks, whether left in the field or dressed near the house, were weighted down by lines to which heavy stones had been attached.

One could not be with the peasants long at haying time, or indeed at any other time, without sensing their feeling of close dependence upon the weather. In fact, I soon found myself sharing this feeling, although I remained somewhat dubious of the infallibility of the signs by which they "read the weather." They believed, for example, 787 821

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787 that it would rain if the crows bathed in the river, if the sun set or
821 rose behind a cloud or was surrounded by a circle, or if the oxen dug the earth with their horns in the springtime. When the moon was surrounded by a dark circle, the weather would supposedly change to rain if it was summer and to snow if winter. Rain would also follow if the stars shone brightly, the sky was red in the morning, or the middle part of Vitosha was foggy. But the surest sign of bad weather was the sight of pigs carrying straw to the sty at sunset. Yet good weather alone did not ensure good crops. The human element was of utmost importance.

464 Bulgaria had, according to prewar figures, the largest labor
● 241 supply per decare in Europe, with 5.8 workers available for 100 decares (25 acres) of land. Italy came next with 4.7, then Poland with 4.3, but Great Britain had only 0.7. In spite of such a surplus of labor the people had not begun to cultivate intensively. An increasing number of young people therefore had to seek a living from sources off the farm. Such intensive cultivation, however, would require radical changes in farming practices. Not more than thirty Dragalevtsy families saved liquid fertilizer, although the rest did haul wagonload after wagonload of manure from the stables to the fields late in the winter to be dumped in piles awaiting later spreading. There was very little harrowing, and what was done took place in the spring after the rains.

243 The cornfields were plowed under at once after the harvest and were immediately sown with grain. If the field had produced *smes*, the stubble was plowed under to lie fallow for one or two years. The fallow fields were plowed once in the spring, once in the middle of the summer, and again in the autumn just before the grain was to be sown.

What might be considered a Bulgarian counterpart of our Thanksgiving feast occurred at the time of this fall sowing of grain. Early in the morning the woman arose quietly to bake one large and two small loaves of bread, and to catch a young rooster which she handed over to her husband just before he was ready to start to the field in the oxcart. What followed was the observance of a pagan fertility rite. With the dignity of a priest performing an ancient sacrifice, the

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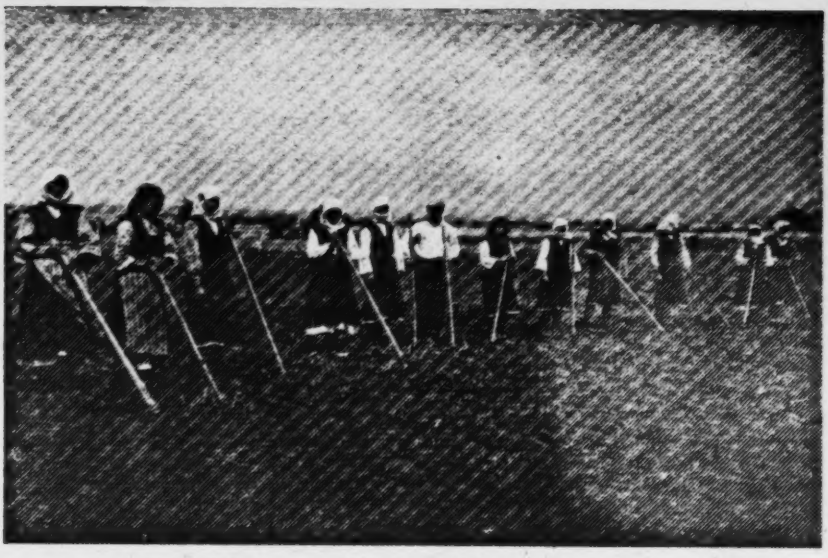

"The cornhoeing groups . . . also afforded an opportunity for visiting and conversation." *See page 46.*

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"The patriarchal system . . . won out" (a father and three married sons living together in a one-room house). *See page 62.*

[Facing p. 49]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

stopanin, or male head of the house, killed the cock and held its 243
twitching body over a bag of grain seed so that several drops of blood would fall upon it. He then drove slowly to the field to prepare the ground for the sowing, meanwhile eagerly awaiting the arrival at midmorning of the *domakinya,* his wife, dressed in her most beautiful costume and bearing a pan containing the boiled cock, meal, and bread. The family group made a tour once around the field, whereupon the man solemnly broke the bread and, before sitting with the others in the middle of the field to feast, gave pieces of the bread to the oxen. The peasants called this the "sweetest meal of the year" and delighted in having friends from a neighboring field join them in the repast. Summer's hard work was at an end; the harvests were plentiful; the peasants were deeply grateful.

Life in these scattered fields of Dragalevtsy was hard and labo- 241
rious, but to the peasant, life without the fields would not be worth 423
living, for these narrow strips of land were his children growing under his painstaking care. The land was his companion and friend, as he shared with it the thoughts and dreams of a starlit summer night, with a cloak for a pillow and dew for a blanket. Land meant more to the peasant than money in the bank; it meant more than food on the table; it meant life itself.

Some years ago I heard a Sofia University professor say in a 181
lecture that the Bulgarian peasant was more devoted to his work than 461
to his religion. "There are more songs dedicated to labor than to 225
saints," he added. Because I wondered about the truth of this statement in respect to Dragalevtsy, I polled village opinion. Here are some of the questions I asked, with representative or characteristic responses:

Nowadays, which do people enjoy most: working in the field or sitting in the tavern?

"People work to get bread. They can't earn money enough to save. Some prefer to work in the fields because we quarrel when we are in the *kruchma.*"

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578 But day in and day out co-operation was much more common in the community than conflict. Conflict was more colorful, it varied the ordinary routine for participants and observers, and it brought to the surface many causes of minor irritation. The character of village life, however, called for continued interchange of labor, implements, and even work animals.

527 241 At breakfast one morning Bai Penko told me that I had better go down to the school meadows if I wanted to see something interesting. The dog days had come. The peasants would do no work of their own during three of these days because of their firmly rooted superstition that fire would later destroy whatever they did. If they should use these days for getting in their own hay, it would probably burn during the autumn. Some imaginative leader had taken advantage of this traditional idleness by proposing that every family send a member down to the school meadows to mow and stack the hay which was later to be sold for the benefit of the local school. The villagers obliged with the mental reservation that it was no concern of theirs if the school's hay burned before it could be sold to the commission merchants.

Even before I had finished my pale cocoa made of sheep's milk, some of the tavern faithful began to drift in. It was already hot outside, so hot that the men rejoiced because they did not have to go down to the meadow in the broiling sun. One patriarch had trouble persuading a daughter-in-law to represent the family, but she had agreed to go if he would buy her the pair of new shoes he had been promising her; another said his son wanted to go because he thought it would be more fun down there than hanging around the house. Such remarks as these spurred me on my way.

I had gone only a hundred yards before I caught up with a housewife headed for the meadow, a wooden pitchfork over her shoulder. She was not looking forward to the toil ahead of her, because she wanted to work in her vegetable garden, dog days or no dog days.

Even before I reached the group I saw them hard at work. Rows of men were wielding scythes, rhythmically and unhurriedly advancing together without leaving an erect blade of grass between them.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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Women, their kerchiefs loosely drawn over their heads, turned the swaths of hay that had been curing. The younger people, displaying an amazing amount of energy and enthusiasm in such sultry weather, collected the dried grass first in small piles, next in larger piles, and then several joined forces to scoot these heaps of hay across the field to the nearest stack. This scooting was the center of the day's hilarity, for it was always accompanied by shouts of triumph ("Look what a big pile we have"), and warning ("You'd better get out of our way; we're coming). The scoot usually ended in several youngsters taking a terrific tumble, but they did not seem to mind falling in the sweet-smelling new-mown hay.

The large stacks conveniently placed around the forty-acre meadow were dressed without a wasted movement by men who remained on top and were lifted higher as the stack grew in size. By the end of the afternoon some of the stacks had grown so large that the men on top had to be helped down.

A little before lunch time the priest and the mayor came strolling across the fields swinging their canes like true intelligentsia. They exchanged friendly comments with all the people they passed. They continued on across the meadow to a tavern on the Sofia road, returning eventually with two jugs of *rakiya* and a bag of fruit for those who spurned brandy.

Lunch time was quiet except when some boy played a trick on a dozing neighbor and got an angry protest in exchange. The only shade was directly next to the stacks, so most of the people had to endure the sun even while they rested. Trees were a mile away. As the afternoon wore on, the desire to get a big patch finished overcame the natural fatigue setting in. The captains, appointed by the mayor to control the activities of the people from their respective neighborhoods, stirred up the spirit of competition, and the stacks grew larger and larger. At length all the cut hay had been piled and we began to leave the field as the sun was setting behind the mountain. The towering stacks stood motionless, symbolic of that co-operation which is the heart of communal life everywhere.

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6. that I have been registered under No._____ in the election list of the commune. 666 623

I wish to have my candidacy recognized as legal and confirmed.

I enclose certificate No._____ from _____ 19__ year issued from _____ commune, which shows that:

(a) I have the right to elections (commune elections)

(b) that I am 30 years of age and have completed my military service (or the regular labor service)

(c) that I have completed _____ (education)

Village, City _____ year 19__

Respectfully:_____

The names of those wishing to run were posted publicly by the mayor; all the villagers had the opportunity to contest the fitness of any candidate; afterwards the mayor sent the names to Sofia with his own recommendations. The final decision was in the hands of the judge in Sofia. Thirteen Dragalevtsy men decided to stand for election. Three of these were rejected by the authorities. People from each district voted only for a candidate from their district. Mothers were the only women permitted to vote.

Before the election, with the permission of the mayor, the candidates were allowed to make speeches. After the election, as is frequently the case in countries elsewhere, some people were dissatisfied with the results and demanded a new election. However, everything seemed to go off in an orderly way and the voting was fairly done. This election, though, was the prelude to the national elections which were later held, resulting in the restoration, after a fashion, of the *Subranie,* or National Parliament.

Re-establishing a commune council seemed to be a very complicated affair to the average peasant, and afforded quite a contrast to his usual way of getting things done. In order to fulfill the law requiring ex officio members to represent the merchants and the agriculturists, two new organizations had to be started in the village before the time of the election. The merchants organized a Merchants' Association, had one or two meetings, elected a representative, and discussed general policies for the future. Although nothing definite had taken shape by the time I left the village, the merchants hoped to 623 441 241

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

623 441 241 practice price-fixing, standardization of products, and the like. The representative appointed by the merchants was Ivàn Katsarov, previously mentioned as a manager of one of the village taverns who appeared as a plaintiff in court. Furthermore, the farmers had to organize themselves into an association called a zadruga (which had no connection with the old form of joint family known by that name). Such organizations followed the Italian system of corporations under the Fascist regime and insured representation in government on the basis of occupation rather than political preference. These agricultural zadrugas worked well in theory around the council tables in Sofia, but met with resistance in the village. In the opinion of many leaders of co-operatives, the zadrugas ran counter to the strong co-operative movement which had already made such headway in Bulgaria. Their critics point out they not only struck at the very foundation of this movement, but also had the fault of being handed down from above instead of springing from natural needs in the village itself.

623 Should there have been a number of industrial laborers in the village they too would have had an ex officio member on the council. The presence of the other ex officio members on the council was easily understood. The doctors, the school director, and the mayor were expected by the national authorities to take an active part in deciding the policies of the village government. Such a council, in spite of the great furor connected with its formation, was still an advisory rather than a governing body.

In order to get a better understanding of the way government affected the life of the individual peasant, I sought answers to several questions.

651 *How were the taxes paid?* On February 25, July 25, and October 25, people were supposed to come to the *Obshtina* and pay taxes. Those who did not show up were summoned by the courier. If this summons went unheeded, the individuals were sent red notices reminding them that they had to pay within three or four days. If they failed to do this, the *Sekretar Birnik* made out a list of their possessions for a public sale which was held if the taxes remained unpaid. There had been several instances where goods were actually sold for failure to pay taxes, much to the shame of the people involved.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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TABLE 7

LENGTH OF ENGAGEMENT PERIOD, DRAGALEVTSY, 1935*

No engagement	1 couple
"Short"	3 couples
1 day	1 couple
3 days	1 couple
1 week	18 couples
10 days	1 couple
2 weeks	3 couples
6 weeks	1 couple
8 weeks	1 couple

* Information gotten from people selected at random. They were of varying ages and had been married for varying periods of time.

B. TABLES ABOUT THE FARMS

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TABLE 8

SIZE OF HOLDINGS OF DRAGALEVTSY FARMERS, WITH NUMBER ENTIRELY OWNED, CENSUS OF 1926*

SIZE OF HOLDING (DECARES†)	NUMBER OF FARMS	TOTAL DECARES	NUMBER OF FARMS OWNED	TOTAL DECARES OWNED
0- 10	12	35.2	11	32.2
10- 20	14	237.5	14	237.5
20- 30	27	674.9	26	654.6
30- 40	32	1,147.1	29	1,048.4
40- 50	21	947.3	21	947.3
50- 60	24	1,319.4	22	1,206.3
60- 70	17	1,104.0	17	1,104.0
70- 80	19	1,429.8	17	1,276.2
80- 90	7	589.7	7	589.7
90-100	7	657.3	7	657.3
100-150	37	4,300.2	34	3,950.6
150-200	13	2,191.8	13	2,191.8
200-300	2	492.7	2	492.7
Total	232	15,126.9	220	14,388.6
Per cent owned			94.8	95.1

* Monastery farm of 1,176.1 decares omitted from table.
† 1 decare is ¼ acre.

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

These figures show how strongly the people are attached to the cultivation of the land. The background of Bulgarian culture was and still is agricultural labour. 162

44. Bulgaria is a Land of small Ownerships. This is the Background of her Democracy.

Let us show the variety of occupations in Bulgaria. The occupations of 1.284.993 households [1]) in Bulgaria are distributed as follows:

	Households		%
Agriculture	838.899	or	65.2
Manufacture of materials	160.000	„	12.4
Commerce and credit	61.518	„	4.8
Public work and service	38.762	„	3.0
Transport and communications	36.682	„	2.9
Science and education	20.114	„	1.7

The distribution of land property will be shown in the figures below. The total of private properties being 42.810.815 dekars equal to 100%, the distribution is as follows: 423

Husbandries	up to 10 decares [2])	1.3%
„	from 10 to 20 decares	4.0%
„	„ 20 „ 30 „	6.6%
„	„ 30 „ 50 „	18.1%
„	„ 50 „ 100 „	36.9%
„	„ 100 „ 150 „	17.0%
„	„ 150 „ 200 „	7.3%
„	„ 200 „ 300 „	5.2%
„	„ 300 „ 500 „	2.0%
„	„ 500 and more	1.6%

Since at present Bulgaria could not rely on more guaranteed sources of income for her economy, than those which are connected with her agriculture; along with the efforts laid for the improvement of crafts and industries, the Government takes special care for the agriculture of the country, as the main support of the state and the main background of the democracy of her agrarian population. 241 311

How is land worked in Bulgaria? The private and public land for exploitation being 43.684.381 decares equal to 100%, its distriburion is as follows:

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[1]) This information is based on statistics for 1934, which is the last census year.

[2]) One decare = 0.247 acres. One acre = 4.047 decares.

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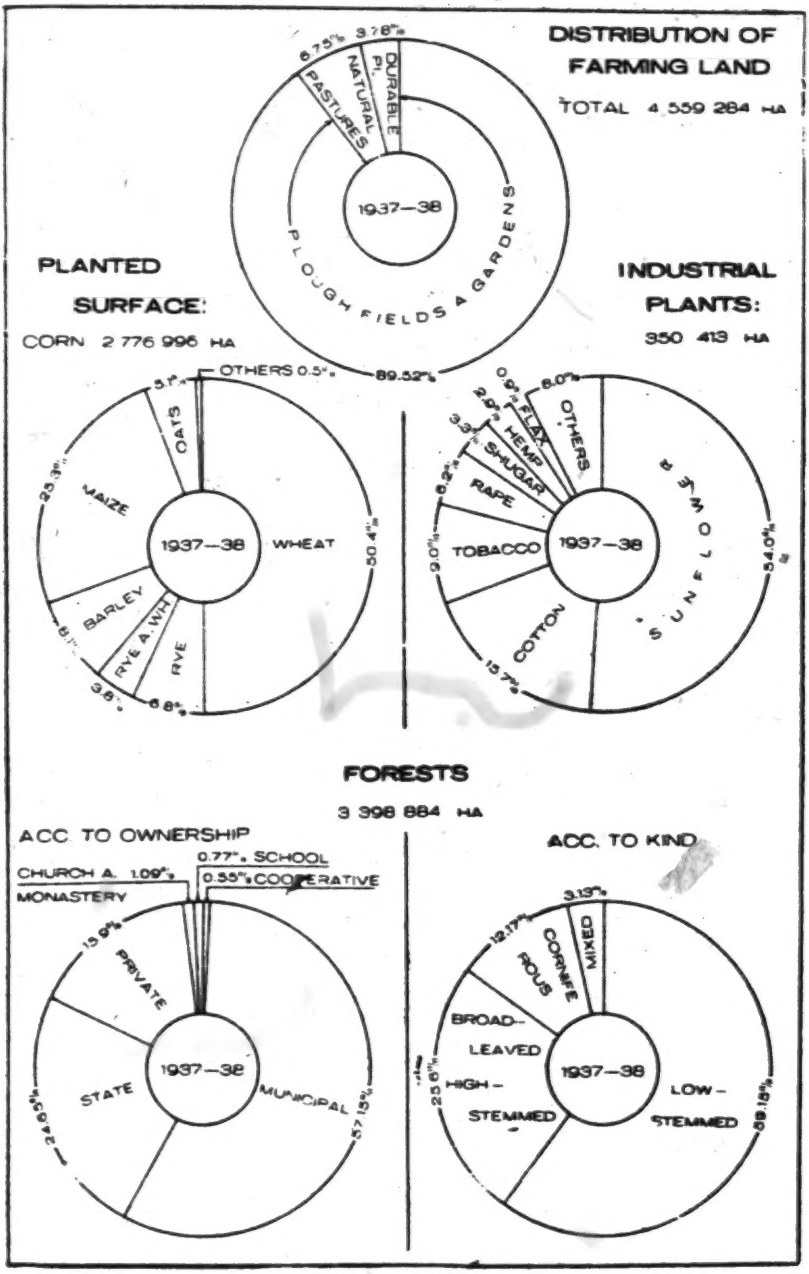

Fig. 16.

a. Land for cultivation		89.10 %
plough fields	79.40 %	
vegetable gardens	0.45 %	
vineyards	2.48 %	
vine nurseries	0.008 %	
orchards	0.52 %	
mulberry orchards	0.01 %	
rose fields	0.02 %	
meadows	6.02 %	
b. Land — not cultivated		10.90 %
pastures	1.72 %	
forests	8.49 %	
deserted land	0.69 %	
other	0.06 %	

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45. Agricultural Production. The distribution of the total country's production is given in percentage values, as follows: 241

	1907-1911	*1930-1934*
grain	62.18 %	58.05 %
industrial plants	1.80	9.68
beans, peas etc.	2.26	2.25
potatoes	0.27	0.96
vegetables	1.87	1.78
forage plants	18.58	15.89
vineyards	10.30	8.45
orchards	1.03	1.40
rose fields	0.69	—
mulberry orchards	0.07	0.13

The above figures show how Bulgarian agriculture turned to more accessible marketing and higher priced products. This situation continues at the present time. The change is evident also from the following figures showing the movement of the country's export after 1911 (vidi Fig. 17 and 18):

ANNUAL AVERAGE

	1907-1911	*1937*	*1938*	*1939*
	amounts in metric tons			
grain	539.404	329.476	172.935	176.635
leaf tobacco	2.051	22.798	33.553	34.761
oleaginous seeds	4.222	64.854	—	43.699
miscellaneous (remnants)	118	45.151	38.961	30.965
fresh vegetables	97	7.359	6.842	8.012
dried vegetables	432	1.192	—	4.364
fresh fruit	1.188	39.890	77.196	72.133
canned fruit	300	7.500	23.296	50.746
wine	8	31	87	19.710

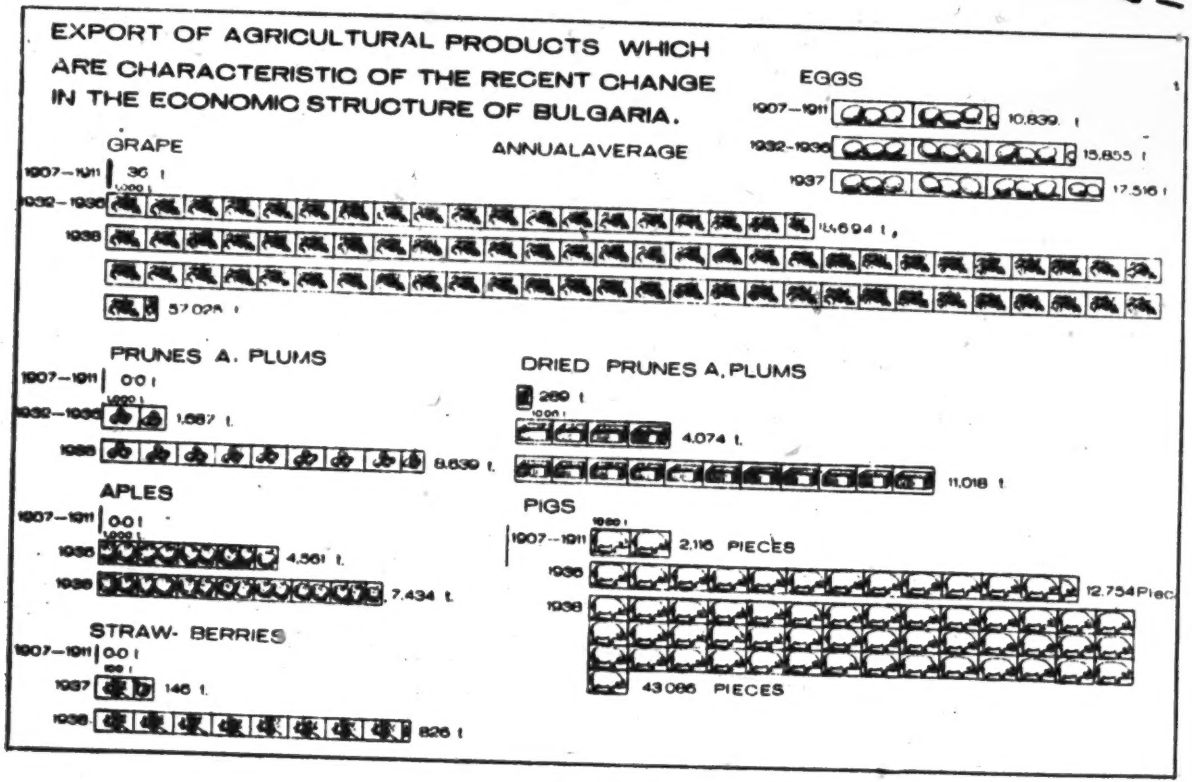
EXPORT OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS WHICH ARE CHARACTERISTIC OF THE RECENT CHANGE IN THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF BULGARIA.
ANNUALAVERAGE
GRAPE
1907–1911
36 t
1932–1936
1938
57.028 t
EGGS
1907–1911
10.839 t
1932–1936
15.855 t
1937
17.516 t
PRUNES A. PLUMS
1907–1911
0.0 t
1932–1936
1.687 t.
1938
8.639 t.
DRIED PRUNES A. PLUMS
269 t.
4.074 t.
11.018 t.
APLES
1907–1911
0.0 t
1936
4.561 t.
1938
7.434 t.
PIGS
1907–1911
2.116 PIECES
1936
12.754 Piec
1938
43.086 PIECES
STRAW- BERRIES
1907–1911
0.0 t
1937
146 t.
1938
826 t

Fig. 17.

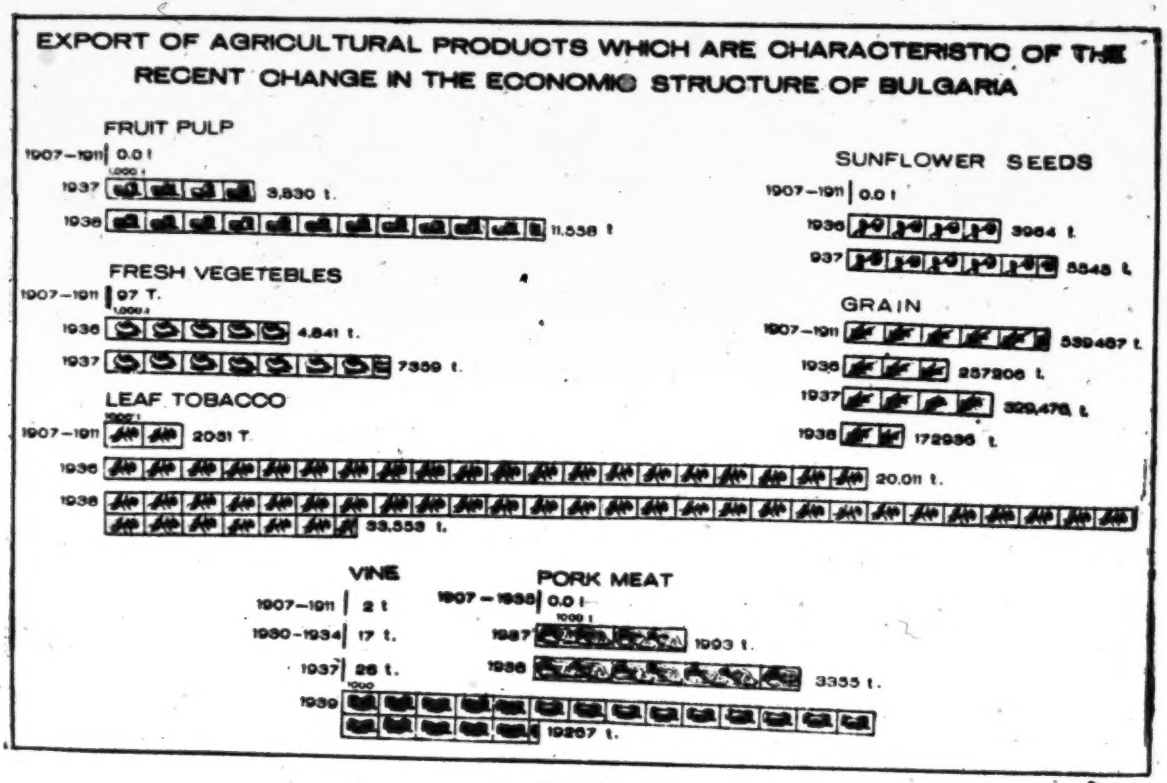

Fig. 18.

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11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

AGRICULTURE

It is impossible to treat adequately in the limited space of a chapter a subject of such capital importance for Bulgaria as its agriculture, which is its staple industry and which forms the occupation of some 80% of her population, and only a brief and superficial survey can be given To those who are interested in the subject, the works of Prof. N. V. Dolinski, of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales of Varna are recommended, who has treated this theme with an insight and comprehension worthy of the savant he is. Prof. Dolinski, being a Russian and former professor at the Polytechnical Institute ot St. Petersburg, has studied thoroughly every aspect of this subject and the conclusions he has arrived at as to the future of Bulgarian agriculture are not optimistic. He thus differs from most Bulgarians, who being temperamentaly over-confident, and somewhat unconscious of their limitations, take an over sanguine outlook as to the future, believing as they do, that persevering and unremitting labour can surmount every obstacle. 241

Bulgaria, as is well known, is a country of small holders; according to the census of 1926, the 4,469,987·02 hectares of cultivated surface was divided among 734,191 individual farmsteads, each of an average area slightly over 6 hectares[1]. The tendency however has been towards further subdivision. In 1929 the number of independent holdings had grown to 807,309, and by 1931 to 840,900. The progressive segmentation of the farmsteads is an evil which eventually will have to be stopped through the adoption of the right of primogeniture concerning landed property, or by some other means. As matters stand, there are very few sons of farmers willing to continue their 241 423

[1] The following table gives detailed figures as to the size and number of the holdings:

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

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Area of farmsteads	Number of owners	% of total	Number of hectares	% of total
1 to 2 hectares	86,323	11.8	429,153	0·9
2 to 3 "	90,418	12·3	1,326,784	3
3 to 4 "	88,064	12	2,166,102	4·8
4 to 5 "	72,011	9·8	3,211,065	7·2
5 to 6 "	59,714	8·1	3,250,262	7·3
6 to 7 "	49,287	6·7	3,178,436	7·1
7 to 8 "	39,480	5·4	2,946,641	6·6
8 to 9 "	32,614	4·4	2,777.252	6·2
9 to 10 "	25,462	3·5	2,408,585	5·4
10 to 15 "	68,724	9·4	8,260.854	18·5
15 to 20 "	23,281	3·2	3,976.965	8·9
20 to 25 "	9,092	1·2	2.001,162	4·5
25 to 30 "	3,605	0·5	1,034,139	2·3
over 30 "	4,766	0·6	4,974,404	11
Total	734,191	100	44,69?,987	100

parents' calling because they know that at the latter's death, the farmstead will have to be divided among all the members of the family, and that the portion which will revert to them will be too small to support them; hence their unwillingness to remain on the land, and their efforts to become State functionaries. This is also why the secondary agricultural schools have comparatively few students, the majority of whom become eventually functionaries instead of settling on the land. This explains why the progress of farming has not been commensurate with the strenuous efforts made by the government for its promotion.

A peculiar feature of these holdings is that they are often divided into ten or even more different strips, scattered about in various places, often far apart from one another, and of the most surprising dimensions. Thus a great deal of land is wasted on roads and boundaries. This intense subdivision militates against the introduction of rational methods of cultivation, and causes a huge waste of time to farmers who have to trudge from one strip to another in rotation along pathways which are well nigh impassable after heavy rains. One of the causes which led to the dividing up of the farmstead into several strips was to provide against the danger of loss

by hail which is frequent in Bulgaria. Scattered holdings considerably reduced the risk from such loss, for only some of the strips belonging to one farmstead could be so affected. But this custom has outlived its usefulness, for the State now insures farmers against such loss? at a very slight charge, and it has wisely embarked on a policy of encouraging the unification of holdings; even a law has been passed, rendering this obligatory in any commune, 50% of the inhabitants of which express a desire to have their scattered strips unified. Unfortunately little progress has been made so far in this direction owing to the extreme diversity of the quality of the soil in most localities and to the fact that the peasantry is over-conservative by nature, and this is apparent from the comparatively few farmers who insure against loss by hail. In 1934 their number was stated to be 99,600, the premiums collected 22 million leva, and the disbursements made by the State for losses by hail sustained by 25,000 farmers amounted to 25 millions. The average annual loss caused by hail is estimated at 500 millions. Even as regards their cattle, farmers appear equally conservative, for in 1934 out of a total head of large cattle numbering 3 millions, only 105,000 head of cattle vere insured.

241 423 [657]

If this policy of unifying the scattered strips could be carried through, some 400,000 hectares would be rendered available for cultivation which are now occupied by roads, pathways. boundaries, hedges etc. T. At. Yaranov in his "Bulgaria to-day and to-morrow" estimates the cost ot carrying out this unification of the various strips at 1,584 million leva, or roughly at 4000 leva per hectare and as the actual price of farm land devoted to cereal cultivation averages 5,000 to 8,000 [1] leva, the operation would be practicable. The advantages to be derived from

[1] The pre-war price ranged between 1000 to 1500 leva (gold) per hectare.

? [i.e. hail damage, see cat. 116, p. 180-181-A]

241 423 the application of this measure would be multiple. It would increase the available surface for cultivation by 10%. It would effect a great saving of time to the farmers, who would no longer be obliged to waste their time by visiting scattered holdings, but who would then only have to attend to one. It would permit the rationalisation of agriculture by making feasible the use of agricultural machinery. So far this extreme parcellation of the land has proved an unsuperable obstacle to the employ of modern implements. Thus during the period 1925—1930 some 2620 tractors were bought, at a cost of 1000 million leva, but it has been found impossible to utilise them for ploughing, and the only use they have been put to was to make them work the threshing machines.

However alluring this prospect of regrouping the holdings may be, it is regrettable that it can not be realised for lack of funds. As matters stand an extensive use of expensive agricultural machinery is not likely to prove profitable when there is plenty of cheap labour available and imported oil fuel is dear; besides, the smallholder would scarcely possess sufficient means to acquire them and would not know how to keep them in good condition.[1]

241 243 The utilisation of machinery on the farms could be lucratively carried out only if it mere undertaken on a co-operative basis, but in such a case it would be necessary to found co-operative societies in every village before proceeding with the wholesale employ of machinery. However, even with such improvements, Bulgaria could

[1] During the Liaptchev administration the government undertook to introduce by hook or crook modern machinery, and a large number was foisted on the peasantry but never utilised. Many complaints were made as to the peasantry having been encouraged to run into debt merely in order to buy machines. The exposures made by certain deputies on May 22 and 30, 1932, on this subject are not at all edifying.

not hope to compete in cereal growing with transoceanic countries, and the only advantage to be derived would be to continue raising the same amount of cereals on a more restricted area by employing more advanced methods of cultivation, in order that more land be diverted to other crops demanding more labour and skill.[1] The table on page 184 gives particulars as to the main varieties of cereals cultivated, and their respective yield during the last years 241 243

The harvest of 1934 was affected by drought in the early part of the summer, and the yield was considerably under the average of recent years as may be gauged by the following figures:

	Average yield per hectare during 1930—1934	Yield in 1933 per hectare	Yield in 1934 per hectare
Wheat	1157 kg	1204 kg	902 kg
Rye	1092 "	1180 "	868 "
Mixture of barley and wheat . . .	1228 "	1248 "	993 "
Barley	1240 "	1441 "	806 "
Oats	816 "	983 "	578 "
Maize	1232 "	1309 "	1221 "

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[1] Cereal growing is not a renumerative occupation and can only be carried on thanks to the subsidies offered by the State. It has to be carried on however, because Bulgaria can not afford to pay for imported cereals. Their production therefore should be adjusted to local requirements in order to restrict the amount of subsidies disbursed to the minimum.

The cost of wheat may be computed at 2·77 leva per kg., the following items entering into the cost of production per hectare: Ploughing and sowing 2,100, harvesting 300, transport to threshing machine and threshing 400, transport to market 100, seed 250 kg. at 1·25 = 321 25, total 3212·5 leva. Average production per hectare 1157 kg.

In transoceanic countries the cost of production is about 1·25 leva per kg., with a tendency for a further reduction judging from

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

	Year 1929—30	Year 1930—1	Year 1931—2	Average
North Bulgaria	171,06°/.	146,01°/.	110.70°/.	142.59°/.
Sofia region	179.90°/.	158.43°/.	158.28°/.	165.53°/.
South Bulgaria	119.60°/°	125.60°/.	186.23°/.	143.81°/.

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This of course has been possible owing to the credits which they have been able to raise from the Agricultural Bank, and to their not applying them to the specific purposes for which these loans were granted; the Agricultural Bank having extended to the rural population credits amounting on an average to 7360 leva per hectare for the smaller category of farmsteads. It must not be thought however that the peasantry has been living wastefully, and has run into debt owing to its being profligate. Very often in periods of drought the Agricultural Bank, under pressure from the State, has been compelled to come to the assistance of the peasantry and to supply them with seed and food, practically with no guarantee. This will largely explain the excessive advances which the Bank has made to the rural population, which, if it were not for this timely aid would have literally starved.

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The source of the trouble is that the available land is unsufficient to support the population, and that if it be not provided with more land In order to increase its production up to its requirements, or if it be not assisted financially in order to modernise its methods of cultivation, and thus be able to raise a larger quantity of products on the land it actually possesses, there will be grave danger of a dislocation of the present social fabric

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Prof. St. Tsolakov, a colleague of Prof. Dolinski, has published a most interesting essay in the 1934 Annuaire de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, of Varna, on the position of the farmers in the Varna region, and on their indebtedness to the State. It is certainly representative of the whole country, and the study of the figures he supplies will convince any one that the problem

of the reorganisation of agriculture in Bulgaria is a most pressing one if a social upheaval is to be avoided at no distant date. 241 434

Prof. Tsolakov has carefully calculated the revenue of all items of income of farmers from the various cereals, vegetables, fruit, poultry, cattle etc. they raise, as well as the disbursements they make for the purchase of similar articles for their personal requirements in cases where they do not produce one, or several of these articles on their own farms and have to sell certain surpluses, if they have such, in order to buy what they do not produce, and he has come to the conclusion that farmers possessing up to 2 hectares have an annual deficit as regards their needs in agricultural produce of 4,226 leva per farmstead, those possessing 2 to 5 hectares have a surplus of 402 leva, those with 5 to 10 hectares a surplus of 7,103, those with 10 to 15 hectares a surplus of 15,632, and those of over 15 hectares a surplus of 19,919. However, the rural population has other needs besides agricultural produce, which mainly represents food, namely: clothing, light, fuel, etc., and if these requirements be taken into consideration the farmsteads would show the following position as to revenue and expenditure:

Farmsteads up to 2 hectares:	Annual deficit	7,226	leva
" from 2 to 5 "	" "	4,598	"
" " 5 to 10 "	" surplus	103	"
" " 10 to 15 "	" "	5,632	"
" of over 15 "	" "	6,919	"

As a consequence, farmers have been unable to pay their taxes, or to refund their debts. Prof Tsolakov has appended the results of an examination into the accounts of 487 individual farmsteads in the region of Varna, and gives these most impressive data as to the hopeless position in which the peasantry finds itself. Arrears of unpaid taxes have been accumulating for the past years, and there 241 651 426

241 is practically no prospect of their ever being met. The following figures are self-explanatory:

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Cases	Area of farmsteads	Arrears of taxes 1925—6 to 1932—3	Tax for 1933—4	Fines	Total mount of taxes owing
		(forx each category of farmsteads)			
144	up to 1 hectare	79,943 leva	12,016 leva	10,200 leva	102,150 leva
79	1 to 2 „	97,232 „	20,368 „	20,661 „	138,311 „
75	2 to 3 „	132,317 „	31,883 „	29,498 „	193,698 „
83	3 to 5 „	236,560 „	53,260 „	54,575 „	334,495 „
65	5 to 10 „	229,741 „	75,310 „	49,575 „	354,626 „
33	10 to 20 „	132,250 „	73,650 „	55,799 „	261,699 „
8	over 20 „	241,675 „	32,683 „	126,358 „	400,716 „

The amount of individual indebtedness has also been inquired into, and this has been computed as follows.

Farmsteads of	To Agricultural bank	To Co-operative bank	To the State (taxes mainly arrears)	To Municipality	To Private persons	Total
up to 2 hectares	7,360[1]	1,710	970	170	12,050	22,260
of 2 to 5 „	3,820	600	530	60	4,410	9,420
„ 5 to 10 „	2,930	580	360	50	2,370	6,290
„ 10 to 15 „	2,950	440	220	—	1,600	5,210
„ over 15 „	2,800	290	400	40	1,190	4,720

From the above data it will be evident that the smaller farmers are hopelessly insolvent since the actual value of arable land is between 5,000 to 8,000 leva per hectare.

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With regard to the production of cereals Prof. Tsolakov calculates that the average deficit of farmsteads

[1] According to a statement made in the Sobranye on Feb. 26 1932, peasant indebtedness to the Agricultural Bank amounted to 4,096,043,000 leva at the end of 1931. Farmsteads of 10 hectares owed it 3360 per hectare, and those of 10 hectares and over, 2170 leva per hectare. The total value of the 4,469,987 hectares under cultivation was estimated in 1927 at 83,933,620,000 leva, rural buildings at 34,845 millions, the live stock at 19,927,205,000 leva and agricultural inventory at 4,760,149,000 leva. By 1932 values had fallen by 60%, so that the value of farm property was estimated at only 50,000 millions and the debts of the farmers then amounted at only 12,000 millions. The total revenue from agriculture, had dwindled from 23,347 millions in 1929 to under 13,000 millions in 1930, as the Minister of Agriculture affirmed in the Sobranye on March 6. 1932.

having an area of up to 2 hectares, is 2,510 kg., that of 2 to 5 hectares 1,570 kg., and that of 5 to 10 hectares 149 kg., and he estimates that at the present state of development of agriculture, farmsteads of less than 2 hectares in area can hardly absorb the labour of two persons, those of 2 to 5 hectares of 3 persons, those of 5 to 9 hectares of 4 persons, those of 10 to 30 hectares of 5 persons, and those of over 30 hectares, of 6 persons and over. Consequently there are 1,214,766 persons too many on the land, and it is indispensable to transform agricultural methods to absorb profitably their labour. This could be done by developing orchard and vegetable growing, dairy farming, cattle raising, as well as by the cultivation of industrial and oleaginous plants. Prof. Tsolakov's figures are in no way biassed; deputy Dr. Assen Tsanov, affirmed in the Sobranye on May 18 1933, that farmsteads having an area of 5 hectares and under, could not support their owners, that there was a shortage of land, and that this forced the rural population to migrate to the towns where likewise no work could be found for it. In another speech, on March 8 1932, he explained that farmers owning 2 to 6 hectares could barely eke out a living and that they were utterly unable to pay their debts. Farmers and the Agrarian party have been most vociferous in stressing the necessity of bringing down the level of prices of industrial articles to that of the agricultural, for with the fall in price of the latter, the rural population had been precluded from buying even the most indispensable articles for lack of means. A most informative article in the guise of an open letter addressed by a farmer in south-west Bulgaria to the editor of the *Vetser* was published by the latter newspaper on Oct. I, 1933. The farmer after complaining that peasants had to exchange 2 kg. of grain for a box of matches, 4 kg. of grain for a kg. of salt, 40 kg. of grain for a pair of primitive boots, and that after satisfying

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their most essential needs there remained nothing over for the payment of taxes and interest on debts, he proceeded to give a detailed list of the expenditure and revenue of his farm, which had an area of 10 hectares and which he had bought for 200,000 leva in 1927. He had further acquired 2 oxen for 10,000 leva, 1 cow for 6,000 leva, 20 sheep for 10,000 leva, implements for 50,000 leva and had erected a cottage for 5000 leva, bringing up the total amount invested on the farm to 241,000 leva.

Revenue: 4 hectares sown to wheat=600 kg wheat at 1.50 leva		=9000 leva
1/2 " " " barley=500 " barley at 1 "		= 600 "
[1] 20 sheep, 600 litres milk at 3 "		=1800 "
1 cow 600 " " at 2 "		=1200 "
1/10 hectare planted with potatoes=300 kg at 1 "		= 300 "
1/10 " " " vegetables		= 300 "
3/10 " sown " sunflower & beet		=1800 "
1 " " hay		=1500 "
(4 hectares lying fallow)		
Net revenue		16,800 "
Expenditure. Food for family of 5, 1825 kg of grain at 1.50 leva		=2738 leva
Corn seed for 4 hectares 1000 kg. " " "		=1500 "
Threshing 6000 kg wheat		= 900 "
" 6000 " barley		= 60 "
Milling wheat for food		= 436 "
Clothing & boots		= 800 "
Light		= 400 "
Salt, sugar rice & wine		= 500 "
Soap, brushes etc.		= 200 "
Repairs to buildings & instruments		=1200 "
Medical assistance		= 200 "
School fees & extras		= 500 "
Fodder for oxen and cow, 1080 kg. of grain at 1.50 leva		=1620 "
" " 20 sheep 3240 kg. of hay at 1 leva		=3240 "
Insurance against hail		= 720 "
Total disbursements		=17,514 "

[1] The wool from the sheep was not accounted for as it probably served for making homespun cloth for the farmer and his family. It would have amounted to 46 kg at 40 leva =1840 leva The quantity would hardly suffice a household of five.

Thus even a farmstead of 10 hectares, according to the above figures showed a deficiency, though it was exploited by its owner and family without any hired labour. And it must be noted that in the above figures no allowance is made either for payment of taxes, debts depreciation or remuneration for labour, and that further, the yield per hectare of wheat is calculated at well over the mean figure attained, this being 1157 kg. per hectare and not 1500 kg. as on this particular farm. No wonder that the land tax fell in arrears, and only yielded a fraction of the 350 million of revenue, which was the annual forecast in the budget. Thus in 1926—7 the yield from it was 187,755,000 leva, in 1927—8, 150 millions, in 1928—9, 32 millions, in 1930—1, 83 millions, until it was finally suppressed in 1932.

The inability of the smaller farmers to provide for their own maintenance was concretely affirmed by Prof. Dolinski, in one of his works published in 1931, when he also asserted that 38·40% of the farmers were only slightly affected by the drop in the prices of cereals. The following figures were given in support, as well as a table showing the distribution of the arable land among farmsteads cultivating cereals. The average monthly consumption of cereals was stated to be 20 kg. per person in the urban districts, and 30 kg. in rural areas. The average farmstead had 5·351 members, and its annual requirements in cereals was 2015·165 kg. The production of cereals per hectare during the quinquennial period 1925—9, averaged 1009 kg. If 153 kg. for seed per hectare were deducted, this left 856 kd., a quantity which was raised from 2.354 hectares. Therefore farmsteads of $2^1/_2$ to 3 hectares, produced just enough grain for their owners, and had no surplus wherewith to pay taxes and renovate their implements.

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Categories aud numbers of farmsteads		Area owned Hectares	Area devoted solely to cereals. Hectares	Percentage
Self-sufficing in cereals	41,297	1,125,443·7	818,798 9	3·64
Buying cereals	236,047	3,050,087·6	2,259,841·1	9·76
Having a surplus of cereals	439,235	28,845,318·9	20,064,752·3	86.70

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What has so far been advanced is, it is to be hoped, enough to show that on one hand the lesser farmsteads are scarcely self-supporting and that on the other hand the larger farms, owing to the fall in the price of cereals, are unable to meet their liabilities. If 80% of the population is therefore in such a state of indigence and unable to pay any taxes, one can easily surmise in what poverty the whole nation must be struggling since its entire economic structure is based on agriculture, which has ever been its mainstay. This most regrettable state of affairs is largely due to those who drafted the Peace Treaties. Obviously, it was nothing short of a crime to deprive Bulgaria of such land as was indispensable for her population, and which had been in her possession, or was mainly inhabited by a Bulgarian population, and transfer it to her neighbours, all of whom had received vast increases in territory, and were in no need of further land. This wilful pauperisation of a people which was not only despoiled of its most fertile provinces, but obliged to house and feed some 400,000 destitute refugees, driven away from the territories so thoughtlessly transferred to the neighbouring States, is undoubtedly one of the causes which led the American people to wash its hands off European affairs in disgust, and this may be easily understood, for the American delegation at the Peace Conference in its desire to secure a just and enduring settlement, most sturdily upheld the cause of Bulgaria. Nor can the politicians responsible for these obtuse arrangements of the Peace Treaties plead in extenuation that they were actuated in their drafting by the biblical

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000 precept of "Unto him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath", which, as far as Bulgaria is concerned, they applied in the letter, for Chistian considerations seldom sway them. The present writer well remembers Prof. H. Laski, affirming some fourteen years ago at the London School of Economics, that a certain Cabinet Minister had confided to him, that for ten years he had never heard a Christian thought expressed at the deliberations of the Cabinet! (Obviously not a Labour one).

•241 311 Though amputated of her richest cornland, the Dobrudja, which represented 12% of the total cultivated surface of Bulgaria, and accounted for over 20% of her grain exports, as well as of western Thrace, which produced the finest brands of Oriental tobacco, the peasantry reacted, as any vigorous organism would do, and, sought by superhuman efforts to adapt itself as best as it could to its new restrained conditions It brought into cultivation hilly and less fertile land, and converted into tilled fields crazing land and forest, so that the surface devoted to cereal cultivation which averaged 2,460,447 hectares during the quinquennial period 1908—12, increased to 2,640,003 hectares in 1933. Owing however, to the increase in 241 population, the per capita production of cereals substantially diminished, and consequently the surplus available for export decreased from 609,169 tons in 1914, to some 120,000 tons for the season 1933—4, and even this result was achieved by underfeeding the cattle, which deprived of pasturages, mostly converted into cornfields had to

[1] Of the total area of Bulgaria, 6,157,000 hectares, was considered as unfit for tillage, the remaining 4,157,620 hectares, was arable land which was utilised as follows in 1933:

Tilled fields	3,220,013	hectares
Fields lying fallow . .	402,920	"
Vineyards & orchards	125,699	"
Natural prairies . . .	307.766	"

241 subsist on short rations, being fed on 4800 million kg. of fodder, instead of 12,000 million kg., which quantity is said to represent its normal requirements. The inability to keep up her position as a grain exporting country, constrained Bulgaria likewise to undertake the transformation of her agriculture and to give an impetus to fruit growing and the cultivation of industrial and oleaginous plants. These latter kinds were cultivated during the period 1908/12, in the mean, on an area of 25,759h. a year, while by 1933.[1] This had increased to 154,000 hectares, which were apportioned among the following plants:

	Area in thousand of hectares		Yield in thousand of quintals	
	1933	1934	1933	1934
Rape seed	0.6	16.085	7.543	10.7
Sunflower seed	81	105.123	929.832	980.
Tobacco	23	19.869	175.140	149.1
Cotton { Seed	20	38	89.607	89.923
Cotton { staple				
Hemp { seed	5 3	5 668	38.940	50.923
Hemp { fitaments			18.291	23.2
Sugar beet	11		22.938 1856	31.5
Various	13		58	

In the latter figure of 58,000 quintals are included 42,296 quintals of sesame (1934: 27,214) 7,309 quintals of aniseed (1934: 14,178) Flax: 2,798 quintals seed and 864 filaments (1934: 8,556 seed and 5,76 6filaments). Opium poppy seed 1,993 quintals (1934: 3,693). Pea nuts 2,862 quintals (1934: 8,514) and a quantity of soya beans, with which 15,500 hectares have been sown in 1935. Cotton seems to be the most promising among the industrial plants, and it is hoped that eventually sufficient will be grown to provide all the

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[1] For 1935 the area devoted to them has been increased to 241,777 hectares while the area sown to cereals had decreased to 2,419,377.

cotton needed for local consumption and for the spinning of yarns up to № 24 counts. In 1932, 3,756 tons of raw cotton was imported, plus 6,355 tons of yarn up to 24 s. It is reckoned that the annual requirements in cotton and cotton yarn amount to 12,000 tons and that in a couple of years it will be possible to devote some 60,000 hectares to cotton growing in order that Bulgaria might dispense with the importation of cotton, cotton yarns up to 24s and most cotton textiles as are made from such yarns. It is believed that by a rational utilisation of the existing 82,514 spindles and 3,218 cotton weaving looms, no new machinery will be required. The cotton grown in Bulgaria is a short staple variety of an average length of staple of 21 millimetres and 0.0218 millimetres in thickness and in this it resembles Indian cotton. The yield per hectare is 200 to 220 kg. which also corresponds to the mean Indian yield of 86 lbs to the acre. It is a much more remunerative crop than cereals for the government fixed a buying price of 30 to 34 leva[1] per kg, which allows for a return to the farmer of 200 kg × 30 leva = 6000 leva, plus 400 kg. of cotton seed × 2 leva = 800 leva, or a total of 6,800 leva per hectare, from which some 700 leva should be deducted for the cost of ginning and 50 kg for seed × 2 leva = 100 leva, leaving a revenue of 6,000 leva per hectare, which on an average is three times as much as that from most cereal crops[2]. The cultivation of cotton however, can only be carried out in certain regions, mainly in south Bulgaria, and entails more labour than cereal

[1] The price of foreign cotton at about 6 per lb. if imported in Bulgaria would correspond to 36 –38 leva a kg. for its cost would have been increased by 50% to 55% owing to the premium which would have to be paid on foreign currency and other expenses.

[2] The gross revenue per hectare of the various plants, based on the prices prevailing during 1932 was calculated to be: wheat: 2561 leva, maize: 1629, sunflower seed: 2096, Cotton: 5147, Flax: 8552, Hemp: 4355, Sugar beet: 10,066.

244 accomplish was done by Bulgarian gardeners. Ten years
167 ago no one among us knew that it was possible to produce tomatoes, peppers and other vegetables in our land. To-day, however, this is a fact, thanks to the ingenuity of the Bulgarians".

Of fresh vegetables 55 truck loads were exported in
244 1933 to Central Europe, and of these the most appreciated
439 were the tomatoes grown in south Bulgaria, which many experts affirm to surpass in quality even those of Italy. During the summer of 1935 some 2750 tons of fresh
[355] tomatoes were exported to Central Europe. No serious efforts have been made to develop the export of tinned vegetables, though in price they are 50% cheaper than similar ones sold in France, and in every respect as good. Lack of capital, and of commercial connections abroad have prevented the few canning factories to launch in a forward policy which necessarily involves risks and losses at the start. The only leguminous plant which has been exported on a large scale was haricot beans, of which Bulgaria was always a large exporter, the high quality of this product having secured for her a certain preeminence among Near Eastern countries The area devoted to this crop was 73,162 hectares and the yield 74,677,000 kg. in 1933 of which 32,568 tons were exported. The area planted with pulse, vegetables, potatoes and that set aside for market gardening was estimated respectively at 95,000, 13,500, 14,000, and 38,000 hectares in 1932.

241 A great impediment to the steady development of
312 agriculture in Bulgaria is the periodic drought which completely undermines the economic position of the small holders, which even without this scourge, is never too bright. The mean annual rainfall for the period 1920—1930 was 578·2 litres per square metre, but this unfortunately is not evenly apportioned, the mountainous western and south western parts of the country having a much hea-

vier rainfall than the eastern part, in which the rainfall is often deficient. For this reason schemes for storing up rain water which is carried off too rapidly by the rivers without benefitting sufficiently agriculture have always engaged the attention of Bulgarian agriculturists and engineers. One of the latter, M. I. I. Mavrov prepared a comprehensive survey which was published at the expense of the government, in which full details are given as to the possibilities of regulating the water supply. 250,000 hectares could be brought under irrigation in the bassin of the Martsa, 150,000 hectares in the region of Stara Zagora, Sliven and Yambol, 100,000 hectares in the neighbourhood of Kustendil, Radomir and Dubnitsa, and smaller areas in the valleys near Zlatitsa, Kazanlik, Gorna-Orehovitsa, as well as a large part of the Danubian plain By constructing dams and correcting the channels of the Maritsa, Tundja, Isker and Yantra rivers, these could be rendered navigable for a part of their courses, and hydraulic energy of about 2,300,000 H. P. could be rendered available, which could be utilised for the production of calcium carbide, aluminium, (bauxite is found in the Rhodopes) nitrates and the delopment of a wood-pulp industry. Since the publication of this work, the subject of irrigation has often been discussed, and less ambitious plans have been put forward. In 1926, the American Yulen Co., offered to construct a dam on one of the affluents of the Maritsa at a cost of 1200 million leva which would have provided enough water to irrigate 130,000 hectares, but negotiations fell through. Actually the possibility of irrigating some 21,000 hectares by constructing two dams to store up the waters of the Mutavir and Luda-Yana, two small tributaries of the Maritsa, is being closely studied, and as this undertaking would only cost about 250 million leva it is possible that it might materialise, for it is reckoned that the yield of irrigated land increases three

241 fold, and its market value fourfold which would render the
312 execution of this plan profitable. In south Bulgaria two crops instead of one could be grown annually on irrigated land which moreover would be safeguarded against drought The Ministry of public works also contemplates the harnessing of the river Ossem in north Bulgaria. that some 42,000 hectares may be irrigated in the region of Lovets. This scheme would render available hydraulic energy to the amount of 38,000 H. P. which could be utilised for pumping water from the Danube and in order to water certain parts of the Danubian plain. A smaller scheme, that of bringing about 6000 hectares under irrigation near Nevrokop, in south western Bulgaria, by utilising the river Mesta is also receiving attention and will be carried out in the near future. From a close study of the data collected, it would appear that the irrigation of south Bulgaria is quite feasible and economically sound. The difficulty which stands in the way is the remuneration of the capital invested in the undertaking which could be secured under the present circumstances only by payment in kind, a consideration which is likely to discourage would-be promoters.

312 Concerning irrigation and water-adduction plans, it would be pertinent to mention the efforts which have been made to supply the waterless area of the Deli Orman in north-eastern Bulgaria with a supply of water. In this area of some 600 square klm. wholly devoid of springs and rivers, a network of water mains has been recently laid in order to supply some 569 villages with water, a considerable achievement in view of the financial stress in which the country finds itself. A similar noteworthy work was the adduction of water from the Rila mountains to Sofia, a distance of 82 klm. at a cost of 740 million leva completed in 1933; the difference of altitude being utilised to generate electric energy of 15,000 H. P.

231 Cattle raising and aviculture are fairly well developed, eggs figuring after tobacco as the second item on the list

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TSAM KORIA

•241

A PLOUGHMAN

[facing p. 385]

342 and the stables; in the mountains there are usually structures with many stories. Formerly the windows used to have wooden sashes that ran along a groove and that one could slide to the side, in place of window
262 panes. The style of life is simple; in the country the herders were often contented with sour milk, and the farmers with maize and millet beer.
231 The raising of livestock specializes in cattle, sheep, and goats, and
[221] takes place in the form of a migratory herding system, which commutes back and forth between the mountains in the summer and the plains
241 in the winter. The agriculture produces wheat, maize, barley, and rye, and in the temperate, nay, even hot, South, it cultivates rice, cotton, and sesame; from here, too, come the olive trees, the citrous
412 trees, and the chestnut trees. The hand mill is mostly used only for salt, other kinds of primitive tools have scarcely been preserved. The threshing sled (Figure 9) came from the Orient; it is made of hard planks that have been bent upward at the front and into which sharp-edged fire-stones have been forced. When it is in use it is weighted down enough by the stones and by the weight of the leader to be able to press out the ears of grain. The rattle board (Figure 15) has its counterparts all over ancient Europe. The sawing frame of the wandering wood cutters is an original invention. It includes a box filled with stones which is fastened by two rods and revolves around a horizontal axis, so that by its weight it supports the backward movement of the
291 saw. Through the universal joy in colors and in ornaments the national dress displays a great deal of variety. The basic elements of the men's clothing are a long, rough shirt with a wide cut which is embroidered with colored wool along the chest opening and along the shoulder; cloth or leather trousers, pleated in the Turkish manner in the east, in the west evenly tight-fitting, with a long woollen waistband; and legging-like calf cloths, as well as sandals; a sleeveless jacket or coat-like upper garment with wool trimmings and laces; a sheep's fur or hooded mantle; a dark and low lambskin cap. The women wear blouses with embroidered and crocheted ornamentation, skirts with belts, firmly woven, embroidered apron skirts, sleeveless vests or sleeve jackets, kerchiefs, headdresses and garlands around their fore-
302 heads with fringe bands covered with coins and hanging far down. The
301 girls wear their hair in from 20 to 30 tresses which are held together just below shoulder level by means of chains or buckles with silver coins and pearls, and which, at the end, are gathered together into one single tress (Figure 1). They also have costly ornaments of little gold and silver plates, as well as of filigree work for which the threads were formerly often taken from ancient coins.
* [see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a --- Analyst]

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia
Bulgaria EE1

665 Labor Party, are on the way to Socialism and endeavoring to reach it in a peaceful way. . . . I should like to tell our English friend that we too feel that it is quite possible in Bulgaria, granted the work and necessary preparations, to pass on to Socialism some day without dictatorship of the proletariat, on the basis of democracy and a parliamentary régime.

Now, however, the British Labor Party had become a horde of imperialist hyenas, lackeys of Wall Street. Now Socialism was to be attained in Bulgaria not in a peaceful parliamentary way but by force. To make sure that his audience would swallow this strong meat Dimitrov threw in the ominous warning that the program had been developed under the guidance of Stalin himself; he "personally" had helped with advice and explanations so that any "mistakes" which were made could be "corrected quickly."

The Dimitrov talk, though derided in Jugoslavia as postponing indefinitely the advent of Socialism, nevertheless gave notice that the proletarian revolution would now be pushed in Bulgaria by all means and at all costs. Applied to the agrarian problem, it meant that the class war was to begin in earnest in the villages. Collectivization had not proved any more popular with Bulgarian peasants than it had in other agricultural countries. Even at their face value, the official figures of progress in forming collectives (more delicately called "working agricultural enterprises") were not impressive. And one hesitates to accord them face value because of the ample opportunity and great temptation to juggle statistics. Changes are made frequently in the rules for membership, the presidents of village councils (soviets) are desperately anxious to make a good showing in their reports to Sofia, and the Minister of Agriculture himself hopes to save his skin by reporting progress to Moscow.

474 241 423 At the end of 1948, according to a published Soviet source, 73,000 Bulgarian peasant households owning 300,000 hectares of land were joined in 1,000 agricultural coöperatives (collectives); and by August 1, 1949, the figures had become 146,583 households, owning 538,458 hectares, in 1,594 coöperatives.[3] Writing in the official Cominform journal in November 1949, T. Chernokolev, a member of the

[3] N. Vorobyev, *New Times*, Moscow, September 7, 1949.

Bulgarian Politburo, reported that the number of peasant households had recently reached 147,000 (13.3 percent of all households), the amount of land involved was now 540,000 hectares (11.2 percent of all cultivated land), and the total of coöperatives was 1,600.[4] Soon after Vulko Chervenkov became Prime Minister [5] he revealed that at the end of the first quarter of 1950 the number of coöperative organizations had increased by only 33 over the figure given previously, and that the number of peasant families involved had grown by only about 28,000.[6] 474 241 423

This unsatisfactory organizational progress was matched by production failures. The government organ, *Otechestven Front,* complained on March 27, 1949, that spring sowing quotas which should already have been completed were fulfilled only 56 percent for wheat, 45 percent for rye, 55 percent for barley and 51 percent for oats. It called these figures "extremely disquieting." [7] The results were noticed in the failure of the peasants to meet their wheat and rye requisition quotas in the autumn. Qubtas were fulfilled or overfilled in districts bordering the Black Sea or Rumania, *i.e.* where Soviet pressure was most direct, but in districts towards Jugoslavia they were fulfilled only from 20 to 27 percent and in the three districts of Bulgarian Macedonia 59, 54 and 20 percent respectively. The correspondent of *The Economist* (London, November 5, 1949) who reported these figures remarked that "clearly, the 'Tito influence' does exist in Bulgaria, and especially in Bulgarian Macedonia." In the spring of 1950 the same pattern was repeated. Gaston Coblentz gave quotations from *Rabotnichesko Delo* and other Sofia newspapers calling attention to "disastrous" failures in agricultural production, "disgraceful episodes" where village councils showed "open opposition" to the mechanization of agriculture (an indirect way of saying that they opposed the collective farms), and so on. The spring plowing, supposed to be completed by March 8, was 474 241

[4] *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*, Bucharest, November 18, 1949.

[5] On February 1, 1950, Chervenkov succeeded Vasil Kolarov, who had died January 23. Chervenkov, who was Dimitrov's brother-in-law, had spent many years in Moscow.

[6] Harry Schwartz, *The New York Times*, May 18, 1950.

[7] Quoted by Michael Padev, *Manchester Guardian*, August 16, 1949.

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia
Bulgaria EE1

474 completed only 15 percent on time, and the spring sowing 10 percent.[8]
241

474 The amount of compulsory self-criticism ensuing on such events, and the number of purges and trials of officials and arrests and trials
565 of *kulaks*, bourgeois "saboteurs" and other criminals, can be imag-
661 ined. In the article already quoted, Mr. Chernokolev admitted that there had been "serious mistakes" even in administering the comparatively moderate Bulgarian collectivization program, with the result that many "injustices" had occurred. Party organizations had failed to gauge correctly what was technically possible, people who owned land without actually working it had been admitted to collectives, even *kulaks* had been taken in, and so on. When lands were exchanged so that practicable coöperative farms might be organized, peasant rights often were "grossly violated." *Kulak* elements "took advantage of this and in a number of cases tried hard to win to their side the disgruntled poor and medium peasants and endeavored to turn them against the coöperatives and the people's power." They not only tried, apparently, but succeeded, for in some villages, the writer records, they fomented "strife between coöperative members and individual peasants," which "created a certain danger for the alliance between the working class and the poor and medium peasants."

Since the Cominform journal is designed for an international audience these comments were more moderate than those made on the spot. In a speech before the Central Committee of the Party in June 1949, Kolarov spoke of "clearly unreasonable and unfair" measures taken against the peasants; of many peasants being forced to join collectives against their will; and of peasants being indifferent to whether crops were big or small, the quota to be sold to the state at a fixed price being much too high—in some cases even comprising the total harvest.[9]

Kolarov put the blame for all that had gone wrong in the countryside on Kostov. So did Chervenkov. So did the Bulgarian press. So did the Committee which investigated Kostov's activities for the Grand National Assembly. It reported that besides the crimes de-

[8] *New York Herald Tribune*, April 16, 1950.
[9] Quoted in *The Economist*, London, July 16, 1949.

AGRICULTURE

The yield per hectare has been increased, thanks to the efforts of the State Agriculturists and those of the experimental stations. It is affirmed that for about 1/3 of the area sown to wheat selected seed has been utilised from certain new varieties of wheat from which as high a yield as 2650 kg. per hectare has been obtained at the experimental stations, but only 1675 to 1766 kg. when sown in the average farmsteads. This has contributed in raising the yield from about 1000 kg. per hectare during the pre-war period to 1157 kg. at the present time. 243 242

Though about 3/4 of the cultivated land is devoted to cereals, 90% of the total output is absorbed locally, and only 10% is available for export in ordinary circumstances. Often, when the harvest is below the average there is little or nothing to export. The last international wheat Conference held in 1932 fixed Bulgaria's annual export quota of cereals at 2,500,000 quintals, or 236,000 tons, but in the export campaign of 1933/34, the quantity available for export did not reach this figure, and in the following season the cereals exported amounted to some 175,000 tons, so that it may be reckoned that Bulgaria has ceased counting as a grain exporting country. In fact the average Bulgarian farmstead does not produce sufficient grain for its own requirements, and it is only the larger ones, those of over 10 hectares, that have a surplus for disposal. This renders the majority of farmers unaffected by the fluctuation of prices since they consume their own produce, and strange as it seems, the fall in the prices of agricultural produce must on the whole be beneficial to them, since Prof. Y. Mollov, former Minister of Agriculture, affirms in the Annuaire of the Sofia University for 1933 (Agricultural Dept.) that the peasantry on the whole buy more than they sell, the proportion of their purchases to their sales being the following: 243 [439] 243 433

274 sumption of wine is about 23 litres per capita yearly, as against 153 in France and 101 in Italy. Owners of vineyards were complaining that they could not meet their expenses as grapes grown for wine were a drug on the market. It was stated in the Sobranye on Dec. 8. 1931 that while revenue from vineyards was 600 millions, expenditure on them was 720 million leva, while the capital they represented was 13,000 million.

245 [242] [439] Concurrently with the vine, orchard planting has received a great impetus, the State having established 39 nurseries and experimental stations from which young fruit trees are supplied to farmers at a nominal price. Apples and plums are being exported in increasing quantities, as well as walnuts, of which 2083 tons were exported in 1934. The area occupied by orchards was stated to be 19,420 hectares in 1932, of which 12,030 hectares were planted with plum trees, 919 with apple trees, 122 with pear trees and 6,349 were described as mixed orchards.

247 303 [439] Bulgaria is renowned for its attar of roses; unfortunately the world crisis has affected to a great extent this industry, and the area planted with rose bushes (6800 hectares in 1931) is consequently being reduced since the export of this product has declined from 3,157 kg. valued at 240 million leva in 1928, to 1218 kg. valued at 36 millions in 1934. Consequently a surplus stock of some 3000 kg. has accumulated and this has affected prices, which from 80,000 leva per kg. in 1932, have declined since to about a third of that figure One of the reasons of this falling off in the quantity exported, is the relative high cost of the attar of roses, due most likely to the unduly large amount of capital invested in the distilleries, the capacity of which is disproportionately great to the roses available for distillation, and which moreover work for only one month in the year. In fact, the 32 distilleries which were operating in 1931 were stated to have cost

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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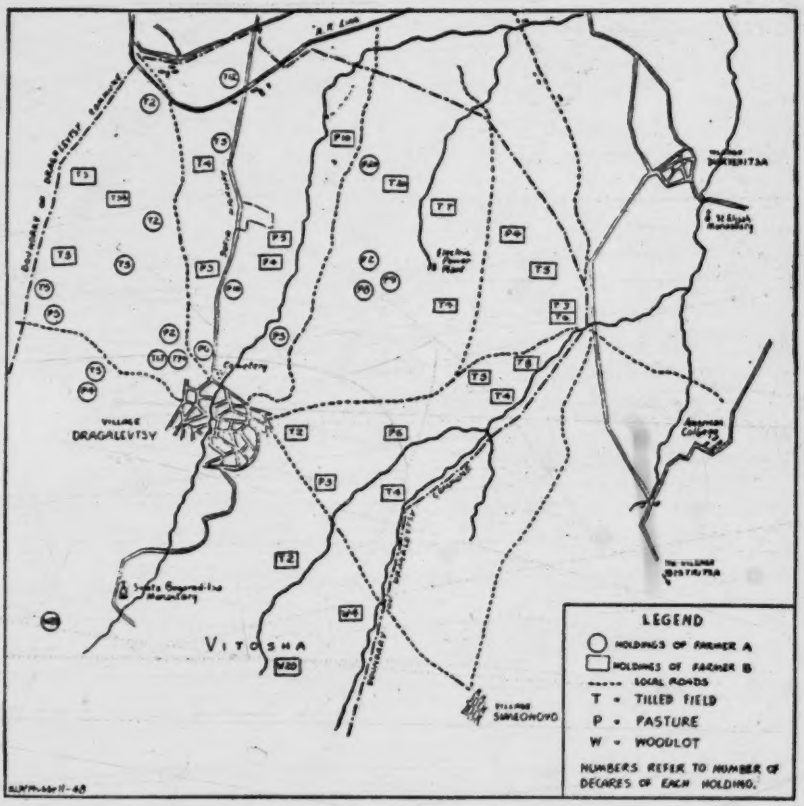

Map of holdings of two Dragalevtsy farmers

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Should drought be very severe, say in midsummer, the villagers asked for another procession and additional prayers to do more effectively what the May procession had failed to do.[1] The need for such ceremonies was explained to me one day by a tavern keeper: "While the people know in their minds that wind keeps the rain away from their fields, they believe in their hearts that the cause of drought, like that of sickness, is the sinfulness of the world today for which God is punishing the people."

243

The chief bread-grain used in this region was called *smes,* a mixture of wheat and rye. It was sown by hand from a bag slung over

[1] [i.e. ensure a good harvest -- Analyst]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

the shoulder. In late July harvesters came from other villages to help 243 ●
at least one-third of the families (the others harvested their own grain) to cut the grain with sickles and place the stalks in little piles. An old man, expert through years of practice, then made up the sheaves by tying together a bundle of stalks with the longest stalks taken from a previous sheaf. He used a round, pointed stick about fourteen inches long to make the grain compact and to tie the knot ingeniously.

Most of the grain was threshed by the hoofs of animals, usually 231
horses, on the packed, earthen threshing floors near the house. The 243
Karakachani, a band of Wallachians from the village of Yakoruda in the Rhodope Mountains, brought about fifty horses to the village at threshingtime. A peasant paid the equivalent of a dollar a day for the service of a team. The grain was placed in the center of the floor, near a pole to which the animals were hitched. Around and around the pole the horses walked until the rope's length was used up, whereupon they reversed their direction. Much grain was threshed [407]
by the machine owned by some of the wealthier men of the village, which was beginning to supplant the old-fashioned threshing floors. Some of the families still winnowed the grain by tossing it in the face of a stiff breeze, but many others had access to a separating machine in the neighborhood.

But this *smes,* or wheat and rye mixture, was not the only crop 241
raised. Quite a few of the homes had garden patches, either in the yard or on the edge of the village, where peppers, mealy potatoes, cabbages, and tomatoes were grown. The white beans from Dragalevtsy were said to be the best in this part of Bulgaria.

Some families grew sunflowers in order to sell the seeds for oil. Pumpkins from the cornfields were prized for use in a soggy pumpkin pie called *banitsa.* Fruit raising was decidedly underdeveloped, but the trees that were properly cared for produced very well. Straw for the animals was frequently borrowed or purchased from the wealthier peasants who had a surplus from the threshing.

The crop second in importance to *smes,* however, was corn. 462
Of considerable interest were the groups of women who hoed the 241
cornfield first in one direction, and a week later in a different direc- 476
tion. Varying in number from three to fifteen, these groups did 576

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

231
407

"Plowing had the flavor of an antique ritual." *See page 42.*

243

". . . harvesters . . . cut the grain with sickles, and placed the stalks in little piles." *See page 44.*

[Facing p. 48]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

787 that it would rain if the crows bathed in the river, if the sun set or
821 rose behind a cloud or was surrounded by a circle, or if the oxen dug the earth with their horns in the springtime. When the moon was surrounded by a dark circle, the weather would supposedly change to rain if it was summer and to snow if winter. Rain would also follow if the stars shone brightly, the sky was red in the morning, or the middle part of Vitosha was foggy. But the surest sign of bad weather was the sight of pigs carrying straw to the sty at sunset. Yet good weather alone did not ensure good crops. The human element was of utmost importance.

464 Bulgaria had, according to prewar figures, the largest labor
241 supply per decare in Europe, with 5.8 workers available for 100 decares (25 acres) of land. Italy came next with 4.7, then Poland with 4.3, but Great Britain had only 0.7. In spite of such a surplus of labor the people had not begun to cultivate intensively. An increasing number of young people therefore had to seek a living from sources off the farm. Such intensive cultivation, however, would require radical changes in farming practices. Not more than thirty Dragalevtsy families saved liquid fertilizer, although the rest did haul wagonload after wagonload of manure from the stables to the fields late in the winter to be dumped in piles awaiting later spreading. There was very little harrowing, and what was done took place in the spring after the rains.

● 243 The cornfields were plowed under at once after the harvest and were immediately sown with grain. If the field had produced *smes*, the stubble was plowed under to lie fallow for one or two years. The fallow fields were plowed once in the spring, once in the middle of the summer, and again in the autumn just before the grain was to be sown.

What might be considered a Bulgarian counterpart of our Thanksgiving feast occurred at the time of this fall sowing of grain. Early in the morning the woman arose quietly to bake one large and two small loaves of bread, and to catch a young rooster which she handed over to her husband just before he was ready to start to the field in the oxcart. What followed was the observance of a pagan fertility rite. With the dignity of a priest performing an ancient sacrifice, the

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

stopanin, or male head of the house, killed the cock and held its 243
twitching body over a bag of grain seed so that several drops of blood would fall upon it. He then drove slowly to the field to prepare the ground for the sowing, meanwhile eagerly awaiting the arrival at midmorning of the *domakinya,* his wife, dressed in her most beautiful costume and bearing a pan containing the boiled cock, meal, and bread. The family group made a tour once around the field, whereupon the man solemnly broke the bread and, before sitting with the others in the middle of the field to feast, gave pieces of the bread to the oxen. The peasants called this the "sweetest meal of the year" and delighted in having friends from a neighboring field join them in the repast. Summer's hard work was at an end; the harvests were plentiful; the peasants were deeply grateful.

Life in these scattered fields of Dragalevtsy was hard and labo- 241
rious, but to the peasant, life without the fields would not be worth 423
living, for these narrow strips of land were his children growing under his painstaking care. The land was his companion and friend, as he shared with it the thoughts and dreams of a starlit summer night, with a cloak for a pillow and dew for a blanket. Land meant more to the peasant than money in the bank; it meant more than food on the table; it meant life itself.

Some years ago I heard a Sofia University professor say in a 181
lecture that the Bulgarian peasant was more devoted to his work than 461
to his religion. "There are more songs dedicated to labor than to 275
saints," he added. Because I wondered about the truth of this statement in respect to Dragalevtsy, I polled village opinion. Here are some of the questions I asked, with representative or characteristic responses:

Nowadays, which do people enjoy most: working in the field or sitting in the tavern?

"People work to get bread. They can't earn money enough to save. Some prefer to work in the fields because we quarrel when we are in the *kruchma.*"

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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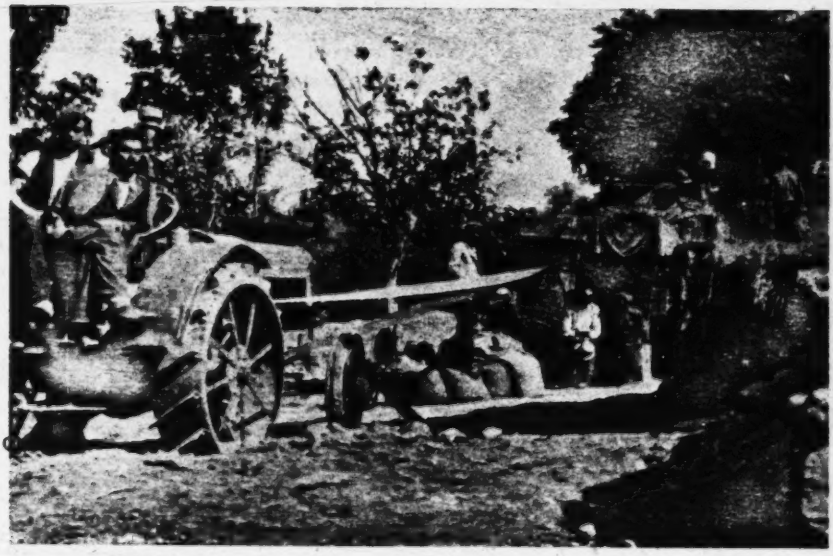

". . . they threshed the wheat of fifty-five farms . . ." *See page 151.*

517
275

"The people . . . customarily associated liquor with holidays and leisure times." *See page 155.*

[Facing p. 145]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

than in many other Bulgarian communities. The secretary of the General Union of Bulgarian Agricultural Cooperatives explained: "The farmers live near the city and prefer to market their goods themselves rather than through the medium of co-operatives. They find that they get higher prices in the Sofia bazaar than they would receive from co-operatives." 476

Nevertheless, the three co-operatives represented in Dragalevtsy gave me some insight into the reasons for success and failure of those which did get off to a start. The co-operative which had made most progress in Dragalevtsy was a purely local affair which arose to meet a definite need. In some respects it was more like a corporation than a co-operative, but it was a "combining together" to get something done.

One of the richer families in the village used to spend twenty-five days threshing its grain with horses. As a result, the family began to think of using a machine to do the work. The idea incubated until Trayko Danev decided to take the initial plunge and persuaded his relatives to plunge with him. Two other men joined them in the purchase of a threshing machine in 1930. Their purpose was to thresh their own wheat and, if possible, thresh the wheat of others for a fair return. The first years of the ring's existence, when the price of wheat was high, were the best years. Between 1935 and 1937 the prices were so low that the group just managed to cover its expenses. However, because of their 400,000 leva ($4,878 at 1937 exchange rate) investment, the men did not think of giving up the ring. 476 243

The structure of this group was simple. Annually, a president, a treasurer, and a manager were elected to control the operations of the ring. The manager, who had technical training, received a salary. Two workers and a machinist were employed from outside and were paid a percentage of the wheat threshed. In 1935 they threshed the wheat of fifty-five farms, including that of the original ten partners. A written agreement existed among all members, who paid in wheat, which was sold for a sum to be divided among the members.

The familistic background of this group was interesting. The originators were all members or cousins of the Danev family except two rich landowners living in the center of the village, who were close friends of the Danevi. After four of the original partners died, 596 476 243

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

596 their sons or sons-in-law succeeded to the control of their shares. The
476 five Danevi outnumbered the others, forming a unit around which
● 243 clustered three other members. There was some friction whenever meetings were held, but the minority was easily suppressed by the majority.

Most of the group considered membership an honor, symbolizing wealth and importance. Generally the village approved its existence, as shown by the increasing number of families who sought its services at threshing time.

476 Twenty-one Dragalevtsy men also belonged to the Animal Hus-
234 bandry-Dairy Cooperative, with headquarters in Sofia. This group had a twofold aim: (1) to enable members to get animal feed on credit and more cheaply; (2) to develop a milk distributing center. Though Dragalevtsy members did not have regular meetings in the village, most of them attended the annual meeting held in Sofia at which the reports of the officers of the co-operative were read. Before this annual meeting the Dragalevtsy men got together in the village and agreed on common action at the Sofia meeting. Dragalevtsy had one representative on the Executive Committee and one on the Control Committee. These men kept the villagers informed as to the condition of the co-operative. Two or three Dragalevtsy people had resigned, recently saying that "there were hidden matters." Most of the men who still belonged said that their membership entitled them to cheaper feed for their animals. I asked ten of the members why they belonged to the co-operative:

"I get cheaper feed through the co-operative."

"I joined in order to work collectively; to have a central depot for milk."

"The co-operative gives credit for food at a lower price."

The agricultural crisis through which Bulgaria had been passing reflected itself in the life of this co-operative. With the hard times, peasants said they did not have enough ready cash for their dues, and so dropped out. However, one could not consider this a true village organization because its physical basis was Sofia, and there was no formal organization operating in Dragalevtsy as a local.

241 423 the application of this measure would be multiple. It would increase the available surface for cultivation by 10%. It would effect a great saving of time to the farmers, who would no longer be obliged to waste their time by visiting scattered holdings, but who would then only have to attend to one. It would permit the rationalisation of agriculture by making feasible the use of agricultural machinery. So far this extreme parcellation of the land has proved an unsuperable obstacle to the employ of modern implements. Thus during the period 1925—1930 some 2620 tractors were bought, at a cost of 1000 million leva, but it has been found impossible to utilise them for ploughing, and the only use they have been put to was to make them work the threshing machines.

However alluring this prospect of regrouping the holdings may be, it is regrettable that it can not be realised for lack of funds. As matters stand an extensive use of expensive agricultural machinery is not likely to prove profitable when there is plenty of cheap labour available and imported oil fuel is dear; besides, the smallholder would scarcely possess sufficient means to acquire them and would not know how to keep them in good condition.[1] 241 243 The utilisation of machinery on the farms could be lucratively carried out only if it mere undertaken on a co-operative basis, but in such a case it would be necessary to found co-operative societies in every village before proceeding with the wholesale employ of machinery. However, even with such improvements, Bulgaria could

[1] During the Liaptchev administration the government undertook to introduce by hook or crook modern machinery, and a large number was foisted on the peasantry but never utilised. Many complaints were made as to the peasantry having been encouraged to run into debt merely in order to buy machines. The exposures made by certain deputies on May 22 and 30, 1932, on this subject are not at all edifying.

not hope to compete in cereal growing with transoceanic countries, and the only advantage to be derived would be to continue raising the same amount of cereals on a more restricted area by employing more advanced methods of cultivation, in order that more land be diverted to other crops demanding more labour and skill.[1] The table on page 184 gives particulars as to the main varieties of cereals cultivated, and their respective yield during the last years 241 243

The harvest of 1934 was affected by drought in the early part of the summer, and the yield was considerably under the average of recent years as may be gauged by the following figures:

	Average yield per hectare during 1930—1934	Yield in 1933 per hectare	Yield in 1934 per hectare
Wheat	1157 kg	1204 kg	902 kg
Rye	1092 "	1180 "	868 "
Mixture of barley and wheat . . .	1228 "	1248 "	993 "
Barley	1240 "	1441 "	806 "
Oats	816 "	983 "	578 "
Maize	1232 "	1309 "	1221 "

243 [654]

[1] Cereal growing is not a remunerative occupation and can only be carried on thanks to the subsidies offered by the State. It has to be carried on however, because Bulgaria can not afford to pay for imported cereals. Their production therefore should be adjusted to local requirements in order to restrict the amount of subsidies disbursed to the minimum.

The cost of wheat may be computed at 2·77 leva per kg., the following items entering into the cost of production per hectare: Ploughing and sowing 2,100, harvesting 300, transport to threshing machine and threshing 400, transport to market 100, seed 250 kg. at 1·25 = 321 25, total 3212·5 leva. Average production per hectare 1157 kg.

In transoceanic countries the cost of production is about 1·25 leva per kg., with a tendency for a further reduction judging from

243

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

	Annual average for period 1927—1931		1931		1932		1933		1934	
	Area sown in 1000 hectares	Output in 1000 quintals	Area sown in 1000 hectares	Output in 1000 quintals	Area sown in 1000 hectares	Output in 1000 quintals	Area sown in 1000 hectares	Output in 1000 quintals	Area sown in 1000 hectares	Output in 1000 quintals
Wheat . . .	1,159·9	13,470·6	1,247	17,507·5	1,256·3	13,903	1,246	16,166	1260	11,382
Rye	222·1	2,318	232 9	2,705·9	220·1	2,575	212	2.760	192 4	1,670
Mixture of barley & wheat .	99·1	1.128·6	104·6	1,413	89·8	951	88	1,165	85·6	850
Barley . . .	243·2	3,204	244·8	3,453·1	230·3	3.070·3	234	3,599	230·2	1,855·4
Oats	133·2	1,065	118 6	1,024·7	113·8	1,128·7	134	1,556	126·4	730·3
Millet	13·9	141·1	8·5	118·8	12·5	156·5	7	87	7·7	67·5
Maize	698·4	7302	680·4	8,887	740·1	10,544 2	713	10,430	670 9	8,194·9
Rice	7·4	102·6	6·9	90·5	5·4	89·4	6	88	5·9	87·8
Total . .	2,577·8	287,33·8	2,655·1	35,201·2	2,658·3	32.419 8	2,640	35,851	2,578·4	24,837·9

the following passage in Viscount Astor's „Land and Life" p. 55 „Costs of many producers in North America are approaching 24/—per quarter, while one farming 30,000 acres, expects to be able to sell with substantial profit at less than 17/—" (about 0·95 leva per kg).

AGRICULTURE

The yield per hectare has been increased, thanks to the efforts of the State Agriculturists and those of the experimental stations. It is affirmed that for about 1/3 of the area sown to wheat selected seed has been utilised from certain new varieties of wheat from which as high a yield as 2650 kg. per hectare has been obtained at the experimental stations, but only 1675 to 1766 kg. when sown in the average farmsteads. This has contributed in raising the yield from about 1000 kg. per hectare during the pre-war period to 1157 kg. at the present time. 243 242

Though about 3/4 of the cultivated land is devoted to cereals, 90% of the total output is absorbed locally, and only 10% is available for export in ordinary circumstances. Often, when the harvest is below the average there is little or nothing to export. The last international wheat Conference held in 1932 fixed Bulgaria's annual export quota of cereals at 2,500,000 quintals, or 236,000 tons, but in the export campaign of 1933/34, the quantity available for export did not reach this figure, and in the following season the cereals exported amounted to some 175,000 tons, so that it may be reckoned that Bulgaria has ceased counting as a grain exporting country. In fact the average Bulgarian farmstead does not produce sufficient grain for its own requirements, and it is only the larger ones, those of over 10 hectares, that have a surplus for disposal. This renders the majority of farmers unaffected by the fluctuation of prices since they consume their own produce, and strange as it seems, the fall in the prices of agricultural produce must on the whole be beneficial to them, since Prof. Y. Mollov, former Minister of Agriculture, affirms in the Annuaire of the Sofia University for 1933 (Agricultural Dept.) that the peasantry on the whole buy more than they sell, the proportion of their purchases to their sales being the following: 243 [439] 243 433

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

	Year 1929—30	Year 1930—1	Year 1931—2	Average
North Bulgaria	171,06%	146,01%	110.70%	142.59%
Sofia region	179.90%	158.43%	158.28%	165.53%
South Bulgaria	119.60%	125.60%	186.23%	143.81%

This of course has been possible owing to the credits which they have been able to raise from the Agricultural Bank, and to their not applying them to the specific purposes for which these loans were granted; the Agricultural Bank having extended to the rural population credits amounting on an average to 7360 leva per hectare for the smaller category of farmsteads. It must not be thought however that the peasantry has been living wastefully, and has run into debt owing to its being profligate. Very often in periods of drought the Agricultural Bank, under pressure from the State, has been compelled to come to the assistance of the peasantry and to supply them with seed and food, practically with no guarantee. This will largely explain the excessive advances which the Bank has made to the rural population, which, if it were not for this timely aid would have literally starved.

The source of the trouble is that the available land is unsufficient to support the population, and that if it be not provided with more land in order to increase its production up to its requirements, or if it be not assisted financially in order to modernise its methods of cultivation, and thus be able to raise a larger quantity of products on the land it actually possesses, there will be grave danger of a dislocation of the present social fabric

Prof. St. Tsolakov, a colleague of Prof. Dolinski, has published a most interesting essay in the 1934 Annuaire de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, of Varna, on the position of the farmers in the Varna region, and on their indebtedness to the State. It is certainly representative of the whole country, and the study of the figures he supplies will convince any one that the problem

145 million leva, of which 64 millions were represented by machinery and buildings while their output for the year was given as 1,773 kg. of attar of roses, estimated at 43,876,966 leva. It would be well if the cultivation of other aromatic plants were fostered in the valley of roses, in order that the existing distilleries could be more rationally utilised. M. Gheorghiev, the capable director of the Kazanlik State experimental station assured the writer that about forty such plants had been experimentally grown for a number of years and had given excellent results, among the most easily acclimatized were the *mentha piperita*, the hyssop, lavender, verbena and especially the pyrethrum, from which, as it is known, insecticides are manufactured. This certainly confirms a very witty remark made by the well known economist, T. At. Yaranov, namely, that every plant and animal which had been brought over from its native habitat into Bulgaria had thrived better, and improved by the change, he was sceptical however as to whether this generalisation held good for the genus „homo sapiens" about which he would not confidently assert that those of its members who had come over from the banks of the Volga, were as good as those who had remained behind!

A branch of agriculture in which Bulgarians excel is market gardening. Not only vegetables grown in Bulgaria are equal, if not superior to those grown in France and Italy, but Bulgarian gardeners have for years emigrated to adjoining countries, as well as to Russia before the revolution, and undertaken in these countries the growing of vegetables on a large scale, as the following excerpt from the Czechoslovak nerspaper, the *Prajka Zadgradnitska Boursa—Slovo* of May 14, 1932 testifies:

'The Bulgarians have done us this great service that they taught us how to grow vegetables on our own soil. What our vegetable specialists were unable to

244 accomplish was done by Bulgarian gardeners. Ten years
167 ago no one among us knew that it was possible to produce tomatoes, peppers and other vegetables in our land. To-day, however, this is a fact, thanks to the ingenuity of the Bulgarians".

Of fresh vegetables 55 truck loads were exported in
244 1933 to Central Europe, and of these the most appreciated
439 were the tomatoes grown in south Bulgaria, which many experts affirm to surpass in quality even those of Italy. During the summer of 1935 some 2750 tons of fresh
[255] tomatoes were exported to Central Europe. No serious efforts have been made to develop the export of tinned vegetables, though in price they are 50% cheaper than similar ones sold in France, and in every respect as good. Lack of capital, and of commercial connections abroad have prevented the few canning factories to launch in a forward policy which necessarily involves risks and losses at the start. The only leguminous plant which has been exported on a large scale was haricot beans, of which Bulgaria was always a large exporter, the high quality of this product having secured for her a certain preeminence among Near Eastern countries The area devoted to this crop was 73,162 hectares and the yield 74,677,000 kg. in 1933 of which 32,568 tons were exported. The area planted with pulse, vegetables, potatoes and that set aside for market gardening was estimated respectively at 95,000, 13,500, 14,000, and 38,000 hectares in 1932.

241 A great impediment to the steady development of
312 agriculture in Bulgaria is the periodic drought which completely undermines the economic position of the small holders, which even without this scourge, is never too bright. The mean annual rainfall for the period 1920—1930 was 578·2 litres per square metre, but this unfortunately is not evenly apportioned, the mountainous western and south western parts of the country having a much hea-

and 23·8 kg. in France. which constitutes yet another sure sign ot the pauperisation of Bulgaria, since in Greece and Yugoslavia the consumption of sugar is about three times as high as in Bulgaria. Another article which during recent years has achieved a record success, is the cultivation and export of dessert grapes which as to value are now classed third in the list of Bulgarian exports. Owing to the careful sorting and packing to which the grapes were subjected by government controllers and to their perfection they have been able to secure an easy preeminence on the Central European markets, and even in England. 257 245 439

The variety chiefly exported resembles somewhat in appearance the Spanish grapes of Almeria, but is less sweet in taste, has a thinner skin, and the bunches are larger. The just appreciation which these grapes have achieved in Central Europe may be gauged by the rapid increase of the quantity exported, which from a mere 52 kg. in 1925, reached 21,223,030 kg. or 3740 truck loads of a value of 140 million leva in 1934. In 1932 some 92,094 hectares were devoted to viticulture, of which about 10% were table or dessert varieties, the remaining being chiefly cultivated for the production of wine, of which 142 million litres were produced in the same year[1]. Recently several co-operative societies have installed modern wine presses and cellars, and are now producing wines according to the latest technique, several standardised types of wine having been put on the market which are not below the average grades of those produced in France and Spain, even a variety of champagne wine being on sale. Hopes are entertained that eventually a market for wine will be found abroad, as local requirements are much below production The con- 274

[1] The production of grapes is computed at 400 million kg. of which 120 millions are consumed locally, about 20 millions are exported, and some 260 millions used for wine. In 1935 the quantity exported is expected to be as much as 30 million kg.

274 sumption of wine is about 23 litres per capita yearly, as against 153 in France and 101 in Italy. Owners of vineyards were complaining that they could not meet their expenses as grapes grown for wine were a drug on the market. It was stated in the Sobranye on Dec. 8. 1931 that while revenue from vineyards was 600 millions, expenditure on them was 720 million leva, while the capital they represented was 13,000 million.

245 [242] [439] Concurrently with the vine, orchard planting has received a great impetus, the State having established 39 nurseries and experimental stations from which young fruit trees are supplied to farmers at a nominal price. Apples and plums are being exported in increasing quantities, as well as walnuts, of which 2083 tons were exported in 1934. The area occupied by orchards was stated to be 19,420 hectares in 1932, of which 12,030 hectares were planted with plum trees, 919 with apple trees, 122 with pear trees and 6,349 were described as mixed orchards.

247 303 [439] Bulgaria is renowned for its attar of roses; unfortunately the world crisis has affected to a great extent this industry, and the area planted with rose bushes (6800 hectares in 1931) is consequently being reduced since the export of this product has declined from 3,157 kg. valued at 240 million leva in 1928, to 1218 kg. valued at 36 millions in 1934. Consequently a surplus stock of some 3000 kg. has accumulated and this has affected prices, which from 80,000 leva per kg. in 1932, have declined since to about a third of that figure One of the reasons of this falling off in the quantity exported, is the relative high cost of the attar of roses, due most likely to the unduly large amount of capital invested in the distilleries, the capacity of which is disproportionately great to the roses available for distillation, and which moreover work for only one month in the year. In fact, the 32 distilleries which were operating in 1931 were stated to have cost

231 is also employed almost exclusively for ploughing and as draught animals, their manure being also used to fertitise the fields.

235 439 The export of eggs has been steadily diminishing owing to the poverty of the peasantry who can not provide for the proper feeding of ther farm birds, exports of poultry, however, have maintained themselves as may be seen from the following figures:

	1932		1933		1934	
	Quantity kg.	Value in million leva	Quantity kg.	Value in million leva	Quantity kg.	Value in million leva
Eggs. . . .	18 804,000	624	15,670,000	457	14,534,000	341
Live poultry	1,103,0 7	47	1,089,766	34	1,040,146	34
Poultry in cold storage	1,831,000	73	1,640,030	48	2,699,116	80

231 439 The export of cattle is very limited, only 2067 horned cattle and 3700 sheep, valued respectivery at 10 and 3·7 million leva having been exported in 1932. Efforts are actually being made to export bacon to England, and the few trial consignments sent are reported to have been successfully marketed. Certain varieties of cheese much appreciated in the Near East continue to be exported to that part of the world to the extent of 1,202 tons, worth 35 million leva in 1934.

246 The scarcity of fodder militates against a rational development of the cattle raising and dairy industries. The government is making strenuous efforts to increase the area of artificial prairies (32,000 hectares in 1934) and foster the cultivation of clover etc, but so far little headway has been made owing to the shortage of land. The annual supply of fodder is computed at 4800 million kg., when as much as 12,000 millions are necessary. In 1932 592,000 hectares were planted with hay and grass as against 649,000 hectares in 1934, of which 281,000 hectares were described as natural prairies. The most easy solution of

the problem is the utilisation of the fields lying fallow by sowing them with clover and similar plants, and this is being increasingly done, thus in 1932 the total arable land lying fallow had decreased to 434,000 hectares from 665,000 in 1910. 246

Sericulture too was once another promising branch of agriculture, as may be gauged by the fact that as many as 4600 hectares were planted with mulberry trees (1932) on the leaves of which the silkworms are fed. Unfortunately the decline in prices has discouraged production. In 1935 1,456,924 kg. of silk cocoons were produced all of which were bought up by the local silk weaving workshops. In order to protect the industry, a tax of 600 leva per kg. is levied on artificial silk produced in Bulgaria. 231

Apiculture is another side line in which farmers take a live interest. There are as many as 257,672 beehives in the country, the production of honey having attained in 1933 2,392,000 kg. and that of wax 114,399.

However persevering and laudable may be the efforts of the Bulgarian people to extricate themselves from their difficult position, these can only be crowned with success if markets can be found for their produce. France and Italy, despite their efforts to solve the difficulties facing the Danubian States can do little to assist them, for from the agricultural point of view both these States are practically self-sufficing, and they even antagonise Bulgaria as purveyors of fruit, poultry and eggs in the markets of Central Europe. England and Germany alone can help. The former country sells three to four times as much as she buys from Bulgaria, and it would not only be a matter of fairness, but even of foresight if she allowed a broader access to her markets to Bulgarian produce, if the Bulgarian market is not to be definitely lost to British manufacturers. Germany on the other hand is in the throes of an ever- 439

296 formation as to wash days: "We wash twice a week: on Monday and Wednesday, or on Wednesday and Saturday."

351 Many of the yards still had the threshing floor, reminiscent of Old Testament days. This could be located by a forlorn post which seemed to be serving no useful purpose. In the fall great quantities of drying wool hung from the clotheslines; and a little later the family piled in the yard the winter supply of wood from the forest.

342 The eaves of the house, deep as they were, sheltered such things as strings of drying peppers and ears of corn; milk utensils hung beneath them practically the year round; even the scythes and wooden hayforks found frequent lodging there. Storks nested in the trees and chimneys. With the coming of the warmer weather the sheep left their folds in the yards for the pastures, and the shepherd took with him his wattled shelter, which he moved on sleds across the grassy meadows.

[789] In many yards a heavy, large-wheeled wagon stood near the
351 primitive sheds for the animals and the ever-present strawstack. If the peasants were unusually superstitious, there would be dabs of blue paint on the wagon to keep the Evil Eye away. When the weather
231 was nice there were usually children at play in the yard. Upon seeing
609 a visitor they added their lusty shouts to the ominous barking of the dogs. They chased the dogs away from the gate by throwing sticks and stones at them, and at the same time warned the visitor to be on the alert. Far too often the dogs sneaked up behind to nip an ankle of the unsuspecting visitor.

● 247 The yards had few flowers, because chickens of a nondescript
351 variety pecked freely throughout the premises. One or two scraggly trees, from which the children shook most of the fruit before it had
735 time to ripen, stood in a corner wistfully seeking to give a touch of
511 beauty to the scene. In the spring the blossoms of such trees made the village bright, but when the fruit and leaves were gone the bare, black skeletons of the trees fitted in only too well with the poverty and sternness of village life. Poor land, inefficiently tilled, contributed to this poverty. Although the peasants worked hard in their fields, they had little cash on hand after selling their crops and paying their debts. Home improvements were postponed from year to year, but the hard work kept on just the same.

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241 subsist on short rations, being fed on 4800 million kg. of fodder, instead of 12,000 million kg., which quantity is said to represent its normal requirements. The inability to keep up her position as a grain exporting country, constrained Bulgaria likewise to undertake the transformation of her agriculture and to give an impetus to fruit growing and the cultivation of industrial and oleaginous plants. These latter kinds were cultivated during the period 1908/12, in the mean, on an area of 25,759h. a year, while by 1933.[1] This had increased to 154,000 hectares, which were apportioned among the following plants:

	Area in thousand of hectares		Yield in thousand of quintals	
	1933	1934	1933	1934
Rape seed	0.6	16.085	7.543	10.7
Sunflower seed	81	105.123	929.832	980.
Tobacco	23	19.869	175.140	149.1
Cotton { Seed / staple	20	38	89.607	89.923
Hemp { seed / fitaments	53	5 668	38.940 18.291	50.923 23.2
Sugar beet	11		22.938 1856	31.5
Various	13		58	

In the latter figure of 58,000 quintals are included 42,296 quintals of sesame (1934: 27,214) 7,309 quintals of aniseed (1934: 14,178) Flax: 2,798 quintals seed and 864 filaments (1934: 8,556 seed and 5,76 6filaments). Opium poppy seed 1,993 quintals (1934: 3,693). Pea nuts 2,862 quintals (1934: 8,514) and a quantity of soya beans, with which 15,500 hectares have been sown in 1935. Cotton seems to be the most promising among the industrial plants, and it is hoped that eventually sufficient will be grown to provide all the

[1] For 1935 the area devoted to them has been increased to 241,777 hectares while the area sown to cereals had decreased to 2,419,377.

cotton needed for local consumption and for the spinning of yarns up to № 24 counts. In 1932, 3,756 tons of raw cotton was imported, plus 6,355 tons of yarn up to 24 s. It is reckoned that the annual requirements in cotton and cotton yarn amount to 12,000 tons and that in a couple of years it will be possible to devote some 60,000 hectares to cotton growing in order that Bulgaria might dispense with the importation of cotton, cotton yarns up to 24s and most cotton textiles as are made from such yarns. It is believed that by a rational utilisation of the existing 82,514 spindles and 3,218 cotton weaving looms, no new machinery will be required. The cotton grown in Bulgaria is a short staple variety of an average length of staple of 21 millimetres and 0.0218 millimetres in thickness and in this it resembles Indian cotton. The yield per hectare is 200 to 220 kg. which also corresponds to the mean Indian yield of 86 lbs to the acre. It is a much more remunerative crop than cereals for the government fixed a buying price of 30 to 34 leva[1] per kg, which allows for a return to the farmer of 200 kg × 30 leva = 6000 leva, plus 400 kg. of cotton seed × 2 leva = 800 leva, or a total of 6,800 leva per hectare, from which some 700 leva should be deducted for the cost of ginning and 50 kg for seed × 2 leva = 100 leva, leaving a revenue of 6,000 leva per hectare, which on an average is three times as much as that from most cereal crops[2]. The cultivation of cotton however, can only be carried out in certain regions, mainly in south Bulgaria, and entails more labour than cereal

[1] The price of foreign cotton at about 6 per lb. if imported in Bulgaria would correspond to 36–38 leva a kg. for its cost would have been increased by 50% to 55% owing to the premium which would have to be paid on foreign currency and other expenses.

[2] The gross revenue per hectare of the various plants, based on the prices prevailing during 1932 was calculated to be: wheat: 2561 leva, maize: 1629 sunflower seed: 2096, Cotton: 5147, Flax: 8552, Hemp: 4355, Sugar beet: 10,066.

248 cultivation, but the peasant does not grudge this extra work, for the smallholder has plenty of time at his disposal. Prof. Dolinski in fact showed that small farms up to 1. 9 hectares absorb only 61.4 working days of a man, and 28.3 of a woman, and farms of 2 to 9.9 hectares require the labour of a man for 213.1 days and that of a woman for 86.2 days, so that the farmer is usually glad to find extra occupation when this is likely to bring some recompense.

248 288 The other, textile plants grown in Bulgaria are flax and hemp. Of the latter as much as 2,320,000 kg of filaments were produced in 1934 and it is hoped that even a larger quantity could be locally utilised, if, as is contemplated, hemp were used in place of the 1,200,000 kg of jute yarns and fabrics which are imported. It is affirmed that there are 3367 spindles and 459 looms which could be adapted to the manufacture of textiles from hemp and that they would suffice for this purpose. Over a million kg. of hemp is used annually for the manufacture of cordage and string, and a smaller quantity for hand-woven fabrics. It was stated that there is a surplus of about one million kg of hemp left over from the 1934 crop, and that the production for 1935 will be curtailed. The cost of hemp is reported to be 17 leva per kg and the yield 800 kg and over of filaments and seed per h.

249 258 The oleaginous plants cultivaled are rape seed, mainly exported, and sun flower seed, which is absorbed locally for the production of comestible oil, which has now completely replaced the oils hitherto imported. The oil obtained from sun flower seed il also utilised for industrial purposes and the residue, in the form of seed oil cakes is exported as cattle food. In 1933 of the total crop only 10,768,175 kg., or about 10% was exported, the balance having been bought up by the local oil-crushing mills, while the quantity of seed oil cake exported rea-

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ched 25,411,022 kg. valued at 45 million leva. Experiments have also been made with another oleaginous plant, the *Ricinus Communis*, from which castor oil is extracted, with excellent results, a yield of 1500 kg. of seed of superior quality having been obtained per hectare sown. 249 258

Tobacco has come to replace cereals in importance as an article of export. In 1934 it represented 40% of the total exports, and the quantity marketed abroad was valued at 982 million leva. In 1933, 22,531,439 kg. of a value of 1,174,511,061 leva were export. In 1934 the respective figures were 20,830,000 and 982,000,000. Prices have been very much affected by the prevailing crisis, as may be inferred by comparing the above with the figures for 1932, when 22,452,752 kg. were exported, but were priced at 2,654,238,438 leva. It was after the war that tobacco cultivation was particularly fostered, the quantity exported rising from 7,355,448 kg. in 1919 to the record figure of 33,647,241 kg. in 1925. After this date both Greece and Turkey reappeared on the world market as producers of Oriental tobacco and the proportion of Bulgarian tobacco sold abroad fell off, though on the whole it maintained its position in Germany, which buys steadily about half of the amount exported, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia etc., where its qualities have been thoroughly appreciaded. It would appear that the average quantity of nicotine found in it varies from 0·5% to 1%, when according to Kissling, the contents in nicotine of Virginia tobacco are 4·3% to 4·8%, of Kentucky 4·5%, of Sumatra 4·1% and Samsoun (Turkey) 2·5%. German chemists have characterised Bulgarian tobacco as poor in nicotine and have approved the manifacture of cigarettes made from it which are designed as containing the "minimum of nicotine". Tobacco forms one of the chief items of revenue to the State, some 650 million leva being annually derived from the tobacco monopoly. The State also raises a tax of 1 249 439 249 651

•249 651 to 2 leva per kg. cf tobacco exported, while the amount of wages disbursed for the manipulation of tobacco was reckoned to reach an annual average of 559 million leva during the period 1919—1931, the number of workmen engaged in the manipulation of tobacco being 86.000. This however is a seasonable occupation and less than 20,000 workpeople are permanently engaged. The number of farmsteads mainly cultivating tobacco is reckoned at 127,000.

249 In contrast with tobacco, which now forms the staple product of Bulgarian agriculture, and the main source of revenue, the cultivation of sugar-beet, in which some 100,000 formsteads are mainly engaged, has caused, and is causing an important loss to the State. In Great Britain also the subsidising of the sugar industry has led to lively debates, and Sir Herbert Samuel, as recently as Feb. 5, 1935 appealed in the House of Commons that „this colossal, wasteful and scandalous expenditure should be brought to a speedy end". In a world suffering from a collective attack of aberration, all its members more or less, show the same symptoms. It is not surprising therefore that even the levelheaded Bulgarians, endowed with no little common sense, should not have managed to keep themselves exempt from the universal malady.

257 Under the protection of a high import duty, amounting actually to 11 leva per kg., five sugar refineries were established in Bulgaria at a cost of 1,347,226,037 leva. Their united capacity of production is annually 63 million kg, but consumption a few years ago was only half this figure, and owing to the steadily diminishing buying power of the population, this has decreased to 21.6 million kg. in 1933, for the State imposes sugar also with excise, and a communal tax and the sale price of sugar is as 26 leva per kg., while the price of sugar on the world market is under 5/-per cwt, or 2 leva per kg. It was af-

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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The typical form is shown by a house of the village of Zianozene of the Berkof district, built in 1890 (Fig. 41) «In these areas», says Zlatev (p. 98), «southward and northward of the Haimos, in the plain or even in the mountains, this house is the normal type used. The portico here appears in various forms and positions, depending on the construction, which is here primitive and without any particular sense of shape». Part of the space under the portico has been enclosed with oak-tree boards and it is used as a pig-sty. The walls of the ground-floor are made of stone, and those of the upper floor of daubed wicker-work (Bulg.: pletarka). The floor of the upper storey is made of oak planks, roughly planed, and plastered with a thick layer of clay. Windows are few and small, and thus results a poor lighting in the house. The height of the basement is of 2 metres, and that of the upper floor 2 - 2.5 metres. The portico, formed on the frontage and called «islak» (Greek: ἡλιακός), appears as a non-organic part, attached to the main body, although its roof is a part of the whole roof of the house. It is mainly used for the drying of fruits[1]).

B 342
B [231]
B [354]
B [251]

The need to house a large family, as e.g. the so-called zadruga, created a difficult problem which remained architecturally unsolved in the case of the Serbs and the other Slavs: the young people and the young couples sleep in separate small buildings (vajat, klijet, staja or koliba from the Greek καλύβη = hut) which are constructed alongside or around the family house (called kuc'a), having no hearth and being also used as a stable or a store house[2]). The number of klijeti existing round the kuc'a gives the number of couples living in that cluster[3]). As for the Bulgarians, this problem has been solved through the following two methods: 1. By the addition of rooms, in direct organic connection with the original region of the hearth. 2. By the unification of two independent bipartite or tripartite houses through covered entrances or corridors.

Se SL [342] [592] [513]

The first method is shown by the house in the village Zabel (Zlatev, fig. 16), one of the oldest houses in NW Bulgaria, which, «some

B [592]

1) It is interesting to note the nomenclature of each part of the wooden bone in W. Bulgaria, which is often similar to that used in Thessaly and Epirus (Zlatev, p. 101, fig. 86) 1. Temel (θεμέλιον) = the basis of the post. 2. Direk = the post. 3. Gredi = (γρεντιά) beam. 4. Pope (παπᾶς = priest) (cf. G. Megas, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 20).

2) See J. Cvijic', La Peninsule Balkanique, Paris, 1918, p. 233 and foll.

3) See L. Niederle, Manuel de l'antiquité Slave, Vol. 2 Paris 1926, p. 109.

[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains]

In these two-storey houses as well, we distinguish in the upper-floor the two basic spaces just as in the Bulgarian house of the plains, namely the kăsta and the oda or soba with the so-called tsardak (or islak or soundourma) that is the open portico, in front of them. The lower storey is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the stabling of cattle and the storing of fruits, but very often it also includes a room with a hearth for the residence of the family during the winter. This is also called «kăsta» i.e. house, or even better, «lower house» and «small house» in contrast to the «upper», or «big house» that is the main room of the upper floor, where the family lives in the summer months. B 342 B [231 251 354]

The second room, called soba, is also used as sleeping quarter for the family, and more seldom for the storing of food and other articles. For this last purpose, another additional space is also used and is called «killer»; the upper floor is thus divided into three spaces (Plate XV). B [513 251 353]

This distribution is shown by the house of Sredna Gora (Messon Oros) which is very important as it exercised an influence upon the houses of Balkan, according to Zlatev (1). (See Fig. 43, 44 and Plate XV 1-2).

The portic[illegible] the upper floor is used, just as in the Greek houses, for t[illegible]ying of fruit and as a living room of the family during the [illegible]er months. Parts of it are usually divided by light wooden or [illegible]k partitions, forming spaces called «ambar» (stores) for cereals, or even small rooms called «odaja» and «soba». B [251 353]

Finally, in some more composite forms of houses there is a space between the two main rooms, used as an anti-room, having the floor higher by 0.15-0.20 m. and called prust (Greek «μπρούστι»); and also some other smaller spaces, divided off and used as hiding-places or cellars. In the more developed forms, such as in the houses of the village G [342 171] B [171]

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towns, even in their palaces. Slavs never used stone construction until the 10th cent., except for their Southern tribes who, having arrived in the Balkan peninsula and the Italian boundaries on the 6th cent., could see for themselves the models of Byzantine and Roman architecture». Stone construction was first used in the building of churches and of palaces by experts specially invited from abroad. Cf. **J. Cvijic**, op. cit. pp. 228, 230, 241, **G. Megas**, Θρακ. Οἰκήσεις, p. 48. SL 342 333

1) According to **Cvijic**, op. cit. p. 250, «the house of Srendnja Gora is the one that corresponds better to the desires of all Bulgarian farmers, because it has spread all over the country after the Turkish occupation».

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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are tied nearer the breg, for these animals emanate a lot of heat while feeding. One or two sky-lights are to be found on the roof of the breg and give some light to this very dark dug-out.

In the second gallery, as we have said, there is the main house. It has a fire-place, 2×2 m., with a wide chimney for the escape of the smoke. The bread is baked under the ash of this hearth and there is an opening near the fire-place for the collection of the ashes. Finally, the zadnik is the space behind the house, where food, agricultural products and other useful articles are kept (1).

The same formation is seen in another lair of the same village, which was built in 1876 (Fig. 51.)

Dug-out houses existed from the ancient times among the Slavs, and other peoples of central and Nothern Europe, but, as it is shown by the remnants found, these dwellings constituted simple shelters (abris). That is to say, the Slavs dug out a deep trench, of more than one meter depth, which they covered with a roof of timbers, branches, hay and mud. According to Niederle «the construction of the house, or rather of the roof, was more or less simple, according to whether the stay in that place was to be of short duration; because the Slavs, used to live a nomadic life for a long time and till the beginnings of historic times». Such shelter-holes (fosses-abris) were already found in the Slav countries, of dimensions 1.50×4 meters, dating from the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries. Their construction has been retained, though on a less primitive shape, until the 19th century in some districts of Russia and Poland (2). The reason of such a form of housing is the lack of forests and of timber for construction of houses in the steppe districts.

The troglodyte houses of Bulgaria prove of an evolution, obviously due to the influence exercised by surface houses; they are neither of Slav nor of Bulgarian origin. Ancient authors, such as Strabo VII, 5, 12, Plinius, Nat. Hist. IV, 80, Ptolemaeus (C. Müller, Ptolemaei Geographia I, 463), mention the «troglodytes» in the district of Little Skythia, now Dobroutcha, and in Dardania, who lived, like the Phrygians and the Armenians, in subterranean dwellings (3).

Consequently the Bulgars, and the Slavs who established them-

1) **T. Zlatev** op. cit. p. 112 figg. 97-98.
2) **L. Niederle,** op. cit. 2 p. 96 foll., 98.
3) See **C. Jirecek,** op. cit. 157. **G. Kazarow,** Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Thraker, Sarajevo 1916, p. 30.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

palatable to peasant taste. If the bread supply gave out at the table, the diners sat calmly without eating until the new loaf was brought in, for it was almost impossible for them to eat unless holding a piece of bread in the left hand. Dunking was the approved method of disposing of the juice of a stew. When eating, one was apt to get a greasy coating on the lip; the accepted technique was to scrape this off with a piece of bread already on its way into the mouth. Forks and small spoons were used only when there were guests. But why should table manners not be simple and direct? 264 [576]

"Knives for everybody are not used. There is one knife at the table, but people use their hands, for we peasants say, 'For what did God give the fingers to man if he does not use them to feed himself?' "

As for the preparation of the food: 252

"Usually it is the duty of the oldest woman in the family to prepare the food, because she knows the best how to cook and she can cook most deliciously of all. In case she is sick, then her daughter-in-law or her daughter cooks. If there are not such, then the man cooks." Here my informant sniffed and added scornfully, "Of course, in such a case dry food is eaten chiefly, but even the men can cook at least some of the dishes."

I asked another woman who really "knew her place," as a Dragalevtsy man would say, whether men could cook: [562]

"Of course, men can do everything woman does, but woman cannot do everything men do. Who cooks for those men that are shepherds or work in the forests but they themselves? Men do not need women half as much as women need men. Yet we all recognize that cooking is for the women, not for the men."

No matter what time of day I entered a village home the *domakinya* (housewife) with unfailing and genuine hospitality offered me food or drink. I began to wonder when the people had their regular meals and found that some homes had no regular mealtimes; instead, people got up and took a piece of bread or anything else available whenever they were hungry. In most families, however, about nine o'clock in the morning a meal called *ruchok* was served to all; at about two, dinner was served, and two hours after sunset the people gathered for supper. One villager put it this way: 264 574

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264 "When we work in the fields we eat five times daily: as soon as we reach the place we have a light lunch *(zakuska)*, at nine we have the *ruchok*, at one dinner, at five another *zakuska*, and in the evening after finishing work we have supper. We older people don't eat between meals but let the children do so if they are hungry."

262 252 From time to time during my stay in the village I tried to teach the tavern cook some simple and uncomplicated western dish to vary the biting peasant food. She tried faithfully but unsuccessfully to comply. After one such hopeless but courteous attempt she read me a little lesson in village menus:

"We Dragalevtsy people are pretty conservative in everything and have added no new dishes to our menu. The western combinations which people eat in Sofia are tasteless and slimy. If one doesn't use lots of salt, hot pepper, and vinegar, then the food has no taste at all."

273 Beverages other than milk and wine made little appeal. Wine was much in evidence on holidays or when there were guests. An average village home would use from 250 to 300 quarts of wine a year. Most of the *rakiya* was drunk either at the taverns or on festive occasions. In commenting on the liquor consumption of the village one man said:

"We are not such fools as not to drink wine, for the wine is transformed into blood and gives strength to man."

000 Someone has said that a house does not become a home until it knows a birth, a wedding, and a death. In other words, it is more than plaster walls, crude furniture, and steaming food. It is even more an association of memories deeply rooted in family crises.

844 [591] A frequently recurring crisis in Dragalevtsy was childbirth, which always took place in a home, never in a hospital. Usually it was the home in which the couple lived, for only rarely did the wife return to her paternal home for the event. When a woman learned that she was pregnant, she told the fact only to her own mother and to her husband, embarrassment preventing further disclosure. The mother-in-law learned about it a month later, for in the words of one of the older village men:

843 [606]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

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"For fuel, people . . . used small branches brought from the village forest up on the mountainside." *See page 23.*

291
252

". . . we use a great deal of bread, which is baked by the women . . . in the ovens standing in the yards. . . ." *See page 26.*

[Facing p. 32]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

796

"To commemorate Christ's birth . . ." *See page 106.*

252

"The loaves of bread, crudely adorned on top . . ." *See page 107.*

[Facing p. 112]

9:Megas I.B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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342 **1. The Bulgarian house of the lowlands.**
192 This type of house mostly consists of two wide front spaces and of a prostoon, i.e. vestibule which is open as a rule on both its lateral sides.
[354] One of these spaces has the hearth (ognichte) and is called the kăsta, or more rarely hyza (1), i.e. house. It can hence be concluded that this space originally constituted the entire house. The other space is heated up by a stove and it is called the «soba», which means stove.

[252]

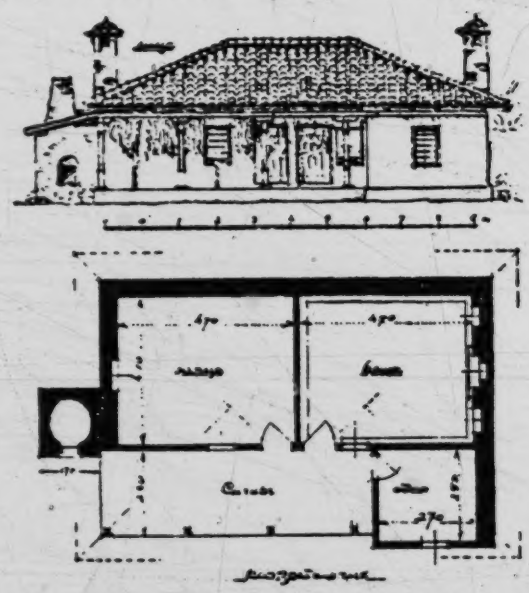

Fig. 33 House at the village Makrolivado (Usúntsovo) in district of Chaskovo (Zlatev, Balgar. kăsta, fig. 91)

The vestibule extending in front of the rooms, takes up either all the front part or only part of it, and is called by the Greek name «prust» (2) or by the Turkish names zardak, or saivan, or sundurma (3).

1) This word originates from the German hûs, Haus. Small and lightly constructed houses are also called by the Bulgars and the Slavs koliba or chalupa, from the Greek word καλύβη. (**L. Niederle,** Manuel de l'antiquité slave, II la civilisation Paris 1926 p.98 note 5).

2) Cf. the «μπροῦστι», i.e. the προστῷον, of the Greek houses in the Haimos area and the «μπρόστι» or «ἀμπρόστι» of the Roumloukion house near Thessaloniki (**G. Megas** Θρακ. Οἰκήσεις p. 27).

3) According to **Jirecek,** Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien, p. 158, «the Bulgarian houses have always an open vestibule (prust, sundurma) formed by the extention of the roof and supported by wooden poles».

This type of house is as a rule in the middle of a large courtyard, surrounded by a plaited fence; the secondary parts of the housing, such as stable, hay-barn, cereal store, etc. are dispersed into this yard. B 342 [351]

In Southern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian farmers' houses do not present any difference from the rural houses of the Greeks, who were established there many centuries ago in the areas of Kavakli and Messimvria, as I have described them in my survey Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις (pp. 27-29 and 43-44), or from the houses of Southern, Eastern and Western Thrace. This is evident from the plans of two houses, one from the village of Macrolivado (Ouzountsovo) of the Chaskovo district (fig. 33) and the other from the Karatoprak village, of the Philippople district (fig. 34). [343] [171] G [342] [171]

The first one was built in 1780; it consists of two main rooms, completely separated from each other, and of a portico which originally covered all the frontage of the house. The small room (odaja) on the right hand end of the portico is an addition of recent years. According to Zlatev «the existence of a fire place in both rooms is not normal» (p. 104) «and it is characteristic to note that the hearth in the main room, the kĭsta, has been built on the external wall». In the other room, called here «zantsa», the hearth has derived from repair and it is obvious that the use of the other room was different, namely it was used to stabling the cattle or storing fruits, ect., as it is usual in the rural houses of Southern Thrace (1). On one end of the building, in line with the two rooms, the oven has been built on one end of the portico, which is often seen in other parts of Thrace. Zlatev says that, «the division of space was not changed in bigger houses, possessing more rooms. The additional spaces are placed in line, and the portico is increased by expansion along the entire lengthened frontage of the house(2). When this lengthening is extended too much, and the length has an oppresive influence on the external appearence, the portico is then adapted so that it is extended outwardly from its centre, in the shape af a square, thus very much reminding the shape ot the mountainous house» (Zlatev, p. 104). B [354] B [252]

The same is noted in the house of the Karatoprak village (built in 1912) which is tripartite and consists of two rooms and a stable, but a part of one of its rooms (of the soba) has been separated and formed a special space which was called, from the Greek language, B [192]

1) G. Megas, Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 13.
2) Cf. G. Megas, ibid. figg. 10 and 13.

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342 [19.2] [252] [171] killer i.e. cellar. The oven is also called by a Greek name, «fourna» and here it has also been added on one side of the house (fig. 34). Finally the beautiful portico of this house, due, according to Zlatev, to the influence of the more developed mountainous house (1), brings

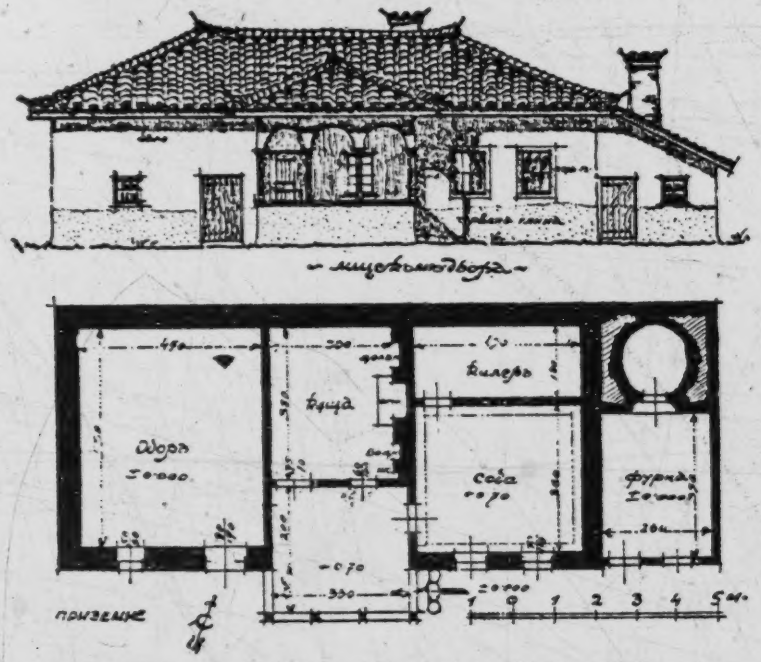

Fig. 34 House in the village of Karatoprak, district of Philippople
(Zlatev, Bŭlgar. kŭsta, fig. 94)

[17] to our memory a similar arrangement of the portico in semi-urban dwellings of Greece (2).

Thus the similarity of the farmer's house in Southern Bulgaria — which is nothing else but the former Northern Thrace, called Eastern

1) «This house» says Zlatev (p. 105), «is fully adapted to the needs and to the economy of a plain's farmer, the monotonous appearance of the pure lowland house; it has taken some elements from the mountainous house, which was more developed, and has influenced it in places where the communications with highland populations rendered this influence possible».

2) See **G. Megas**, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 67 Plate Λ, 3. Comp. with mountainous houses of Agrapha, ibid. figg. 43 and 45.

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from the other purely valley type houses, such as the houses of the Hevros or the Plevna valleys» (p. 95). 342

The house of the village of Divlia, Radomir district, (fig. 37) is a «typical bipartite valley building with a portico all along its frontage» (Zlatev, p. 98), and that of the village of Grigorevo, Novo-Celo district, (fig. 38 and 39) is only slightly elevated from the ground and includes, apart from the two spaces, basic for every valley house (the kăsta and the soba), one cellar in line with these spaces, and a small room on the front of the house which, together with the portico, forms a wing,

Fig. 40 House in Sapantsi, district of Novo Celo
(Zlatev, Bulg. kăsta fig. 82)

coming out of the main body of the building. All the rooms have an earthern floor, covered with clay. The hearth is in the kăsta, i.e. the «house», on the wall separating the two rooms and has next to it two built-in cupboards (dulapze). Opposite the hearth, on the other inner wall, there is the pitcher shelf. The bread-oven, the stable and the other buildings, essential for rural life, are to be found in the large courtyard. This is surrounded by a two metres high wall, made of unbaked bricks and covered with tiles (Bulg. keramidi). The entrance door is double, and wide enough to permit the entrance of carts, but next to it there is another door for the entrance of people. The [354] [353] [252] [343] [351]

342 years ago, was giving shelter to a 40 members' family and which
[592] was especially built for this purpose (Plate XIII 6) It is an evolution
[513] of the basic type of a house with two spaces (hyza and odaja). The cellars on the one side of the hyza are a subdivision of the third compartment into smaller spaces, and are used by the various couples of the family only to sleep in. The hyza remains the central appart-
[252] ment and it includes the hearth, measuring 2 m. x 2 m. where the bread is also baked in a special pot (srepnia, podnitsa). The cellars and the oda open to a hyza without any communication between them. The external architecture of this house presents the character-

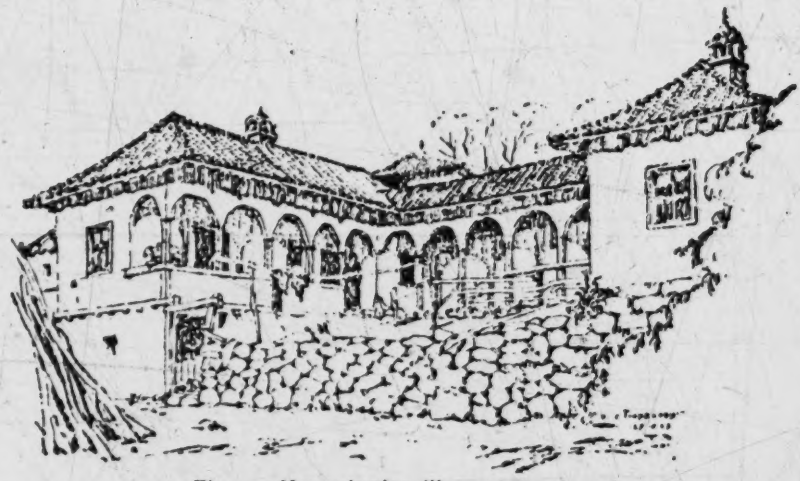

Fig. 42 House in the village of Tiorekovtsi
(Zlatev, Bălg kăsta fig. 77)

istic lack of a prostoon, which, according to Zlatev (p. 91) is the permanent element of the Bulgarian house. The house (Zlatev fig. 78) of the village of Tiorekovtsi, built in 1870, presents the same composition, but with a different arrangement of spaces (See Plate XIII 7).

Another house of this latter village is built according to the second method (Zlatev, Fig. 76 and 77) presenting an apparent archi-
[351] tectural synthesis: «two independent bipartite houses, extending parallel to each other are united on one side by a covered portico thus forming a sort of central courtyard, surrounded on two sides by porticoes which, according to Zlatev, remind us of monasteries and

9:Megas 1,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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Fig. 43 Front of a house in Bunovo of Sredna Gora
(Zlatev, Bălg. kăsta fig. 57)

[252]

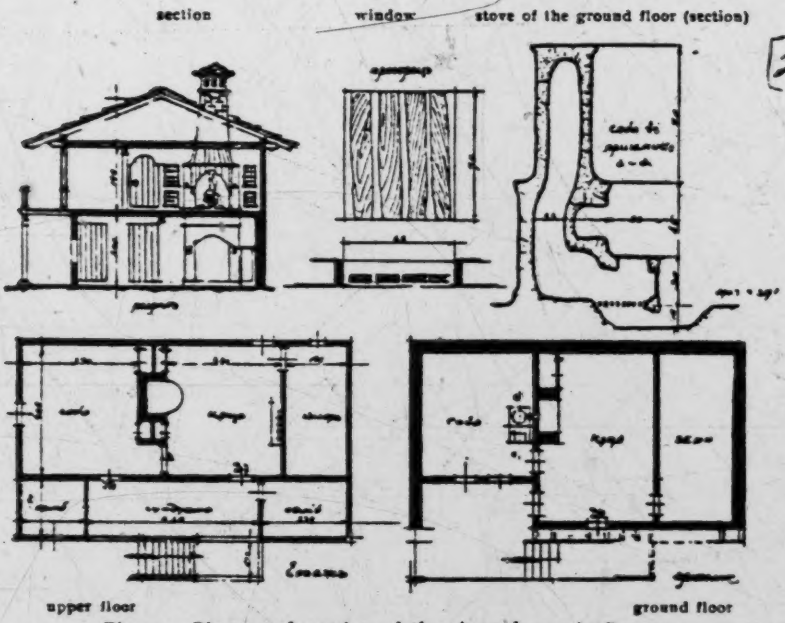

Fig. 44 Plans and section of the above house in Bunovo
(Zlatev, Bălg. kăsta fig. 56)

G
B
342 of Zeravna (Plate XV 4, 5) one end of the portico is arranged as a
171 balcony (kioschki) slightly projecting and giving a view on the road, with its floor higher by 50-70 cm. from that of the rest of the portico, exactly as in the case of the sofas in the rich Greek houses of Northern Greece (1).

According to the above survey and after the mere examination of plates XIII-XV of the appendix, it is proved, I think, that, if we except the zadrouga-systems 6-8 pl. XIII, the general disposition of space both in one-storied and two-storied Bulgarian houses does not differ from that of the Greek house and especially the North Greek one; it also displays the same consistency and the same evolution from simpler to more complex forms. Exactly as in the external shape and the entire arrangement, the internal arrangement of the space in the Bulgarian house does not differ from the Greek and especially
B the Northern Greek house. The hearth, in the Bulgarian house, is
[354 built in the middle of one of the walls or in one corner of the main room
[352 with a chimney that semi-circularly protrudes over it. We also find there our well known shelves high on the walls of the room, wall cupboards (doulapze), little opening (juklouk) and large wooden cupboards (moussandri) on both sides of the hearth; the sofas (menderia) also here extend along the walls and are covered with manifold patterns, rugs and cushions.

B Facing the hearth there is the pitcher-stand and next to it, in the
[352 wall, the cutlery cup-board. Bread is baked in a clay tray down in
[252 the hearth, just as in the houses of Agrafa in Thessaly. A low round table is used for eating, exactly as in the Greek rural houses in older times (2).

B C. Jirecek, when describing the interior of the Bulgarian rural
192 house towards the end of the 19th century, also mentions some articles
342 whose names originate from the Greek language: chromel (χειρόμυλος) = a hand-mill for wheat or salt; stomna or stovna (στάμνα) = water pitcher with narrow neck; charkomka (χάλκωμα) = brass-utensil; paploma (πάπλωμα) = bed-cover; sakul (σακκοῦλι) = bag; ikona (εἰκόνα) = an ikon placed in the corner of the room (3).

B 1) See **G. Megas** Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις, pp. 86, 93, 97, 99.

[192] 2) According to Jirecek's note where he describes the Bulgarian urban house «Bulgars use only foreign words for the table. These are the Greek «trapeza», the Rumanian «massa» and the Turkish «sofra».

3) **C. Jirecek,** op. cit. p. 158, K. Myrtilos Apostolides in Ἀρχεῖον Θρᾳκικοῦ Θησαυροῦ vol. 8 p. 102 mentions many names of everyday objects which are orig-

Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples E16

B
are tied nearer the breg, for these animals emanate a lot of heat 342
while feeding. One or two sky-lights are to be found on the roof of 354
the breg and give some light to this very dark dug-out.

In the second gallery, as we have said, there is the main house. 231
It has a fire-place, 2×2 m., with a wide chimney for the escape of the 252
smoke. The bread is baked under the ash of this hearth and there
is an opening near the fire-place for the collection of the ashes. 251
Finally, the zadnik is the space behind the house, where food, ag- 353
ricultural products and other useful articles are kept (1).

The same formation is seen in another lair of the same village, which was built in 1876 (Fig. 51.)

Dug-out houses existed from the ancient times among the Slavs, SL
and other peoples of central and Nothern Europe, but, as it is 172
shown by the remnants found, these dwellings constituted simple 342
shelters (abris). That is to say, the Slavs dug out a deep trench, of
more than one meter depth, which they covered with a roof of timbers, B
branches, hay and mud. According to Niederle «the construction of 342
the house, or rather of the roof, was more or less simple, according 171
to whether the stay in that place was to be of short duration; because the Slavs, used to live a nomadic life for a long time and till the beginnings of historic times». Such shelter-holes (fosses-abris) were already found in the Slav countries, of dimensions 1.50×4 meters, dating from the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries. Their construction has been retained, though on a less primitive shape, until the 19th century in some districts of Russia and Poland (2). The reason of such a form of housing is the lack of forests and of timber for construction of houses in the steppe districts.

The troglodyte houses of Bulgaria prove of an evolution, obviously B
due to the influence exercised by surface houses; they are neither of SL
Slav nor of Bulgarian origin. Ancient authors, such as Strabo VII, 5, 12, 342
Plinius, Nat. Hist. IV, 80, Ptolemaeus (C. Müller, Ptolemaei Geographia I, 463), mention the «troglodytes» in the district of Little Skythia, now Dobroutcha, and in Dardania, who lived, like the Phrygians and the Armenians, in subterranean dwellings (3).

Consequently the Bulgars, and the Slavs who established them-

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1) **T. Zlatev** op. cit. p. 112 figg. 97-98.
2) **L. Niederle**, op. cit. 2 p. 96 foll., 98.
3) See **C. Jirecek**, op. cit. 157. **G. Kazarow**, Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Thraker, Sarajevo 1916, p. 30.

[For information pertaining to Bulgarian recipes and food preparation in general see 70: Rowland, M1 Middle East, category 116, pp. 64-76.]

255

255 CANNING INDUSTRY--industrialized processing of meat, fish, and vegetable foods in air-tight containers (e.g., cans, jars, bottles); canneries, special factories, and their equipment; organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

Agricultural production 24
Marine industries 228
Manufacture of bottles and jars 323
Manufacture of canning machinery 392
Description of food processing machinery . . . 402
Utensils 415

244 167 accomplish was done by Bulgarian gardeners. Ten years ago no one among us knew that it was possible to produce tomatoes, peppers and other vegetables in our land. To-day, however, this is a fact, thanks to the ingenuity of the Bulgarians".

Of fresh vegetables 55 truck loads were exported in 244 439 1933 to Central Europe, and of these the most appreciated were the tomatoes grown in south Bulgaria, which many experts affirm to surpass in quality even those of Italy. During the summer of 1935 some 2750 tons of fresh tomatoes were exported to Central Europe. No serious [255] efforts have been made to develop the export of tinned vegetables, though in price they are 50% cheaper than similar ones sold in France, and in every respect as good. Lack of capital, and of commercial connections abroad have prevented the few canning factories to launch in a forward policy which necessarily involves risks and losses at the start. The only leguminous plant which has been exported on a large scale was haricot beans, of which Bulgaria was always a large exporter, the high quality of this product having secured for her a certain preeminence among Near Eastern countries The area devoted to this crop was 73,162 hectares and the yield 74,677,000 kg. in 1933 of which 32,568 tons were exported. The area planted with pulse, vegetables, potatoes and that set aside for market gardening was estimated respectively at 95,000, 13,500, 14,000, and 38,000 hectares in 1932.

241 312 A great impediment to the steady development of agriculture in Bulgaria is the periodic drought which completely undermines the economic position of the small holders, which even without this scourge, is never too bright. The mean annual rainfall for the period 1920—1930 was 578·2 litres per square metre, but this unfortunately is not evenly apportioned, the mountainous western and south western parts of the country having a much hea-

249 651 to 2 leva per kg. of tobacco exported, while the amount of wages disbursed for the manipulation of tobacco was reckoned to reach an annual average of 559 million leva during the period 1919—1931, the number of workmen engaged in the manipulation of tobacco being 86.000. This however is a seasonable occupation and less than 20,000 workpeople are permanently engaged. The number of farmsteads mainly cultivating tobacco is reckoned at 127,000.

249 In contrast with tobacco, which now forms the staple product of Bulgarian agriculture, and the main source of revenue, the cultivation of sugar-beet, in which some 100,000 formsteads are mainly engaged, has caused, and is causing an important loss to the State. In Great Britain also the subsidising of the sugar industry has led to lively debates, and Sir Herbert Samuel, as recently as Feb. 5, 1935 appealed in the House of Commons that „this colossal, wasteful and scandalous expenditure should be brought to a speedy end". In a world suffering from a collective attack of aberration, all its members more or less, show the same symptoms. It is not surprising therefore that even the levelheaded Bulgarians, endowed with no little common sense, should not have managed to keep themselves exempt from the universal malady.

257 Under the protection of a high import duty, amounting actually to 11 leva per kg., five sugar refineries were established in Bulgaria at a cost of 1,347,226,037 leva. Their united capacity of production is annually 63 million kg, but consumption a few years ago was only half this figure, and owing to the steadily diminishing buying power of the population, this has decreased to 21.6 million kg. in 1933, for the State imposes sugar also with excise, and a communal tax and the sale price of sugar is as 26 leva per kg., while the price of sugar on the world market is under 5/-per cwt, or 2 leva per kg. It was af-

257

firmed by a deputy in the Sobranye on March 25 1932 that the five refineries which had formed a syndicate in order to keep up prices were making an annual profit of 320 million leva, another deputy, M. P. Denev, had asserted on Dec. 12 1931 that this attained 270 millions. That the profits made were inordinately high may be proved by the fact that the shareholders of the one at Gorna Orehovitsa received a dividend of 25% in 1926, and of 50% in 1927, on their invested capital. (These details were published in the bulletin of the Prague Credit Bank which holds most of these shares).

It may be easily seen that this large profit realised by these five sugar refineries could have been secured instead by the State if it imported sugar from abroad and proceeded to sell it at the prevailing price, and that the profit it would have realised would have been enough to permit the State to pay to the farmers for the whole production of beet necessary to manufacture 30 million kg. of sugar, without their engaging in its cultivation. (Namely 200 million kg. ot beet at the rate of 600 leva per ton.) The profit derived by the State would also suffice to defray the whole wage bill of the workmen employed in the industry, namely about 40 million leva annually, as their number does not exceed 2000, and it would also be possible to provide out of it for a bonus of 10% on the capital invested in the factories. and yet leave a substantial balance. Protectionists would argue that such a policy would necessarily tend to increase imports, and create an adverse balance of payments to the extent of 60 million leva (30 million kg of sugar × 2 leva), but as matters stand, the capital invested in the sugar refineries being foreign, the profit the factories realise is remitted abroad, and as this exceeds very substantially the cost of the sugar which would have been imported, the country's balance of payments is adversely affected to a greater

257 extent than it would have been by the importation of sugar. The financial experts of the League of Nations, who are supposed to watch over the economic welfare of Bulgaria might well have intervened on this question and relieved her of a burden equal to that of the reparations imposed on her, but as foreign interests are involved which have powerful backers among international financiers, nothing was ever mentioned about this dissipation of public money except occasionally by some deputies in the Sobranye. The existence of the industry is an incubus to the country, for not only does it cause a yearly loss of over a quarter of a milliard leva, but owing to the high cost of sugar it has militated against the creation of a fruit canning and jam industry. There is not the slightest doubt that if sugar were procurable at the price ruling on the world market Bulgarian fruit, such as apricots, peaches, plums, pears, cherries, strawberries, raspberries etc, which are as luscious and delectable as those grown in California, could be preserved and a large export industry built up. Under the prevailing system this is impossible, and only prunes, and strawberries in pulp, are exported, the former to Germany, and the latter to England, where they are converted into jam. It would be a sensible plan to reduce the protective duty by 75%; even then, the factories would be sufficiently protected against foreign sugar, all the more so, since the price of beet has been recently reduced from 600 to 400 leva per ton. The margin of profit would still remain more than adequate, and would be increased by an expansion in consumption which would inevitably result by lowering the price of this essential commodity. This is certainly capable of being trebled, which would then permit the factories to work full time, and produce more economically for the consumption of sugar has fallen as low as 3½ kg. per head per annum, compared with 40.6 kg. in Great Britain

and 23·8 kg. in France. which constitutes yet another sure sign ot the pauperisation of Bulgaria, since in Greece and Yugoslavia the consumption of sugar is about three times as high as in Bulgaria. Another article which during recent years has achieved a record success, is the cultivation and export of dessert grapes which as to value are now classed third in the list of Bulgarian exports. Owing to the careful sorting and packing to which the grapes were subjected by government controllers and to their perfection they have been able to secure an easy preeminence on the Central European markets, and even in England.

The variety chiefly exported resembles somewhat in appearance the Spanish grapes of Almeria, but is less sweet in taste, has a thinner skin, and the bunches are larger. The just appreciation which these grapes have achieved in Central Europe may be gauged by the rapid increase of the quantity exported, which from a mere 52 kg. in 1925, reached 21,223,030 kg. or 3740 truck loads of a value of 140 million leva in 1934. In 1932 some 92,094 hectares were devoted to viticulture, of which about 10% were table or dessert varieties, the remaining being chiefly cultivated for the production of wine, of which 142 million litres were produced in the same year[1]. Recently several co-operative societies have installed modern wine presses and cellars, and are now producing wines according to the latest technique several standardised types of wine having been put on the market which are not below the average grades of those produced in France and Spain, even a variety of champagne wine being on sale. Hopes are entertained that eventually a market for wine will be found abroad, as local requirements are much below production The con-

[1] The production of grapes is computed at 400 million kg. of which 120 millions are consumed locally, about 20 millions are exported, and some 260 millions used for wine. In 1935 the quantity exported is expected to be as much as 30 million kg.

248 cultivation, but the peasant does not grudge this extra work, for the smallholder has plenty of time at his disposal. Prof. Dolinski in fact showed that small farms up to 1. 9 hectares absorb only 61.4 working days of a man, and 28.3 of a woman, and farms of 2 to 9.9 hectares require the labour of a man for 213.1 days and that of a woman for 86.2 days, so that the farmer is usually glad to find extra occupation when this is likely to bring some recompense.

248 288 The other, textile plants grown in Bulgaria are flax and hemp. Of the latter as much as 2,320,000 kg of filaments were produced in 1934 and it is hoped that even a larger quantity could be locally utilised, if, as is contemplated, hemp were used in place of the 1,200,000 kg of jute yarns and fabrics which are imported. It is affirmed that there are 3367 spindles and 459 looms which could be adapted to the manufacture of textiles from hemp and that they would suffice for this purpose. Over a million kg. of hemp is used annually for the manufacture of cordage and string, and a smaller quantity for hand-woven fabrics. It was stated that there is a surplus of about one million kg of hemp left over from the 1934 crop, and that the production for 1935 will be curtailed. The cost of hemp is reported to be 17 leva per kg and the yield 800 kg and over of filaments and seed per h.

249 258 The oleaginous plants cultivaled are rape seed, mainly exported, and sun flower seed, which is absorbed locally for the production of comestible oil, which has now completely replaced the oils hitherto imported. The oil obtained from sun flower seed il also utilised for industrial purposes and the residue, in the form of seed oil cakes is exported as cattle food. In 1933 of the total crop only 10,768,175 kg., or about 10% was exported, the balance having been bought up by the local oil-crushing mills, while the quantity of seed oil cake exported rea-

ched 25,411,022 kg. valued at 45 million leva Experiments have also been made with another oleaginous plant, the *Ricinus Communis*, from which castor oil is extracted, with excellent results, a yield of 1500 kg. of seed of superior quality having been obtained per hectare sown. 249 258

Tobacco has come to replace cereals in importance as an article of export. In 1934 it represented 40% of the total exports, and the quantity marketed abroad was valued at 982 million leva. In 1933, 22,531,439 kg. of a value of 1,174,511,061 leva were export. In 1934 the respective figures were 20,830,000 and 982,000,000. Prices have been very much affected by the prevailing crisis, as may be inferred by comparing the above with the figures for 1932, when 22,452,752 kg. were exported, but were priced at 2,654,238,438 leva. It was after the war that tobacco cultivation was particularly fostered, the quantity exported rising from 7,355,448 kg. in 1919 to the record figure of 33,647,241 kg. in 1925. After this date both Greece and Turkey reappeared on the world market as producers of Oriental tobacco and the proportion of Bulgarian tobacco sold abroad fell off, though on the whole it maintained its position in Germany, which buys steadily about half of the amount exported, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia etc., where its qualities have been thoroughly appreciaded. It would appear that the average quantity of nicotine found in it varies from 0·5% to 1%, when according to Kissling, the contents in nicotine of Virginia tobacco are 4·3% to 4·8%, of Kentucky 4·5%, of Sumatra 4·1% and Samsoun (Turkey) 2·5%. German chemists have characterised Bulgarian tobacco as poor in nicotine and have approved the manifacture of cigarettes made from it which are designed as containing the "minimum of nicotine". Tobacco forms one of the chief items of revenue to the State, some 650 million leva being annually derived from the tobacco monopoly. The State also raises a tax of 1 249 439 249 651

Maintaining personal cleanliness was
very difficult indeed. Not only did the villagers have to contend with 515
the problem of carrying water but also with the lack of privacy in their crowded dwellings. One peasant said:

"We have no public bathhouse in our village, so only the wealthier people can take baths, because they are able to go to the nearby villages two or three times during the summer and make use of the mineral baths. In general, we do not bathe in fall, winter, or spring. If we bathe in the summer at home, we use a wooden tub and warm water. Sometimes when the weather is warm, men and women [of course, separately] bathe in the river. When the women are bathing there must be someone to guard against their being seen by others. Regularly at least once a week we wash our heads with soap and hot water, and also wash our faces and hands in the morning, but not necessarily with soap. No, we do not wash our hands before every meal, nor do we ever wash our teeth."

Throughout Bulgaria it was a common courtesy to say to a friend who had just emerged from a bath, *"Chestito banya"* or "Congratulations on your bath." However, if one dreamed of bathing, the villager [787]
would tell him that some trouble, perhaps death, was imminent.

I was surprised to find that some of the poorest homes had elec- 373
tricity. The occupants explained:

"Oh, we find electricity cheaper than petroleum lamps provided we use small electric bulbs. Those who do not have electricity in their homes know of this advantage but have never saved up enough money to put in the wires."

And there they sat on a winter's night: the older women doing 512
fine, closely stitched embroidery, the girls knitting, and the man per- 373
haps reading a newspaper. The only illumination in the whole room, except for the flicker of the fire in the sheet metal stove, was a fly-specked twenty-watt bulb swinging from the ceiling.

The two or three large kettles hanging over or resting on the 415
floor beside the stove, the knife and fork rack on the wall, and the 262
few pottery dishes stacked on the kneading trough called my attention to the peasant's food habits. This was the way the people described their diet:

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

262 "The villagers generally feed themselves well. Of course, it depends upon how rich the family is. But usually we Dragalevtsy people do not think much about the money we give for food and drink. We are not stingy. The people here eat beans, potatoes, rice, cheese, milk, and meat. We do not use tea as food, for it is only water and does not satisfy us."

Here is what another informant added:

"Indeed there is variety in the diet throughout the year. During the summer months we use mainly vegetables produced at home or bought from the market. In the winter we eat potatoes, beans, and conserved foods [chiefly pickles]. Meat, milk, and rice are eaten throughout the whole year. We eat few eggs because we sell most of our eggs in Sofia. Since so many of us keep cows we naturally have begun to give our children milk to drink. We all are very fond of *kiselo mleko* [Bulgarian "sour milk"], which we eat with a spoon during the winter. In the summer it is thinned with water and mixed with garlic, walnuts, and chopped cucumber and is the dish [called *tarator*] that we most prefer on a hot day in the field. Since most of our dishes are stews we use a great deal of bread, which is baked by the women once a week in the ovens standing in the yards just for that purpose."

I had seen a number of large vegetarian restaurants in the city, but the peasants dismissed this Tolstoyan influence in a sentence:

"The people of Dragalevtsy are not so foolish as to eat no meat, for how can man be strong and able to work if he does not eat meat?"

In spite of this point of view the fact remains that the diet is largely vegetarian except for the traditional pig at Christmas, a lamb on Saint George's Day (May 6), milk, and cheese.

264 Food is served either on a *trapeza* (a piece of cloth on the floor) or on the *sofra,* the low table previously described. It was a rare experience to have one's first meal with a peasant family. To begin with, there were no individual plates or dishes; instead, one satisfied his hunger from the nearest dish from which three or four others might be eating. If a chicken had been boiled, the spoons struggled for favorite pieces of fowl; if there was chicken broth, even of a particularly delicious flavor, vinegar was added in quantity to make it

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

264 "When we work in the fields we eat five times daily: as soon as we reach the place we have a light lunch *(zakuska)*, at nine we have the *ruchok*, at one dinner, at five another *zakuska*, and in the evening after finishing work we have supper. We older people don't eat between meals but let the children do so if they are hungry."

262 252 From time to time during my stay in the village I tried to teach the tavern cook some simple and uncomplicated western dish to vary the biting peasant food. She tried faithfully but unsuccessfully to comply. After one such hopeless but courteous attempt she read me a little lesson in village menus:

"We Dragalevtsy people are pretty conservative in everything and have added no new dishes to our menu. The western combinations which people eat in Sofia are tasteless and slimy. If one doesn't use lots of salt, hot pepper, and vinegar, then the food has no taste at all."

273 Beverages other than milk and wine made little appeal. Wine was much in evidence on holidays or when there were guests. An average village home would use from 250 to 300 quarts of wine a year. Most of the *rakiya* was drunk either at the taverns or on festive occasions. In commenting on the liquor consumption of the village one man said:

"We are not such fools as not to drink wine, for the wine is transformed into blood and gives strength to man."

000 Someone has said that a house does not become a home until it knows a birth, a wedding, and a death. In other words, it is more than plaster walls, crude furniture, and steaming food. It is even more an association of memories deeply rooted in family crises.

844 [591] A frequently recurring crisis in Dragalevtsy was childbirth, which always took place in a home, never in a hospital. Usually it was the home in which the couple lived, for only rarely did the wife return to her paternal home for the event. When a woman learned that she was pregnant, she told the fact only to her own mother and to her husband, embarrassment preventing further disclosure. The mother-in-law learned about it a month later, for in the words of one of the older village men:

843 [606]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

before filling it for the next in turn; wine followed *rakiya* as the single glass continued to perform its simple function. There was a china cup, to be sure, but it was used by those preferring water. 796

Then the real ceremony began. The loaves of bread, crudely adorned on top with symbols standing for plows, sheep, the house, and sheaves of wheat, were passed to the head of the household, who broke the loaves with great solemnity. The loaves contained many notched pegs, the number of notches standing for objects on the farm; somewhere in the loaf was also hidden a coin, far more coveted than the notched pieces of wood. I, as the guest, broke open my bread first, only to find a three-notched peg, and was laughingly told that I would have to tend the sheep during the year and would not be as lucky as my neighbor who got the two-notched peg representing the cow. Still luckier was the elder brother who found the one-notched peg representing the house. A shrill shout of joy told at once that Mitko, the eleven-year-old boy, had found the coin and would be the luckiest of all.

The excitement subsided as all began to eat heartily of the special food which the women had been preparing all afternoon. Every home followed the same traditional menu, which featured the meatless main dish of pumpkin pie or *banitsa,* soggy in spite of long baking in hot ashes. The family, in between bites of *banitsa,* spooned with great gusto into the compote of stewed prunes to which pounded garlic and nuts had been added. Everyone had to partake of this for, as the villagers assured me with a twinkle in their eye, "it makes hair grow under the arms." 262 ● 796

The other traditional dish was *surmi,* a combination of onions, peppers, raisins, and rice rolled up and stewed in brine-soaked cabbage leaves. The compote and *surmi* were eaten from communal bowls.

The meal was concluded by the serving of withered apples, stored just for this occasion, and nuts cracked in the mouth of a neighbor who soon discovered the guest's unwillingness to risk his teeth for a kernel. As the men got out their cigarettes a girl rose to pass, in lieu of a match, a live coal, held with tongs, from the sheet metal stove.

On important occasions like this, the animals were not forgotten. A piece of the specially prepared bread was dipped into the compote 796

342 and the stables; in the mountains there are usually structures with many stories. Formerly the windows used to have wooden sashes that ran along a groove and that one could slide to the side, in place of window
262 panes. The style of life is simple; in the country the herders were often contented with sour milk, and the farmers with maize and millet beer.
231 The raising of livestock specializes in cattle, sheep, and goats, and
[221] takes place in the form of a migratory herding system, which commutes back and forth between the mountains in the summer and the plains
241 in the winter. The agriculture produces wheat, maize, barley, and rye, and in the temperate, nay, even hot, South, it cultivates rice, cotton, and sesame; from here, too, come the olive trees, the citrous
412 trees, and the chestnut trees. The hand mill is mostly used only for salt, other kinds of primitive tools have scarcely been preserved. The threshing sled (Figure 9) came from the Orient; it is made of hard planks that have been bent upward at the front and into which sharp-edged fire-stones have been forced. When it is in use it is weighted down enough by the stones and by the weight of the leader to be able to press out the ears of grain. The rattle board (Figure 15) has its counterparts all over ancient Europe. The sawing frame of the wandering wood cutters is an original invention. It includes a box filled with stones which is fastened by two rods and revolves around a horizontal axis, so that by its weight it supports the backward movement of the
291 saw. Through the universal joy in colors and in ornaments the national dress displays a great deal of variety. The basic elements of the men's clothing are a long, rough shirt with a wide cut which is embroidered with colored wool along the chest opening and along the shoulder; cloth or leather trousers, pleated in the Turkish manner in the east, in the west evenly tight-fitting, with a long woollen waistband; and legging-like calf cloths, as well as sandals; a sleeveless jacket or coat-like upper garment with wool trimmings and laces; a sheep's fur or hooded mantle; a dark and low lambskin cap. The women wear blouses with embroidered and crocheted ornamentation, skirts with belts, firmly woven, embroidered apron skirts, sleeveless vests or sleeve jackets, kerchiefs, headdresses and garlands around their fore-
302 heads with fringe bands covered with coins and hanging far down. The
301 girls wear their hair in from 20 to 30 tresses which are held together just below shoulder level by means of chains or buckles with silver coins and pearls, and which, at the end, are gathered together into one single tress (Figure 1). They also have costly ornaments of little gold and silver plates, as well as of filigree work for which the threads were formerly often taken from ancient coins.
*[see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, Cat. 116, p. 59a --- Analyst]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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"The people of Dragalevtsy are not so foolish as to eat no meat, for how can man be strong and able to work if he does not eat meat?"

In spite of this point of view the fact remains that the diet is largely vegetarian except for the traditional pig at Christmas, a lamb on Saint George's Day (May 6), milk, and cheese.

264 Food is served either on a *trapeza* (a piece of cloth on the floor) or on the *sofra,* the low table previously described. It was a rare experience to have one's first meal with a peasant family. To begin with, there were no individual plates or dishes; instead, one satisfied his hunger from the nearest dish from which three or four others might be eating. If a chicken had been boiled, the spoons struggled for favorite pieces of fowl; if there was chicken broth, even of a particularly delicious flavor, vinegar was added in quantity to make it

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

palatable to peasant taste. If the bread supply gave out at the table, the diners sat calmly without eating until the new loaf was brought in, for it was almost impossible for them to eat unless holding a piece of bread in the left hand. Dunking was the approved method of disposing of the juice of a stew. When eating, one was apt to get a greasy coating on the lip; the accepted technique was to scrape this off with a piece of bread already on its way into the mouth. Forks and small spoons were used only when there were guests. But why should table manners not be simple and direct?

"Knives for everybody are not used. There is one knife at the table, but people use their hands, for we peasants say, 'For what did God give the fingers to man if he does not use them to feed himself?' "

As for the preparation of the food:

"Usually it is the duty of the oldest woman in the family to prepare the food, because she knows the best how to cook and she can cook most deliciously of all. In case she is sick, then her daughter-in-law or her daughter cooks. If there are not such, then the man cooks." Here my informant sniffed and added scornfully, "Of course, in such a case dry food is eaten chiefly, but even the men can cook at least some of the dishes."

I asked another woman who really "knew her place," as a Dragalevtsy man would say, whether men could cook:

"Of course, men can do everything woman does, but woman cannot do everything men do. Who cooks for those men that are shepherds or work in the forests but they themselves? Men do not need women half as much as women need men. Yet we all recognize that cooking is for the women, not for the men."

No matter what time of day I entered a village home the *domakinya* (housewife) with unfailing and genuine hospitality offered me food or drink. I began to wonder when the people had their regular meals and found that some homes had no regular mealtimes; instead, people got up and took a piece of bread or anything else available whenever they were hungry. In most families, however, about nine o'clock in the morning a meal called *ruchok* was served to all; at about two, dinner was served, and two hours after sunset the people gathered for supper. One villager put it this way:

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

● 264 "When we work in the fields we eat five times daily: as soon as we reach the place we have a light lunch *(zakuska)*, at nine we have the *ruchok*, at one dinner, at five another *zakuska*, and in the evening after finishing work we have supper. We older people don't eat between meals but let the children do so if they are hungry."

262 252 From time to time during my stay in the village I tried to teach the tavern cook some simple and uncomplicated western dish to vary the biting peasant food. She tried faithfully but unsuccessfully to comply. After one such hopeless but courteous attempt she read me a little lesson in village menus:

"We Dragalevtsy people are pretty conservative in everything and have added no new dishes to our menu. The western combinations which people eat in Sofia are tasteless and slimy. If one doesn't use lots of salt, hot pepper, and vinegar, then the food has no taste at all."

273 Beverages other than milk and wine made little appeal. Wine was much in evidence on holidays or when there were guests. An average village home would use from 250 to 300 quarts of wine a year. Most of the *rakiya* was drunk either at the taverns or on festive occasions. In commenting on the liquor consumption of the village one man said:

"We are not such fools as not to drink wine, for the wine is transformed into blood and gives strength to man."

000 Someone has said that a house does not become a home until it knows a birth, a wedding, and a death. In other words, it is more than plaster walls, crude furniture, and steaming food. It is even more an association of memories deeply rooted in family crises.

844 [59] A frequently recurring crisis in Dragalevtsy was childbirth, which always took place in a home, never in a hospital. Usually it was the home in which the couple lived, for only rarely did the wife return to her paternal home for the event. When a woman learned that 843 she was pregnant, she told the fact only to her own mother and to her husband, embarrassment preventing further disclosure. The [606] mother-in-law learned about it a month later, for in the words of one of the older village men:

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

invaded by peasants from the villages in their national dress with their many-coloured wares. Women usually congregate in a side-street, often spinning or knitting as they sit on the raised cobble-stones beside their market-bags and baskets of eggs, cheese, butter, or chestnuts, a bundle of ducks or chickens reposing at their feet, and perhaps a lamb or little pig in their laps. One part of the market is set aside for the woven stuffs and embroideries of the women. These are spread on cloths on the ground, or hung round the sellers in their little shelters. The men visit the cattle market usually held in a field on the outskirts of the town. The streets are dense with people, for both peasants and townsfolk are bargaining and discussing business.

After their goods are sold the peasants wander round, looking at the gay shops and buying what they need. On market days the merchants display special goods and ornaments—anything likely to attract the peasants; while pedlars from Hercegovina carry round little vanities and modern trifles like small mirrors, knives, tablets of scented soap, pocket-books, trinkets; and the sellers of lemonade, sherbet, *boza*,[1] coffee, slices of melon in summer, hot chestnuts in winter, pink heart-shaped cakes, rings of bread on sticks, ply a lively trade. Veiled and gloved Moslem women gather in side-streets to sell their bright silks, gold-shot embroideries, and lace-flower-edging or Bibilka work. They often thrust their wares on the passers-by, finding later narrow alleys where they conceal themselves for their midday meal.

In the older towns all workers of the same trade have their little booths and shops side by side, in the narrow side-streets. In the Street of the Silver-workers the craftsmen sit beside their cases of delicate filigree, bending over their fine black and silver inlay, or fitting a minute coil of silver-wire into an intricate pattern on ring or belt, while to one side the tiny pin-point flame of the blow-pipe pricks the obscurity. In the Street of the Copper-smiths hammers on resounding metal beat out an incessant and vibrating din.

[1] *Boza*, made from maize, is a favourite drink all over Jugoslavia and Bulgaria. I dislike it.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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593 562 [581]

beginning to imitate "the people of the world" in this respect. As the psychological aspect of the sexual relationship between husband and wife varied with each couple, no generalization could be made except to point out that sex seemed to be a concomitant of marriage rather than the basis of marriage. Mates were picked by young men more for their potentialities as hard-working farm hands than for their sexual attractiveness. Quite often before marriage a sort of affection had grown up between the couple; more often affection came after marriage and increased as the partnership proved successful and the feeling of mutual dependence deepened.

Most of these couples freely, sometimes jokingly, admitted that they quarreled more or less, even when they were in many respects fortunately adjusted to each other. Nevertheless, in only one-third of the cases did this quarreling lead to a permanent cause of conflict.

273 593

The disciplining of children by the husband frequently aroused the wife to indignation, but perhaps not to such a depth as did his late arrival from the tavern in an intoxicated condition. Few Bulgarian men drank to get drunk. Intoxication, when it came, was often the result of overenthusiastic observance of drinking customs. For instance, when men drank in the saloon all of them ordered drink and food not only for themselves but for the whole table, everybody paying for what he had ordered before leaving; the people always toasted health, long life, or happiness when they raised a glass of wine, beer, or whisky, at home, in the tavern, or in the field; at feasts *rakiya* was served before the people began to eat; during the meal they drank wine. A drunken man was sent out of the tavern at closing time, and it was up to him to get himself home, even though he fell down several times en route. If he was having too great a difficulty, some companions might lead him. If they were not around, the policeman or night watchman might act as guide. At his approach, the children hid and the wife became afraid. The villagers said: "Even an insane man runs away from the drunken." Sometimes in order to sober up the drunken man, people put a little urine or horse manure (substances rich with ammonia) in his mouth. The chief complaint the women made against drinking was economic, The spending of money "for nothing," as they said.

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gave lectures at intervals during the year and consulted with some farmers regarding their work, he could not initiate and carry through a thorough program without the help of a local *agronom*.

As far as livestock was concerned, there were two boars and one village bull for breeding purposes. The law required that each *Obshtina* take charge of its own breeding animals. There was supposed to be a local breeding association, but the mayor was the only member. A fund was being collected for a village barn. Meanwhile, the animals were boarded out to various peasants who received a fixed sum. Improvement of livestock was more easily managed through the control of male animals, which were inspected each spring. Those of bad quality were castrated (the veterinary's fees for this work being the following: pig, 10 leva; donkey, 20 leva; horse, 40 leva). If the animal died, the State paid for the loss. I happened to visit the village at the time the veterinary doctor was making his inspection of horses. Before he could begin his thorough examination, the representative of the *Obshtina* looked over the bills of sale to be sure each man had his own horses. This bill of sale cost 3 per cent of the amount exchanged. If the horses had been foaled at the home of the present owners, the men presented certificates of ownership which they had previously obtained from the mayor for fifteen leva. If the doctor found that a horse was ill, a second examination was made two weeks later. If the animal was still sick, State officials bought the horse for a small sum and killed it. A fine ranging from two hundred to five hundred leva was charged if the horses were not brought for the examination. While a national program for home demonstration work had been prepared, Dragalevtsy so far had received few benefits.

Recreation, like economic life, had been subjected to efforts at organization. The people of Dragalevtsy customarily associated liquor with holidays and leisure time. In the earlier days there was little organized opposition to the use of alcohol, but by 1922 considerable public opinion had been aroused against the *kruchmi*. On January 1, 1922, all the taverns of the village were closed by order of the Village Council, which thought that the drink shops were a social evil. The village was very much stirred up, most of the men siding with the tavern keepers and the women with the Village Council. The tavern

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keepers immediately petitioned the higher court in Sofia, which reversed the decision of the Village Council on the grounds that the order had been issued illegally, without having a vote of all the people. On March 12 the taverns opened again. A large sum of money was due the tavern keepers in the way of damages, but they did not try to collect for fear a referendum would be carried out and the taverns abolished indefinitely. Between January 1 and March 12 the men of Dragalevtsy had gone to Sofia and to other villages so frequently to drink that they had lost much time from work, to the distress of their families. Since Dragalevtsy became a resort place, it has had summer guests who demanded alcoholic beverages; this clientele aids the tavern keepers, although many peasants are still in favor of closing their places of business.

In 1935, largely at the suggestion of one of the schoolteachers, a temperance society was organized among the young men. The score of members took their organization seriously, though many villagers ridiculed it. This organization gave a *vecherinka* at which a "drunk" comedy was presented in order to discourage drinking. The temperance pledge included not only drinking but smoking and was so difficult to keep that a year later some of the members had fallen from grace. The village registrar, who was active in the Village Council in 1922 when the taverns were closed, was not permitted in the temperance association because he smoked. His admission would have greatly strengthened the work of the organization as far as alcoholic temperance was concerned.

The monthly dues were five leva, which were to be spent for buying temperance literature and sometimes in helping the poor. One member was sent to the city of Stara Zagora for a conference of all temperance associations in Bulgaria. The priest could not be a member "because he has to drink in his work," that is, communion. The organization was almost extinct because the initial enthusiasm had waned and some of the original members had dropped out. In order to justify their own actions those who quit talked against the remaining members and accused them of smoking and drinking on the side. The society's value as an aid to temperance would have been hard to estimate. While it must have had some effect on the minds of the

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

young people connected with it, it had little reforming influence upon the older people. The government was trying to control the sale of liquor by limiting hours of sale and by excluding minors from taverns. For example, the taverns were closed during the time of Sunday morning service. 273 733

Here, then, we have three efforts on the part of villagers and authorities to promote abstinence or temperance. The first, in 1922, used the local governmental machinery but lacked the support of the men who were the only ones with the right to vote. The second was the voluntary association of strong-willed youths, who soon found that formal organizations had short lives in Dragalevtsy. The other method consisted of the mayor's arbitrary edicts, which he had power to make people obey. From time to time he overlooked infringements of his rules, being more interested in avoiding excessive drunkenness on the part of well-known sots than in decreasing the tavern keeper's revenues.

The chief objections raised to the use of liquor were economic rather than moral. Although recreation was not commercialized in our sense of the term, the tavern keepers did make an adequate income from catering to patrons with free time on their hands.

The only formally organized recreational group in the village was the *Yunak* organization. It began its career in the village in 1932. The local group was one of hundreds scattered throughout the whole of Bulgaria for the purpose of organizing the youth for sport and physical education. The activity of this organization was intense in the beginning. Since then, however, interest died down to the point that the young men gathered only two or three times a year for exercise in the schoolyard where there were rings and a horizontal bar, and once a year for election of officers. Many of the members felt that it was an honor to belong because it signified to the rest of the villagers that "you want to be healthy." The older people, however, thought that such an organization was unnecessary since, in their opinion, "if the young people did enough work in the fields and around the stables they would not need any organization for exercise." As is the case with many clubs of this sort, there were four or five people who really carried the load in an effort to keep the group alive. Because this organization was so utterly out of line with the familistic point 529 575

11: Logic S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

and 23·8 kg. in France. which constitutes yet another sure sign ot the pauperisation of Bulgaria, since in Greece and Yugoslavia the consumption of sugar is about three times as high as in Bulgaria. Another article which during recent years has achieved a record success, is the cultivation and export of dessert grapes which as to value are now classed third in the list of Bulgarian exports. Owing to the careful sorting and packing to which the grapes were subjected by government controllers and to their perfection they have been able to secure an easy preeminence on the Central European markets, and even in England.

The variety chiefly exported resembles somewhat in appearance the Spanish grapes of Almeria, but is less sweet in taste, has a thinner skin, and the bunches are larger. The just appreciation which these grapes have achieved in Central Europe may be gauged by the rapid increase of the quantity exported, which from a mere 52 kg. in 1925, reached 21,223,030 kg. or 3740 truck loads of a value of 140 million leva in 1934. In 1932 some 92,094 hectares were devoted to viticulture, of which about 10% were table or dessert varieties, the remaining being chiefly cultivated for the production of wine, of which 142 million litres were produced in the same year[1]. Recently several co-operative societies have installed modern wine presses and cellars, and are now producing wines according to the latest technique several standardised types of wine having been put on the market which are not below the average grades of those produced in France and Spain, even a variety of champagne wine being on sale. Hopes are entertained that eventually a market for wine will be found abroad, as local requirements are much below production The con-

[1] The production of grapes is computed at 400 million kg. of which 120 millions are consumed locally, about 20 millions are exported, and some 260 millions used for wine. In 1935 the quantity exported is expected to be as much as 30 million kg.

274 sumption of wine is about 23 litres per capita yearly, as against 153 in France and 101 in Italy. Owners of vineyards were complaining that they could not meet their expenses as grapes grown for wine were a drug on the market. It was stated in the Sobranye on Dec. 8. 1931 that while revenue from vineyards was 600 millions, expenditure on them was 720 million leva, while the capital they represented was 13,000 million.

245 [242] [439] Concurrently with the vine, orchard planting has received a great impetus, the State having established 39 nurseries and experimental stations from which young fruit trees are supplied to farmers at a nominal price. Apples and plums are being exported in increasing quantities, as well as walnuts, of which 2083 tons were exported in 1934. The area occupied by orchards was stated to be 19,420 hectares in 1932, of which 12,030 hectares were planted with plum trees, 919 with apple trees, 122 with pear trees and 6,349 were described as mixed orchards.

247 [439] Bulgaria is renowned for its attar of roses; unfortunately the world crisis has affected to a great extent this industry, and the area planted with rose bushes (6800 hectares in 1931) is consequently being reduced since the export of this product has declined from 3,157 kg. valued at 240 million leva in 1928, to 1218 kg. valued at 36 millions in 1934. Consequently a surplus stock of some 3000 kg. has accumulated and this has affected prices, which from 80,000 leva per kg. in 1932, have declined since to about a third of that figure One of the reasons of this falling off in the quantity exported, is the relative high cost of the attar of roses, due most likely to the unduly large amount of capital invested in the distilleries, the capacity of which is disproportionately great to the roses available for distillation, and which moreover work for only one month in the year. In fact, the 32 distilleries which were operating in 1931 were stated to have cost

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

535 to the prescribed two or three, tiring themselves out to the plaudits of
527 those close by.

To the old-timers, however, the modern version of the traditional dance was a sad commentary on the state of things. They thought the young people too soft. After I had been watching the *horo* for some time an old man hobbled up to me. I had seen him shaking his head and muttering to himself, so I asked him, "What do you think of it, *dedo*?" He grunted, "It's all right for the young people to have a little fun, but they aren't as strong as I used to be when I was young. I used to hoe corn, harvest wheat, and come back to dance all evening. The young people can't do that now. And I wasn't as healthy as my father used to be."

535 The village registrar, Bai Angel, told me why there had been a declining interest in the *horo*, especially those which used to occur around the neighborhood fountains. About seven o'clock the people used to go to the pasture to get their animals. If the animals were slow in coming, then the people danced the *horo* there in the fields. When the animals had been taken home, and after the girls had finished up their housework, they went with jugs to one of the three fountains in the village and there danced again until eleven o'clock. In 1924 more fountains were installed in the village, thus tending to break up the larger groups which gathered around the three original fountains. The girls preferred to carry water from the fountains nearest their homes, and no longer attended the evening *horo*.

517 Tavern life was another, less colorful way of passing the bleak
521 winter days. In the four ill-ventilated *kruchmi* the men gathered to
275 discuss the harvest and to argue over the news read aloud from yester-
203 day's newspaper. Some man sought his godfather, or the godfather of a recently christened son or daughter, and invited him to have a drink of *rakiya* (plum brandy) or wine. Sometimes men who had completed a business deal drank to clinch it. Men who had been in the army together told the same tall tales of adventure over and over again, re-creating those experiences which lifted them for a while out of their limited village environment. There were seldom any fights, because the frequenters put an end to disagreements before they got

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

out of hand. The fact that not all patrons of the tavern drank liquor was shown by the comment of one of the villagers: 517 521

"I come to the tavern chiefly for the newspaper. I have a strong will, drink little, and know when to stop. The young men when starting the temperance association asked me to be president but I couldn't give up coming here for the newspaper. The small coffee house across the square has only room enough for five or six people and there's no point in going there. Many blame me for going to the tavern, but they have no interest in finding out what is going on in the world." 275 203

One advantage of visiting the tavern included the announcements that the town crier always made there as well as out in the square.

The tavern keepers, however, had no illusions about their standing in the public estimation. All of them were of the same peasant stock as their patrons, but had sold some of their land in order to set themselves up in business. 554 463

"If the people of the village took a vote, the majority would favor shutting up all the taverns. The people don't like us," was the tart comment of one tavern keeper. This dislike sprang from the indebtedness of so many people to the tavern keepers, as well as from the strong feeling many have toward the social consequences of excessive alcoholism.

There were, however, a number of men who had to miss the morning session at the Dragalevtsy *kruchmi*. They were the milkmen. Each morning while it was still dark eight tiny donkeys left their yards, pattered down the slope just outside the village, and followed the straight gravel road five miles to Sofia. They were accompanied by their prodding masters who kept an eye on the two or three large cans of milk which had been strapped onto the wooden saddles. These donkeys long ago learned to swallow any pride they might have had, for each morning, with monotonous regularity, they were overtaken by the high two-wheeled horse-drawn milk carts used by the remaining thirty Dragalevtsy milkmen. Once in Sofia, the majority of the milkmen covered their routes, knocking at the doors of the regular customers and waiting patiently for a container into which to pour a quart or so of milk from the large cans. The round completed, most of the milkmen began at once to retrace the long uphill journey from the city's outskirts to the village. 463 [231]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

stopanin, or male head of the house, killed the cock and held its 243
twitching body over a bag of grain seed so that several drops of blood would fall upon it. He then drove slowly to the field to prepare the ground for the sowing, meanwhile eagerly awaiting the arrival at midmorning of the *domakinya,* his wife, dressed in her most beautiful costume and bearing a pan containing the boiled cock, meal, and bread. The family group made a tour once around the field, whereupon the man solemnly broke the bread and, before sitting with the others in the middle of the field to feast, gave pieces of the bread to the oxen. The peasants called this the "sweetest meal of the year" and delighted in having friends from a neighboring field join them in the repast. Summer's hard work was at an end; the harvests were plentiful; the peasants were deeply grateful.

Life in these scattered fields of Dragalevtsy was hard and labo- 241
rious, but to the peasant, life without the fields would not be worth 423
living, for these narrow strips of land were his children growing under his painstaking care. The land was his companion and friend, as he shared with it the thoughts and dreams of a starlit summer night, with a cloak for a pillow and dew for a blanket. Land meant more to the peasant than money in the bank; it meant more than food on the table; it meant life itself.

Some years ago I heard a Sofia University professor say in a 181
lecture that the Bulgarian peasant was more devoted to his work than 461
to his religion. "There are more songs dedicated to labor than to 275
saints," he added. Because I wondered about the truth of this statement in respect to Dragalevtsy, I polled village opinion. Here are some of the questions I asked, with representative or characteristic responses:

Nowadays, which do people enjoy most: working in the field or sitting in the tavern?

"People work to get bread. They can't earn money enough to save. Some prefer to work in the fields because we quarrel when we are in the *kruchma.*"

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275 461 181 "Most of the people prefer to be in the tavern, though there are some who go there to do *pazarluk* [arrange a business deal], drink a little, then leave to do their work again."

"I prefer to work in the fields than to sit in the tavern."

463 181 *Why do young people want to become artisans and do not want to become farmers?*

"They want easier work. Field work is heavy. If they work inside, they will live longer, the wind won't beat in their faces, they won't remain in the cold."

"It's better to work inside than out in the weather."

"If one is an artisan, one won't become hungry. There will always be work to do. But in the fields things are not so sure. Work is easier as an artisan than as a farmer. The money is only of minor importance."

461 181 *Do people of Dragalevtsy, like the heroes of old folk songs, love hard work more than easy work?*

"They prefer easy work. Fifty years ago people liked the harder work, for there were few occupations. Now parents don't control their children. A son sees his father at one tavern and he goes to the other. If his father comes to the second tavern, then he goes back to the first. Formerly people had big fields and had to do much work. They prided themselves on the amount of work they could get done. They were healthier, because they didn't smoke and drink so much. The one who could work the most was the most honored. Now the fields are small. There is little work to do in them, and so people get out of the habit of working hard."

"They like easier work now. Everyone looks for something that is light. It was not so fifty years ago, but the change came about especially since the war."

"They love easy work. Formerly there were more animals, more fields, less people, and therefore more work."

556 181 *With what adjective would a Dragalevtsy peasant prefer to be described: industrious, rich, influential, wise?*

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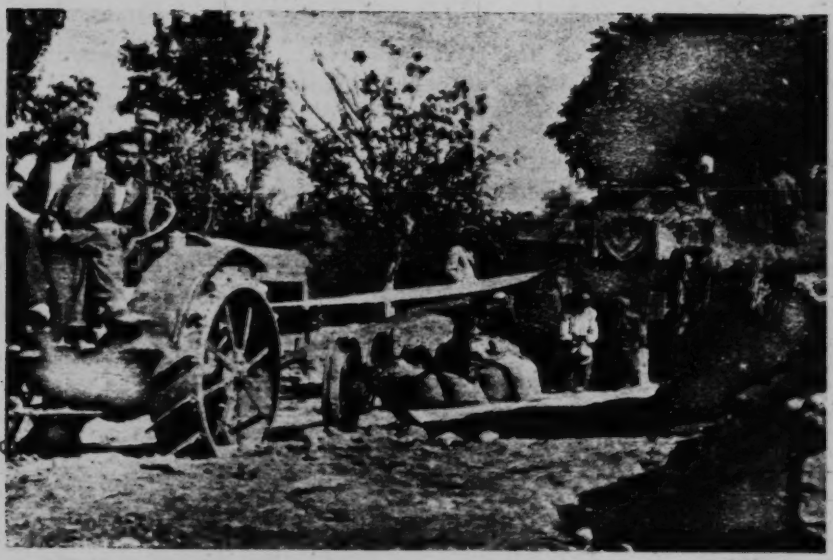

". . . they threshed the wheat of fifty-five farms . . ." *See page 151.*

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"The people . . . customarily associated liquor with holidays and leisure times." *See page 155.*

[Facing p. 145]

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Flower bazaar and tavern: It is around the fourth destination on Fridays that fondest memories cling, because this is the spot near the Sofia flower bazaar where young people from surrounding villages go upon completing their morning duties in town. It is here that romance blossoms and young men from one village are introduced to girls from another. While the younger people are amusing themselves here the older people, especially the men, gather at the tavern called *Dulgata Mehana*, the particular establishment to which Dragalevtsy peasants are loyal.[7] They lunch and drink here, they rest here, and here they swap their stories. Nor is it without pride that they tell how Fiodor Chaliapin, the celebrated opera singer, in 1934 spent a very merry evening in this *Dulgata Mehana*, enjoying its drink and atmosphere. Seldom, however, does the peasant get to converse with the Sofia citizenry in this tavern. Here again he is in a peasant world; if he were not, he would feel decidedly uncomfortable. Should he decide to see a movie, in the afternoon he would go to a cheap theater on a side street and guffaw with his fellow peasants.[8]

2. To Serve His Country. The *trudova* system, or that of compulsory labor for the young men of Bulgaria, has received much attention in the West. It served a magnificent purpose, taking as it did young men from villages throughout the land, mixing them up in labor camps, and providing them with picks and shovels for the construction of highways, bridges, and other public works. But now the young Bulgarian citizen is given military training instead. This is not in keeping with the Treaty of Neuilly, which limited Bulgaria's armed forces to 33,000, but what nation in Europe, the Bulgarians ask, has been abiding by the treaties? The trend from *trudova* to military service is shown by the fact that in 1935 not a single youth was called from Dragalevtsy to do *trudova* service, but sixteen went to be trained as soldiers.

The effect of life in a labor camp or a military barracks upon the young men is apparent upon their return to the village. They have gone out from a family system where each member works unquestioningly as a part of the whole; they return, in spite of military discipline, often very conscious of their own individuality, and have to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought again close in about them. However, before the returning young men are reabsorbed by the community, reverberations of struggle are felt throughout parts of the social structure. There are some who never again fall completely into line and who naturally

[7] Every village over a period of years has tended to select one tavern where peasants from that village spend their leisure time while in Sofia.

[8] Fifty-five per cent of the villagers (babies, children, and adults) have never seen a cinema. Out of 265 families reporting, *all* members of 73 families had seen a cinema; *no* members of 78 families had done so.

Il: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EEl Bulgaria EEl

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SORTING TOBACCO LEAVES

KARLOVO WITH THE BALKANS IN THE BACKROUND

[facing p. 177]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

353 No home was really furnished until it had a small wooden
777 iconostas which contained an icon, a picture of the Virgin or a saint. The iconostas was usually placed in the east or southeast corner of the room. In case some disaster befell the family, they found out to which saint the unlucky day belonged, and got a picture of him for their iconostas. Thereafter, on his name day they did no work and used holy water in the house. In the *kandilo,* the small lamp before the icon, they burned olive oil during church time and on the eve of holidays. In case the family had used holy water at home in the hope of curing some sick person, the flowers with which the water had been sprinkled were placed on the household shrine.

352 Usually there were a number of small implements or articles
285 scattered about the room. A two-edged axe might be leaning against the door frame, and old clothes or bed clothes hanging from a long thick pole in a corner. I often saw in common use small baskets obtained from the gypsies. For pay, the gypsies asked the purchaser to fill the basket with beans or wheat, which they retained. The peasants themselves, especially the shepherds and goatherds with much leisure on their hands, made the very large baskets or hampers used for carrying hay or straw. These baskets stood in the entryway or hung under the eaves.

312 Only a few of the Dragalevtsy homes had a washstand, but even for these the water had to be carried from the nearest fountain. Over and over again the peasant women would say:

"We would like to have running water in our houses because it would help us a lot and make our life a little easier. But we don't have the money, and all this needs much money for installing a water system in the house, and also we would have to pay quite a high tax to the Obshtina. Anyway, the fountains in the village are sufficient and it doesn't take us much time to go and get water."

415 The water was carried from the fountains either in clay vessels
312 called *stomni* or in the more modern large copper vessels called *mentsi.* The long sticks on the ends of which the water vessels were suspended were called *kobilitsi.* The water from the fountains was used only for preparing food and drinking, and the water for the animals came from the little brooks in the street. Maintaining personal cleanliness was

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
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Bulgaria EE2

 Y C

Some indication of the pattern of the stitchery is given at "a" on Plate VIII, where the parts left white are covered with the gold braid. 291

The glitter of the metal tubes and sequins, the gold braid and the beads upon so heavily worked a background produces a very handsome effect. 286 531

No. 1935-66. This is another odd sleeve from Resna (Resan) made of imported cotton cloth, and decorated with a number of small embroidered squares arranged very similarly to those on sleeve No. 1937-67 (Plate VIIIb). The sleeve "was stolen as loot by soldiers during the insurrection of 19[illegible]3" (M.E.D.) and purchased by Miss Durham in the following year.

It measures 20 inches (50·8 cm.) by 8¼ inches (20·9 cm.) when made up, and has at the wrist edge a border of nineteen small squares, each measuring about three-quarters of an inch, with two shorter rows above of thirteen and eleven respectively, on the upper side of the sleeve.

The squares are solidly worked in half cross-stitch, with an outline pattern in black, two tiny squares of yellow and two right-angled lines of green along the outer edges. The whole of the ground is worked in red, and at "C" on Plate VIII the use of the colours is indicated heraldically.

The extreme edge is hemmed and blanket-stitched in red.

No. 1935-67. An odd sleeve from Monastir (Bitolj) made of a heavy, hand-woven cotton cloth is embroidered in a tightly twisted, two-ply thread of vivid scarlet. It measures 20 inches (50·8 cm.) by 8¼ inches (21·6 cm.) when made up, and along the wrist edge there is a border of seven 2-inch squares (Plate VIIIb). Each square has an outline pattern worked in cross-stitch in indigo blue and green with a row of scarlet back stitching between, the rest of the square being entirely covered by rows of half cross-stitch in red (Plate VIIIc).

Above the seven squares at the wrist a block of six and another of five produce a sort of panel effect.

At the extreme edge of the sleeve a row of buttonholing is worked into what appears to be a closely whipped edge of stitchery.

The arrangement of the pattern and the rich scarlet colour give the sleeve an Oriental appearance.

CHAPTER XI.

A Bulgar Woman's Garments from Monastir (Bitolj).

B

No. 1935-63. An example of the long type of shirt mentioned in Chapter X (A), which renders a separate skirt unnecessary, is shown on Plate IX at "A" where the principal decorative parts of the festival dress of a Bulgar woman from Monastir are given. These were collected by Miss Durham when on relief work after the insurrection against the Turkish government in the winter of 19[illegible]3. 297 286

This very handsome garment is made of a heavy, hand-woven cloth that has the appearance of Russian crash, the thread is unevenly spun and it is this irregularity which is responsible for the effect. The weave is tabby with 36 warps and 32 weft picks to the inch. The garment is magyar in shape, just like the short shirt on Plate I, with shaped gores at the sides which widen from six inches at the armhole to ten inches at the hem.

[Text continues on page 45]

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The sleeves are just rectangular pieces of cloth of its full width, 19 inches, and are joined by a run and fell seam which is arranged just above the opening under the arm at the back. B 292 286 531

As will be seen from the illustration, the decoration is placed where the wear is greatest, so it has an economical as well as an ornamental purpose.

The work is executed in petit-point stitch, the pattern being worked in crimson and the background filled in with Turkey red or scarlet. As can be seen from the drawing, at the bottom of the front-opening where the pattern is not completed (probably because it came under the apron and so would not show) the design is first outlined in black in double-running stitch, so that both right and wrong sides are alike, and is then filled in with petit-point.

The edges of the sleeves are finished off by a ladder-stitch with a chain edge on either side, and the hem is neatened and strengthened by being closely oversewn with scarlet thread. The equal-armed Greek cross is used around the hem except at the seams, where a variety of palmette, similar again to Greek pattern, disguises the seam for about four inches.

The chief motive on the sleeve is an equal armed cross with re-entrant angles at the ends of the arms. Many of the small motives filling in the spaces are rayed. Occasionally small spots of the white background, with tiny crosses on them, break the surface of solid red stitchery, and between the panel and the sleeve borders is a raised row of closely worked chain-stitch. The embroidery is all done in strong, finely spun wool.

"The body over the shirt is girthed with a hempen cord, wound round and round, and with the end twisted up in front. It forms a stiff and cumbrous sort of corset. The women declared they could not stand up without it." (M.E.D.). A buckle such as that shown on Plate XV at "H" (No. 1939-1) was attached in front. C

Miss Durham says, in speaking of the relief work she was doing at the time, "When I was on relief work visiting large numbers of burnt villages where the inhabitants camped in holes in the ground and under rough hovels, one of my jobs was to deal out clothing material, as most people had only what they stood up in. We obtained a large quantity of shirt material. I cut it into lengths and dealt it out to the refugees who came to fetch it. After several weeks I visited a village expecting to see the women in new garments. Not a bit of it; they were in filthy rags as before. I asked what had become of the shirt stuff. It was, they said, such good stuff it would have to be for best clothes. They had got as far as outlining the embroidery patterns, and were beginning to fill it in. But I was assured it would be months before the things were done." B 731 292 747

No. 1935-65. This handsome head scarf, which is worn with its ends down the back, is made of the same material as the shirt, with the addition of some imported gold lace, gold thread and beads (Plate IXB). B 292 531

For the length of 50 inches (127 cm.) the scarf has a border of hexagons and triangles worked in petit-point in two shades of red, outlined and rayed in black (Fig. 6 "a"). A ladder-stitch with chain edges finishes off the hem, and is edged by a row of two black and two white beads used alternately.

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At either end of the strip of cloth a handsome panel, 9½ inches (24·1 cm.) deep, of tapestry weaving in the two shades of red and gold thread, is attached. The design of large lozenges filled with smaller ones in gold thread matches the general scheme of the apron. One end panel is more elaborately finished than the other, and has a scalloped bead border in red, white and black beads, whereas the other only has a straight edge of black and white beads grouped in fours.

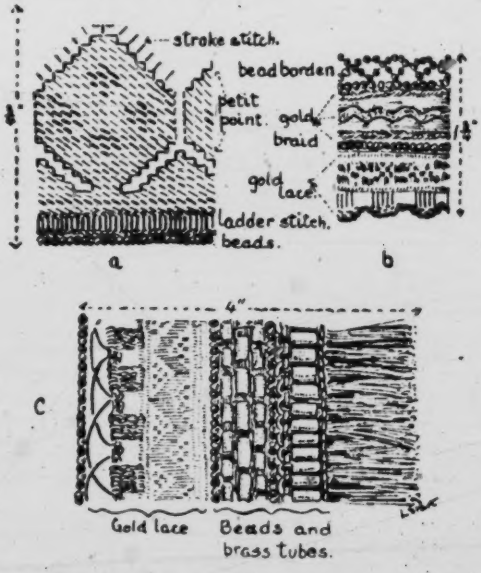

FIG. 6.—a, Detail of border on scarf. b, Border to panel on scarf. c, Border on apron.

Inside the bead edging (Fig. 6 " b ") on the more elaborate end are a row of plaited gold braid, a row of wavy gold braid, another row of plaited gold, a row of black and white beads and then a gold braid with a lace edge in gold. Joined to the bottom edge of the panel is a fringe, 16 inches (40·6 cm.) in length, of tightly twisted cords in red and crimson, headed by white beads and little flattened tubes of brass similar to those on the sleeve from Monastir figured on Plate VIII at " b ". On this end also brass sequins are used to make the centre of each lozenge.

No. 1935-64. The festival apron which goes with the shirt and head-dress is a very heavy, but most gorgeous affair in scarlet, crimson and gold, with touches of a rich dark brown (Plate IXc).

It is a fine example of tapestry weaving. The design is one of large lozenges, subdivided into smaller ones some of which are rayed, the pattern being in crimson on a scarlet background. Each small lozenge is centred by a cross in gold thread, and diagonal lines in gold thread also separate the smaller lozenges.

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An elaborate border surrounds the apron which is edged all round with a row of fringe, about an inch in width, in red and browns, but at the lower edge by two additional rows of short fringe in scarlet and crimson, and then a four inch fringe of scarlet backed with brown, having a handsome wrapped heading three-quarters of an inch deep.

The heading of the first narrow fringe is of strip brass made into flattened tubes round bunches of the threads, next to this comes a row of black and white beads, then three rows of brass tubes used like long beads, a three-quarter inch band of gold braid with an open lace edging of gold measuring another half inch. The whole border is finished off by another row of alternate black and white beads (Fig. 6 " c ").

At the lower edge of the apron as shown at " C " on Plate IX two more rows of the gold braid are added as well as the deeper fringe. All this heavy work at the lower edge of the apron is strengthened at the back by pieces of felt at the corners and a broad woven black and white braid above the top row of the fringe.

In addition to these garments the woman might wear a jelek and, for out-of-doors, a fairly long white woollen coat with more embroidery or braiding.

CHAPTER XII.

Some Garments from Zadrima.

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The group of specimens illustrated on Plate X are the more decorative parts of the attire of a peasant woman from Zadrima, a town near Scutari, on the River Drin. The colouring is predominantly Turkey red with touches of yellow, white (either as background or ornament), a little green and a little dark blue.

In addition to those articles shown there would be a shirt with decorated oshvitza, perhaps with the opening as a cross-over, and a full skirt of heavy material.

No. 1935-28. The jelek (Plate XA and B), which was worn over the shirt, has a foundation of a diagonally woven cotton cloth, like a twill, which from the irregularity of the weaving appears to be of home production. This is stiffened with parchment or some similar substance and lined with a fine imported, slightly glazed calico.

The garment is 12 inches (30·5 cm.) deep and 17 inches (43·2 cm.) wide, and has two added flaps of scarlet felt in the front which are decorated with half buttons of gilded brass.

It is bordered, and the back divided into panels by an inch wide band of plaited braids made up alternately of three square plaited red braids each having eight strands, and four variegated braids in red, yellow, white and black consisting of four red, two black, two red and two yellow strands. Eight of the threads in the latter are used as two groups of four for cores over which the other two are plaited, a new colour pair being taken from the core as required. Inside the plaited border round the neck and down the front a bright strip of gold and scarlet ribbon is applied, this is represented by the dotted band in Plate XA and B.

The two shaped panels in the front are ornamented by lines and an Ionic wave pattern made by sewing down side by side a scarlet and a yellow cord.

[Text continues on page 49]

248 cultivation, but the peasant does not grudge this extra work, for the smallholder has plenty of time at his disposal. Prof. Dolinski in fact showed that small farms up to 1. 9 hectares absorb only 61.4 working days of a man, and 28.3 of a woman, and farms of 2 to 9.9 hectares require the labour of a man for 213.1 days and that of a woman for 86.2 days, so that the farmer is usually glad to find extra occupation when this is likely to bring some recompense.

248 288 The other, textile plants grown in Bulgaria are flax and hemp. Of the latter as much as 2,320,000 kg of filaments were produced in 1934 and it is hoped that even a larger quantity could be locally utilised, if, as is contemplated, hemp were used in place of the 1,200,000 kg of jute yarns and fabrics which are imported. It is affirmed that there are 3367 spindles and 459 looms which could be adapted to the manufacture of textiles from hemp and that they would suffice for this purpose. Over a million kg. of hemp is used annually for the manufacture of cordage and string, and a smaller quantity for hand-woven fabrics. It was stated that there is a surplus of about one million kg of hemp left over from the 1934 crop, and that the production for 1935 will be curtailed. The cost of hemp is reported to be 17 leva per kg and the yield 800 kg and over of filaments and seed per h.

249 258 The oleaginous plants cultivaled are rape seed, mainly exported, and sun flower seed, which is absorbed locally for the production of comestible oil, which has now completely replaced the oils hitherto imported. The oil obtained from sun flower seed il also utilised for industrial purposes and the residue, in the form of seed oil cakes is exported as cattle food. In 1933 of the total crop only 10,768,175 kg., or about 10% was exported, the balance having been bought up by the local oil-crushing mills, while the quantity of seed oil cake exported rea-

CHAPTER 1

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR VILLAGE

000 WINTER had begun. The first snow of the year had fallen. It covered the muddy streets of the village, softening the nakedness of the fruit trees which stood lonely in the bare yards. The wind from Mount Vitosha came whistling down the empty lanes, sending both man and beast to seek protection and warmth. The animals huddled in their thatched folds and shelters; the women and children crowded on the little stools near the fireplace at home. The fall sowing of wheat was in. The fields, wind-swept and snow-laden, were deserted, seemingly forgotten by the men and women who had spent so much time with them during the past months.

512 231 One ordinary day followed another. Every morning the water buffalo had to be groomed until they shone; the oxen had to be cleaned after the night in the dirty stall; these, as well as the sheep, had to be fed. Usually the animals received their meager rations before ten [291] o'clock. Shortly thereafter the men, wearing their dirty-gray sheepskin coats, their brimless lambskin hats, and their pigskin sandals, congregated at the taverns to relieve the monotony of their daily routine. At noon they plodded home to a lunch of beans, looked after the cattle once more, and gave commands to their womenfolk. The rest of the day was spent at the taverns in drinking and talking, interspersed with long, easy silences. After the evening meal, the cattle were fed again. Then the men dropped off to sleep along with the rest of the household.

181 829 The winds and enforced idleness of winter were not alone responsible for the apparent sluggishness on every hand. Slow motion was characteristic of Dragalevtsy life in general, but especially of the bodily movements of the people. *Ima vreme* (there's ~~plenty~~ of time) was either a practical philosophical tenet which explained their lack of hurry or else it was an expression frequently used to rationalize their casual manner. I never saw a peasant with a watch.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

who flatly decreed that his daughter could marry no one but a priest. 159
(Not only are priests well provided for financially, but they can marry 793
only once. This means that they supposedly take exceptionally good 521
care of their mates.) Sava had already completed the commercial gymnasium, had studied for two years in a school for leaders of co-operatives, and planned to attend the university. In order to comply with the demands of his sweetheart's father, however, he interrupted his educational plans long enough to prepare himself for the ecclesiastical examinations, which he passed with credit. He was then assigned to the Dragalevtsy parish. Meanwhile he had married the young lady of his choice. Soon thereafter he obtained leave of absence from his church responsibility in order to complete his work in Finance at the Svoboden (Private) University in Sofia. He was highly respected by the people whom he shepherded and was vitally interested in their welfare.

There were often two or three kibitzers while the intelligentsia 557
played cards. These were lesser officials interested in advancement, or well-to-do peasants who wanted to hobnob with the controlling group. None of these hangers-on had been westernized to the point [291] ●
of wearing a tie, and some of them still wore the heelless, pointed pigskin sandals.

Oddly enough for a Bulgarian village, the veterinarian and 759
physician were both women, who constantly found the patriarchal 562
traditions stumbling blocks to the winning of village support. The medical doctor was a Russian who had spent part of her childhood in San Francisco, but returned to the University of Petrograd for her medical training. After the Revolution she left Russia with her family.

The only other "educated" people in the village were the 875
teachers, eight in number, selected for their posts by outside school authorities rather than by the villagers themselves. Four of the eight had been born outside the pre-Hitler boundaries of Bulgaria, in territories which irredentist Bulgarians sought to recover permanently. Maria, for example, was from Dobruja, which was then a part of Rumania; Anna and Georgi were born in parts of Macedonia which

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

which always seemed picturesque to me, a foreigner. It was Zdravka 000
who told me how the women made their garments.

"Women's clothing is made chiefly by hand and of homemade 294
cloth. In the homes we have very few sewing machines, which only the young girls ~~know how~~ to run. Most of the outer garments for men are made by the village tailor. All of us can do the traditional [531]
embroidery patterns which make our dresses so pretty, but we do not have as much embroidery now as formerly; the old women cannot see to do it and the young people want modern things."

Then Yurdan told what clothing the peasants bought:

"The women buy *zabradki* [pieces of cloth for the head]; every 291
once in a while they also buy some flannel or silken goods, and shoes. The old women wear *kozhusi* [sheepskin coats], for which they provide the hides or buy them ready-made. Men also have to buy these *kozhusi* in addition to headwear called *kalpatsi* [pointed brimless caps], or cheap cloth caps. Many men buy ready-made suits, especially if they are unmarried, for use on holidays. Even they, when working in the fields, go back to the more durable homemade garments which do not tear so easily. They also buy some shirts and sweaters, or *shubi* [short overcoats with fur inside], and shoes. In general the tendency of the younger people is toward city dress."

I asked them why everybody dressed so much alike. Both of 626
them chuckled and told me about the time the daughter-in-law from 291
the wealthiest peasant household, who had spent some time in Sofia, 178
tried to appear in a distinctive style at a Sunday promenade, only to find that the next Sunday many other girls were wearing the same innovation. Zdravka concluded from this incident:

"No, there is not much individuality in dress, for whenever someone gets something new the others copy it. Especially the young unmarried girls try to buy or to make something new so as to attract attention. But all the rest, as soon as they see it, won't take time to eat until they have made the same thing so that the one possessing it will not feel that she is in a higher position than others. It is this which makes the richer girls most angry."

This led to a discussion of how changes of style had come to the village. This is what Yurdan said:

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291 626 178

"Since the World War there has been much change. Men stopped wearing their narrow white trousers which belted below the hips because they saw during the war that pants that belted above the hips were better. The women changed to lighter clothes because a woman from Vladaya [another village] came with others to visit here, married a Dragalevtsy man, and settled here. Other women saw that the clothes she wore were more convenient and began to adopt the new style."

The tailor's customers brought their own cloth. Five or six of the more fashion-minded young women brought dresses from other villages to be copied. A girl before marriage accumulated about twenty black *sukmani* (jumper dresses), all of the same pattern. She wore out about three of these a year. The men had one black and one rough everyday suit.

Much of the cloth was dyed at home by the peasants with the use of commercial dyes. Black was the universal color for men except in the case of the old style white trousers. If any man deviated from this fashion, people said mockingly, "You are a gypsy," thereby reminding him that he had better act like other people or run the risk of additional social disapproval.

291 565

Shoes in Bulgaria were definitely a sign of social rank. *Tsarvulin* or "sandal-wearer," once a common term for farmer or peasant, has been somewhat displaced by *selenin* or "villager." As a matter of fact, most men in Dragalevtsy continued to wear the pigskin sandals, whereas all self-respecting village women possessed a pair of cheap western shoes. Comically enough, they frequently walked barefoot and carried these uncomfortable badges of status. Just the same, these shoes periodically needed the services of a cobbler, who in Dragalevtsy happened to be the youngest married son of Bai Milush, a highly respected peasant proprietor. Three sons, their wives and progeny comprised part of the twenty people living in Bai Milush's patriarchal dwelling. As the land which will someday be divided up among the sons was limited, each son agreed to specialize along some particular line: the oldest was the dairyman, the middle son was the crop expert, and the youngest married son (and, incidentally, the most delicate in health) was a cobbler, whom the family agreed to send to a trade school in Sofia. Because he drove in his wooden pegs with the best of them, he was building up a profitable business in the village.

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2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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"For fuel, people . . . used small branches brought from the village forest up on the mountainside." *See page 23.*

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". . . we use a great deal of bread, which is baked by the women . . . in the ovens standing in the yards. . . ." *See page 26.*

[Facing p. 32]

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THE RISING GENERATION

[Facing p. 81]

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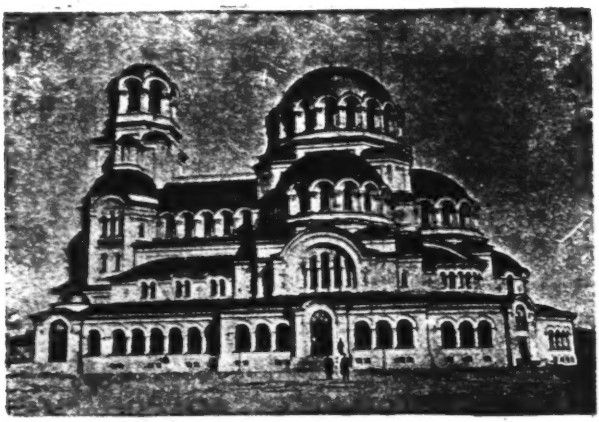

SOFIA: THE ALEX. NEVSKI CHURCH

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A GROUP OF PEASANTS

[facing p. 97]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

544

"The mayor [with his family] was the spearhead in the attack on the old ways." *See page 163.*

291

"Trayko Danev . . . one of the richest peasants in the village." *See page 164.*

[Facing p 161]

Il: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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A PEASANT GIRL PICKING ROSES

[Facing p. 161]

Il: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EEl Bulgaria EEl

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291

A GROUP OF PEASANT WOMEN

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From left to right: D-r T. Yankov, M. Ilia Gheorgov, and the author

[facing p. 257]

342 and the stables; in the mountains there are usually structures with many stories. Formerly the windows used to have wooden sashes that ran along a groove and that one could slide to the side, in place of window
262 panes. The style of life is simple; in the country the herders were often contented with sour milk, and the farmers with maize and millet beer.
231 The raising of livestock specializes in cattle, sheep, and goats, and
[221] takes place in the form of a migratory herding system, which commutes back and forth between the mountains in the summer and the plains
241 in the winter. The agriculture produces wheat, maize, barley, and rye, and in the temperate, nay, even hot, South, it cultivates rice, cotton, and sesame; from here, too, come the olive trees, the citrous
412 trees, and the chestnut trees. The hand mill is mostly used only for salt, other kinds of primitive tools have scarcely been preserved. The threshing sled (Figure 9) came from the Orient; it is made of hard planks that have been bent upward at the front and into which sharp-edged fire-stones have been forced. When it is in use it is weighted down enough by the stones and by the weight of the leader to be able to press out the ears of grain. The rattle board (Figure 15) has its counterparts all over ancient Europe. The sawing frame of the wandering wood cutters is an original invention. It includes a box filled with stones which is fastened by two rods and revolves around a horizontal axis, so that by its weight it supports the backward movement of the
291 saw. Through the universal joy in colors and in ornaments the national dress displays a great deal of variety. The basic elements of the men's clothing are a long, rough shirt with a wide cut which is embroidered with colored wool along the chest opening and along the shoulder; cloth or leather trousers, pleated in the Turkish manner in the east, in the west evenly tight-fitting, with a long woollen waistband; and legging-like calf cloths, as well as sandals; a sleeveless jacket or coat-like upper garment with wool trimmings and laces; a sheep's fur or hooded mantle; a dark and low lambskin cap. The women wear blouses with embroidered and crocheted ornamentation, skirts with belts, firmly woven, embroidered apron skirts, sleeveless vests or sleeve jackets, kerchiefs, headdresses and garlands around their fore-
302 heads with fringe bands covered with coins and hanging far down. The
301 girls wear their hair in from 20 to 30 tresses which are held together just below shoulder level by means of chains or buckles with silver coins and pearls, and which, at the end, are gathered together into one single tress (Figure 1). They also have costly ornaments of little gold and silver plates, as well as of filigree work for which the threads were formerly often taken from ancient coins.

[see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, Cat. 116, p. 59a --- Analyst]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
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Bulgaria EE1
Contemporary Macedonians EE1

A Y 286 291 294

Other alien materials are small pieces of dyed cloth, silk ribbons, silver and gold braids and manufactured lace, often used on the sleeve edges of shirts. These materials were bought in the village shops and markets, and appear to be largely of Austrian and Italian origin; under Turkish rule they were sold in the villages by pedlars.

A Y 291 439

In the South and Albania, where Turkish influence is greater, there is a tendency, especially amongst the women of the towns, to wear garments made from more sumptuous materials so that, in addition to the hand-woven linens, extremely fine muslins of native make are used for shirts and aprons, and silken materials of beautiful quality for girdles, sleeves and the Moslem type of women's trousers. Fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy is also imported for the making of jeleks, giubbas and japangi, and some of the nets used for the large embroidered veils worn by many women, both Catholic and Moslem, are of foreign origin.

Materials used for Embroidery and other Decorative Purposes.

These also fall into two classes, home-made and purchased.

M S 291 294 531

The fine wools, used largely in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Macedonia, for the decorative embroidery of oshvitza, sleeves, woollen coats, aprons and the making of fringes are spun and dyed by the women themselves. Dark brown and black goat's hair is also used in the apron fringes. "Goat's hair was extensively used in the Balkans for weaving market bags, saddle-bags and floor mats in stripes. The goats, clipped in uneven ridges, looked very ridiculous." (M.E.D.).

Ribbons, gold and silver braid and strips of coloured cloth were purchased and used as applique on skirts, head dresses, aprons and caps. In older and finer examples of embroidery, silk was used, and was locally produced and dyed.

B A 291 531

In Albania and the south silk is the usual medium for embroidery, which decorates shirts, muslin aprons and japangi, although on some head scarves from Zadrima and the Bulgarian woman's costume from Monastir, which are decorated in the well-known Turkey red, the material used is cotton or very tightly twisted wool almost like a fine cord. Both silk, woollen and cotton threads are of home production. Amongst the photographs given by Miss Durham is one of a Moslem man spinning silk on a roadside on the outskirts of Scutari (Skodar). Gold thread is much used, and strips of beaten silver and brass are worked into the headings of braids.

A 291 531 294 463

Braiding and cording are amongst the other important forms of decoration, narrow braids and ends of wool, silk and gold thread being hand plaited and twisted. Coats of the sleeveless type, both for men and women, the short jelek, the three-quarter length giubba, and the men's full trousers (Plate V. "f") are often decorated with cords and braids sewn down in beautiful curved designs. The "elaborate embroideries on the japangi and the handsome braided designs are usually the work of men Albanian tailors". (M.E.D.).

A Y 294 386

Until in recent years foreign dyes, imported in small packets, were sold in the shops the women themselves dyed their materials. Most of the examples in this collection have been so coloured with vegetable dyes; black being obtained from ash bark (*Fraxinus excelsia*); green from flowering rush with the addition of copper sulphate which was got from the shops; yellow from sumach (*Rhus cotinus*); red

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SECTION II.

CHAPTER VIII.

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Albania and Southern Yugoslavia. The Costumes worn by Men and Women.

After experiencing nearly five hundred years of Turkish rule it is not surprising to find that much of the costume in Albania and in southern Yugoslavia, which as far north as Pljevlja and Priboj was part of Turkey in Europe until 1913, if not actually Turkish in character shows very strong Turkish influence.

There is also much greater variety in the garments worn by the hill tribes and the peasants and the townsfolk, therefore in the description of those in the collection it has been found advisable to group specimens on some of the Plates so as to give an indication of a complete costume such, for example, as that of the Bulgarian woman from Monastir (Bitolj) (Plate IX), the Catholic woman from Scutari (Plate V) and the essential parts of a woman's dress from Zadrima (Plate X).

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Franz, Baron Nopcsa says that as early as 1912 international European dress had begun to be adopted, more particularly by the men, the young Catholics of Scutari deprecating the older styles, and wearing a combination of European garments with the older head-dress, the fez, and shoes. The younger women also have to some extent discarded the wide trousered skirt and the veil; therefore as all the specimens in this collection belong to the period previous to 1914 they represent native dress when it had its own individuality and, as such, will become increasingly valuable as records.

The following short lists of garments worn by women and men in some of the different districts have been compiled from the collection, and from the works of Baron Nopcsa* and Max Tilke†.

A Catholic woman from Scutari would wear:

(a) A shirt ("kmis") with sleeves, sometimes gathered at the wrist, either short in the body or of three-quarter length.

(b) A full-trousered skirt, often of striped silk, similar to the Moslem example on Plate VIe or "enormous baggy trousers formed of a very wide and much gathered skirt of imported, glazed, purple-black calico, the lower edge of which was sewn together leaving a hole at each corner for the feet. This was not really a trouser, as the legs were not divided, and was very cumbrous" (M.E.D.).

(c) Some form of girdle, either striped silk or a long strip of material with embroidered ends (Plate XVIF).

(d) A sleeveless coat ("giubba") with full skirt reaching to the knees (Plate XIII).

(e) A square of dark or light cloth as a head-dress, or a large net or gauze, embroidered veil, the latter being worn by married women only.

* Franz, Baron Nopcsa: "Albanien, Bauten und Geräte." Berlin, 1935.
† Max Tilke: "The Costume of Eastern Europe." London, 1926.

[Text continues on p. 36]

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Bulgaria EE1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

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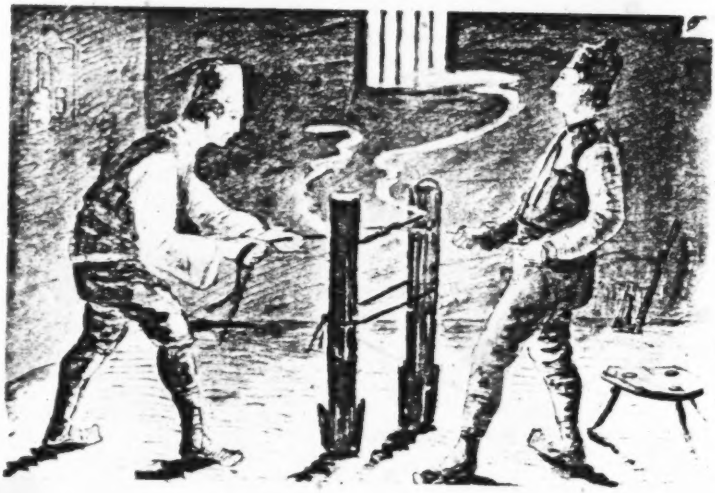

Fire making in Bulgaria and Macedonia
(From drawings by V. Titelbach)

[Facing page 144]

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unless stooped by age. Hands seldom gloved in winter are rough 142
and dirty and calloused. I often thought that one of the strangest things about death was the way it quieted the hands of these simple folk, who, although reserved in demeanor, constantly gestured when they spoke.

I grew accustomed to the mannerisms of the people as well as 527
to the flavor of village life by slow degrees. At first I was attracted 535
most by the gala occasions, or the spectacular. There was the annual Christmas *horo* (folk dance) which provided the first break in the monotony of winter. On a comfortably mild Christmas Day old women and little children, the first to arrive in the main village square, sat in twos and threes waiting for the dancing to begin. Girls in their [301]
Sunday best, with necklaces of gold coins flashing in the sunlight, passed through the square and sang as they walked. They were bareheaded, [392]
since they could not yet wear the married women's head kerchief. As they drew closer, the blotches of rouge, the tremendous earrings, belts laden with clinking silver pieces, and heavy bracelets showed that the girls considered this no ordinary holiday. They formed a line, side by side, and began the dance after persuading the gypsy musicians to strike up a tune; one by one the boys who had come out of the taverns joined the moving line: one step to the right, one step to the left, then three steps to the right, kicking high as they stepped. As the dancing progressed, many married women participated, while the married men looked on with condescending interest. The little children, dressed like miniature adults, gathered on the fringes of the crowd to imitate the dancers. Gossiping groups formed, buzzed, and then dissolved to form anew.

A commotion arose in the center of the square as two young men fought over the cane which was carried by the leader of the *horo*. The leader was supposed to pay the musicians for the dances he led, in exchange for which he could direct the dancers in a serpentine movement, always in step with the music, so that they wound in and out with a "crack-the-whip" at every major bend of the line. To the peasant, the boisterous physical activity gives an exhilaration little else can induce. In fact, some of the "young blades" at this *horo* were so carried away with animal spirits that they performed six or seven steps

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585 were busily preparing the big meal to be served after the church ceremony every now and then rushed out with something for me to taste, with the groom's father insisting that I sample some of the choice wine or brandy purchased just for the wedding.

535 585 [186] The dance I had come to see did not begin until afternoon. It lacked the enthusiasm which I had learned to anticipate, but was nevertheless colorful: the girls and women wore their most beautiful costumes; the men were neatly dressed, some in army uniforms; the leader of the *horo* carried the Bulgarian flag of white, green, and red, taking care that it did not catch in the overhanging branches. (In time of war the colors are reversed with the red bar on top.) This dance really was the prelude to the gay procession which headed for the church about two-thirty. First came the musicians with their battered instruments; then the principals of the wedding, followed by the guests. The flag was there, as well as Bulgarian tricolor sashes over the shoulders of the men.

585 292 Ordinarily the bride was a gay figure in the procession, her somber black overdress brightened with huge silver belt buckles and cherished strings of thin gold coins handed down for generations from mother to daughter. Hair and face shining with cleanliness, she moved in her wedding procession, happy, although considerably confused by her prominent position. But this particular bride had no ornaments—(Had her parents refused to send them?)—except a flower over her ear and the usual short, coarse white veil on her head. She did have on real leather shoes, instead of the customary pigskin sandals, but that was the only elaboration of her costume. It was hard to get her to smile for her picture; but when her new brother and sister each took an arm to encourage her, the broad, rather dull face suddenly lit up and a pair of beautiful dark eyes looked shyly at my camera.

585 All the village turned out to see the procession pass. Swarms of children came racing down the principal streets at the sound of the music. Once we had entered the churchyard I learned that they were there to scramble for the candy and coins which were thrown in the air along with rice to symbolize sweetness, wealth, and productivity. But this came at the end of the ceremony, and the children stood

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585 had no important part to play, and, of course, the parents of the bride did not attend because of the distance.

The musicians began to play as soon as they saw the people coming from the church, and the procession formed again and went back to the groom's home over a different route, for it was considered unlucky to retrace the route. Back at the house a *horo* began with the liveliness I had always associated with the wedding dances. While many of the guests danced, others with special invitations went into the house to eat what had been so laboriously prepared over open hearths and sheet metal stoves. About dark the young couple were led to their room and left alone with the best man on guard by the door. An old custom, now falling into disuse, required the groom after intercourse to present the undergarment of the bride to the best man as a proof of her virginity. In the old days this was passed from guest to guest in a flour sieve so that all could be personally assured of the fact. But in the case of this young couple that custom was not observed. Word did get around that the groom was satisfied with his bride; if he had not been, then she could have been sent home in disgrace and the wedding called off—that is, provided he had not been guilty of previous incontinence with her. The groom's parents in their joy passed "sweet brandy" around for all the guests to drink.

Early in the morning the bride came out for the rest of the ceremonies. She was taken to the chopping block underneath the nut tree to demonstrate her ability to wield the axe. The godmother then took her bridal veil, wound it on a stick, and touched some of the other village girls in the belief that they would soon get married. [292] In place of the veil the godmother tied a kerchief, brown in this case, over the girl's head to show that the wearer was married. The bride was then sent to the fountain for water of which all had to drink. The musicians were aroused from their befuddled sleep and told to strike up some lively music; the blaring horns and the beating drum woke the whole neighborhood, and then the whole village, as another procession began. This time all were headed for a wedding breakfast at Bai Penko's tavern, where they sat outside, just beneath my window. The first thing I noticed was the brown kerchief which, with the cheap

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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"The musicians [here a *gayda* or bagpipe player] began to play as soon as they saw the people coming from the church." *See page 90.*

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"A village bride . . . wearing cherished strings of thin gold coins handed down . . . from mother to daughter." *See page 88.*

[Facing p. 96]

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". . . the carolers sang. Trayko's mother puts on the staff . . . doughnut-shaped pieces of bread prepared for this purpose . . ." *See page 108.*

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"*Lazarki* groups . . . went from house to house to sing and dance in honor of the resurrection of Lazarus . . ." *See page 110.*

[Facing p. 113]

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Some indication of the pattern of the stitchery is given at "a" on Plate VIII, where the parts left white are covered with the gold braid.

The glitter of the metal tubes and sequins, the gold braid and the beads upon so heavily worked a background produces a very handsome effect.

No. 1935-66. This is another odd sleeve from Resna (Resan) made of imported cotton cloth, and decorated with a number of small embroidered squares arranged very similarly to those on sleeve No. 1937-67 (Plate VIIIB). The sleeve "was stolen as loot by soldiers during the insurrection of 1903" (M.E.D.) and purchased by Miss Durham in the following year.

It measures 20 inches (50·8 cm.) by 8¼ inches (20·9 cm.) when made up, and has at the wrist edge a border of nineteen small squares, each measuring about three-quarters of an inch, with two shorter rows above of thirteen and eleven respectively, on the upper side of the sleeve.

The squares are solidly worked in half cross-stitch, with an outline pattern in black, two tiny squares of yellow and two right-angled lines of green along the outer edges. The whole of the ground is worked in red, and at "C" on Plate VIII the use of the colours is indicated heraldically.

The extreme edge is hemmed and blanket-stitched in red.

No. 1935-67. An odd sleeve from Monastir (Bitolj) made of a heavy, hand-woven cotton cloth is embroidered in a tightly twisted, two-ply thread of vivid scarlet. It measures 20 inches (50·8 cm.) by 8½ inches (21·6 cm.) when made up, and along the wrist edge there is a border of seven 2-inch squares (Plate VIIIB). Each square has an outline pattern worked in cross-stitch in indigo blue and green with a row of scarlet back stitching between, the rest of the square being entirely covered by rows of half cross-stitch in red (Plate VIIIc).

Above the seven squares at the wrist a block of six and another of five produce a sort of panel effect.

At the extreme edge of the sleeve a row of buttonholing is worked into what appears to be a closely whipped edge of stitchery.

The arrangement of the pattern and the rich scarlet colour give the sleeve an Oriental appearance.

CHAPTER XI.

A Bulgar Woman's Garments from Monastir (Bitolj).

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No. 1935-63. An example of the long type of shirt mentioned in Chapter X (A), which renders a separate skirt unnecessary, is shown on Plate IX at "A" where the principal decorative parts of the festival dress of a Bulgar woman from Monastir are given. These were collected by Miss Durham when on relief work after the insurrection against the Turkish government in the winter of 1903.

This very handsome garment is made of a heavy, hand-woven cloth that has the appearance of Russian crash, the thread is unevenly spun and it is this irregularity which is responsible for the effect. The weave is tabby with 36 warps and 32 weft picks to the inch. The garment is magyar in shape, just like the short shirt on Plate I, with shaped gores at the sides which widen from six inches at the armhole to ten inches at the hem.

[Text continues on page 45]

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PLATE IX.—A Bulgar woman's costume from Bitolj (late Monastir). A, The long shirt. B, The head-dress. C, The apron (Part shown).

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Bulgaria EE1

The sleeves are just rectangular pieces of cloth of its full width, 19 inches, and are joined by a run and fell seam which is arranged just above the opening under the arm at the back. B 292 286 531

As will be seen from the illustration, the decoration is placed where the wear is greatest, so it has an economical as well as an ornamental purpose.

The work is executed in petit-point stitch, the pattern being worked in crimson and the background filled in with Turkey red or scarlet. As can be seen from the drawing, at the bottom of the front-opening where the pattern is not completed (probably because it came under the apron and so would not show) the design is first outlined in black in double-running stitch, so that both right and wrong sides are alike, and is then filled in with petit-point.

The edges of the sleeves are finished off by a ladder-stitch with a chain edge on either side, and the hem is neatened and strengthened by being closely oversewn with scarlet thread. The equal-armed Greek cross is used around the hem except at the seams, where a variety of palmette, similar again to Greek pattern, disguises the seam for about four inches.

The chief motive on the sleeve is an equal armed cross with re-entrant angles at the ends of the arms. Many of the small motives filling in the spaces are rayed. Occasionally small spots of the white background, with tiny crosses on them, break the surface of solid red stitchery, and between the panel and the sleeve borders is a raised row of closely worked chain-stitch. The embroidery is all done in strong, finely spun wool.

"The body over the shirt is girthed with a hempen cord, wound round and round, and with the end twisted up in front. It forms a stiff and cumbrous sort of corset. The women declared they could not stand up without it." (M.E.D.). A buckle such as that shown on Plate XV at "H" (No. 1939-1) was attached in front. C

Miss Durham says, in speaking of the relief work she was doing at the time, "When I was on relief work visiting large numbers of burnt villages where the inhabitants camped in holes in the ground and under rough hovels, one of my jobs was to deal out clothing material, as most people had only what they stood up in. We obtained a large quantity of shirt material. I cut it into lengths and dealt it out to the refugees who came to fetch it. After several weeks I visited a village expecting to see the women in new garments. Not a bit of it; they were in filthy rags as before. I asked what had become of the shirt stuff. It was, they said, such good stuff it would have to be for best clothes. They had got as far as outlining the embroidery patterns, and were beginning to fill it in. But I was assured it would be months before the things were done." B 731 292 747

No. 1935-65. This handsome head scarf, which is worn with its ends down the back, is made of the same material as the shirt, with the addition of some imported gold lace, gold thread and beads (Plate IXB). B 292 531

For the length of 50 inches (127 cm.) the scarf has a border of hexagons and triangles worked in petit-point in two shades of red, outlined and rayed in black (Fig. 6 "a"). A ladder-stitch with chain edges finishes off the hem, and is edged by a row of two black and two white beads used alternately.

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Bulgaria EE8

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At either end of the strip of cloth a handsome panel, 9½ inches (24·1 cm.) deep, of tapestry weaving in the two shades of red and gold thread, is attached. The design of large lozenges filled with smaller ones in gold thread matches the general scheme of the apron. One end panel is more elaborately finished than the other, and has a scalloped bead border in red, white and black beads, whereas the other only has a straight edge of black and white beads grouped in fours.

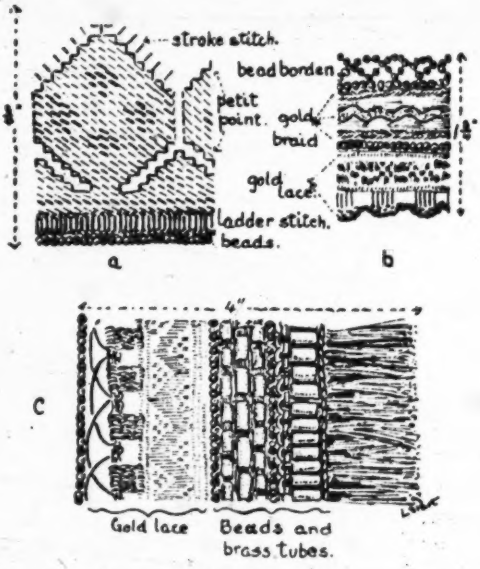

FIG. 6.—a, Detail of border on scarf. b, Border to panel on scarf. c, Border on apron.

Inside the bead edging (Fig. 6 " b ") on the more elaborate end are a row of plaited gold braid, a row of wavy gold braid, another row of plaited gold, a row of black and white beads and then a gold braid with a lace edge in gold. Joined to the bottom edge of the panel is a fringe, 16 inches (40·6 cm.) in length, of tightly twisted cords in red and crimson, headed by white beads and little flattened tubes of brass similar to those on the sleeve from Monastir figured on Plate VIII at " b ". On this end also brass sequins are used to make the centre of each lozenge.

No. 1935-64. The festival apron which goes with the shirt and head-dress is a very heavy, but most gorgeous affair in scarlet, crimson and gold, with touches of a rich dark brown (Plate IXc).

It is a fine example of tapestry weaving. The design is one of large lozenges, subdivided into smaller ones some of which are rayed, the pattern being in crimson on a scarlet background. Each small lozenge is centred by a cross in gold thread, and diagonal lines in gold thread also separate the smaller lozenges.

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An elaborate border surrounds the apron which is edged all round with a row of fringe, about an inch in width, in red and browns, but at the lower edge by two additional rows of short fringe in scarlet and crimson, and then a four inch fringe of scarlet backed with brown, having a handsome wrapped heading three-quarters of an inch deep. 292 286 531

The heading of the first narrow fringe is of strip brass made into flattened tubes round bunches of the threads, next to this comes a row of black and white beads, then three rows of brass tubes used like long beads, a three-quarter inch band of gold braid with an open lace edging of gold measuring another half inch. The whole border is finished off by another row of alternate black and white beads (Fig. 6 " c ").

At the lower edge of the apron as shown at " C " on Plate IX two more rows of the gold braid are added as well as the deeper fringe. All this heavy work at the lower edge of the apron is strengthened at the back by pieces of felt at the corners and a broad woven black and white braid above the top row of the fringe.

In addition to these garments the woman might wear a jelek and, for out-of-doors, a fairly long white woollen coat with more embroidery or braiding.

CHAPTER XII.

Some Garments from Zadrima.

A
The group of specimens illustrated on Plate X are the more decorative parts of the attire of a peasant woman from Zadrima, a town near Scutari, on the River Drin. The colouring is predominantly Turkey red with touches of yellow, white (either as background or ornament), a little green and a little dark blue. 291 286 531

In addition to those articles shown there would be a shirt with decorated oshvitza, perhaps with the opening as a cross-over, and a full skirt of heavy material.

No. 1935-28. The jelek (Plate XA and B), which was worn over the shirt, has a foundation of a diagonally woven cotton cloth, like a twill, which from the irregularity of the weaving appears to be of home production. This is stiffened with parchment or some similar substance and lined with a fine imported, slightly glazed calico.

The garment is 12 inches (30·5 cm.) deep and 17 inches (43·2 cm.) wide, and has two added flaps of scarlet felt in the front which are decorated with half buttons of gilded brass.

It is bordered, and the back divided into panels by an inch wide band of plaited braids made up alternately of three square plaited red braids each having eight strands, and four variegated braids in red, yellow, white and black consisting of four red, two black, two red and two yellow strands. Eight of the threads in the latter are used as two groups of four for cores over which the other two are plaited, a new colour pair being taken from the core as required. Inside the plaited border round the neck and down the front a bright strip of gold and scarlet ribbon is applied, this is represented by the dotted band in Plate XA and B.

The two shaped panels in the front are ornamented by lines and an Ionic wave pattern made by sewing down side by side a scarlet and a yellow cord.

[Text continues on page 49]

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The artisans, though few in number, comprised a third occupational group. Just because their knowledge and special skill raised them above the ordinary peasant, these artisans in no sense of the word walked in the rarified atmosphere of the intelligentsia. In 1937 the people of Dragalevtsy supported one blacksmith, one full-time and two part-time tailors, a cobbler, and a barber. Of course, the six or seven Dragalevtsy men who went to Sofia every day to ply a skilled trade were enumerated in the census but had little connection with the economy of the village. The few tradesmen were identified more with the agricultural group than with the artisans.

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One of the most picturesque characters in the village was Iliya, the smith. Dark-complexioned, sturdy of frame, with his stolid face weighed down by enormous mustaches, he was far too forbidding in countenance to attract the village children to his small establishment behind Bai Penko's tavern. In fact, customers often had to look for him in the tavern, where he consumed record-breaking quantities of liquor. In his sober moods he and his two apprentices occasionally worked fourteen hours at a stretch to finish up some much-needed job. The three of them combined wagon-repairing with blacksmithing, working at the lathe almost as frequently as at the anvil. However, frequent preoccupation with hinges, wagon bolts, horseshoes, plowshares, and wheel rims gave Iliya a fair claim to being a *kovach,* or smith. So did his master smith's certificate hanging on the wall.

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Yurdan, the leading tailor, was another artisan. He and his wife Zdravka were a unique couple in that they were the only Dragalevtsy people to become involved in divorce proceedings within recent years. To be sure, Zdravka withdrew her petition for divorce soon after it reached the high church court, which, rather than civil bodies, then decided upon all matters pertaining to marriage. Yurdan had a small but well equipped workroom attached to his trim little house. Although Dragalevtsy-born, he worked for twelve years in Sofia as an apprentice and *maistor,* later becoming the first tailor to set up business in Dragalevtsy.

I often went to converse with Yurdan and Zdravka, for I found them both loquacious and inclined to be objective in their views of village life. I questioned them in particular about the peasant costumes, which always seemed picturesque to me a foreigner. It was Zdravka who told me how the women made their garments.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

which always seemed picturesque to me, a foreigner. It was Zdravka 000
who told me how the women made their garments.

"Women's clothing is made chiefly by hand and of homemade 294
cloth. In the homes we have very few sewing machines, which only the young girls know how to run. Most of the outer garments for men are made by the village tailor. All of us can do the traditional [531]
embroidery patterns which make our dresses so pretty, but we do not have as much embroidery now as formerly; the old women cannot see to do it and the young people want modern things."

Then Yurdan told what clothing the peasants bought:

"The women buy *zabradki* [pieces of cloth for the head]; every 291
once in a while they also buy some flannel or silken goods, and shoes. The old women wear *kozhusi* [sheepskin coats], for which they provide the hides or buy them ready-made. Men also have to buy these *kozhusi* in addition to headwear called *kalpatsi* [pointed brimless caps], or cheap cloth caps. Many men buy ready-made suits, especially if they are unmarried, for use on holidays. Even they, when working in the fields, go back to the more durable homemade garments which do not tear so easily. They also buy some shirts and sweaters, or *shubi* [short overcoats with fur inside], and shoes. In general the tendency of the younger people is toward city dress."

I asked them why everybody dressed so much alike. Both of 626
them chuckled and told me about the time the daughter-in-law from 291
the wealthiest peasant household, who had spent some time in Sofia, 178
tried to appear in a distinctive style at a Sunday promenade, only to find that the next Sunday many other girls were wearing the same innovation. Zdravka concluded from this incident:

"No, there is not much individuality in dress, for whenever someone gets something new the others copy it. Especially the young unmarried girls try to buy or to make something new so as to attract attention. But all the rest, as soon as they see it, won't take time to eat until they have made the same thing so that the one possessing it will not feel that she is in a higher position than others. It is this which makes the richer girls most angry."

This led to a discussion of how changes of style had come to the village. This is what Yurdan said:

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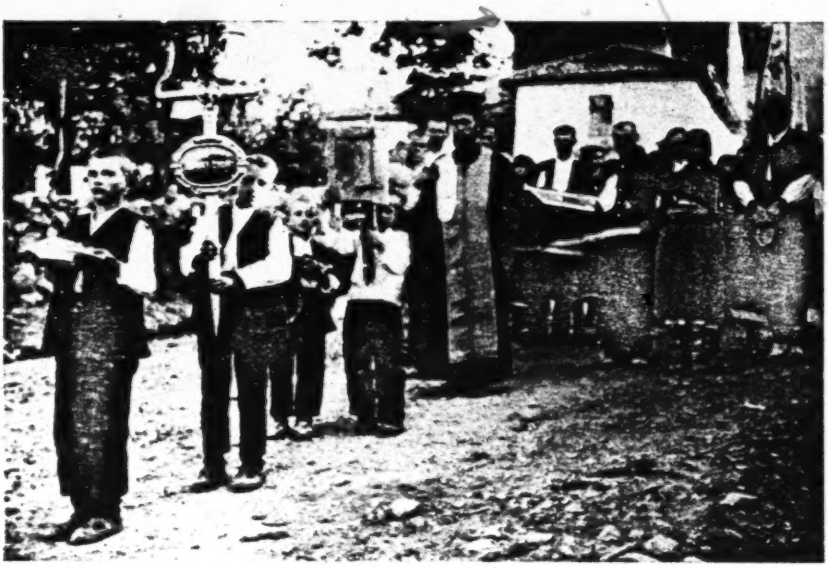

"The procession . . . was led by a boy carrying . . . boiled wheat to be placed on the grave." *See page 38.*

296

"Many times we carry clothes to the river . . . where we pound them with the *buhalka.*" *See page 39.*

[Facing p. 33]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Thus the house became a home. Birth and death took their turn, so that every square foot of the small dwelling held its special memories. Over in that corner Ivanche was born; that stool by the bed was the one great-grandmother sat on many hours each day until her death at 102 years of age. She was the one who told the children the fascinating stories about dragons, who were "human beings like the rest of us but had wings in their armpits." She always enjoyed telling the legend about the lazy woman back in the days when people did not have to bring wood home from the forest in a wagon but simply tied the wood together in a bundle, whipped it, and sent it home by itself. It seems that the lazy woman was not content with this simple expedient, but after tying the pieces of wood together sat on top the bundle in the hope it would carry her home. God became so angry at this presumption that He forbade the wood to go home any longer under its own power. Henceforth it had to be taken home in a wagon.

Not far from the iconostas was a faded photograph, the only one in the room, of Peter and his bride Tsveta. Peter was the oldest son, and soon after his marriage in 1917 left for the army, never to return from the battlefield. Tsveta of course was married again, three months after his death, to a man from Bistritsa who needed an efficient housekeeper.

But not all of the life at the homestead took place indoors. The walled-in yard was also the scene of many family experiences. In fact, so many of the household processes went on outside in warm weather that the grass was completely worn away. I once asked a woman doing her washing out in the yard where she preferred to do that job. She replied:

"Clothes are washed with soap and hot water, and since we do not have special places for washing we do it in the living room in bad weather, or in the yard in good weather. Many times we carry the clothes to the river, but even there we heat water for rinsing. We pound the clothes with the *buhalka* [heavy wooden paddle] and wash not only our underclothes, but our outer garments as well, with the exception of the leather *kozhusi* [jackets]." She also volunteered in-

296 formation as to wash days: "We wash twice a week: on Monday and Wednesday, or on Wednesday and Saturday."

351 Many of the yards still had the threshing floor, reminiscent of Old Testament days. This could be located by a forlorn post which seemed to be serving no useful purpose. In the fall great quantities of drying wool hung from the clotheslines; and a little later the family piled in the yard the winter supply of wood from the forest.

342 The eaves of the house, deep as they were, sheltered such things as strings of drying peppers and ears of corn; milk utensils hung beneath them practically the year round; even the scythes and wooden hayforks found frequent lodging there. Storks nested in the trees and chimneys. With the coming of the warmer weather the sheep left their folds in the yards for the pastures, and the shepherd took with him his wattled shelter, which he moved on sleds across the grassy meadows.

[789] In many yards a heavy, large-wheeled wagon stood near the
351 primitive sheds for the animals and the ever-present strawstack. If the peasants were unusually superstitious, there would be dabs of blue paint on the wagon to keep the Evil Eye away. When the weather
231 was nice there were usually children at play in the yard. Upon seeing
609 a visitor they added their lusty shouts to the ominous barking of the dogs. They chased the dogs away from the gate by throwing sticks and stones at them, and at the same time warned the visitor to be on the alert. Far too often the dogs sneaked up behind to nip an ankle of the unsuspecting visitor.

247 The yards had few flowers, because chickens of a nondescript
351 variety pecked freely throughout the premises. One or two scraggly trees, from which the children shook most of the fruit before it had
735 time to ripen, stood in a corner wistfully seeking to give a touch of
511 beauty to the scene. In the spring the blossoms of such trees made the village bright, but when the fruit and leaves were gone the bare, black skeletons of the trees fitted in only too well with the poverty and sternness of village life. Poor land, inefficiently tilled, contributed to this poverty. Although the peasants worked hard in their fields, they had little cash on hand after selling their crops and paying their debts. Home improvements were postponed from year to year, but the hard work kept on just the same.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

unless stooped by age. Hands seldom gloved in winter are rough 142
and dirty and calloused. I often thought that one of the strangest things about death was the way it quieted the hands of these simple folk, who, although reserved in demeanor, constantly gestured when they spoke.

I grew accustomed to the mannerisms of the people as well as 527
to the flavor of village life by slow degrees. At first I was attracted 535
most by the gala occasions, or the spectacular. There was the annual Christmas *horo* (folk dance) which provided the first break in the monotony of winter. On a comfortably mild Christmas Day old women and little children, the first to arrive in the main village square, sat in twos and threes waiting for the dancing to begin. Girls in their [301]
Sunday best, with necklaces of gold coins flashing in the sunlight, passed through the square and sang as they walked. They were bareheaded, [292]
since they could not yet wear the married women's head kerchief. As they drew closer, the blotches of rouge, the tremendous earrings, belts laden with clinking silver pieces, and heavy bracelets showed that the girls considered this no ordinary holiday. They formed a line, side by side, and began the dance after persuading the gypsy musicians to strike up a tune; one by one the boys who had come out of the taverns joined the moving line: one step to the right, one step to the left, then three steps to the right, kicking high as they stepped. As the dancing progressed, many married women participated, while the married men looked on with condescending interest. The little children, dressed like miniature adults, gathered on the fringes of the crowd to imitate the dancers. Gossiping groups formed, buzzed, and then dissolved to form anew.

A commotion arose in the center of the square as two young men fought over the cane which was carried by the leader of the *horo*. The leader was supposed to pay the musicians for the dances he led, in exchange for which he could direct the dancers in a serpentine movement, always in step with the music, so that they wound in and out with a "crack-the-whip" at every major bend of the line. To the peasant, the boisterous physical activity gives an exhilaration little else can induce. In fact, some of the "young blades" at this *horo* were so carried away with animal spirits that they performed six or seven steps

342 and the stables; in the mountains there are usually structures with many
stories. Formerly the windows used to have wooden sashes that ran
along a groove and that one could slide to the side, in place of window
262 panes. The style of life is simple; in the country the herders were often
contented with sour milk, and the farmers with maize and millet beer.
231 The raising of livestock specializes in cattle, sheep, and goats, and
[221] takes place in the form of a migratory herding system, which commutes
back and forth between the mountains in the summer and the plains
241 in the winter. The agriculture produces wheat, maize, barley, and
rye, and in the temperate, nay, even hot, South, it cultivates rice,
cotton, and sesame; from here, too, come the olive trees, the citrous
412 trees, and the chestnut trees. The hand mill is mostly used only for
salt, other kinds of primitive tools have scarcely been preserved. The
threshing sled (Figure 9)* came from the Orient; it is made of hard
planks that have been bent upward at the front and into which sharp-
edged fire-stones have been forced. When it is in use it is weighted
down enough by the stones and by the weight of the leader to be able
to press out the ears of grain. The rattle board (Figure 15)* has its
counterparts all over ancient Europe. The sawing frame of the wandering
wood cutters is an original invention. It includes a box filled with
stones which is fastened by two rods and revolves around a horizontal
axis, so that by its weight it supports the backward movement of the
291 saw. Through the universal joy in colors and in ornaments the national
dress displays a great deal of variety. The basic elements of the men's
clothing are a long, rough shirt with a wide cut which is embroidered
with colored wool along the chest opening and along the shoulder;
cloth or leather trousers, pleated in the Turkish manner in the east,
in the west evenly tight-fitting, with a long woollen waistband; and
legging-like calf cloths, as well as sandals; a sleeveless jacket or
coat-like upper garment with wool trimmings and laces; a sheep's fur
or hooded mantle; a dark and low lambskin cap. The women wear
blouses with embroidered and crocheted ornamentation, skirts with
belts, firmly woven, embroidered apron skirts, sleeveless vests or
sleeve jackets, kerchiefs, headdresses and garlands around their fore-
302 heads with fringe bands covered with coins and hanging far down. The
301 girls wear their hair in from 20 to 30 tresses which are held together
just below shoulder level by means of chains or buckles with silver
coins and pearls, and which, at the end, are gathered together into
one single tress (Figure 1). They also have costly ornaments of little
gold and silver plates, as well as of filigree work for which the threads
were formerly often taken from ancient coins.

*[see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a --- Analyst]

000 hurry or else it was an expression frequently used to rationalize their casual manner. I never saw a peasant with a watch.

101 These quiet people of Dragalevtsy, whose way of life is not very different from that of peasants throughout the Balkans, are more than just Bulgarian peasants who arose in the seventh century from a dash of Tartar added to a predominantly Slavic mixture. They are a special breed of Bulgarians called *Shopi,* a term originally meaning boorish. That is, a *Shop* was a bumpkin. Some authorities say that this term was derived from *sop,* the long staff which the men of this area carried. Since those living in the *Shopsko* area, or the immediate vicinity of Sofia and Mount Vitosha, are in general more conservative than villagers elsewhere in Bulgaria, the word *Shopi* also carried the idea [144] of backwardness and mental simplicity. Among the many attempts to explain the special physical characteristics of these people, the most plausible theory is that of descent from the Pechenegi, or Mongolian tribesmen who infiltrated into that section of Bulgaria and nearby eastern Serbia in the eleventh century. Historians deal none too kindly with these Pechenegi; nor do the *Shopi* receive many compliments in contemporary accounts. Even their physical appearance is considered unattractive by many other Bulgarians.

142 From faces naturally swarthy, further darkened and weather-beaten by sun, rain, and biting winds, the small round eyes of Asia stare through one without giving an inkling of the impression registered. In the thin-lipped mouths of the young the teeth are gleaming white; beneath the drooping mustaches of middle-aged men teeth show yellowish in a rare childlike smile; and toothless gums accompany the gray stubbly beards of the old. Straight, prominent noses lend [302] ruggedness rather than beauty; the customary clipping of the scraggly black hair of the men reveals wrinkled, leathery necks; the hair of the women is worn in braids down the back, and hangs from beneath a kerchief that covers the top of the head. Here, too, age is clearly marked. The glossy, thick braids of the girls all too soon become, with advancing years, dull and thin and are often pieced out with other, brighter hair. The men are of medium height. Because their shoulders are so broad and their chests so powerful, their short, sturdy legs seem out of proportion. The women, slightly shorter, walk erect

342 and the stables; in the mountains there are usually structures with many stories. Formerly the windows used to have wooden sashes that ran along a groove and that one could slide to the side, in place of window
262 panes. The style of life is simple; in the country the herders were often contented with sour milk, and the farmers with maize and millet beer.
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[221] takes place in the form of a migratory herding system, which commutes back and forth between the mountains in the summer and the plains
241 in the winter. The agriculture produces wheat, maize, barley, and rye, and in the temperate, nay, even hot, South, it cultivates rice, cotton, and sesame; from here, too, come the olive trees, the citrous
412 trees, and the chestnut trees. The hand mill is mostly used only for salt, other kinds of primitive tools have scarcely been preserved. The threshing sled (Figure 9) came from the Orient; it is made of hard planks that have been bent upward at the front and into which sharp-edged fire-stones have been forced. When it is in use it is weighted down enough by the stones and by the weight of the leader to be able to press out the ears of grain. The rattle board (Figure 15) has its counterparts all over ancient Europe. The sawing frame of the wandering wood cutters is an original invention. It includes a box filled with stones which is fastened by two rods and revolves around a horizontal axis, so that by its weight it supports the backward movement of the
291 saw. Through the universal joy in colors and in ornaments the national dress displays a great deal of variety. The basic elements of the men's clothing are a long, rough shirt with a wide cut which is embroidered with colored wool along the chest opening and along the shoulder; cloth or leather trousers, pleated in the Turkish manner in the east, in the west evenly tight-fitting, with a long woollen waistband; and legging-like calf cloths, as well as sandals; a sleeveless jacket or coat-like upper garment with wool trimmings and laces; a sheep's fur or hooded mantle; a dark and low lambskin cap. The women wear blouses with embroidered and crocheted ornamentation, skirts with belts, firmly woven, embroidered apron skirts, sleeveless vests or sleeve jackets, kerchiefs, headdresses and garlands around their fore-
302 heads with fringe bands covered with coins and hanging far down. The
301 girls wear their hair in from 20 to 30 tresses which are held together just below shoulder level by means of chains or buckles with silver coins and pearls, and which, at the end, are gathered together into one single tress (Figure 1). They also have costly ornaments of little gold and silver plates, as well as of filigree work for which the threads were formerly often taken from ancient coins.

*[see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, Cat. 116, p. 59a --- Analyst]

274 sumption of wine is about 23 litres per capita yearly, as against 153 in France and 101 in Italy. Owners of vineyards were complaining that they could not meet their expenses as grapes grown for wine were a drug on the market. It was stated in the Sobranye on Dec. 8. 1931 that while revenue from vineyards was 600 millions, expenditure on them was 720 million leva, while the capital they represented was 13,000 million.

245 [242] [439] Concurrently with the vine, orchard planting has received a great impetus, the State having established 39 nurseries and experimental stations from which young fruit trees are supplied to farmers at a nominal price. Apples and plums are being exported in increasing quantities, as well as walnuts, of which 2083 tons were exported in 1934. The area occupied by orchards was stated to be 19,420 hectares in 1932, of which 12,030 hectares were planted with plum trees, 919 with apple trees, 122 with pear trees and 6,349 were described as mixed orchards.

247 303 [439] Bulgaria is renowned for its attar of roses; unfortunately the world crisis has affected to a great extent this industry, and the area planted with rose bushes (6800 hectares in 1931) is consequently being reduced since the export of this product has declined from 3,157 kg. valued at 240 million leva in 1928, to 1218 kg. valued at 36 millions in 1934. Consequently a surplus stock of some 3000 kg. has accumulated and this has affected prices, which from 80,000 leva per kg. in 1932, have declined since to about a third of that figure One of the reasons of this falling off in the quantity exported, is the relative high cost of the attar of roses, due most likely to the unduly large amount of capital invested in the distilleries, the capacity of which is disproportionately great to the roses available for distillation, and which moreover work for only one month in the year. In fact, the 32 distilleries which were operating in 1931 were stated to have cost

145 million leva, of which 64 millions were represented by machinery and buildings while their output for the year was given as 1,773 kg. of attar of roses, estimated at 43,876,966 leva. It would be well if the cultivation of other aromatic plants were fostered in the valley of roses, in order that the existing distilleries could be more rationally utilised. M. Gheorghiev, the capable director of the Kazanlik State experimental station assured the writer that about forty such plants had been experimentally grown for a number of years and had given excellent results, among the most easily acclimatized were the *mentha piperita*, the hyssop, lavender, verbena and especially the pyrethrum, from which, as it is known, insecticides are manufactured. This certainly confirms a very witty remark made by the well known economist, T. At. Yaranov, namely, that every plant and animal which had been brought over from its native habitat into Bulgaria had thrived better, and improved by the change, he was sceptical however as to whether this generalisation held good for the genus „homo sapiens" about which he would not confidently assert that those of its members who had come over from the banks of the Volga, were as good as those who had remained behind!

A branch of agriculture in which Bulgarians excel is market gardening. Not only vegetables grown in Bulgaria are equal, if not superior to those grown in France and Italy, but Bulgarian gardeners have for years emigrated to adjoining countries, as well as to Russia before the revolution, and undertaken in these countries the growing of vegetables on a large scale, as the following excerpt from the Czechoslovak nerspaper, the *Prajka Zadgradnitska Boursa—Slovo* of May 14, 1932 testifies:

The Bulgarians have done us this great service that they taught us how to grow vegetables on our own soil. What our vegetable specialists were unable to

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

a trade school in Sofia. Because he drove in his wooden pegs with the best of them, he was building up a profitable business in the village. 000

Barbers stayed only a short while in Dragalevtsy. One from Sofia opened up a shop on the main square with high hopes, but his white coat and swanky airs attracted only a few intelligentsia and summer residents, and practically none of the peasants. The barber that seemed to enjoy the most popularity during his erratic visits to the village frequented the taverns. When his services were in demand, he pulled the victim's chair to a corner where he set to work in view of the general public. His mellow tenor voice, none the worse for his imbibing, brought him more trade than his ability as a barber. 305

Other artisans were even more itinerant than the barbers. The *maistori* (contractors, master builders) came to the village whenever a building was to be put up. One day in the fall of 1934, upon arriving in Renaissance Square I was amazed to see a shirt and a flag flying atop the highest beam of the then unfinished Obshtina, or municipal building. I heard a powerful voice calling out: 331

"Half a gallon of wine from Ivan Stoynov! May there be as many blessings in his house as there are ants in the field; may his joys be as numerous as the leaves on the trees."

The voice paused for a minute or two, perhaps for the owner to sample the wine, but soon rang out again substituting "two pairs of stockings" for the "half a gallon of wine" in the chant about the ants in the field and the leaves on the trees. I soon learned that the villagers had chosen this day to carry out the traditional practice of bringing presents to the master builder for distribution to his workmen, who were dutifully acknowledging the gifts in the accepted manner.

The tinsmiths usually were gypsies who spent a few days each year in Dragalevtsy. In spite of their low social position they performed a useful task in keeping the pots and kettles serviceable year in and year out. 326

My growing acquaintance with the people and the work they did helped me to sense the atmosphere of Dragalevtsy life. But I soon began to feel, with the peasants, the dominance of the great mountain 133

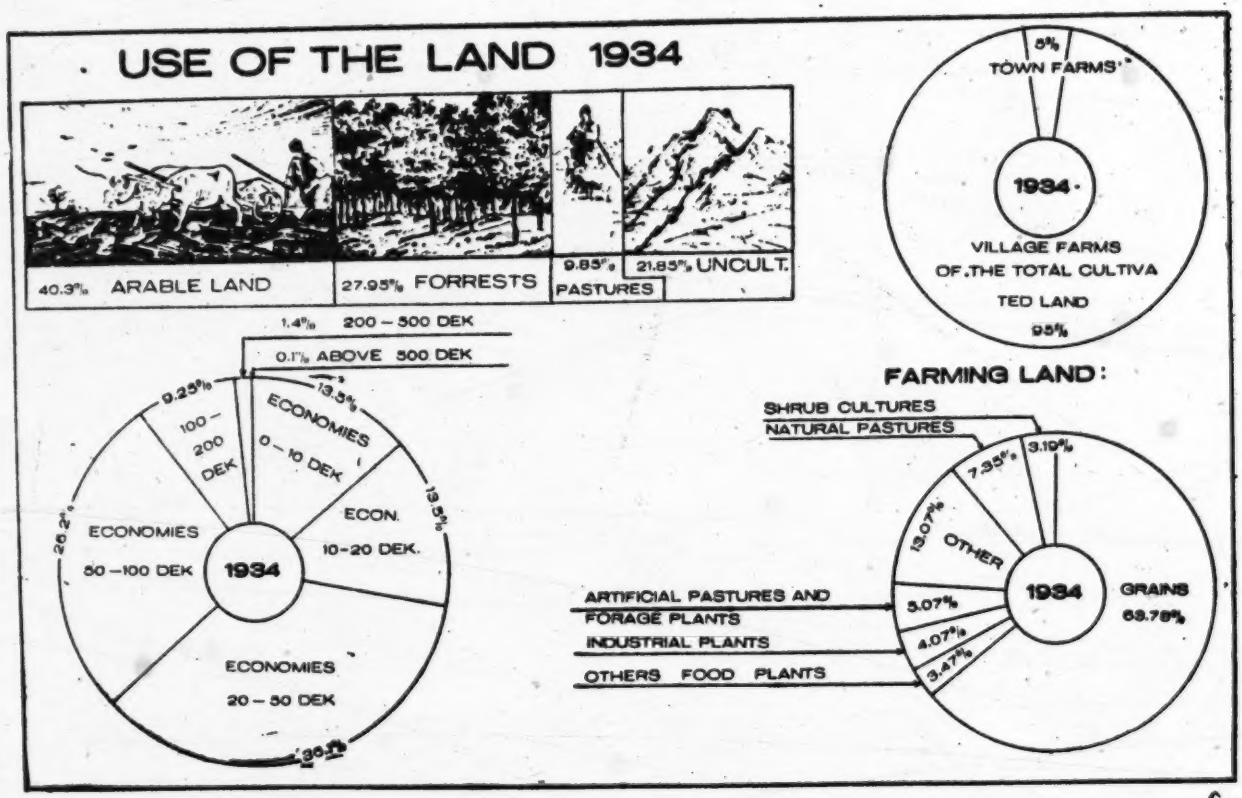
USE OF THE LAND 1934
40.3% ARABLE LAND
27.95% FORRESTS
9.85% PASTURES
21.85% UNCULT.
5%
TOWN FARMS
1934
VILLAGE FARMS
OF THE TOTAL CULTIVA
TED LAND
95%
1.4% 200 – 500 DEK
0.1% ABOVE 500 DEK
9.25%
100 – 200 DEK
13.5%
ECONOMIES 0 – 10 DEK
13.5%
ECON. 10-20 DEK.
26.2%
ECONOMIES 50 –100 DEK
1934
ECONOMIES 20 – 50 DEK
30.2%
FARMING LAND:
SHRUB CULTURES
NATURAL PASTURES
3.10%
7.35%
13.07%
OTHER
ARTIFICIAL PASTURES AND FORAGE PLANTS
5.07%
INDUSTRIAL PLANTS
4.07%
OTHERS FOOD PLANTS
3.47%
1934
GRAINS
63.78%

Fig. 14.

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

These figures show how strongly the people are attached to the cultivation of the land. The background of Bulgarian culture was and still is agricultural labour. 162

44. Bulgaria is a Land of small Ownerships. This is the Background of her Democracy.

Let us show the variety of occupations in Bulgaria. The occupations of 1.284.993 households [1]) in Bulgaria are distributed as follows:

	Households		%
Agriculture	838.899	or	65.2
Manufacture of materials	160.000	„	12.4
Commerce and credit	61.518	„	4.8
Public work and service	38.762	„	3.0
Transport and communications	36.682	„	2.9
Science and education	20.114	„	1.7

The distribution of land property will be shown in the figures below. The total of private properties being 42.810.815 dekars equal to 100%, the distribution is as follows: 423

Husbandries up to 10 decares [2])	1.3 %
„ from 10 to 20 decares	4.0 %
„ „ 20 „ 30 „	6.6 %
„ „ 30 „ 50 „	18.1 %
„ „ 50 „ 100 „	36.9 %
„ „ 100 „ 150 „	17.0 %
„ „ 150 „ 200 „	7.3 %
„ „ 200 „ 300 „	5.2 %
„ „ 300 „ 500 „	2.0 %
„ „ 500 and more	1.6 %

Since at present Bulgaria could not rely on more guaranteed sources of income for her economy, than those which are connected with her agriculture; along with the efforts laid for the improvement of crafts and industries, the Government takes special care for the agriculture of the country, as the main support of the state and the main background of the democracy of her agrarian population. 241 311

How is land worked in Bulgaria? The private and public land for exploitation being 43.684.381 decares equal to 100%, its distriburion is as follows:

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[1]) This information is based on statistics for 1934, which is the last census year.

[2]) One decare = 0.247 acres. One acre = 4.047 decares.

241
311

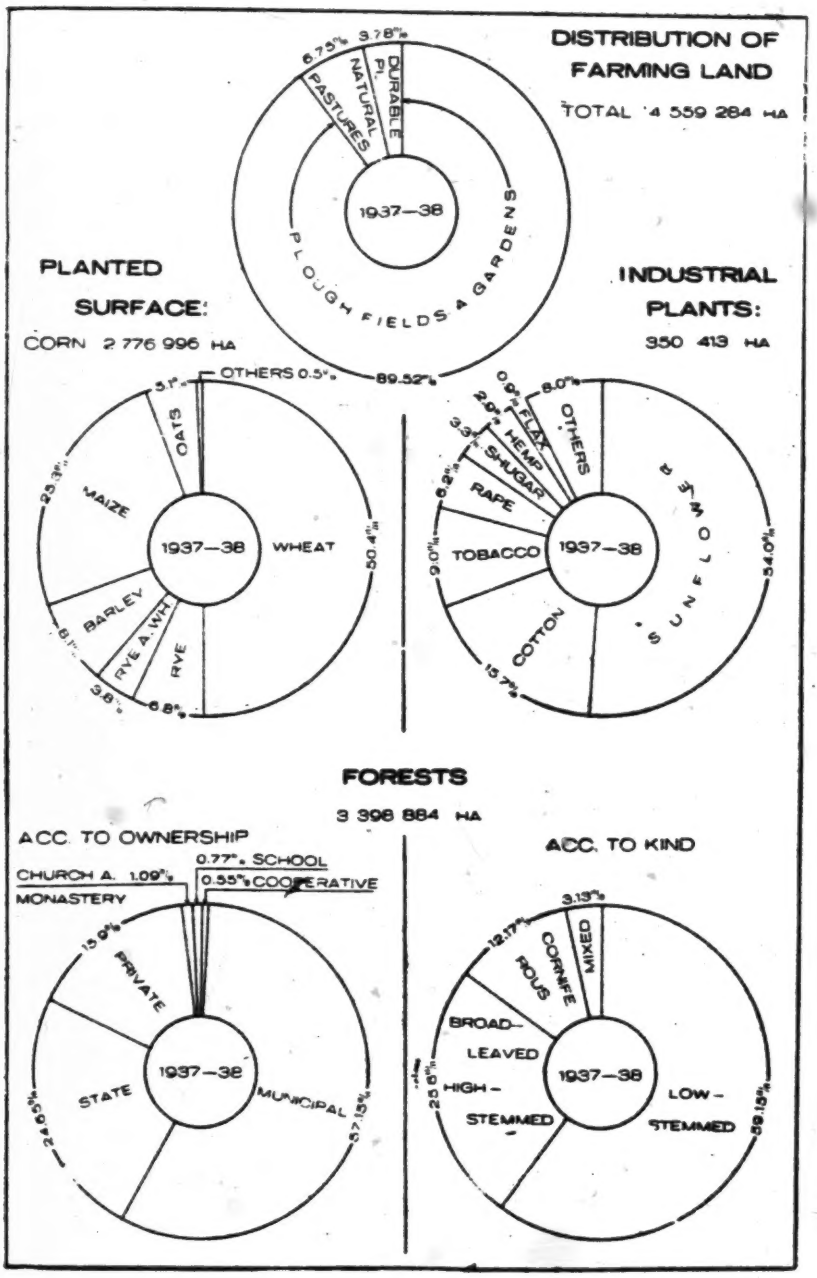

Fig. 16.

a. Land for cultivation		89.10 %
plough fields	79.40 %	
vegetable gardens	0.45 %	
vineyards	2.48 %	
vine nurseries	0.008 %	
orchards	0.52 %	
mulberry orchards	0.01 %	
rose fields	0.02 %	
meadows	6.02 %	
b. Land — not cultivated		10.90 %
pastures	1.72 %	
forests	8.49 %	
deserted land	0.69 %	
other	0.06 %	

241
311

45. Agricultural Production. The distribution of the total country's production is given in percentage values, as follows: 241

	1907-1911	*1930-1934*
grain	62.18 %	58.05 %
industrial plants	1.80	9.68
beans, peas etc.	2.26	2.25
potatoes	0.27	0.96
vegetables	1.87	1.78
forage plants	18.58	15.89
vineyards	10.30	8.45
orchards	1.03	1.40
rose fields	0.69	—
mulberry orchards	0.07	0.13

The above figures show how Bulgarian agriculture turned to more accessible marketing and higher priced products. This situation continues at the present time. The change is evident also from the following figures showing the movement of the country's export after 1911 (vidi Fig. 17 and 18):

ANNUAL AVERAGE

	1907-1911	*1937*	*1938*	*1339*
	amounts in metric tons			
grain	539.404	329.476	172.935	176.635
leaf tobacco	2.051	22.798	33.553	34.761
oleaginous seeds	4.222	64.854	—	43.699
miscellaneous (remnants)	118	45.151	38.961	30.965
fresh vegetables	97	7.359	6.842	8.012
dried vegetables	432	1.192	—	4.364
fresh fruit	1.188	39.890	77.196	72.133
canned fruit	300	7.500	23.296	50.746
wine	8	31	87	19.710

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

	Year 1929—30	Year 1930—1	Year 1931—2	Average
North Bulgaria	171,06%	146,01%	110.70%	142.59%
Sofia region	179.90%	158.43%	158.28%	165.53%
South Bulgaria	119.60%	125.60%	186.23%	143.81%

This of course has been possible owing to the credits which they have been able to raise from the Agricultural Bank, and to their not applying them to the specific purposes for which these loans were granted; the Agricultural Bank having extended to the rural population credits amounting on an average to 7360 leva per hectare for the smaller category of farmsteads. It must not be thought however that the peasantry has been living wastefully, and has run into debt owing to its being profligate. Very often in periods of drought the Agricultural Bank, under pressure from the State, has been compelled to come to the assistance of the peasantry and to supply them with seed and food, practically with no guarantee. This will largely explain the excessive advances which the Bank has made to the rural population, which, if it were not for this timely aid would have literally starved.

The source of the trouble is that the available land is unsufficient to support the population, and that if it be not provided with more land in order to increase its production up to its requirements, or if it be not assisted financially in order to modernise its methods of cultivation, and thus be able to raise a larger quantity of products on the land it actually possesses, there will be grave danger of a dislocation of the present social fabric

Prof. St. Tsolakov, a colleague of Prof. Dolinski, has published a most interesting essay in the 1934 Annuaire de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, of Varna, on the position of the farmers in the Varna region, and on their indebtedness to the State. It is certainly representative of the whole country, and the study of the figures he supplies will convince any one that the problem

000 precept of "Unto him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath", which, as far as Bulgaria is concerned, they applied in the letter, for Chistian considerations seldom sway them. The present writer well remembers Prof. H. Laski, affirming some fourteen years ago at the London School of Economics, that a certain Cabinet Minister had confided to him, that for ten years he had never heard a Christian thought expressed at the deliberations of the Cabinet! (Obviously not a Labour one).

24/ 311 Though amputated of her richest cornland, the Dobrudja, which represented 12% of the total cultivated surface of Bulgaria, and accounted for over 20% of her grain exports, as well as of western Thrace, which produced the finest brands of Oriental tobacco, the peasantry reacted, as any vigorous organism would do, and, sought by superhuman efforts to adapt itself as best as it could to its new restrained conditions It brought into cultivation hilly and less fertile land, and converted into tilled fields crazing land and forest, so that the surface devoted to cereal cultivation which averaged 2,460,447 hectares during the quinquennial period 1908—12, increased to 2,640,003 hectares in 1933. Owing however, to the increase in 24/ population, the per capita production of cereals substantially diminished, and consequently the surplus available for export decreased from 609,169 tons in 1914, to some 120,000 tons for the season 1933—4, and even this result was achieved by underfeeding the cattle, which deprived of pasturages, mostly converted into cornfields had to

[1] Of the total area of Bulgaria, 6,157,000 hectares, was considered as unfit for tillage, the remaining 4,157,620 hectares, was arable land which was utilised as follows in 1933:

Tilled fields	3,220,013	hectares
Fields lying fallow . .	402,920	"
Vineyards & orchards	125,699	"
Natural prairies . . .	307.766	"

almost all farms have high walls of unfired brick which are topped with a small roof of straw. The large gateway is also roofed over and has a small door for people. In the eastern Marica plain the fence is of wickerwork or consists merely of a hedge (Gellert, 1937: 161-62). In eastern Bulgaria the enclosure, if present, is a low one of brushwood (Gellert, 1934: 5). 351 184

In the Marica plain there appears to be a difference between the enclosures in the east and west that cannot be attributed to the presence or absence of the necessary raw materials. Gellert believes that the high enclosures in the west are due to a persistence of Turkish traits (Gellert, 1937: 162). Also, in Sredna Gora and the Sub-Balkan basins high walls are limited to the west (Gellert, 1937: 162). [177]

In the mountains and the Sub-Balkan basins the yards are small and crowded together because there is little arable land (Gellert, 1937: 164). When the enclosures are of stone the yards are rectangular; when the fences are of wood or hedges the yards are often rounded and there is often much free land between the separate yards (Gellert, 1937: 165). 351 [311]

Since the houses are generally built to shelter both men and farm animals and have a number of annexes built onto them, one would expect fewer separate farm buildings. Barns are not typical of central Bulgaria. In Ihtiman we find two-roomed barns made of timber-framing and mud. The eaves may be extended and supported by pillars to form a shelter. Only in the extreme east of the Marica plain are barns widespread. Here a small side annex is added to the barn; the entrance is on the short side where the eaves are extended to form a shelter (Gellert, 1937: 158). In Juricite one finds Turkish store houses being used by the Bulgarian population, although in east Bulgaria they are used almost exclusively by the Turks (Gellert, 1937: 160). These are large buildings of woven brushwood with a straw roof that extends far out to the sides. They are generally built on an incline. The entrance is on the short side and the back is rounded (fig. 39) (Gellert, 1934: 3). In Karlovo Basin one finds store houses of wickerwork with straw roofs which have poles attached to the ridge to prevent the straw from being blown away (Gellert, 1937: 159). Stables for sheep in east Bulgaria are long narrow huts of stone covered with straw or reed (Gellert, 1934: 3). In general the various sheds and shelters for animals are of poor construction and have no particular regional characteristics (Gellert, 1937: 159). 343 184 [177]

Summer kitchens are numerous; they are either built onto the house or are in the open, in which case they are covered by a roof of straw, reed, brushwood or brick that is supported on four poles (Gellert, 1937: 160; 1934: 3). 343 [342]

<u>Buildings Outside the Village</u>. Outside mountain villages one finds shepherds' huts of brushwood, round or rectangular in shape, 342 233

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353 777 No home was really furnished until it had a small wooden iconostas which contained an icon, a picture of the Virgin or a saint. The iconostas was usually placed in the east or southeast corner of the room. In case some disaster befell the family, they found out to which saint the unlucky day belonged, and got a picture of him for their iconostas. Thereafter, on his name day they did no work and used holy water in the house. In the *kandilo,* the small lamp before the icon, they burned olive oil during church time and on the eve of holidays. In case the family had used holy water at home in the hope of curing some sick person, the flowers with which the water had been sprinkled were placed on the household shrine.

352 285 Usually there were a number of small implements or articles scattered about the room. A two-edged axe might be leaning against the door frame, and old clothes or bed clothes hanging from a long thick pole in a corner. I often saw in common use small baskets obtained from the gypsies. For pay, the gypsies asked the purchaser to fill the basket with beans or wheat, which they retained. The peasants themselves, especially the shepherds and goatherds with much leisure on their hands, made the very large baskets or hampers used for carrying hay or straw. These baskets stood in the entryway or hung under the eaves.

● 312 Only a few of the Dragalevtsy homes had a washstand, but even for these the water had to be carried from the nearest fountain. Over and over again the peasant women would say:

"We would like to have running water in our houses because it would help us a lot and make our life a little easier. But we don't have the money, and all this needs much money for installing a water system in the house, and also we would have to pay quite a high tax to the Obshtina. Anyway, the fountains in the village are sufficient and it doesn't take us much time to go and get water."

415 312 The water was carried from the fountains either in clay vessels called *stomni* or in the more modern large copper vessels called *mentsi.* The long sticks on the ends of which the water vessels were suspended were called *kobilitsi.* The water from the fountains was used only for preparing food and drinking, and the water for the animals came from the little brooks in the street. Maintaining personal cleanliness was

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the Bulgarian State, was maintained by the Bulgarian authorities by means of the institution of the muftis, whose network covered all the Turkish-inhabited regions and which was centered at Sofia in the person of a Great Mufti, elected by the regional muftis. The Great Mufti was assisted by a Council elected by all the Moslems in the country. Thus, the Turkish minority not only enjoyed equal political rights with other citizens, but also was provided with a system of self-government concerning all matters regulated by the Sheriat. Such was the privileged position of the great Moslem community, which was able to support a considerable number of mosques (no less than two thousand) and schools (more than one thousand) and to publish several newspapers in its own language.

The Kemalists were extremely dissatisfied with this state of affairs. It frustrated the expansion of their reforms beyond the frontiers of Turkey. The Government in Sofia, however, took a firm stand and refused to change anything in the direction desired by Ankara. What was more, the Turks in Bulgaria, being a compact and a large group, were a source of votes for the politicians, who did much to raise their primitive standard of living. Great projects were carried out [312] by the Bulgarian State over several years whose purpose it was to provide drinking water and irrigation for the arid region of Doliorman (Northeastern Bulgaria) predominantly populated by Turks.

653 in 1939 — 655.600.000, in 1940 — 826.500.000 and in 1941 — 1.130.000.000. These amounts were spent for hospitals, sanatoriums, establishements for economic and agricultural activity, veterinary hospitals, medical centres, public baths, libraries, churches etc.

In the beginning of the Second World War Bulgaria had 4.289 inhabited localities, 2.535 or 59% of which were under public planning and regulation; while out of 384 inhabited localities in the territory of South Dobroudja, annexed to Bulgaria in 1940, only 8 of them enjoyed public plan and regulation. Only 15 out of 2.000 inhabited localities in the provisionally annexed territories of Macedonia, Morava region and Thrace had plans approved for regulation and improvement!

312 If we throw a glance on the water supply situation we would obtain the following picture for Bulgaria:

in the cities:	complete water supply	87.4%
	partial " "	20.2%
	no " "	2.4%
in the villages:	full " "	21.0%
	partial " "	18.1%
	no " "	60.9%

On the other hand, in the annexed part of Dobroudja and the provisionally annexed territories the picture is:

for the cities:	full water supply	0.0%
	partial " "	60.0%
	no " "	40.0%
for the villages:	full " "	0.0%
	partial " "	5.7%
	no " "	94.3%

During the 20 years before the war, Bulgaria laid 4.608 klms. of metalic pipes for water supply and in the new territories, provisionally administered by Bulgaria, a total of 220 klms. of water supply pipes were laid.

We feel that Bulgaria has reason to be proud of the above accomplishment in that respect.

377 There has been a great progress made in the electrification of the country in recent times, but the subject is too large to cover in this brief study. According to the electrification plan of the entire country, in addition to the present big power plants by the coal mines of Pernic, Rakovski, the Rila River and the Vatcha River by Plovdiv, huge power and transmission plants are projected to carry electric energy to

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

the remotest corners of the land at a very cheap rate, ranging from 0.5 to 1.0 leva per kilowatt hour. This plan is being revised now and it is anticipated that the enlarged project would absorb an expenditure of 20 billion leva. The consumption of electric energy then would be distributed as follows: 377

For inhabited localities	28.3 %
For agriculture, including irrigation but without azotic fertilizers	13.—%
For transportation	8.9 %
For industries	45.4 %
and for other purposes	4.3 %
	100.—%

What has been said before about motor-car communications and roads may be supplemented by the following figures; for the 10 year period from 1932 to 1941 Bulgaria has built 4.568 km. of new roads, 15.736 km of levelling and new road bedding, 17.565 km. of new bridges and drainage works. This meant a total expenditure of 4,150,540,490 leva or about 550,000,000 leva per year. For the same period we have 615 km. of new railway lines at an expenditure of 1,620,000,000 leva. 653 499

We will not dwell on the question of dams and irrigation, but will only mention the completed big dam on the river Iskar in the Rila Mountain, with a capacity of 15.000.000 cubic meters of water which is 50 meters high and will note that Bulgaria has spent, during the most trying period of life (1939 — 1941). for: 312

drainage works	42.750.490.—	leva
stream corrections	22.521.837.—	leva
irrigation	9 469.815.—	leva or a
total of	74.742.142.—	leva.

This was not the end of Bulgaria's efforts. Bulgaria was anxious to take care of the countries which were provisionally under her administration during the last war. Here is some information taken from a controversy on the subject.

A Greek paper discussing the subject of homes and other buildings built by the Bulgarian authorities in the Aegean Coast Region, writes among other things the following: 653

„If we overlook the public bath at Xanthi built by them for the pleasure and enjoyment of their brothers the Germans,

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

of Razlog on the upper reaches of the river Mesta may serve as a convenient centre for excusions in this maze of mountains mostly clad with pine and fir forests. The three beautiful mountain lakes dominated by the majestic summit of the El-Tepe, the highest peak of the Pirrin range, reaching an altitude of 2684 metres, may be easily reached from the townlet of Bansko, a few kilometres to the south of Razlog. Tourist huts have been erected at several points, and recently excellent roads have been constructed, so that the more adventurous type of tourist, intent on roaming off the beaten track, can indulge in protracted and most enjoyable rambles in what is certainly a *terra incognita*, even to most Bulgarians.

It is astonishing that the Bulgarian Government has done nothing to popularise Sofia as a tourist centre, and yet few towns in Eastern Europe can rival it as such. It is at a convenient driving distance from the Balkan mountains which offer a veritable kaleidoscope of enchanting views. Century old oak and beech forests cover generally the rolling undulating mountain valleys, their shaded glens offering the most delectable relaxation after the heat of the plain. Another attractive forest resort is Tcham-Koria lying on the heavily wooded slopes of the Rila, amid enchanting mountain scenery, at a distance of 69 klm. to the south east of Sofia. The greatest attraction of Sofia is of course its mineral and thermal springs. In the centre of the town is a modern bathing establishment, built on the site ot the ancient Roman thermal baths, and endowed with an electro-therapeutic section. In close proximity to Sofia are a number of other thermal springs most of which are endowed with excellent bathing accomodation and easily accessible from Sofia by either tram, train, or motor bus. Such are the thermal establishments of Bankia, one of the finest in Bulgaria, that of Gorna-Bania, Ovtcha-Kupel, and of Kniajevo. Bulgaria is

1: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

312 one of the richest countries in the world as regards
5-9 mineral and thermal springs of all kinds. Among the most noted mineral springs is that of Solu-Dervent, lying at about 72 klm. from Sofia, on the railway line to Plovdiv, it possesses a high radioactivity, 588_{10-10} Curies, and a temperature of 65° centigrade, and is specially recommended for cancer. Another most attractive watering place is that of Hissar, some 45 klm. north of Plovdiv. Within a radius of two kilometres there are twenty springs, all varying in their composition and their temperatures. The present baths are built on the site of the old Roman ones. Tne temperature of the water is 47° C. with a radioactivity of 114_{10-10} Curies; it is noted for its curatice properties for all diseases of the liver and kidneys. Hissar possesses another great attraction, that of its Roman walls, built in the form of a rectangle. It is supposed to be the old Roman town of Diocletianopolis which successfully resisted in 587 the siege of the Avars. The present walls were restored in the reign of Justinian I but there is a Roman inscription at the Momina Baths dating from 308 A. D. Its ruins would form a most interesting source of study to archeologists while taking the waters at this most agreeable Spa. It is surrounded by rose gardens and pos sesses delightful shaded walks rendering it a most agreeable residence during May and June, all the more so since it
5-9 possesses excellent hotels and pensions. At that time of the year visitors at Hissar can easily visit the famous Valley of Roses without interrupting their treatment, for Karlovo, Kalofer and Kazanlik, the centres of the Attar of roses industry, are all within easy reach. as well as the famous Shipka Monastery. A railway line connects Hissar with Plovdiv, formerly known as Philippolis. This is a town with a most picturesque aspect, being built on five hills of syenite, two of which have been turned into parks. The thickly wooded Sehayat Tepe is unique in its kind, com-

244 167 accomplish was done by Bulgarian gardeners. Ten years ago no one among us knew that it was possible to produce tomatoes, peppers and other vegetables in our land. To-day, however, this is a fact, thanks to the ingenuity of the Bulgarians".

Of fresh vegetables 55 truck loads were exported in 244 439 1933 to Central Europe, and of these the most appreciated were the tomatoes grown in south Bulgaria, which many experts affirm to surpass in quality even those of Italy. During the summer of 1935 some 2750 tons of fresh [255] tomatoes were exported to Central Europe. No serious efforts have been made to develop the export of tinned vegetables, though in price they are 50% cheaper than similar ones sold in France, and in every respect as good. Lack of capital, and of commercial connections abroad have prevented the few canning factories to launch in a forward policy which necessarily involves risks and losses at the start. The only leguminous plant which has been exported on a large scale was haricot beans, of which Bulgaria was always a large exporter, the high quality of this product having secured for her a certain preeminence among Near Eastern countries The area devoted to this crop was 73,162 hectares and the yield 74,677,000 kg. in 1933 of which 32,568 tons were exported. The area planted with pulse, vegetables, potatoes and that set aside for market gardening was estimated respectively at 95,000, 13,500, 14,000, and 38,000 hectares in 1932.

241 •312 A great impediment to the steady development of agriculture in Bulgaria is the periodic drought which completely undermines the economic position of the small holders, which even without this scourge, is never too bright. The mean annual rainfall for the period 1920—1930 was 578·2 litres per square metre, but this unfortunately is not evenly apportioned, the mountainous western and south western parts of the country having a much hea-

vier rainfall than the eastern part, in which the rainfall is often deficient. For this reason schemes for storing up rain water which is carried off too rapidly by the rivers without benefitting sufficiently agriculture have always engaged the attention of Bulgarian agriculturists and engineers. One of the latter, M. I. I. Mavrov prepared a comprehensive survey which was published at the expense of the government, in which full details are given as to the possibilities of regulating the water supply. 250,000 hectares could be brought under irrigation in the bassin of the Martsa, 150,000 hectares in the region of Stara Zagora, Sliven and Yambol, 100,000 hectares in the neighbourhood of Kustendil, Radomir and Dubnitsa, and smaller areas in the valleys near Zlatitsa, Kazanlik, Gorna-Orehovitsa, as well as a large part of the Danubian plain By constructing dams and correcting the channels of the Maritsa, Tundja, Isker and Yantra rivers, these could be rendered navigable for a part of their courses, and hydraulic energy of about 2,300,000 H. P. could be rendered available, which could be utilised for the production of calcium carbide, aluminium, (bauxite is found in the Rhodopes) nitrates and the delopment of a wood-pulp industry. Since the publication of this work, the subject of irrigation has often been discussed, and less ambitious plans have been put forward. In 1926, the American Yulen Co., offered to construct a dam on one of the affluents of the Maritsa at a cost of 1200 million leva which would have provided enough water to irrigate 130,000 hectares, but negotiations fell through. Actually the possibility of irrigating some 21,000 hectares by constructing two dams to store up the waters of the Mutavir and Luda-Yana, two small tributaries of the Maritsa, is being closely studied, and as this undertaking would only cost about 250 million leva it is possible that it might materialise, for it is reckoned that the yield of irrigated land increases three

241 fold, and its market value fourfold which would render the execution of this plan profitable. In south Bulgaria two
•312 crops instead of one could be grown annually on irrigated land which moreover would be safeguarded against drought The Ministry of public works also contemplates the harnessing of the river Ossem in north Bulgaria, that some 42,000 hectares may be irrigated in the region of Lovets. This scheme would render available hydraulic energy to the amount of 38,000 H. P. which could be utilised for pumping water from the Danube and in order to water certain parts of the Danubian plain. A smaller scheme, that of bringing about 6000 hectares under irrigation near Nevrokop, in south western Bulgaria, by utilising the river Mesta is also receiving attention and will be carried out in the near future. From a close study of the data collected, it would appear that the irrigation of south Bulgaria is quite feasible and economically sound. The difficulty which stands in the way is the remuneration of the capital invested in the undertaking which could be secured under the present circumstances only by payment in kind, a consideration which is likely to discourage would-be promoters.

312 Concerning irrigation and water-adduction plans, it would be pertinent to mention the efforts which have been made to supply the waterless area of the Deli Orman in north-eastern Bulgaria with a supply of water. In this area of some 600 square klm. wholly devoid of springs and rivers, a network of water mains has been recently laid in order to supply some 569 villages with water, a considerable achievement in view of the financial stress in which the country finds itself. A similar noteworthy work was the adduction of water from the Rila mountains to Sofia, a distance of 82 klm. at a cost of 740 million leva completed in 1933; the difference of altitude being utilised to generate electric energy of 15,000 H. P.

231 Cattle raising and aviculture are fairly well developed, eggs figuring after tobacco as the second item on the list

extends from the Rumanian border south to the towns of Karnobat and Burgas. 131

Location and Types of Settlement. The presence of water is an important factor in the location of the settlements. Villages tend to be located along the Marica, Topolnica Strema and Tundža rivers. In the Tundža Mountains settlements are on the slopes of hills. Isolated hills in the Marica valley are preferred spots. Settlements rarely descend into the fertile river plain, most of them being located at its edge (Gellert, 1937: 142-43). In the Sub-Balkan regions, settlements are rarely at the bottom of steep valleys or on steep slopes, a gentler terrain being preferred (Gellert, 1937: 143). 361 133 [312]

Due to the irregular terrain and deep valleys in the Topolnica and Ihtimanska Sredna Gora regions, the settlements are in the form of hamlets (mahala, kolibi) of 2-10 farmsteads, scattered over the spurs overlooking a valley in which is located the main village (Gellert, 1937: 168). In eastern Bulgaria the villages show no regular plan. In the plains the villages are large and the buildings less crowded, the roads being often exaggeratedly wide. In mountainous terrain the roads are narrow and crooked, often unsuitable for carts (Gellert, 1937: 164). [491]

House Types. In eastern Bulgaria the building materials are boards, wicker, mud and unfired brick. Usually a framework of wood is filled with wicker, which may or may not be plastered. Compact walls are often made of mud, unfired brick or stones, strengthened with horizontal bond timbers. These may form the foundation on which the upper story of timber-framing is built. The hipped roof is of straw, reeds or brushwood. On the longer side of the house the eaves extend over a veranda that is raised about 10 centimeters from the ground. The walls are generally whitewashed, and each room has an exit to the veranda. Chimneys are of woven brushwood or of fieldstones and are plastered with mud. Bulgarians often build one half of the house first and plan to add more rooms later; when one side of the roof is not hipped it means that the house is not finished (Gellert, 1934: 8). 342

A two to three room house is common. Often the veranda is between the protruding side rooms (fig. 56e). The central room is generally windowless and serves as a winter kitchen. Frequently many farm units are included in the main house. One of the side rooms may be transformed into a stable with a separate entrance from the outside (fig. 56c) (Gellert, 1934: 8-9).

Two-story buildings are in the majority (fig. 56a, 56b). In the ground floor are the stable and cellar. Often annexes are built on the sides (fig. 56e) and the back, and the roof is extended over them. Here, too, the veranda is enclosed by the two side rooms. The stairway leading up to the veranda may be a simple one of wood or a massive one of unfired brick (Gellert, 1934: 10-11). While

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APPENDIX VI

SOCIOMETRIC WORK WITH A BULGARIAN WOODCUTTING GROUP[1]

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In the late autumn, when all other farm work has been completed, the villagers of Dragalevtsy[2] turn their attention to the gathering of the winter's supply of wood. The scene of their activity is a wooded section of the mountainside, three or four miles from the village, determined in advance by a forester's decree. Most of them toil gladly, since all winter long they must continually feed the wood into the ever-devouring gullet of the sheet-iron stove standing in the center of the living room. No twig is too small to find its way there.

It would be wrong to imagine that the villagers were doing any lumbering, even on the simplest scale. Most of their activity centers around the task of cutting down brush as high as a man's head, or of felling trees so small that a pair of hands could include the trunk in its grasp.

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I. MEMBERSHIP OF GROUP. There are ten wood-gathering groups in the village. Before 1931 individual families went to the section of the forest opened up for the people of Dragalevtsy and took all the wood they could get in the time allowed. This system had two chief faults, according to Yurdan Chalukov, the assistant mayor at the time: in the first place, the members of the political party supporting the mayor learned beforehand at what time the forest would be opened to the villagers and stole the march on the others by going there on the day assigned, although the other villagers did not learn about the opening until two or three days later, by which time the best wood had been collected.

The second chief fault with this system was that families with more able-bodied workers gathered the most wood, although they paid perhaps less taxes than those who got less. In order to eliminate these evils, a new system which is peculiar to Dragalevtsy alone was inaugurated. The near-by villages, for instance, still use the older method of permitting each family to "grab while

[1] This article appeared in *Sociometry: A Journal of Interpersonal Relations*, II, October, 1939, pp. 58-68. Reprinted by permission.

[2] Dragalevtsy, a village of 1,669 inhabitants, located four miles from the outskirts of Sofia, Bulgaria's capital city. The peasants of that region are generally regarded as very conservative by educated Bulgarians.

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the grabbing is good." Now, the *Obshtina*[1] divides the village into ten groups; the part of the forest made available to the villagers is likewise divided into ten sections; each group thus has a limited section in which to work. The *Obshtina* usually divides the village according to neighborhoods, though sometimes one family from a larger neighborhood is assigned to the group of a smaller neighborhood in order to make the number of families average about thirty for each group. The only case of this kind in Group X, which we are studying, is that of Krustan Arnaudski, who lives across the river from the others. 313 476 596

The *Obshtina* lists the names of the family heads in making out its divisions; theoretically these family heads are supposed to go collectively to get the wood for their households. In other words, they are supposed to constitute the group. However, variations occur. Some of the family heads are too old or too busy or too lazy to go. In that case they do one of three things: (1) they send their married sons who live with them, these sons performing the work more capably than the older men could; (2) they hire village youths from other neighborhoods to go and gather the wood for them; or, (3) they send weaker members of their own family, such as younger boys, the older girls, wives, or—in the case of one lazy man—a mother. 313 476 571 596

Thus, in reality, the group of wood-gatherers varies from day to day as regards the actual personnel of those working in the forest. We might say that most of those working there are family heads or able-bodied married sons, though mixed with them are women, girls, and younger boys. Before sending a substitute the family head is supposed to get permission from the group leaders. The failure to do this results in many quarrels and, as one leader says, "makes a man quarrel with his best friend."

The reason why the presence of women and children is frowned upon lies not so much in the objection to women and children working, as it does to the fact that women and children cannot do as much work in a day as a man. Since all the cut wood is piled into thirty different piles, one for each family, and the piles later distributed by lot, those who work hard each day get no more wood than those who do less work or who send weaker substitutes.

The question arises as to the classification of this type of group. On the basis of admission to membership, we can conclude that it is chiefly involuntary since the family heads are assigned by the *Obshtina* and since the family head can order members of his family to replace him in case he does not care to go. Only in the case of outsiders gathering wood for pay does the group seem voluntary. The group is secondary as far as function is concerned, but partakes of certain primary group characteristics when we notice that the *Obshtina* 313 476 571

[1] *Obshtina*—used here in the sense of the local governmental unit under the direction of a mayor appointed from Sofia.

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313 476 571 usually divides the village up according to neighborhoods. Thus we have many persons accustomed to associate as neighbors interacting along economic rather than social lines.

II. Duration of Group. The group is temporary, since the *Obshtina* lists have varied from year to year. However, for thirty days the wood-gathering continues, halted in bad weather but energetically pursued in good weather, even on Sundays. During this period there is constant interaction between the members of the group, who get to know the working qualities of the others in an intimate way. The most exciting day of all is the day when the wood has been piled up, the piles numbered, and the family heads take their turn drawing lots for the piles. It is then that the whole family comes in the ox-cart to haul the wood home. There is joy as though a harvest were being gathered. Each family usually takes home from four to five ox-carts full of wood, most of which consists of branches or scrub-growth. After the wood is stacked in the yard, the group is ended; its existence is terminated by the completion of the job it set out to do.

313 476 571 157 III. Structure of Group (Relationship). With thirty individuals, unequally divided as to ability or inclination to work, there must be some sort of leadership to keep the group functioning effectively. The nominal leaders are two men appointed by the *Obshtina*, one as superintendent and the other as his assistant. Leaders appointed by the *Obshtina* usually serve even though they profess an unwillingness to do so. Some members of Group X point out that those who do the most talking against the way the present leaders discharge their functions are themselves loath to accept the responsibility if it is offered to them. The leaders of Group X this year were Stoyanche Chalukov and his god-son (almost his equal in years) Yurdan Chalukov.

The leaders of all ten groups gather on an appointed day to visit the forest with the forest policeman, who shows them how the forest has been divided into ten sections. The leaders then draw lots to see which section will fall to their particular groups. On the day of the visit this fall neither leader of Group X went because each one thought, or at least hoped, that the other leader would go. It so happened that Group X got what its members considered the worst part of the forest, though the leaders maintain that their absence had nothing to do with the section allotted. Upon seeing the state of things, the leaders of Group X went to the mayor and asked that some re-distribution be made on the grounds that the forest had not been equally divided. As such re-distribution seemed out of the question, the mayor suggested: "You go ahead and cut down the wood in your section, and the priest and I will come and visit the forest and see whether people in other sections have bigger piles

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than you. If they do, we'll re-distribute then." But the mayor and the priest never made this visit with the result that the members of Group X have nothing but complaints as consolation.

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The duties of the leaders are burdensome. They must decide whether the weather permits work in the forest or not; they must accept or reject some family head's proposal for substitution; they must argue with those who do not work well; they must direct the making of the piles and the equal distribution of the wood among these piles; furthermore, they must keep a record of those who come to work and those who do not. The only authority vested in them is the right to report to the mayor the name of any man who they think should not be given any wood for failure to do his share of the work. However, no such instance occurred this past year.

Quite often a group has a formal structure in addition to the actual structure. This formal or theoretical structure corresponds to the plan of a house; the actual structure corresponding to the shape, relationship of the parts, etc., which may be quite different from the original plan in even so definite a field as architecture.

The woodcutting or wood-gathering Group X has two leaders appointed by the *Obshtina,* under whom the family heads are supposed to work. This is the plan, but we notice that there are variations since many family heads send substitutes. Our first problem is to see whether the appointed leaders are the actual leaders: that is, to see if the plan of the group corresponds with the structure as we discover it.

In order to accomplish this I followed Moreno's method as explained in his book, *Who Shall Survive?* namely, to ask each member of the group which five men he preferred and which five he would eliminate if he were choosing a group of his own with direct reference to one activity—the gathering of wood, and with no interest at all in the question of the friendship involved.

Each of the family heads on the *Obshtina* list furnished us with the information desired. Where some family heads had sent substitutes, we interviewed the substitutes instead. A few people, neither full-time substitutes nor family heads, who worked in the forest from time to time in the place of someone who stayed away were interviewed if they were mentioned twice by others. The only exceptions were numbers 19 and 30, both of whose fathers we interviewed. Some family heads who did not go to the forest were mentioned either as desirable or undesirable, and their names were included on the list which formed the basis for the diagrams.

There was no way of cross-checking to see whether the answers were correct; nor was there any reward to hold up to them in order to identify their emotions with their answers. In this respect, one might consider the method open to question. However, each man was told: "There will be no reward for you in answering these questions, nor will any harm come to you as a

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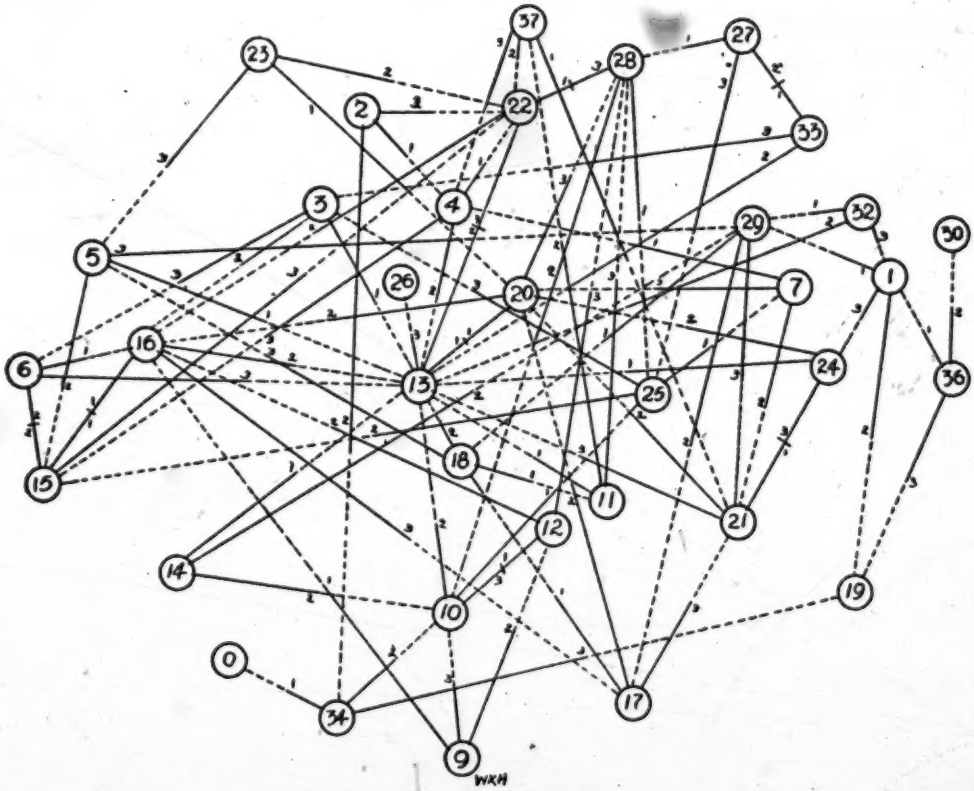

SOCIOGRAM I. Woodcutting Group, Dragalevtsy, Bulgaria—34 men, first three choices

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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result. If you answer, it will be simply out of kindness and because of your desire to help me." Such an approach met with a splendid response, since practically all of the villagers knew that a "book" was being written about their village and were eager to help in its preparation. I am inclined to believe that in most cases this desire to help on the part of those interviewed has an emotional content, though it is something hard to measure or estimate.

While these interviews took place over a two-day period during the Christmas holiday recess, I visited the village several times when the wood-gathering was taking place to make family interviews and received considerable incidental material about wood-gathering which seemed to be on everybody's mind. Group X was selected by chance. Since the groups were all equal in size there was no reason to choose any one more than another for the study of the group *per se*. (See Sociogram I.)

An analysis of Sociogram I, which is based on the first three choices of each man, shows us how weak is the leadership of the two men appointed by the *Obshtina*—namely, numbers 4 and 7. At no time do they come out as important leaders but this may be due to conflict situations which arose between them and group members during the course of the wood-gathering. The predominant choice is 13, a hard-working retired railroad man, who is close-mouthed and has the reputation of "minding his own business." He was mentioned 15 times: 6 firsts, 6 seconds, and 3 thirds. This sociogram shows that when the mayor appointed the leaders he did not consider the same qualities which the peasants themselves thought essential. He appointed men who had been former political figures on the assumption that they could also lead capably in the task of woodcutting.

The other leader individuals besides 13 are 10, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 28. An interesting concentration of leadership is shown by the reciprocal bonds existing between some of these eight leader individuals: namely, 15-16, 13-20, 13-22, 22-28. (Notice again the strong position of 13.) The leaders also have the following reciprocal bonds with non-leader individuals: 10-12, 15-6, 21-24. That is to say, every leader individual has at least one reciprocal bond, while three of them have two reciprocal bonds—the majority of these being with other leader individuals. *Furthermore, there is only one other reciprocal bond in the whole group in which a leader does not figure*—namely, 27-33.

Perhaps the quadrilateral 13-20-28-22-13 sums up the concentration of leadership best of all. The only gap is the failure of 28 to reciprocate the choice of 20. But both 28 and 20 are joined by reciprocal bonds to 22 and 13 respectively, who in turn are connected reciprocally. This, it seems to me, demonstrates the value of a sociogram in an analysis of group leadership, for in no other satisfactory way could this quadrilateral be illustrated and its implications manifested.

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WORK-SHEET FOR SOCIOGRAM I

Individual Number	Chose	First	Second	Third
1	–	29	19	24
2	–	4	34	22
3	–	13	16	6
4	–	22	13	15
5	–	13	15	29
6	–	16	15	13
7	–	4	21	20
8	Did not go.	Sent Number 4 instead		
9	–	16	12	10
10	–	25	13	12
11	–	12	37	28
12	–	10	28	16
13	–	20	22	26
14	–	13	10	29
15	–	16	6	22
16	–	15	13	17
17	–	18	20	21
18	–	11	13	5
19	Did not go.			
20	–	13	16	28
21	–	24	20	13
22	–	28	16	13
23	–	29	22	5
24	–	13	20	21
25	–	7	15	3
26	Did not go.	His brother, 33, went instead		
27	–	28	33	25
28	–	25	10	22
29	–	18	17	21
30 and 31	Did not go.			
32	–	29	13	1
33	–	27	13	3
34	–	outsider	10	19
35	Did not go.	No. 3 went for him		
36	–	1	30	19
37	–	21	22	4

FORESTRY

Bulgarian foresters are unanimous to deplore the unbusinesslike manner in which the magnificent forest domains of the country have been treated as well as in the irrational way they have so far been exploited. The lack of interest shown in this branch of national wealth may be gauged from the fact that though a quarter of the country's surface was covered with forests, yet until 1930 almost the totality of the lumber needed for building purposes was imported from abroad and it was only by imposing a very heavy duty on foreign timber that imports from abroad were reduced by 4/5 in 1931 and an impetus given to local lumber industries. According to the official statistics the total area covered by forests amounted to 2,698,000 hectares in 1933, of which 321,000 hectares were coniferous and 2,297,000 hectares deciduous, (mainly oak and beech) while ownership was apportioned as follows:

State	644,000	hectares
Monasteries	42,000	"
Municipalities	1,484,000	"
Private	528,000	"

The principal varieties of trees found in Bulgaria are — The oak, ash, elm. Extensive forest of resinous trees are to be found also in the Rhodopes, Pirrin and the Rila mountains and they are mostly composed of the varieties: Pinus sylvestris, pinus Austriacus, picea fectinata and picea excelsa.

According to M. D. Vessov's book on Bulgarian forestry, the State and municipal forests represent a capital of 20,000 million leva. About 20% of the total area of the country is covered with forests, this sylvan area being mostly mountainous and not fit for any other cultivation. If the forest were rationally exploited a yield of

•313 137 six million cubic metres of rough wood per annum could be secured, and as the average price it fetched was 500 leva per cubic metre for conifers, 200 leva for beech or oak, and 50 leva for brushwood and loppings, a minimum yearly revenue of one milliard leva could easily be reckoned upon, though eventually as much as six milliards annually might be secured, a sum which seems somewhat exaggerated, since official statistics show that the State receives less than a hundred million and the municipalities 150 million leva annually from their forests. There is therefore a tremendous amount of lee-way to be made up. For the year 1931 it was reported that the State forests supplied 571,000 cubic metres of wood and that their upkeep costs about 60 million leva. The main cause of neglect was the absence of transport facilities and lack of capital. The primitive saw-mills in work were too wasteful, from one cubic metre of wood only 50 % was turned out as lumber, while with modern machinery the wastage would not surpass 30 %, besides the planks sawn were of uneven thickness and did not compare favourably with those imported from abroad. M. Vessov finds that so far the concessions given to small traders for exploiting the forests have proved ruinous, as the concessionaires cut down the trees without discrimination. They usually had also to contend with the hostility of the local population and failed owing to their inability to secure enough labour. An attempt was made to create co-operative societies among the inhabitants of forest districts, but owing to their lack of means and the unsympathetic attitude of the official foresters, they do not seem to have been very successful. They generally launch into undertakings altogether beyond their resources, attempt extensive clearings, and then being unable to transport the felled wood, leave a large percentage of it to rot. The main reason for their creation was to satisfy the cravings of certain political par-

tisans and hangers-on and as a consequence these societies have not manifested any co-operative spirit so far. The State has derived no profit from them and they have been combatted alike by capitalists and the forestry personnel. According to the official statistics there were in 1932, 102 such co-operative societies engaged in forest exploitation, their roll of membership was 8,492, their capital 15,805,640, funds 8,202,908, deposits 5,929,955, capital invested in sawmills 15,787,715. They owed 10,736,478 to the Agricultural Bank and 14,981,228 to private traders. According to a recent decision of the government, the State will assume the exploitation of the forests for its own account, in view of the unsatisfactory results obtained so far. 313 137

According to this author, the best form of exploiting the forests has been that of granting large concessions to societies possessing adequate capital, and as an example the exploitation of the Rila forests was cited which has proved exemplary. Another successful enterprise organised by the State with the help of the compulsery Labour Corps was that of the Titsa domain, south of Varna, in which the State had invested some 29 million leva. M. Vessov considered that it was indispensable to increase the means of transport in order to develop the timber industry and permit it to compete with foreign imported timber. He recommended that cattle should be rigorously prevented from grazing in the forests, a desideratum which unfortunately cannot be fulfilled because the population of the mountainous districts has no other grazing lands; his suggestion, however, of curtailing surreptitious felling of trees, by rendering compulsory the sawing of all wood in controlled modern saw mills built outside the forest areas, seems a judicious one and worth considering, owing to the vast amount of contraband which takes place. 313

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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An interesting paper was read by M. Taslakov in February 1933 at a meeting of the Society of Bulgarian Economists, from which the following data are worth quoting: 35% of the timberlands consisted of heavy forests and 65% of scrub forests. From the former an annual yield of 1,008,000 cubic metres of prepared timber for building purposes could be secured, the price of which was 2000 leva per c. m. or some 907,200,000 leva, while the output from the latter would amount to 2,600,000 c. m. fit only for fuel and priced at 125 leva and would attain 325,000,000 leva. The revenue from forests would therefore reach 1,232,200,000 leva per annum,

The forests contained 50% oak, 25% beech, and 25% various conifers. The annual arboreal growth per hectare of beech was 3·6 c. m., of oak 2·8 c. m. and of the conifers 6·2 to 6·6 c. m. The total arboreal growth available for felling would be estimated at 10,294,380 c. m., half of which would cover the local requirements and the balance would be available for export.

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There is another highly interesting book on Bulgarian sylviculture by M. Ch. Gruev, who was a forester and consequently fully qualified to write on the subject. His exposures of the abuses committed by successive Governments in the administration of forests, constitute a most damning indictment of the pseudo-democratic form of government so far extant and show to what extent politicians are responsible for the annihilation of the forests and how they contributed in demoralising the people by their cynical disregard of the law. The only conscientious Minister in the charge of the forest domains were D. Christov, who was a member of the Gueshov Cabinet during 1911—1912 and the Agrarian leader Draghiev. He speaks highly also of Stambulov who passed excellent measures to preserve the forests, but unfortunately under his successor, Stoilov, everything was undone. He nar-

rates at length how the late Minister Ghenadiev ordered the forest guards to inform the population of the Batak region that whoever voted for his brother would be alloted several cubic metres of timber free of charge. The same Ghenadiev repaid his electors at Stanimaka by making them a present of the Tsepelare forests belonging to the State and worth many hundred millions. In order to secure his return at the elections of 1903 he allowed his intended electors to fell undiscriminately as many trees as they wished within his constituency and in order that they might not be prevented by the forest guards, who would have demurred at this patent violation of the forest regulations, he summoned temporarily most of them to Sofia pending the elections. Whenever a forester manifested some initiative and prevented adherents of the party in power from cutting down trees, he would at once be removed from his post. (p. 137-144). 313 661

M. Liaptchev who succeeded Ghenadiev, is as violently taken to task. He is accused of preventing foresters accomplishing their duty and ordering them to let the people dispose freely of the forests until the elections were over in order to secure their votes for the Government. As a result entire forests were ruthlessly cut down, in the region of Varna, and these disafforested tracts are now known locally as Liaptchev's fields. (p. 172—3). He adds :

"But the most anarchic Government Bulgaria had seen was that of the Agrarians, it was characterised by the greatest corruption bribery became a system". (p. 267).

M. Gruev reveals astounding facts about the Agrarian Minister Obov, who completely demoralised the forestry personnel by acceding to all the solicitations of provincial deputies. All conscientious functionaries in the administration were dismissed or threatened with dismissal and ordered to shut their eyes to the abuses committed by Government supporters. Obov was perpetually pestered

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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by feminine petitioners for grants of forest clearances. Some 4000 hectares of forests on the Danube islands were handed over to villagers in order to win their votes. 90 pseudo-co-operative societies were created to exploit the forests but they disappeared as if by a miracle as soon as the Agrarian regime fell on June 9, 1923. The Agrarians in short, had proved the greatest enemies of the forests. (p. 297– 8). Unfortunately Minister I. Mollov, who took over this department after 1923 did not put a stop to the abuses, he dismissed the competent staff and nominated in its stead relatives and friends. (p. 326).

The above charges against the Agrarian regime are more than justified. A perusal of the minutes of the Sobranye reveal that several deputies impugned the Agrarians with extensive misuse of the authority they wielded when in office. Thus in the sitting of February 4 and 10, 1925, deputies related how in 1922 in order to win over 250 voters the Ministry had permitted them to cut down 6500 cubic metres of lumber, but not satisfied with this, these prospective supporters of the Government having a higher estimate of their value, proceeded to cut down 14000 cubic metres, and when the forester in charge protested, the local grandee had him arrested. The Agrarian Minister prior to the elections had openly incited the people to plunder they forests b asking „Who is the forester who dare prevent you from exploiting the forests which are yours"? Minister Obov had made a present of 46,000 hectares of forests, valued at 158 million leva to villages near Svistov and some 3800 hectares worth 175 millions, to three other villages in order to secure their votes. Omartsevski who replaced Obov for a short time, disposed of some 120 hectares from the Ivanova forest in the same manner. On August 5, 1926 deputy Ts. Bratanov gave a further list of illicit felling of forests by the Agrarians whom he accused of destroying even part

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

of the pine forest in the vicinity of Sofia with the intent of grabbing the timber. 313 661

With the re-apparition of the Agrarians in the Government presided over by M. Muchanov, the same methods were noticeable. Thus the „*Burgaska Poshta*" of March 11 and 18, 1934 refers to extensive illicit felling of forests in the region of Aitos, the Plovdiv „*Borba*" in April of the same year complains that the then Minister of Agriculture proceeded within 7 or 8 months to replace all the forest guards with his own partisans etc.

The aftermath of the devastation of the forests was a great deterioration of the climate as a result of erosion and denudation. The Journal of the Society of Bulgarian Economists for September 1933 published an article by M. Ts. Doutsev, giving certain illuminating figures. The forest belt which in 1,900 covered 32 % of the country, had diminished to 27 % in 1912 and to 19 % in 1926. Observations gathered from 67 meteorologigal stations reported that while the annual rainfall averaged 820 litres in 1900, it had decreased to 690 in 1919 and to 490 in 1921. The more impressive figures were those of the stations at Yambol and Nova Zagora which had recorded in 1900 and 1921, of 818 and 364 respectively for the first, and of 825 and 530 litres for the second. The Maritsa basin recorded a rainfall of only 500 litres per sq. metre and this was the cause of the recent poor harvests.[1] An affluent of the river Maritsa, the Topolnitsa, which had a flow of 700 to 800 litres per second, now had only 250 to 300, and this falling off could be traced to the destruction of the forests in its catchment area. M. Doutsev demanded that the Sylvan administration should be freed from political in- 313 132 313

[1] M. D. Christov, a former Minister of Agriculture, declared in the Sobranye on December 11, 1928 that the rainfall in North Bulgaria averaged 600 to 650 litres per sq. metre, while in the Plovdiv district it was only 500 litres.

313 fluences in order that the forests might be efficiently protected and he advocated the militarisation of the foresters as the best way of achieving this aim. The grazing of [137] cattle in the great timber forests accounted for their gradual deterioration and transformation into stunted brushwood. This was due to the shortage of pasture land, of which there was only enough for feeding four million head of cattle, while the number of cattle in Bulgaria was fourteen million. The requirements of this head of cattle is about five million kilogrammes of fodder, 4/5 of which is supplied from the forests, the foliage of the trees being used as such. Goats did the greatest harm, there were 250 of them per thousand inhabitants in Bulgaria, 750 in Greece, 150 in Serbia and 25 in Rummania. By these ratios one could also gauge the relative condition of the forests in these countries.

1-2 731 The gradual decrease in local precipitation which is of such importance to the cultivator, as well as the resulting inundations, with the appaling destruction they cause in the fertile valleys, all of which may be traced to the unchecked felling of the forests has begun to make itself felt. We thus find deputy N. Terkalanov declaring in the Sobranye on December 11, 1928, that the yearly loss from drought could be reckoned as amounting to a reduction of the crops by 180,000 tons of cereals, 20,000 tons of industrial cultures, 10,000 of vegetables and 100,000 tons of fodder, of a value of two milliard leva. The loss caused by drought during 1934 was estimated at five milliard leva, though the harvest was an average one. Big losses were also incurred through inundations, the river Kamtsia alone caused damage amounting to 3·5 millions annually.

313 134 Travellers in the Balkan regions cannot help noticing how vast expances of once fertile land are getting buried deep beneath tons of rubble and sand, sent down by

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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mountain torrents, this being plainly attributable to the extensive disafforestation of the mountain ridges of this chain. The gorge of the river Isker, which might rival in scenery certain parts of Switzerland, has been largely denuded, with the consequence that extensive damage is being done yearly to the road and railway running through it by floods. The trains are often held up for hours by the bouiders and debris washed down. It would be well if the slopes of the denuded mountains were afforestated anew with conifers which the herds of grazing animals would not attack, for in spite of regulations, the peasantry possessing cattle far in excess of the grazing capacity of the region will persist on sending them to graze in the forests. The afforestation of the Isker gorge would be well worth undertaking in view of the thousands of tourists who visit it every holiday during summer, special excursion trains being run from Sofia, providing as it does most charming outings for excursions and walks.

Investigations into the not very remote past history of Bulgaria, establish that the devastation of forests are comparatively of recent date. The French traveller Ami Boué records in 1854 that the Vitosh mountain overhanging Sofia was covered with thick forests; these have been cut down and it only sustains a meagre growth of shrubs, though steps are being taken to afforestate it anew. According to M. A. Ihtchiev, Turkish judges mention in their notes that the highway from Slivnitsa to Sofia ran through alleys, and big trees, and that rice and the vine were cultivated in the region at the time, This is no longer possible now owing to a change in the climate since then, and as for the big trees, not a vestige of them has been left. The region of Pleven was at the time of the Russo-Turkish war fairly thickly wooded, but now it is practically denuded.

• 313 In view of the construction of an excellent road from Kritsim to Duvlen along the banks of the river Vutsa, the forest administration would do well to keep an open eye on the way the forests in that region are being exploited, for if they are heedlessly cut down as has happened in the Tsepelare district, a few miles to the east, following on the exploit of the late M. Ghenadiev reported above, the Vutsa river will dry up almost to the extent the Tsepelare has done, and all the millions spent on the hydro-electrical plant by the Vutsa co-operative society will have been in vain.

It would seem that the rational exploitation of the Bulgarian forests would prove a lucrative operation, large masses of lopping and inferior wood would be converted into charcoal for which there is a large market in Constantinople, Greece, Egypt and Italy. An important firm possessing adequate means with which to provide for the building of roads and railways through the forest regions, which would also assume the task of afforestation conjointly with the Government, would probably realise a fair return. Under the present circumstances the Bulgarian Government would probably be disposed to grant such a concession, as it can hardly solicit a loan for the development and exploitation of its forests, since it will be unable to pay interest on it in foreign currency, and there is little chance of financiers considering a financial operation based on the principle of repayment in kind, which is the only method by which Bulgaria can for the present, at least, discharge her obligations. The new Government has made it known that it will re-afforestate at the earliest some 300,000 hectares and will replant another 32,000 hectares of forests which have been destroyed by fire. It seemed firmly decided to put a stop to the abuses which have hitherto prevailed.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples E16

clearly show its origin from the Italian Renaissance» (!) (see fig. 42, Plate XIII 8). B 342

In this category of houses of the plains can also be included the troglodyte house, which is seen even to-day in some villages of Nothern Bulgaria. But it forms a separate sort of building as to disposition, construction and arrangement, and it will be mentioned separately at the end of the present survey. [351]

2. The Bulgarian House of the Mountains.

The houses of the mountainous areas of Bulgaria show a much greater variety of shapes: they are two-storied and, from an architectural point of view, more advanced, than the houses of the plains. The explanation, however, given by Zlatev, that this fact is due to the higher income of the population who live in mountainous areas and become rich through cattle-breeding, can only be accepted if we consider the fact that in the plains of Bulgaria, as well as in those of Greece, there have been big farms belonging to Turks during their occupation, and the farmers were living there as serfs.

The older of the still existing houses of the mountainous areas of Bulgaria are from the middle or the beginning of last century. If we exclude the houses of the Rodope and the Orvelo areas, that present some peculiarities, the characteristic mark of the highland Bulgarian house is the open portico, which covers all the length of one of the sides of the upper floor, usually the side overlooking the yard. The building has normally no windows opening to the street. This portico also includes the staircase leading from the ground floor to the upper floor. Thus the staircase is almost external, but under the roof of the house (Plates XIV and XV).

The upper storey usually projects over the external wall of the ground floor, along the whole or part of the frontage of the house. This is achieved by the very wide use of timber, both in construction and decoration. The kind of timber used is oak, in the forest districts of Haimos (Balkan) and Sredna Gora, and pine-trees as well as other conifers in the districts of Rodope and Orvelo (Pirin). It would appear that for the abundance of timber, the whole of the highland house was originally made out of wood (1). B [313]

1) According to **Niederle**, op. cit. p. 119, «the wood construction is the original form of house building for the Slavs, both in their villages and their SL 342

[Text continues on p. 69]

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631 663 no government had ever decided to apply such a programme of retrenchment voluntarily and deprive itself of the privilege which the dispensation of posts brought to it. For it must not be forgotten that the politicians held the electorate by the hope of office and the civil service by fear of dismissal from their posts.

645 663 Another administrative reform was a decrease in the number of Ministries. That of railways, posts and telegraphs, has been merged with that of Public Works into a Ministry of Communications, while those of Agriculture, and of Commerce and Industry have been fused into the Ministry of National Economy. This change will not only effect an economy in the personnel, but will obviate the necessity of duplicating similar work and services and generally simplify and expedite the work of the institutes. While the piacing of the Ministries of Industry and Agriculture under the same management will greatly facilitate the work of reconciling rival and often contradictory policies, which hitherto prevented the adoption of a rational general plan. Cuts and economies were effected in all branches of the administrations, the Ministers themselves setting the example by reducing their salaries by 50%, an example which was followed by managers of both State and private banks and other institutions.

663 475 316 On July 12, 1934 less, than two months from his assuming power, M. Kimon Gheorghiev announced in a public speech that his government had licensed 6220 public functionaries and effected economies in the budget amounting to a minimum of 385 million leva. The efficiency with which the work of overhauling the functioning of the administration was carried out may be gauged by the report on the management of the Pernik coal mine, which is an autonomous institution under State control. The new directors found that the former Agrarian Minister Ghitsev, under whose province came the supervising of

NEW BROOMS SWEEP CLEAN

the mine, had nominated 75 partisans as supernumeraries at a daily wage varying between 120 and 150 leva and that these busybodies never presented themselves at the mine even to receive their salaries, but that they had their emoluments regularly remitted to them at their domiciles. Another 170 persons had likewise been appointed in order to receive stipends but without doing any work. The new administration dismissed all redundant functionaries and by the beginning of 1935 the staff had been reduced from 5750 early in 1934, to 5100. The cost of extraction nad been diminisued from an average of 217 leva per ton in 1933, to 193 leva in 1934, and the quantity of coal extracted per day of 8 working hours per miner had increased from 753 kg. to 839 kg. The total output of the mine for 1934 reached the record figure of 1,266,000 tons. A saving of some 30 millions had been realised in the working of the mine, in spite of a decrease of 20% in the price of the coal delivered to the State railways and of 10% to 16% in that furnished to other consumers, which reductions could be estimated as amounting to some 55 millions. The new management likewise attempted to improve the social amenities of the working people and was reported to have provided free meals for the children of the miners attending school, to have opened crèches, and replaced 500 miners, who possessed sufficient incomes to live independently, by others who had no resources whatever, a fact which shows that the colleagues of M. Gheorghiev were decided not only to effect economies, but also to deal out as large a measure of social justice as possible.

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Another noteworthy measure passed by the Government was the law relative to the alleviation of debts, which radically solved a problem which was hanging fire for years. Owing to a drop of about 65% in the prices of agricultural produce between 1920 and 1933, the peasantry

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433 Neitsev remarked in the Sobranye on May 12, 1932, for Bulgarian flour was largely exported. 67 million kg. having been shipped in 1911 as against only 1,265,000 kg. in 1929. Actually ⅔ of the existing flour mills are redundant and can be bought at a quarter of their cost. This seems to be the case with most industries, for it was reported in 1933 that the mean output was only 45% of the normal.

316 433 There exists a scheme to develop anew copper mining in order that the 5 million kg. of copper sulfate needed annually for spraying the vines and which is obtained from Great Britain at a cost of 50 million leva may be produced locally. This plan may eventually materialise for the existing local copper mines produced as much as 31,310 tons in 1919 and the only product which would then be needed to import would be 700 to 800 tons of sulfuric acid at a cost of 5 million leva. Even this could be manufactured on the spot by utilising the local pyrites when the chemical industries are further developed.

The mineral resources of the country seem to be considerable, but they have not been properly exploited except in the case of the State-owned coal mine of Pernik the output of which reached 1,266,540 tons in 1934. There is a large lignite bed in the valley of the Maritsa, and recently it was reported that an extensive coal field had been discovered near Lom, on the Danube. The production of the mines in work during 1931, in tons was as follows:

Copper	Lead (1929)	Zinc (1929)	Mixed Zinc & Lead (1929)	Mixed Lead & Copper (1929)	Aluminium
900	3985	1925	11396	9923	1,382

Owing to the fall in prices most mines have closed. Salt is extracted from the saline marshes in the neighbourhood of Burgas, production varying from 35 (1932) to 19·5 (1933) million tons annually according to the state of the weather. Local requirements amount to about 60 million tons.

113, 323, 462, 415, 354, 789 Bulgaria EE1

[For information pertaining to the production of pottery, ceramic utensils, earth ovens, by women in Bulgaria, and associated magical beliefs, see 3: Filipovic, E13 Balkan Peoples, category 116.]

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Slovenes EF7
Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For additional miscellaneous bits of information on the use of brick, stone, tiles and masonry in building construction, see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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The artisans, though few in number, comprised a third occupational group. Just because their knowledge and special skill raised them above the ordinary peasant, these artisans in no sense of the word walked in the rarified atmosphere of the intelligentsia. In 1937 the people of Dragalevtsy supported one blacksmith, one full-time and two part-time tailors, a cobbler, and a barber. Of course, the six or seven Dragalevtsy men who went to Sofia every day to ply a skilled trade were enumerated in the census but had little connection with the economy of the village. The few tradesmen were identified more with the agricultural group than with the artisans.

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One of the most picturesque characters in the village was Iliya, the smith. Dark-complexioned, sturdy of frame, with his stolid face weighed down by enormous mustaches, he was far too forbidding in countenance to attract the village children to his small establishment behind Bai Penko's tavern. In fact, customers often had to look for him in the tavern, where he consumed record-breaking quantities of liquor. In his sober moods he and his two apprentices occasionally worked fourteen hours at a stretch to finish up some much-needed job. The three of them combined wagon-repairing with blacksmithing, working at the lathe almost as frequently as at the anvil. However, frequent preoccupation with hinges, wagon bolts, horseshoes, plowshares, and wheel rims gave Iliya a fair claim to being a *kovach*, or smith. So did his master smith's certificate hanging on the wall.

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Yurdan, the leading tailor, was another artisan. He and his wife Zdravka were a unique couple in that they were the only Dragalevtsy people to become involved in divorce proceedings within recent years. To be sure, Zdravka withdrew her petition for divorce soon after it reached the high church court, which, rather than civil bodies, then decided upon all matters pertaining to marriage. Yurdan had a small but well equipped workroom attached to his trim little house. Although Dragalevtsy-born, he worked for twelve years in Sofia as an apprentice and *maistor*, later becoming the first tailor to set up business in Dragalevtsy.

I often went to converse with Yurdan and Zdravka, for I found them both loquacious and inclined to be objective in their views of village life. I questioned them in particular about the peasant costumes, which always seemed picturesque to me, a foreigner. It was Zdravka who told me how the women made their garments.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

a trade school in Sofia. Because he drove in his wooden pegs with the best of them, he was building up a profitable business in the village. 000

Barbers stayed only a short while in Dragalevtsy. One from Sofia opened up a shop on the main square with high hopes, but his white coat and swanky airs attracted only a few intelligentsia and summer residents, and practically none of the peasants. The barber that seemed to enjoy the most popularity during his erratic visits to the village frequented the taverns. When his services were in demand, he pulled the victim's chair to a corner where he set to work in view of the general public. His mellow tenor voice, none the worse for his imbibing, brought him more trade than his ability as a barber. 305

Other artisans were even more itinerant than the barbers. The *maistori* (contractors, master builders) came to the village whenever a building was to be put up. One day in the fall of 1934, upon arriving in Renaissance Square I was amazed to see a shirt and a flag flying atop the highest beam of the then unfinished Obshtina, or municipal building. I heard a powerful voice calling out: 331

"Half a gallon of wine from Ivan Stoynov! May there be as many blessings in his house as there are ants in the field; may his joys be as numerous as the leaves on the trees."

The voice paused for a minute or two, perhaps for the owner to sample the wine, but soon rang out again substituting "two pairs of stockings" for the "half a gallon of wine" in the chant about the ants in the field and the leaves on the trees. I soon learned that the villagers had chosen this day to carry out the traditional practice of bringing presents to the master builder for distribution to his workmen, who were dutifully acknowledging the gifts in the accepted manner.

The tinsmiths usually were gypsies who spent a few days each year in Dragalevtsy. In spite of their low social position they performed a useful task in keeping the pots and kettles serviceable year in and year out. 326

My growing acquaintance with the people and the work they did helped me to sense the atmosphere of Dragalevtsy life. But I soon began to feel, with the peasants, the dominance of the great mountain 133

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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Yugoslavia EF1
Serbs EF6

by the Greek name of **ciler** (κελλάρι = cellar) or by Turkish names, proving that this addition to the local house building was made only later, in the years of the Turkish occupation, when Turkish names replaced the older Greek ones. Y 342 171 192

It should also be noted that the tiles, which replaced thatch and willows for the roofing of the Serb houses, are called by the Greek name of keramid (1). The courtyard of the houses in the Herzegovina, with its stone paved ground, the stone low walls, the creeping vine and the flowers, is also called by the Greek name of «**avlija**» (2), which is also used in Sarajevo. Se [342] Y [351]

Unfortunately we cannot follow the evolution of the Jugoslav house in detail except in Bosnia and Herzegovina because only these two countries have been surveyed by Rudolf Meringer, as it has been mentioned before. Y 342 184

At first, it must be noted that the construction of houses in these two Slav countries presents some differences, mainly as regards the building materials available in each area The Bosnian house, because of the wooded nature of the country, is in the most cases built of wood and has a very steep high roof, covered with wooden planks. The Herzegovinian house on the other hand is stone-built from the foundations to the roof, which is usually covered with slates. Another, more important, difference, concerns the composition of the house. In Bosnia, the house has two rooms; one of these is the kitchen (kuhinja, kuc'a) and the other the chamber (soba), each room having a different method of heating; the kitchen has an open fire-place (ognichte) and the room has a stove (pec). In Herzegovina, the house has one room and has the fire-place near one of the walls (Kamin) (3). Y [333] Y [354]

The simpler forms of the bipartite dwelling are shown in figg. 52 and 53. The first of these, entirely primitive in the method and the means of construction, has its walls woven like a basket and its high roof is covered with straw, fixed by long poles coming Y 342

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1) According to **Cvijic** op. cit. p. 231 «the first tile (céramida) was taken to Sumadija by tilers of the districts Pirot and Nic in the first years of the 19th century».

2) **R. Meringer** in Wissensch. Mitteil aus Bosnien VII p. 267. It should be noted that there are many Greek names for utensils and furniture of the Serv and the Bosnian house. f. i. musandra (μεσάντρα), deska (δίσκος), krevet (κρεββάτι) etc. **R. Meringer** in Sitzungsber. d. Akad. Wien 144, 2,31. Se [192]

3) **R. Meringer,** Das volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien pp. 251, 285, 289. Die Stellung des bosn. Hauses, op. cit. p. 2. 30 and foll.

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Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For the special terminological usage of "cylindrical tiles" in house construction, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, p. 87./

113
333
323

Slovenes EF7
Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For additional miscellaneous bits of information on the use of brick, stone, tiles and masonry in building construction, see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

342 the entrance is generally in the center of the long side of the house, there are a number of houses (some of them two-story) where the door is on one of the short sides. In this case, the veranda is also found on the short side (Gellert, 1934: 6-7). Gellert (1934: 14) states that complicated houses such as appear in western [171] Bulgaria and Macedonia are missing in east Bulgaria. The Turkish-Oriental style present in southwestern Bulgaria is likewise missing.

[184] In central Bulgaria the same building materials are used as in eastern Bulgaria. In Ihtimanska Sredna Gora the ground floor may be of stone and bond timbers. The upper story is of brushwood, with or without plaster, or timber-framing filled with mud or unfired bricks. Whitewashing is frequent. Straw is rarely used for roofing and tiles predominate. On the foothills near Čirpan thin chalk slabs are used for roofing. Shingled roofs are absent (Gellert, 1937: 152-3).

One-story houses with a veranda enclosed at the sides are common. The veranda rarely extends along the whole front of the [184] house. In general, these houses are larger in the plains than in Sredna Gora and the Sub-Balkan Basins. In south central Bulgaria (Taleŝmanli and Monastirski Vrh) the side rooms protrude to such an extent that they are covered with separate hipped roofs the ridgepoles of which are connected with the main roof (Gellert, 1937: 154).

Two-story houses are numerous in the mountain regions. They are usually built on an incline. Very frequently, the veranda is changed into an anteroom and a balcony is added (fig. 56a) (Gellert, 1937: 155). Generally the lower story serves as a shelter for animals, as storage rooms and also as winter living quarters for the family (Ivimy, 1939).

[184] In the mountain regions near Golak and in Mečka on the Topolnica River the houses tend to be squarer and in this case the veranda is bordered only on one side by a room. The roof is in the shape of a flat pyramid, or has only a very short ridgepole (Gellert, 1937: 157). In central Bulgaria one finds the čardak, a [341] balcony on a two-storied house. It differs from the veranda in that it is not as massive and is not built into the building (fig. 56d) (Gellert, 1937: 151).

351 184 Farm Buildings. The material used for the enclosure of farmyards varies from region to region, and there may be a great variety of forms in a single area. In the mountain regions and in the Sub-Balkan basins the enclosure is made of woven brushwood or, less commonly, of dry masonry or mud. The entrance is a door of simple wickerwork or boards. In some villages at the foot of Sredna Gora and in some western villages the yard is enclosed by a stone wall with inserted bond timbers. In some areas, particularly around Mečka on the Topolnica River, a fence may be lacking. In general however, wood and brushwood are preferred in the mountain regions. In the Marica plain, between Ihtimanska Sredna Gora and Čirpan,

17: Thurnher E-4 (no date) 1956 EF6 Serbs EF6
Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

SYARB
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361
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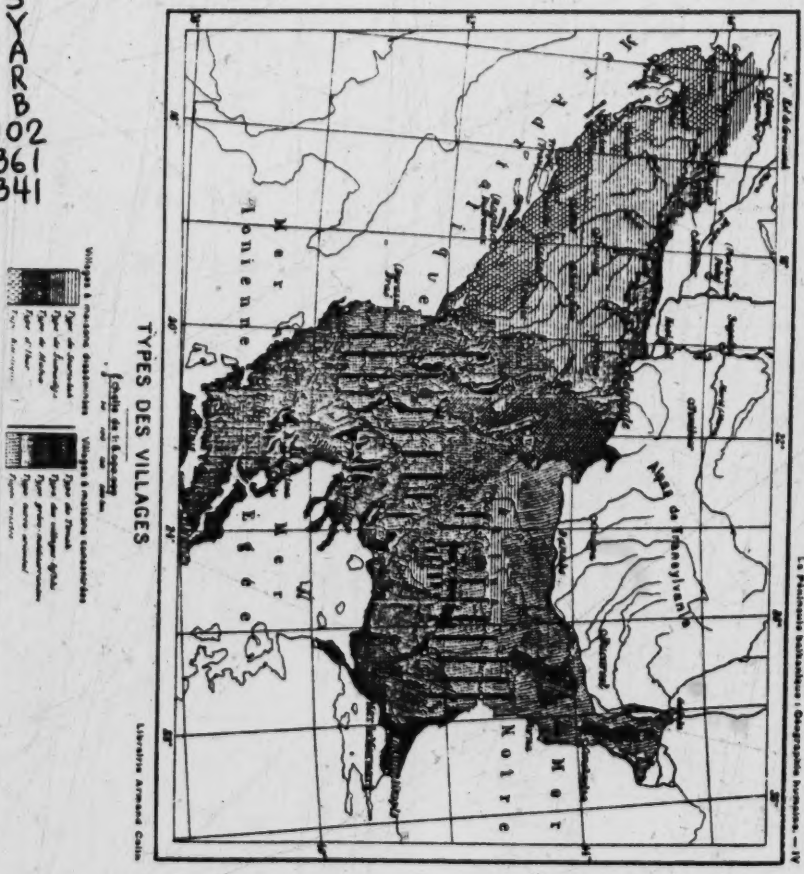

[P.86-R]

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

G
175
648
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648

vader's country (1) and they were obliged not only to cultivate the land on behalf of their owners, but also to carry out all other work and naturally to build permanent houses which were necessary, since Bulgars were to establish themselves for good in these newly conquered districts.

For a long time Bulgars had either the disposition nor the sense to learning arts and crafts. Even where they had abandoned their incursions and lootings and were giving themselves to peaceful occupations, as agriculture and stock-breeding, they did not take to the arts. The palaces and the churches of Bulgaria have been built by foreigners, especially by Greeks, such as the beautiful palace of Aboba near Schumen, which is a monument of Byzantine style of the 9th or 10th century (2). But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, accord-

[361]
[727]
[463]
[177]
[341]

1) The Bulgarian inroads on Greek territories for looting and capture of prisoners began in the period of Asparouch (679-701) and continued till the reign of Michael (1246-1257). King Krum, when he captured Adrianoupolis in 813, took away all her inhabitants, as well as those of the surrounding areas, all amounting to 40.000, into Bulgarian territory to the North of the Danube. Another 50.000 prisoners together with other loot, were taken during the winter of the same year from Thrace (**W. Slatarski,** Geschichte der Bulgaren, I, Leipzig, 1918 p. 15,29). According to the Bulgarian historian **Ivan Sakazov** (Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Berlin u. Leipzig, 1929, p. 57 foll.) «Bulgaria was filled up with prisoners and cattle, which formed the Bulgarian national wealth and made their well-being possible. It was on this basis that the material civilization was formed, which Omortag, Krum's heir, bequeathed to his descendents.» Later (1206), during a battle near the Tountza river, when the Bulgarian Ioannitzis or Skyloyiannis was totally defeated by the Greeks, 20.000 prisoners together with 3.000 carts were liberated, while they were led towards Bulgaria together with a great amount of loot. See **Diog. Xanalatos,** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βούλγαροι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θρᾴκην. Α' Athens 1914 pp. 17, 22 etc. 33, 39, 40 etc. Cp. **K. Paparrigopoulos,** Ἱστορ. Ἑλλ. Ἔθνους 6th edition, tome 4, b, 186 and foll. t. 5, a 23. **K. Amandos,** Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους Α' 1939 p. 411. Β' 1947, pp 5, 173, 426. Οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1923 p. 26 and 40 **Ant. Keramopoullos** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες, Athens 1945, p. 167 and foll. **G. A. Megas,** Ἀδριανούπολις ἡ πολυκρουσεμένη in the periodical Ἑλληνικὴ Δημιουργία t. I 1948 pp. 93 and foll.

2) **L. Niederle,** op. cit. 112. **C. Jirecek** says that: «Even in the best years of the Middle Ages, during the reign of Tsar Symeon, according to the evidence given by Joannis Exarchos, there were to be seen but straw-covered huts in Bulgaria, except for the palace of the king». Straw-covered huts in Bulgaria are also mentioned by Kantakouzinos, 1, 144, edit. Bonn.

B
[342]

According to the Bulgarian historian **I. Sakazov,** op cit. p. 41, «The very beginnings of an economic organisation in Bulgaria appeared in the court of the Tsars and with the aristocracy, who were trying to imitate the Byzan-

G 175 648 B 175 648 [463] [177] [341] [342] [171] G [342] [171] B 177 341

But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, according to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages)(1).

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic(!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov**, op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

G [172] [463] [331]

1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2 000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali,** Ἠπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη, Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll.

9:Megas I,B-5,4(no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Bulgaria EE1
Yugoslavia EF1

the Greek influence on Bulgarian architecture; but he attributes it to the Italian Renaissance elements of art introduced long before from Byzantium to the Western Europe as well. The Bulgarian author, however, not being able to ignore the historical truth completely, admits somewhat vaguely the links that connected his country with Hellenic cilivisation even during the Turkish occupation. He says that: «The far reaching boundaries of the Ottoman empire isolated the Bulgarian race from the civilized world and thus neutralized the various influences. The Bulgarian people, being thus isolated, was placed under the influence of the Byzantine civilization under which it has been in the past and with which it was closely connected» (p. 155).

B 177 341

The remarks of Jovan Cvijic are thus proved by the facts; he says the following about the Bulgarian house: «Before the Bulgarian liberation (1878) most of the houses belonged to the farm house (tsiflik) type [1]. On the Haimos mountains, however, and in the ends of the Hevros plain, and above all in the Rodope valleys we see big two-storied houses, due to Greco-mediterranean and Byzantine influence».

B [342]

B. THE JUGOSLAV HOUSE

About the Jugoslav dwellings, I did not manage to have under consideration a survey so detailed as that I had about Bulgarian housings[2]; that is why I shall limit myself, for the time being, to the studies of R. Meringer on the popular house of Bosnia and Herzegovina[3] and to elements given on the Jugoslav houses by some

Y 342 127

1) He means the agricultural house of the slave-farmers of the Thessalian, Macedonian and Thracian valleys and of the other countries that were under Turkish rule. **J. Cvijic**, Peninsule Balkanique p. 250.

2) The relative surveys, which I could not find in the local libraries, are the following:

1. **M. Murko,** Zur Geschichte des volkstümlichen Hauses bei den Südslaven (Mittheilungen der Anthropol. Gesellschaft, vol. 35-36, Wien, 1906).
2. **K. Rhamm,** Ethnographische Beiträge zur germanisch-slavischen Alterthumskunde I-III, Braunschweig, 1905-1910 (II Altslav. Wohnhaus).
3. **A. Haberlandt,** Volkskunst der Balkanländer, Wien 1918.
4. **A. Haberlandt,** Kulturwissenschaft. Beiträge zur Volkskunde von Montenegro, Albanien u. Serbien, Wien, 1917.

Y [113]

3) **R. Meringer** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina (Wissenschaftl. Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina, VII, 1900, pp. 249 290). **R. Meringer,** Die Stellung des bosnischen Houses und Etymo-

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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"Most of the houses in Dragalevtsy were one-storied." *See page 22.*

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"The hearth or stove was the focal point of the barely furnished living room." *See page 23.*

[facing p. 13]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

CHAPTER II

THE HOUSE BECOMES A HOME

ALTHOUGH I had been studying Bulgarian peasant life for three years before concentrating upon Dragalevtsy, I never ceased to marvel at the home life of these people. Their quiet, satisfied way of taking their marriage partners for granted, the manner in which they treated their children, and the brief courting days of the young invariably fascinated me. Therefore, I started at the beginning to learn. 000

"How do you build a house?" I asked, eager to check my observations with their frequently droll explanations of why they did as they did. 342

The seriousness with which the peasants replied showed that building a house, although it cost only five or six hundred dollars, was a tremendously important undertaking to the Dragalevtsy family. The "new house" was discussed for a year or two in advance by the members, who also consulted kinsmen and neighbors before eventually deciding as to the type of dwelling desired. Before they could begin any construction the villagers had to get a permit from the Department of Engineering in Sofia, which sent out an engineer to "draw up the line" and to offer the choice of two or three plans. The government in requiring this permission sought to do away with the long, unhygienic, old-style type of home which the peasant would traditionally build. The fee for the services of the engineer was about a dollar and a half. [656]

The family members next began to gather the materials. They piled up wagonloads of stone, and purchased sand, lumber, brick, and tiles before they called in the master builder *(maistor)* from outside to tell him what kind of house they wanted and to agree verbally about details. If all the materials had been gathered ahead of time, 342

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

342 the house went up quickly, perhaps within three weeks. The skilled labor was furnished by workers brought into the village by the *maistor.*

A brief ceremony accompanied the completion of the simple stone foundation. The priest sprinkled holy water on the new construction, and the chief guests signed their names on a parchment which was then placed in a bottle filled with olive oil and wine and thrown into a deep hole later to be filled in as part of the foundation. Food and drink were served to the guests.

Most of the houses in Dragalevtsy were one-storied, though the slope of the land often made possible a room just below the first floor. The inner wall, made of crude mud brick, was covered inside and outside by mud plaster, which was whitewashed when dry. As soon as the roof beams were in place, before the colorful red tiles were added, a cross was tied aloft to stand guard, as it were, until the house was completed. The houses, on the whole, impressed me as being small and low, so low in fact that repeated bumps finally taught me to keep my head down upon entering a room. Only one-third of the homes had as many as three rooms. Almost half of the homes had wooden floors; the rest were of clay, packed to the hardness of concrete by the tread of bare and sandaled feet.

Soon after occupying the house and scrubbing it very clean, the family fasted one week in order to insure success and good health. The following Sunday, after the morning church service, two priests, the neighbors, relatives, and specially invited friends arrived to dedicate the home. For an added fee the priests substituted the more efficacious oil for the ordinary holy water; they read passages from the Gospels; swung their smoking censers; and displayed the other sacred objects called for by the ritual. A festive meal followed. The family was now at home.

These various ceremonies, perfunctory though they sometimes were, heightened the significance of the home and showed the close alliance between the formalized religion and family life. In other words, moving to a new home was a major undertaking which occurred not more than once or twice in a lifetime. Such an event called for solemnity and the benediction of the priest.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

The hearth or stove was the focal point of the barely furnished living room. When winter came the small fires burned steadily, but slowly as though undernourished. For fuel, people in Dragalevtsy used small branches brought from the village forest up on the mountainside, though a few bought coal from the mine at Pernik. No longer did they burn cow dung. Older people of the family felt that fire was sacred because it could bring on great disasters; therefore, it should not be treated lightly. The aged would never think of spitting in the fire, and gravely deplored this disrespect of the young. This attitude is perhaps an ancient survival of the days when the Bulgarians were sunworshipers. 354 372

The walls of the homes were pierced by comparatively few windows, which were small and were kept tightly shut during the winter to keep out the "dangerous" night air. The rest of the wall space was brightened somewhat by gaudy calendars decidedly patriotic in theme. The iron bedsteads or the heavy wooden beds which lined the walls contrasted strikingly with some homemade cradle or trundle bed reserved for the succession of young. A kneading trough stood near the door, usually covered to serve as a table. The only other table was a low circular *sofra* around which people ate seated on three-legged stools. I once asked a peasant: 342 [353] 352 811

"Why do all of your little stools have three legs instead of four?"

"Far back in the past people used such stools and so we use them also. And I guess they are easier to be made and also are cheaper; furthermore, some people think that they keep a better balance since on a three-legged stool there is one less leg to wear down and become uneven than would be the case with a four-legged stool."

I have not been able to discover any flaw in this example of peasant logic. The same woman once explained to me why the people use the *sofra,* which is two feet high:

"This height was chosen through the ages because if it were lower, people would have to sit on the dirty floor. If it were the height of a regular table such as people have in the taverns, the three-legged stools would be too short. Therefore, the height of our table and the height of our stools are intimately connected."

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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"For fuel, people . . . used small branches brought from the village forest up on the mountainside." *See page 23.*

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". . . we use a great deal of bread, which is baked by the women . . . in the ovens standing in the yards. . . ." *See page 26.*

[Facing p. 32]

296 formation as to wash days: "We wash twice a week: on Monday and Wednesday, or on Wednesday and Saturday."

351 Many of the yards still had the threshing floor, reminiscent of Old Testament days. This could be located by a forlorn post which seemed to be serving no useful purpose. In the fall great quantities of drying wool hung from the clotheslines; and a little later the family piled in the yard the winter supply of wood from the forest.

342 The eaves of the house, deep as they were, sheltered such things as strings of drying peppers and ears of corn; milk utensils hung beneath them practically the year round; even the scythes and wooden hayforks found frequent lodging there. Storks nested in the trees and chimneys. With the coming of the warmer weather the sheep left their folds in the yards for the pastures, and the shepherd took with him his wattled shelter, which he moved on sleds across the grassy meadows.

[789] In many yards a heavy, large-wheeled wagon stood near the
351 primitive sheds for the animals and the ever-present strawstack. If the peasants were unusually superstitious, there would be dabs of blue paint on the wagon to keep the Evil Eye away. When the weather
231 was nice there were usually children at play in the yard. Upon seeing
609 a visitor they added their lusty shouts to the ominous barking of the dogs. They chased the dogs away from the gate by throwing sticks and stones at them, and at the same time warned the visitor to be on the alert. Far too often the dogs sneaked up behind to nip an ankle of the unsuspecting visitor.

247 The yards had few flowers, because chickens of a nondescript
351 variety pecked freely throughout the premises. One or two scraggly trees, from which the children shook most of the fruit before it had
735 time to ripen, stood in a corner wistfully seeking to give a touch of
511 beauty to the scene. In the spring the blossoms of such trees made the village bright, but when the fruit and leaves were gone the bare, black skeletons of the trees fitted in only too well with the poverty and sternness of village life. Poor land, inefficiently tilled, contributed to this poverty. Although the peasants worked hard in their fields, they had little cash on hand after selling their crops and paying their debts. Home improvements were postponed from year to year, but the hard work kept on just the same.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

complaint the women made against drinking was economic, the spending of money "for nothing," as they said. 000

Husbands and wives also disagreed frequently over the importance of a certain task, since the husband was likely to order the wife to work in the field when she felt it necessary to complete some task at the house. Money was often a source of conflict. Since all the villagers were members of the same church they rarely argued about religion, the few discussions which did arise being about the desirability or undesirability of church attendance. One of the most significant results of this study of village families was to show how little disagreement there was concerning in-laws, since husband and wife usually stood together as a unit against these outsiders, whether they belonged to her family, his family, or had married their son or daughter. 593 [771] [606]

In spite of these quarrels about discipline, drink, and jobs to be done, most couples considered their marital venture highly successful. I believe that an important reason for the success of marriage in Dragalevtsy was the recognition on the part of husband and wife that even love was not an answer to all of life's problems. They took each day's pleasures and disappointments as they came, rejoicing or sorrowing in quiet unison.

Many times as I listened to the husband or wife gravely narrating with satisfaction and pride the calm and uneventful story of their marriage partnership, details of the room in which we were sitting would strike me with such force that I had to recall myself with an effort to the conversation. We always sat in the best room; sometimes it was the only room. It was always the room where the family lived. The chief furniture was a bed, perhaps two or even three beds. And here two or three couples and their children spent their days and nights. I would try to imagine married life under such circumstances. [342]

Life of any kind became not merely a matter of privacy, but really a problem of where to carry on the necessary daily activities without getting in another's way. And yet, in most of these crowded households the marriage bond had grown strong. If there was no actual happiness, I often saw a friendly contentment and a mutual regard, particularly as the couple grew older and could look back upon years of joint achievement.

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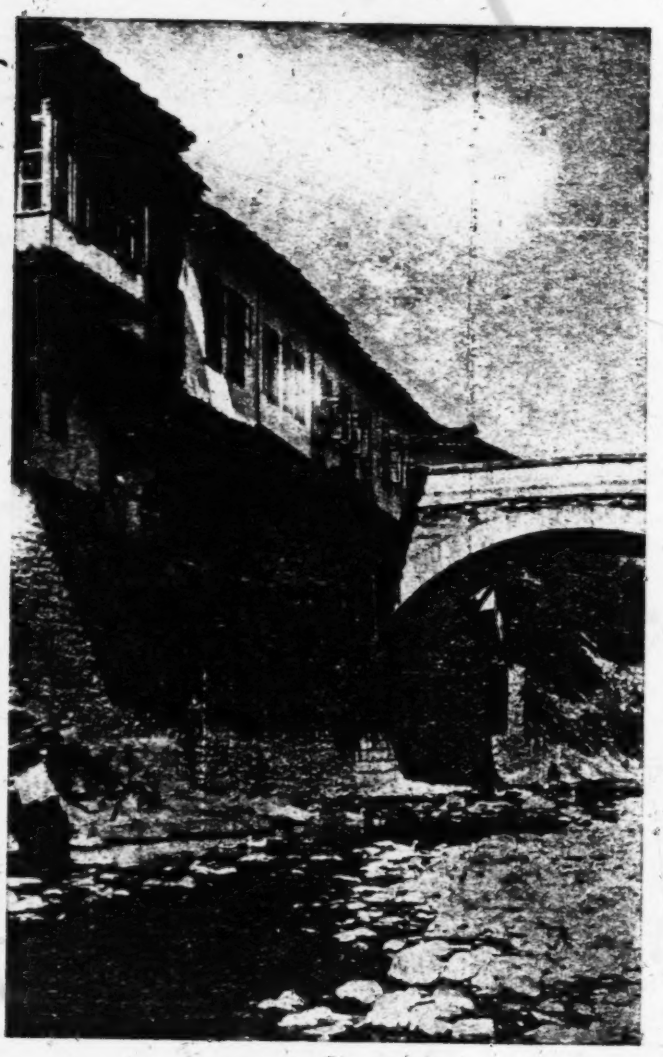

TROYAN

[facing p 193]

1: Karutz--59 E-4 (no date) 1925 E1 Europe
Bulgaria EE1

/88/ The Bulgarians

000 1. Hair dress of young women, with tresses decorated with silver. 2. and 3. Decorative pendants. 4. Head ornament of the brides, made of flowers and silver coins. 5. Woman wearing an embroidered blouse and a woven carpet apron. 6. Drawing well. 7. Neck ornament. 8. Hand mill for salt. 9. Threshing sled. 10. Cave dwelling on the Lon. 11. Fire saw. 12. Village street. 13. Shelter of the field herders. 14. Household altar. 15. Rattle board of wood, from a monastery. 16. Signalling horn of a country mailman. 17. Sawing frame.[1]

175 At the time of the Romans present-day Bulgaria was called
101 Moesia in its northern (Danube) region, Thracia in its southern section,
144 and it was inhabited by an Indo-European people of North European extraction; at the time when old Greek, and later Roman and Byzantine, immigrants moved there and intermingled with it. From the sixth century on, the Slavic wave moved closer, and from the seventh century onwards Finnish Turko-Tataric migrant herders and horse breeders repeatedly found their way into this country from the middle Volga.
46 From these the Bulgarians adopted and kept the herding system, by the side of which the Thracian and Slavic agriculture was maintained. The Ottoman Turks coming from the southeast provided the country
181 with its class of craftsmen and tradesmen. This mosaic of races and peoples developed a particularly powerful and healthy stock of people whose high life expectancy is well known, as well as a temperate,
531 industrious, and sober character. It mirrors a corresponding multiplicity
177 of cultures; thus we have in art types that range from the Scythian style and its predilection for phantastic animal forms to the Byzantine and ancient Oriental motifs; from the cellular stone inlays of the period of the Teutonic migrations (belt clasps) to the Tatar decorative pendants (Figures 2, 3, and 7),[1] and from the Slavic joy in ornamentation and
592 colors to the Turkish, recent Near Eastern household industries. The Slavic household community, which takes up every new generation into the fabric of the family, has as its consequence the form of settlement
342 by individual and separate farmsteads. Aside from occasional underground dwelling pits in the loess, of which only the pointed roof of rushes rises above the ground, there are one-story high, rectangular panel-work houses covered with loam, placed either on a level with the soil, or else on top of a wooden substructure for the working sheds.

[1] [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a -- Analyst]
[2] [See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 57a -- Analyst]

342 and the stables; in the mountains there are usually structures with many
stories. Formerly the windows used to have wooden sashes that ran
along a groove and that one could slide to the side, in place of window
262 panes. The style of life is simple; in the country the herders were often
contented with sour milk, and the farmers with maize and millet beer.
231 The raising of livestock specializes in cattle, sheep, and goats, and
[221] takes place in the form of a migratory herding system, which commutes
back and forth between the mountains in the summer and the plains
241 in the winter. The agriculture produces wheat, maize, barley, and
rye, and in the temperate, nay, even hot, South, it cultivates rice,
cotton, and sesame; from here, too, come the olive trees, the citrous
412 trees, and the chestnut trees. The hand mill is mostly used only for
salt, other kinds of primitive tools have scarcely been preserved. The
threshing sled (Figure 9) came from the Orient; it is made of hard
planks that have been bent upward at the front and into which sharp-
edged fire-stones have been forced. When it is in use it is weighted
down enough by the stones and by the weight of the leader to be able
to press out the ears of grain. The rattle board (Figure 15) has its
counterparts all over ancient Europe. The sawing frame of the wandering
wood cutters is an original invention. It includes a box filled with
stones which is fastened by two rods and revolves around a horizontal
axis, so that by its weight it supports the backward movement of the
291 saw. Through the universal joy in colors and in ornaments the national
dress displays a great deal of variety. The basic elements of the men's
clothing are a long, rough shirt with a wide cut which is embroidered
with colored wool along the chest opening and along the shoulder;
cloth or leather trousers, pleated in the Turkish manner in the east,
in the west evenly tight-fitting, with a long woollen waistband; and
legging-like calf cloths, as well as sandals; a sleeveless jacket or
coat-like upper garment with wool trimmings and laces; a sheep's fur
or hooded mantle; a dark and low lambskin cap. The women wear
blouses with embroidered and crocheted ornamentation, skirts with
belts, firmly woven, embroidered apron skirts, sleeveless vests or
sleeve jackets, kerchiefs, headdresses and garlands around their fore-
302 heads with fringe bands covered with coins and hanging far down. The
301 girls wear their hair in from 20 to 30 tresses which are held together
just below shoulder level by means of chains or buckles with silver
coins and pearls, and which, at the end, are gathered together into
one single tress (Figure 1). They also have costly ornaments of little
gold and silver plates, as well as of filigree work for which the threads
were formerly often taken from ancient coins.
*[see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a --- Analyst]

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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Bulgaria EE1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

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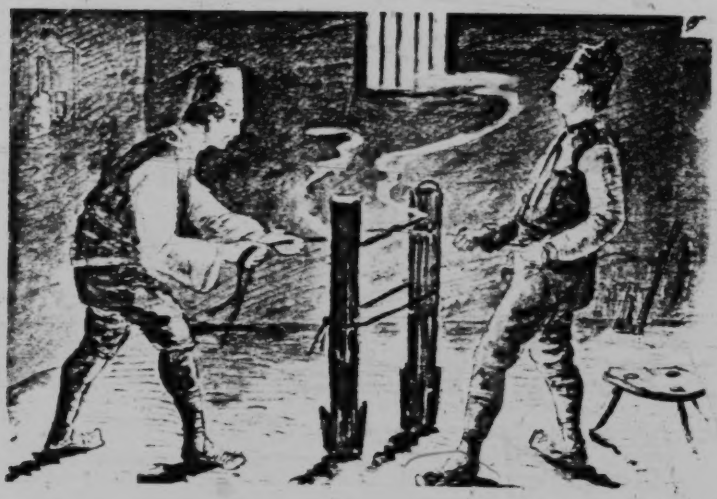

Fire making in Bulgaria and Macedonia
(From drawings by V. Titelbach)

[Facing page 144]

ALBANIA EG1
BULGARIA EE1

A 342 343 When stables are not present, man and animals may live together in the same one-room house; occasionally a breast-high fence serves as a separation. Even in a one-room house there is a separate entrance for the animals. Occasionally stables are made of wood. I was unable to find more information on them, but it would appear that horses are more frequently kept in a stable on the ground floor than in a separate building. Sheds for storage are better made than the stables and rest on stone foundations to permit circulation of air (Nopcsa, 1925: 22). In northern Albania there are no separate houses for hay.

A 342 226 [824] Buildings Outside the Village. Cone-like huts (kačor) are used as temporary buildings by fishermen in the swampy regions of the coast. They are made of rough branches that interlock at the top. They are 2 meters in diameter and 2.5-3 meters high, covered with reeds which make them waterproof (Nopcsa, 1925: 8).

A 342 [84] In the plains near Scutari, one finds semi-subterranean buildings. A deep excavation, 8 by 3 by .30 meters is made; on the long sides a wall 40 centimeters high of dry masonry is built up and on the short sides a wall 2 meters high. The gabled roof is of straw, and earth is built up until it touches the eaves. Grass soon begins to grow over the roof and it is not easily recognizable. The door is on the gabled side, the fireplace opposite it. This structure is used by shepherds and their cattle in winter. Similar buildings are found in Wallachia (fig. 63) (Nopcsa, 1925: 9).

A [233]

A 343 In the barren mountains of northern Albania one finds storage houses built against the slope of a hill. Only a side wall and a front wall are erected. Horizontal beams are laid over this, then wooden boards, and lastly earth. Here one also finds dairy huts made of masonry, rarely of wood, resembling the simple one-unit house. They are meant for summer use and are erected on the sunny slopes. Each one has an enclosure in which the sheep are kept at night. The enclosure is irregular in shape and the fence is of wicker or of stone.

BULGARIA

B 342 [127] Data on the Bulgarian farm houses have been derived mainly from the works of J. F. Gellert on Central Bulgaria (1937) and East Bulgaria (1934). Cvijić, in his work La Péninsule Balkanique, deals but briefly with Bulgaria, commenting that his Mixed type predominates and that one finds "une mélange extraordinaire de formes d'ancienne maisons" (Cvijić, 1918: 251).

B 131 Central Bulgaria is the region extending from the Ihtimanska Sredna Gora to the Tundža River in the east; the northern boundary includes the southern slopes of the Balkan Mountains, and in the south it terminates at the Rhodopes. It includes mountainous regions in the north and the lowlands of the Marica River. East Bulgaria

B [133]

extends from the Rumanian border south to the towns of Karnobat and Burgas. 131

Location and Types of Settlement. The presence of water is an important factor in the location of the settlements. Villages tend to be located along the Marica, Topolnica Strema and Tundža rivers. In the Tundža Mountains settlements are on the slopes of hills. Isolated hills in the Marica valley are preferred spots. Settlements rarely descend into the fertile river plain, most of them being located at its edge (Gellert, 1937: 142-43). In the Sub-Balkan regions, settlements are rarely at the bottom of steep valleys or on steep slopes, a gentler terrain being preferred (Gellert, 1937: 143). 361 133 [312]

Due to the irregular terrain and deep valleys in the Topolnica and Ihtimanska Sredna Gora regions, the settlements are in the form of hamlets (mahala, kolibi) of 2-10 farmsteads, scattered over the spurs overlooking a valley in which is located the main village (Gellert, 1937: 168). In eastern Bulgaria the villages show no regular plan. In the plains the villages are large and the buildings less crowded, the roads being often exaggeratedly wide. In mountainous terrain the roads are narrow and crooked, often unsuitable for carts (Gellert, 1937: 164). [491]

House Types. In eastern Bulgaria the building materials are boards, wicker, mud and unfired brick. Usually a framework of wood is filled with wicker, which may or may not be plastered. Compact walls are often made of mud, unfired brick or stones, strengthened with horizontal bond timbers. These may form the foundation on which the upper story of timber-framing is built. The hipped roof is of straw, reeds or brushwood. On the longer side of the house the eaves extend over a veranda that is raised about 10 centimeters from the ground. The walls are generally whitewashed, and each room has an exit to the veranda. Chimneys are of woven brushwood or of fieldstones and are plastered with mud. Bulgarians often build one half of the house first and plan to add more rooms later; when one side of the roof is not hipped it means that the house is not finished (Gellert, 1934: 8). 342

A two to three room house is common. Often the veranda is between the protruding side rooms (fig. 56c). The central room is generally windowless and serves as a winter kitchen. Frequently many farm units are included in the main house. One of the side rooms may be transformed into a stable with a separate entrance from the outside (fig. 56c) (Gellert, 1934: 8-9).

Two-story buildings are in the majority (fig. 56a, 56b). In the ground floor are the stable and cellar. Often annexes are built on the sides (fig. 56e) and the back, and the roof is extended over them. Here, too, the veranda is enclosed by the two side rooms. The stairway leading up to the veranda may be a simple one of wood or a massive one of unfired brick (Gellert, 1934: 10-11). While

17:Thurnher. E-4 (no date) 1956 EF6 Serbs
BULGARIA. EE1

342 the entrance is generally in the center of the long side of the house, there are a number of houses (some of them two-story) where the door is on one of the short sides. In this case, the veranda is also found on the short side (Gellert, 1934: 6-7). Gellert (1934: 14) states that complicated houses such as appear in western [171] Bulgaria and Macedonia are missing in east Bulgaria. The Turkish-Oriental style present in southwestern Bulgaria is likewise missing.

[184] In central Bulgaria the same building materials are used as in eastern Bulgaria. In Ihtimanska Sredna Gora the ground floor may be of stone and bond timbers. The upper story is of brushwood, with or without plaster or timber-framing filled with mud or unfired bricks. Whitewashing is frequent. Straw is rarely used for roofing and tiles predominate. On the foothills near Čirpan thin chalk slabs are used for roofing. Shingled roofs are absent (Gellert, 1937: 152-3).

One-story houses with a veranda enclosed at the sides are common. The veranda rarely extends along the whole front of the [184] house. In general, these houses are larger in the plains than in Sredna Gora and the Sub-Balkan Basins. In south central Bulgaria (Taleŝmanli and Monastirski Vrh) the side rooms protrude to such an extent that they are covered with separate hipped roofs the ridge-poles of which are connected with the main roof (Gellert, 1937: 154).

Two-story houses are numerous in the mountain regions. They are usually built on an incline. Very frequently, the veranda is changed into an anteroom and a balcony is added (fig. 56a) (Gellert, 1937: 155). Generally the lower story serves as a shelter for animals, as storage rooms and also as winter living quarters for the family (Ivimy, 1939).

[184] In the mountain regions near Golak and in Meŝka on the Topolnica River the houses tend to be squarer and in this case the veranda is bordered only on one side by a room. The roof is in the shape of a flat pyramid, or has only a very short ridgepole (Gellert, 1937: 157). In central Bulgaria one finds the Šardak, a [341] balcony on a two-storied house. It differs from the veranda in that it is not as massive and is not built into the building (fig. 56d) (Gellert, 1937: 151).

351 184 Farm Buildings. The material used for the enclosure of farm-yards varies from region to region, and there may be a great variety of forms in a single area. In the mountain regions and in the Sub-Balkan basins the enclosure is made of woven brushwood or, less commonly, of dry masonry or mud. The entrance is a door of simple wickerwork or boards. In some villages at the foot of Sredna Gora and in some western villages the yard is enclosed by a stone wall with inserted bond timbers. In some areas, particularly around Meŝka on the Topolnica River, a fence may be lacking. In general however, wood and brushwood are preferred in the mountain regions. In the Marica plain, between Ihtimanska Sredna Gora and Čirpan,

almost all farms have high walls of unfired brick which are topped with a small roof of straw. The large gateway is also roofed over and has a small door for people. In the eastern Marica plain the fence is of wickerwork or consists merely of a hedge (Gellert, 1937: 161-62). In eastern Bulgaria the enclosure, if present, is a low one of brushwood (Gellert, 1934: 5). 351 184

In the Marica plain there appears to be a difference between the enclosures in the east and west that cannot be attributed to the presence or absence of the necessary raw materials. Gellert believes that the high enclosures in the west are due to a persistence of Turkish traits (Gellert, 1937: 162). Also, in Sredna Gora and the Sub-Balkan basins high walls are limited to the west (Gellert, 1937: 162). [177]

In the mountains and the Sub-Balkan basins the yards are small and crowded together because there is little arable land (Gellert, 1937: 164). When the enclosures are of stone the yards are rectangular; when the fences are of wood or hedges the yards are often rounded and there is often much free land between the separate yards (Gellert, 1937: 165). 351 [311]

Since the houses are generally built to shelter both men and farm animals and have a number of annexes built onto them, one would expect fewer separate farm buildings. Barns are not typical of central Bulgaria. In Ihtiman we find two-roomed barns made of timber-framing and mud. The eaves may be extended and supported by pillars to form a shelter. Only in the extreme east of the Marica plain are barns widespread. Here a small side annex is added to the barn; the entrance is on the short side where the eaves are extended to form a shelter (Gellert, 1937: 158). In Juricite one finds Turkish store houses being used by the Bulgarian population, although in east Bulgaria they are used almost exclusively by the Turks (Gellert, 1937: 160). These are large buildings of woven brushwood with a straw roof that extends far out to the sides. They are generally built on an incline. The entrance is on the short side and the back is rounded (fig. 39) (Gellert, 1934: 3). In Karlevo Basin one finds store houses of wickerwork with straw roofs which have poles attached to the ridge to prevent the straw from being blown away (Gellert, 1937: 159). Stables for sheep in east Bulgaria are long narrow huts of stone covered with straw or reed (Gellert, 1934: 3). In general the various sheds and shelters for animals are of poor construction and have no particular regional characteristics (Gellert, 1937: 159). 343 184 [177]

Summer kitchens are numerous; they are either built onto the house or are in the open, in which case they are covered by a roof of straw, reed, brushwood or brick that is supported on four poles (Gellert, 1937: 160; 1934: 3). 343 [342]

Buildings Outside the Village. Outside mountain villages one finds shepherds' huts of brushwood, round or rectangular in shape, 342 233

Bulgaria EE1
Rumania ED1

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with straw roofs. They are rarely plastered with mud. In western Sredna Gora, transportable sheep pens are used (Gellert, 1937: 169).

RUMANIA

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In Rumania there exists a marked difference between settlements in the lowlands and those of the Carpathian Mountain region. While topography and the presence or absence of such building materials as stone, wood or clay are important factors, political considerations also played a significant role. With the beginning of the 18th century Greek influence became predominant in Moldavia and Wallachia. The Porte set up Greek rulers in these principalities, thus in reality the Rumanians were as much under Turkish dominion, although indirectly, as were the people of the Balkans. It was only after the rebellion of 1821 that Rumanian rulers were reinstated. During all periods of unrest and foreign invasion the mountains and forests served as areas of refuge; the Serbian hajduk has his counterpart in the Rumanian heydoick (Stratilesco, 1907: 30-34).

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Location and Types of Settlements. The older settlements were in the nature of hamlets (catŭn). These were generally not built on the top of hills, but rather in depressions, on the edge of forests, and away from the military roads (Grothe, 1907: 54). In the hilly regions of Oltenia and Moldavia the villages were located close to a river or on the slope of a hill. Farmsteads are generally spaced fairly far apart, in no definite order. Villages may extend over two or three hills facing one another (Stratilesco, 1907: 205).

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[491]

Villages in the Wallachian plains are located close to the roads. The prevalent type is the road village; buildings are located on either side of the highway which forms the main road of the village.

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Larger villages may have additional cross-roads (Jänecke, 1918: 7). While mountain villages average a population of 350, the largest being around 700, villages of the plains average 700 and may reach 2000 (Grothe, 1907: 55).

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House Types. Due to the scarcity of wood and stone in the plains, buildings are generally constructed of wicker and daub, in which technique the Rumanians are masters. The roof is made first, the walls afterwards. The principle posts are first set into the ground, then the studs of the outer walls and inner partitions are spaced at 1 to 2 foot intervals. After the roof has been formed walls are built up. Mud is kneaded down with the feet, mixed with straw, and shaped into lumps that take the place of bricks. These lumps are then set between the studs and left to dry (Stratilesco, 1907: 208). More often walls are of wickerwork, plastered inside and out with a mixture of mud, straw and cowdung to a thickness of 15-25 centimeters (JKnecke, 1918: 10). The rough walls are smoothed out by applying thinner and thinner layers of mud and cowdung mixture. They are then whitewashed inside and out. Floors of timber are recent; the floor is commonly of tamped earth.

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BULGARIA

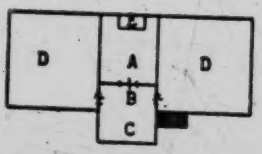

Fig. 56a Upper Story

A) Kitchen
B) Anteroom
C) Balcony
D) Living Room
E) Fireplace

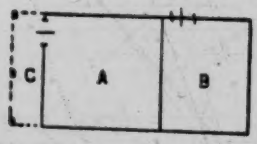

Fig. 56c East Bulgarian House with Stable

A) Living Quarters
B) Stable
C) Veranda

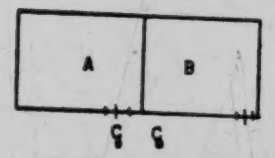

Fig. 56b Ground Floor

A) Stable
B) Storeroom
C) Pillars

Fig. 56d Balcony House in Central Bulgaria

Fig. 56e House with Side Annexes

[P. 86-N]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

II. THE HOUSE OF THE SLAV PEOPLES OF THE BALKANS

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There have been many studies about the shapes of the popular houses of the Bulgars, Serbs and Albaniers, but no comparative survey has been as yet carried out, to determine their relation to the Greek house.

Jovan Cvijic' in «La Péninsule Balcanique», Paris, 1918 p. 244 has tried to discern the various housing types in the Balcans and to determine their expansion. Among those he includes Greco-mediterranean house type, «probably originating from the old Byzantine houses, which can be found in all the Koutsovlach villages, even in the ones of continental climate, and which also prevail in the Slav populations of Mijaci and Mavrovci, at the centre of the peninsula». In his couclusions he is followed by Otto Maull (1).

Franz Oelman (2), however, questions the correctness of Cvijic's conclusions on the grounds that the latter «relies on purely external characteristics, having no value for the comprehension of the historical evolution of the house». A detailed survey is needed of course which should be based, as it was said at the beginning, on rich comparative material, connected with to the details of the plan and the methods of construction, so that we may arrive to concrete and correct conclusions(3).

B
[113]

Such material, as regards the Bulgarian house, is given by the book of Teodor Zlatev, Architect - Engineer, Bălgarskata Kăsta v svoja arhitektonicen i kulturnoistoriceski rasvoj. I: Selska Kâsta Sofia 1930 (pp. VIII+178 figg 153). (The Bulgarian House in its architectural and historical development. I: The Rural House).

B
[342]

Zlatev, in his study of the rural Bulgarian house from an architectural and historical point of view, relates it directly to the houses of the Slavs, who were established in lower Moessia from the 6th cent. A. D, among the romanised or hellenized Thracians, and indirectly to the

1) Griech. Mittelmeergebiet, Breslau, 1922, pp. 62 and foll.
2) Haus und Hof im Altertum, 1927, I p. 19.
3) L. Schultze Jena, Makedonien, Jena 1927 p. 89.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

ancient megaron type house of the Indo-europeans. For our object, however, the interesting point is the detailed and concrete description of the farmers' houses of modern Bulgaria, which the writer illustrates with many photographs, plans and sections, so that we may get a clear picture of the architectural shapes and evolution of the Bulgarian house. However, in order, to be clear and to render possible the exact comparison of the Bulgarian house to the Greek one, and considering the fact that the Bulgarian language is not widely known, I shall dwell rather fully on all that concerns this type of house (1). For greater help I am attaching plates, showing the evolution of the Bulgarian house, as it can be drawn from the plans of Bulgarian houses presented by Zlatev.

G 171 342 B 342

A. THE BULGARIAN HOUSE

As it can be deduced from Zlatev's study, the Bulgarian agricultural house does not present the variety of shapes of the Greek house. If we except the troglodyten house which is frequent in some parts of Northern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian country houses belong to the straight-lined rectangular buildings with an eagle-type or saddle-type roof; according to the nature of the ground, they are separated into mountainous and plain types The lowland types are as a rule just like the Greek ones, one-storey and they are built out of stones or bricks, and roofed with tiles or thatch (2). The mountainous types are two-storey, the ground floor being out of stone and the upper either entirely out of wood or with wooden frames which are filled with unbaked bricks or woven branches, and sprayed on both sides with mud mixed with straw. The roof, in the mountainous areas, is covered with tiles or plates, but in some places thatch is also used.

B [184]

1) I must here express my warm thanks to Mr. K. Th. Stamatiades who, with his knowledge of the Bulgarian language, has rendered possible my study of Zlatev's book.

G [127]

2) According to **C. Jirecek**, Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien, Wien 1891 p. 157 and foll. « over the largest part of the country one can see but poor houses in the villages, of brown earth colour without whitewash; their roofs were mostly covered with mere thatch during the time of Turkish occupation. It is only since the latest years after the liberation, that an increase of tile-roofs is seen from year to year.

9:Megas 1,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Bulgaria
EE1

342 **1. The Bulgarian house of the lowlands.**

192 This type of house mostly consists of two wide front spaces and of a prostoon, i.e. vestibule which is open as a rule on both its lateral sides.

[354] One of these spaces has the hearth (ognichte) and is called the kāsta, or more rarely hyza (1), i.e. house. It can hence be concluded that this space originally constituted the entire house. The other space is heated up by a stove and it is called the «soba», which means stove.

[252]

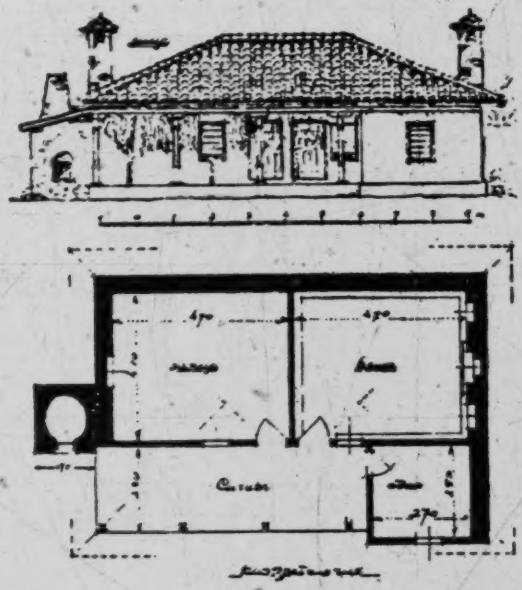

Fig. 33 House at the village Makrolivado (Usúntsovo) in district of Chaskovo
(Zlatev, Balgar. kāsta, fig. 91)

The vestibule extending in front of the rooms, takes up either all the front part or only part of it, and is called by the Greek name «prust» (2) or by the Turkish names zardak, or saivan, or sundurma (3).

1) This word originates from the German hûs, Haus. Small and lightly constructed houses are also called by the Bulgars and the Slavs koliba or chalupa, from the Greek word καλύβη. (**L. Niederle**, Manuel de l'antiquité slave, II la civilisation Paris 1926 p.98 note 5).

2) Cf. the «μπροῦστι», i.e. the προστῷον, of the Greek houses in the Haimos area and the «μπρόστι» or «ἀμπρόστι» of the Roumloukion house near Thessaloniki (**G. Megas** Θρᾳκ. Οἰκήσεις p. 27).

3) According to **Jirecek**, Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien, p. 158, «the Bulgarian houses have always an open vestibule (prust, sundurma) formed by the extention of the roof and supported by wooden poles».

This type of house is as a rule in the middle of a large courtyard, surrounded by a plaited fence; the secondary parts of the housing, such as stable, hay-barn, cereal store, etc. are dispersed into this yard. B 342 [351] [343] 171

In Southern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian farmers' houses do not present any difference from the rural houses of the Greeks, who were established there many centuries ago in the areas of Kavakli and Messimvria, as I have described them in my survey Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις (pp. 27-29 and 43-44), or from the houses of Southern, Eastern and Western Thrace. This is evident from the plans of two houses, one from the village of Macrolivado (Ouzountsovo) of the Chaskovo district (fig. 33) and the other from the Karatoprak village, of the Philippople district (fig. 34). G [342] 171

The first one was built in 1780; it consists of two main rooms, completely separated from each other, and of a portico which originally covered all the frontage of the house. The small room (odaja) on the right hand end of the portico is an addition of recent years. According to Zlatev «the existence of a fire place in both rooms is not normal» (p. 104) «and it is characteristic to note that the hearth in the main room, the kĭsta, has been built on the external wall». In the other room, called here «zantsa», the hearth has derived from repair and it is obvious that the use of the other room was different, namely it was used to stabling the cattle or storing fruits, ect., as it is usual in the rural houses of Southern Thrace (1). On one end of the building, in line with the two rooms, the oven has been built on one end of the portico, which is often seen in other parts of Thrace. Zlatev says that, «the division of space was not changed in bigger houses, possessing more rooms. The additional spaces are placed in line, and the portico is increased by expansion along the entire lengthened frontage of the house (2). When this lengthening is extended too much, and the length has an oppresive influence on the external appearence, the portico is then adapted so that it is extended outwardly from its centre, in the shape af a square, thus very much reminding the shape ot the mountainous house» (Zlatev, p. 104). B [354] B [252]

The same is noted in the house of the Karatoprak village (built in 1912) which is tripartite and consists of two rooms and a stable, but a part of one of its rooms (of the soba) has been separated and formed a special space which was called, from the Greek language, B [192]

1) G. Megas, Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 13.
2) Cf. G. Megas, ibid. figg. 10 and 13.

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342 killer i.e. cellar. The oven is also called by a Greek name, «fourna» and here it has also been added on one side of the house (fig. 34). Finally the beautiful portico of this house, due, according to Zlatev, to the influence of the more developed mountainous house [1], brings

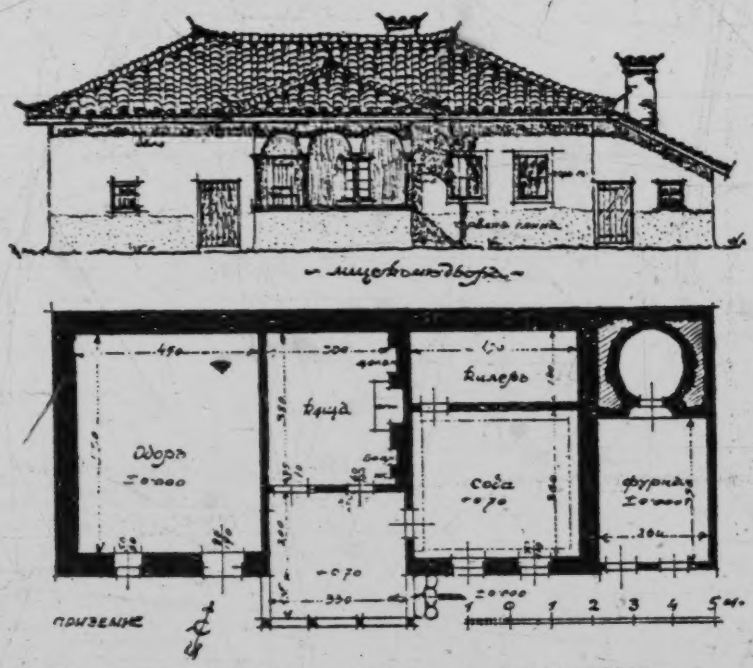

Fig. 34 House in the village of Karatoprak, district of Philippople
(Zlatev, Bălgar. kăsta, fig. 94)

to our memory a similar arrangement of the portico in semi-urban dwellings of Greece [2].

Thus the similarity of the farmer's house in Southern Bulgaria — which is nothing else but the former Northern Thrace, called Eastern

1) «This house» says Zlatev (p. 105), «is fully adapted to the needs and to the economy of a plain's farmer, the monotonous appearance of the pure lowland house; it has taken some elements from the mountainous house, which was more developed, and has influenced it in places where the communications with highland populations rendered this influence possible».

2) See **G. Megas**, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 67 Plate A, 3. Comp. with mountainous houses of Agrapha, ibid. figg. 43 and 45.

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Roumelia, — to those houses of the remaining parts of Greek or Turkish Thrace is complete. 342 [171]

This is evident. The whole of Thrace, not only during the Middle Ages, but also during the Turkish occupation, constituted a geograph- [177] [364]

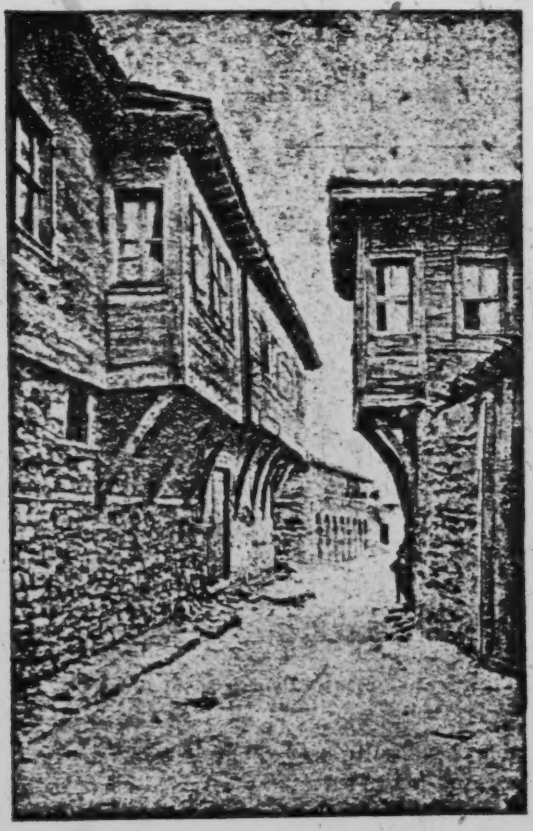

Fig. 35 A street at Messimvria

ical and political entity whose character, from an ethnological and cultural point of view, was purely Greek [1]. The Bulgars who established themselves at various times as labourers and farmers in the Thracian [177]

1) See **K. M. Apostolides**, Ρωμανία — Ζαγορά καὶ τὰ τῆς Θράκης ὄρια ἐπὶ τῆς Βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας (Ἀρχεῖον Θρᾳκ. Θησαυροῦ 8 (1941-42) 80 foll. 83 foll).

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342 177 farms of Turks or Greeks, found the always existing system of housing better and preferable to the simple hut dwellings to which they had been used, and adapted their way of life and of housing to that of the other inhabitants. The same holds good, as we shall see, for the houses of Middle Mountain (Sredna Gora) and for those of the Bulgarian coastal zone from Agathoupolis to Dionysopolis (to-day Baltsik), where the Greeks, until the anti-Greek actions of 1906, were by far predominating over the Bulgars, as regards population, develop-

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Fig. 36 Houses at Baltsik (ancient Dionysopolis)

342 177 ment of economy and culture. (1) That is why we find the ancient type of the megaron house splendidly retained in all the villages near Messimvria, that is in Aivlassis, Naimonas, Bana, Aspros, Ravdas etc., (see p. 7 above) and the houses of towns and villages there, do not differ, as regards disposition of spaces and general construction, from those of the other Greek urban centres. (Figg. 35 and 36).

[363] C. Jirecek already considers the ancient Greek towns of the coast, such as Messimvria, Sozopolis, etc., as the model for all the small towns situated in the Tyrnavos area, as well as of those built on the

1) See J. Cvijic' op. cit. p. 156.

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Southern slopes of Haimos and the Northern side of Rodope, which are characterised by their stone-built two-storey houses, their tile covered roofs, their stone paved narrow streets and the small commercial street (1). He says on the other hand that «the best houses of Philippople present an entirely Southern character and were used as models in the whole area as far as Koprichtitsa and Kalofer» (2).

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177
[363]

This truth is recognized by Zlatev who writes on page 156 of his book: «The house of Sredna Gora, as well as that of Southern Bulgaria, has without any doubt originated from the influence of Adria-

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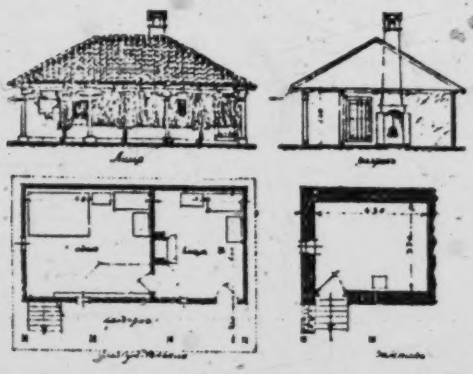

Fig. 37 Plan, section and front of a house in the village of Dívlia, district of Radomir
(Zlatev, Balg. kasta fig. 83)

nople and Constantinople», by that he means the influence of Greek architecture on the formation of the houses of Southern Bulgaria.

But even to the West, on the plateau of Sofia, the houses of peasants, according to Zlatev and as it is shown by the plans of two typical houses of that area built in 1860 and 1870 and presented here (figg. 37 and 39), «do not differ at all as regards disposition of spaces,

1) **C. Jirecek**, Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien, Wien 1891, p. 152.

2) **C. Jirecek**, op. cit. p. 163. «From the front-door, one enters a stone-paved courtyard, climbs a wide staircase, comes into an airy veranda supported by wooden beams and through it into the large rooms with big square windows. The well turned edge of the projecting roof and the enclosed or open balconies on the side that overlook the road, complete the pleasant impression caused by this house.» A contrary impression caused by the buildings of the Bulgarian towns is expressed by the author a few lines previously.

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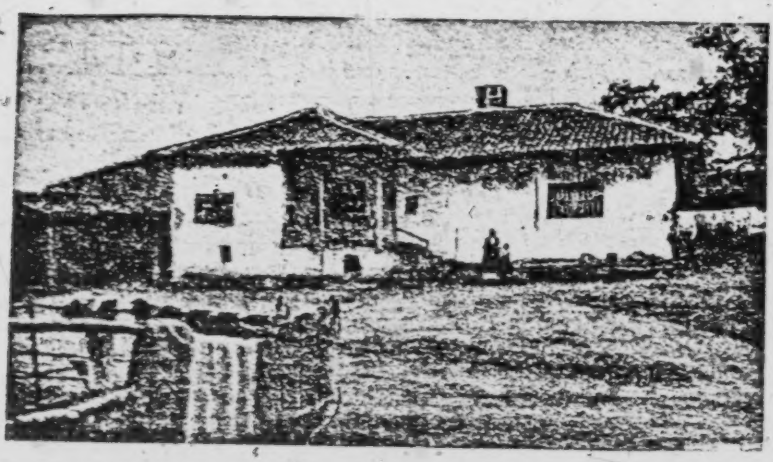

Fig. 38 House in Grigorevo, district Novo Celo ont he Sophia plateau
(Zlatev, Bălg. kăšta fig. 80)

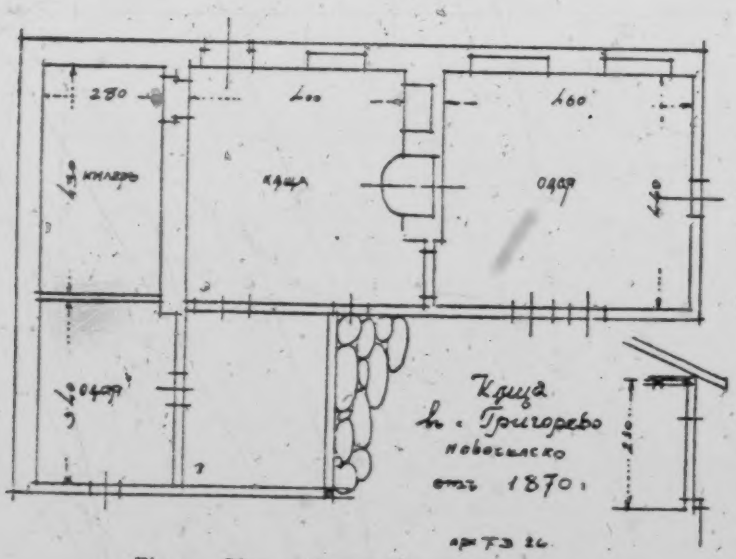

Fig. 39 Plan of the upper house in Grigorevo
(Zlatev, Bălg. kăšta fig. 81)

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from the other purely valley type houses, such as the houses of the Hevros or the Plevna valleys» (p. 95). 342

The house of the village of Divlia, Radomir district, (fig. 37) is a «typical bipartite valley building with a portico all along its frontage» (Zlatev, p. 98), and that of the village of Grigorevo, Novo-Celo district, (fig. 38 and 39) is only slightly elevated from the ground and includes, apart from the two spaces, basic for every valley house (the kăsta and the soba), one cellar in line with these spaces, and a small room on the front of the house which, together with the portico, forms a wing,

Fig. 40 House in Sapantsi, district of Novo Celo
(Zlatev, Bulg. kăsta fig. 82)

coming out of the main body of the building. All the rooms have an earthern floor, covered with clay. The hearth is in the kăsta, i.e. the «house», on the wall separating the two rooms and has next to it two built-in cupboards (dulapze). Opposite the hearth, on the other inner wall, there is the pitcher shelf. The bread-oven, the stable and the other buildings, essential for rural life, are to be found in the large courtyard. This is surrounded by a two metres high wall, made of unbaked bricks and covered with tiles (Bulg. keramidi). The entrance door is double, and wide enough to permit the entrance of carts, but next to it there is another door for the entrance of people. The

354 353 252 343 351

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entrance is covered by a wide wooden roof, resulting from the influence of the neighbouring houses of Sredna Gora. This village originated from an old Turkish farm estate (Zlatev, p. 97). 342

The same arrangement of space is also shown in the agricultural house of the village Sapantsi in the same area, and as for the outer picture there is no difference from the houses of Thrace (Fig. 40)[1].

The village house presents the same disposition in the whole of Western Bulgaria but the floor is usually here at a hight of

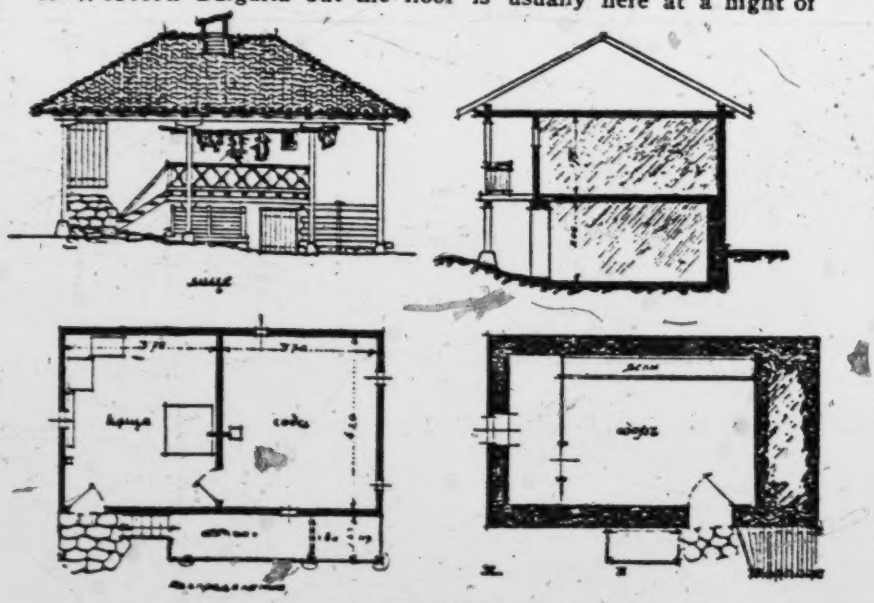

Fig. 41 House in Zianozéne, district of Berkov
Zlatev, Bālg. kāsta fig. 84)

1-1.20 metres from ground level and has under it a basement, excavated to a depth of one metre into the earth, and it is used for the stabling of cattle. [231]

1) Evidently, in older days, the houses of the poorer inhabitants of Sofia did not differ from the huts of the villagers. «The low doors of the Christian and Jewish houses of Sofia, says **Jireček** (op. cit. p. 163), caused surprise to the travellers of the 16th and 17th centuries, who knew the reason for it: these houses were built so that the mounted Turkish bands would not use them as billets on their way to Hungary» (See **G. Megas**, Θρακ. Οἰκήσεις pp. 23-26).

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Serbs EF6

The typical form is shown by a house of the village of Zianozene of the Berkof district, built in 1890 (Fig. 41) «In these areas», says Zlatev (p. 98), «southward and northward of the Haimos, in the plain or even in the mountains, this house is the normal type used. The portico here appears in various forms and positions, depending on the construction, which is here primitive and without any particular sense of shape». Part of the space under the portico has been enclosed with oak-tree boards and it is used as a pig-sty. The walls of the ground-floor are made of stone, and those of the upper floor of daubed wicker-work (Bulg.: pletarka). The floor of the upper storey is made of oak planks, roughly planed, and plastered with a thick layer of clay. Windows are few and small, and thus results a poor lighting in the house. The height of the basement is of 2 metres, and that of the upper floor 2 - 2.5 metres. The portico, formed on the frontage and called «islak» (Greek: ἡλιακός), appears as a non-organic part, attached to the main body, although its roof is a part of the whole roof of the house. It is mainly used for the drying of fruits[1]).

B 342 B [231] B [354] B [251]

The need to house a large family, as e.g. the so-called zadruga, created a difficult problem which remained architecturally unsolved in the case of the Serbs and the other Slavs: the young people and the young couples sleep in separate small buildings (vajat, klijet, staja or koliba from the Greek καλύβη = hut) which are constructed alongside or around the family house (called kuc'a), having no hearth and being also used as a stable or a store house[2]). The number of klijeti existing round the kuc'a gives the number of couples living in that cluster[3]). As for the Bulgarians, this problem has been solved through the following two methods: 1. By the addition of rooms, in direct organic connection with the original region of the hearth. 2. By the unification of two independent bipartite or tripartite houses through covered entrances or corridors.

Se Sl [342] [592] [513]

The first method is shown by the house in the village Zabel (Zlatev, fig. 16), one of the oldest houses in NW Bulgaria, which, «some

B [592]

1) It is interesting to note the nomenclature of each part of the wooden bone in W. Bulgaria, which is often similar to that used in Thessaly and Epirus (Zlatev, p. 101, fig. 86) 1. Temel (θεμέλιον) = the basis of the post. 2. Direk = the post. 3. Gredi = (γρεντιά) beam. 4. Pope (παπᾶς = priest) (cf. **G. Megas**, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις p 20).

2) See **J. Cvijic'**, La Peninsule Balkanique, Paris, 1918, p. 233 and foll.

3) See **L. Niederle**, Manuel de l'antiquité Slave, Vol. 2 Paris 1926, p. 109.

342 years ago, was giving shelter to a 40 members' family and which
[592] was especially built for this purpose (Plate XIII 6) It is an evolution
of the basic type of a house with two spaces (hyza and odaja). The
[513] cellars on the one side of the hyza are a subdivision of the third compartment into smaller spaces, and are used by the various couples of the family only to sleep in. The hyza remains the central appart-
[252] ment and it includes the hearth, measuring 2 m. x 2 m. where the bread is also baked in a special pot (srepnia, podnitsa). The cellars and the oda open to a hyza without any communication between them. The external architecture of this house presents the character-

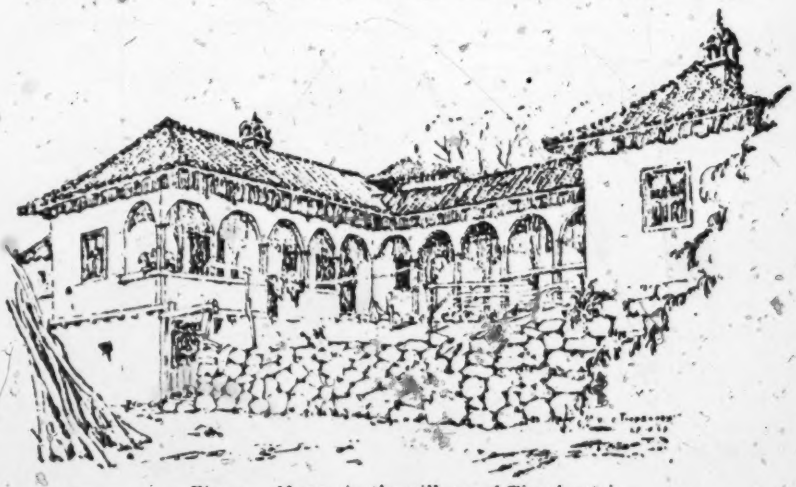

Fig. 42 House in the village of Tiorekovtsi
(Zlatev, Bălg kăsta fig. 77)

istic lack of a prostoon, which, according to Zlatev (p. 91) is the permanent element of the Bulgarian house. The house (Zlatev fig. 78) of the village of Tiorekovtsi, built in 1870, presents the same composition, but with a different arrangement of spaces (See Plate XIII 7).

Another house of this latter village is built according to the second method (Zlatev, Fig. 76 and 77) presenting an apparent archi-
[351] tectural synthesis: «two independent bipartite houses, extending parallel to each other are united on one side by a covered portico thus forming a sort of central courtyard surrounded on two sides by porticoes which, according to Zlatev, remind us of monasteries and

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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clearly show its origin from the Italian Renaissance» (!) (see fig. 42, Plate XIII 8).

B 342 [351]

In this category of houses of the plains can also be included the troglodyte house, which is seen even to-day in some villages of Nothern Bulgaria. But it forms a separate sort of building as to disposition, construction and arrangement, and it will be mentioned separately at the end of the present survey.

2. The Bulgarian House of the Mountains.

The houses of the mountainous areas of Bulgaria show a much greater variety of shapes: they are two-storied and, from an architectural point of view, more advanced, than the houses of the plains. The explanation, however, given by Zlatev, that this fact is due to the higher income of the population who live in mountainous areas and become rich through cattle-breeding, can only be accepted if we consider the fact that in the plains of Bulgaria, as well as in those of Greece, there have been big farms belonging to Turks during their occupation, and the farmers were living there as serfs.

The older of the still existing houses of the mountainous areas of Bulgaria are from the middle or the beginning of last century. If we exclude the houses of the Rodope and the Orvelo areas, that present some peculiarities, the characteristic mark of the highland Bulgarian house is the open portico, which covers all the length of one of the sides of the upper floor, usually the side overlooking the yard. The building has normally no windows opening to the street. This portico also includes the staircase leading from the ground floor to the upper floor. Thus the staircase is almost external, but under the roof of the house (Plates XIV and XV).

The upper storey usually projects over the external wall of the ground floor, along the whole or part of the frontage of the house. This is achieved by the very wide use of timber, both in construction and decoration. The kind of timber used is oak, in the forest districts of Haimos (Balkan) and Sredna Gora, and pine-trees as well as other conifers in the districts of Rodope and Orvelo (Pirin). It would appear that for the abundance of timber, the whole of the highland house was originally made out of wood (1).

B [313]

1) According to **Niederle**, op. cit. p. 119, «the wood construction is the original form of house building for the Slavs, both in their villages and their

SL 342 333

[Text continues on p. 69]

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Fig. 43 Front of a house in Bunovo of Sredna Gora
(Zlatev, Bălg. kăsta fig. 57)

[252]

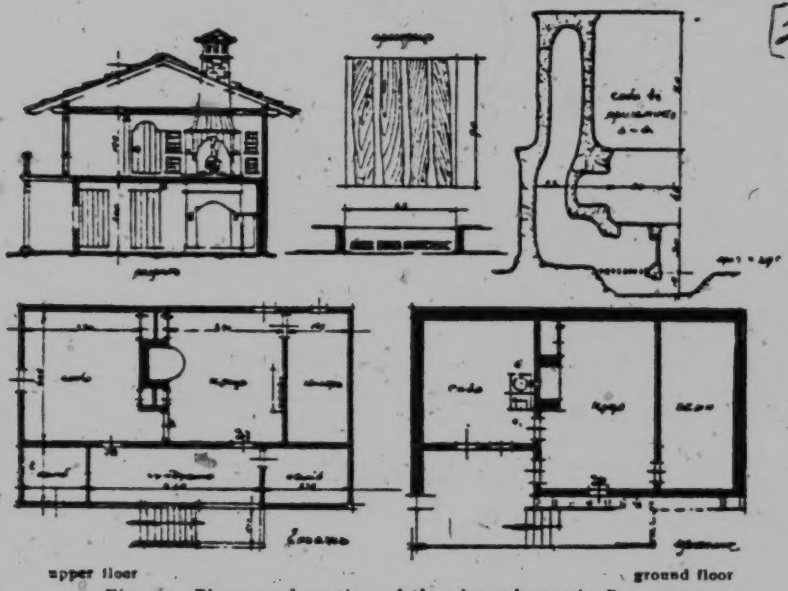

Fig. 44 Plans and section of the above house in Bunovo
(Zlatev, Bălg. kăsta fig. 56)

[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains]

In these two-storey houses as well, we distinguish in the upper-floor the two basic spaces just as in the Bulgarian house of the plains, namely the kăsta and the oda or soba with the so-called tsardak (or islak or soundourma) that is the open portico, in front of them. The lower storey is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the stabling of cattle and the storing of fruits, but very often it also includes a room with a hearth for the residence of the family during the winter. This is also called «kăsta» i.e. house, or even better, «lower house» and «small house» in contrast to the «upper», or «big house» that is the main room of the upper floor, where the family lives in the summer months.

The second room, called soba, is also used as sleeping quarter for the family, and more seldom for the storing of food and other articles. For this last purpose, another additional space is also used and is called «killer»; the upper floor is thus divided into three spaces (Plate XV).

This distribution is shown by the house of Średna Gora (Messon Oros) which is very important as it exercised an influence upon the houses of Balkan, according to Zlatev (1). (See Fig. 43, 44 and Plate XV 1-2).

The portico in the upper floor is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the drying of fruit and as a living room of the family during the summer months. Parts of it are usually divided by light wooden or brick partitions, forming spaces called «ambar» (stores) for cereals, or even small rooms called «odaja» and «soba».

Finally, in some more composite forms of houses there is a space between the two main rooms, used as an anti-room, having the floor higher by 0.15-0.20 m. and called prust (Greek «μπρούστι»); and also some other smaller spaces, divided off and used as hiding-places or cellars. In the more developed forms, such as in the houses of the village

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towns, even in their palaces. Slavs never used stone construction until the 10th cent., except for their Southern tribes who, having arrived in the Balkan peninsula and the Italian boundaries on the 6th cent., could see for themselves the models of Byzantine and Roman architecture». Stone construction was first used in the building of churches and of palaces by experts specially invited from abroad. Cf. **J. Cvijic**, op. cit. pp. 228, 230, 241, **G. Megas**, Θρακ. Οἰκήσεις, p. 48.

1) According to **Cvijic**, op. cit. p. 250, «the house of Srendnja Gora is the one that corresponds better to the desires of all Bulgarian farmers, because it has spread all over the country after the Turkish occupation».

G
B
342 of Zeravna (Plate XV 4, 5) one end of the portico is arranged as a
171 balcony (kioschki) slightly projecting and giving a view on the road, with its floor higher by 50-70 cm. from that of the rest of the portico, exactly as in the case of the sofas in the rich Greek houses of Northern Greece (1).

According to the above survey and after the mere examination of plates XIII-XV of the appendix, it is proved, I think, that, if we except the zadrouga-systems 6-8 pl. XIII, the general disposition of space both in one-storied and two-storied Bulgarian houses does not differ from that of the Greek house and especially the North Greek one; it also displays the same consistency and the same evolution from simpler to more complex forms. Exactly as in the external shape and the entire arrangement, the internal arrangement of the space in the Bulgarian house does not differ from the Greek and especially
B the Northern Greek house. The hearth, in the Bulgarian house, is
[354 built in the middle of one of the walls or in one corner of the main room
352] with a chimney that semi-circularly protrudes over it. We also find there our well known shelves high on the walls of the room, wall cupboards (doulapze), little opening (juklouk) and large wooden cupboards (moussandri) on both sides of the hearth; the sofas (menderia) also here extend along the walls and are covered with manifold patterns, rugs and cushions.

B Facing the hearth there is the pitcher-stand and next to it, in the
[352 wall, the cutlery cup-board. Bread is baked in a clay tray down in
252] the hearth, just as in the houses of Agrafà in Thessaly. A low round table is used for eating, exactly as in the Greek rural houses in older times (2).

B C. Jirecek, when describing the interior of the Bulgarian rural
192 house towards the end of the 19th century, also mentions some articles
342 whose names originate from the Greek language: chromel (χειρόμυλος) = a hand-mill for wheat or salt; stomna or stovna (στάμνα) = water pitcher with narrow neck; charkomka (χάλκωμα) = brass-utensil; paploma (πάπλωμα) = bed-cover; sakul (σακκοῦλι) = bag; ikona (εἰκόνα) = an ikon placed in the corner of the room (3).

B 1) See **G. Megas** Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις, pp. 86, 93, 97, 99.
[192 2) According to Jirecek's note where he describes the Bulgarian urban house «Bulgars use only foreign words for the table. These are the Greek «trapeza», the Rumanian «massa» and the Turkish «sofra».

3) **C. Jirecek,** op. cit. p. 158, K. Myrtilos Apostolides in Ἀρχεῖον Θρᾳκικοῦ Θησαυροῦ vol. 8 p. 102 mentions many names of everyday objects which are orig-

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[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains] SL

The only difference lies in the method of heating of the second room. This is not heated as the main room by an open hearth, but by a stove. This is the reason why this room is called soba (i.e. stove). In order to allow the smoke of the stove to escape through the chimney of the hearth, the latter is often built at the party wall and thus it is possible to feed the stove from the side of the hearth (see fig. 44). B 342 354 C [342] [171]

This system of heating, the combination of hearth and stove, the latter being fed on the side of the hearth, it is generally seen, in the Slav dwellings and is probably due to German influence (1). The arrangement of the space, however, is in the Slav house entirely different from that of the Bulgarian one. With Slavs, and even with the Serbs of Bosnia the stove (Slav. pec) is in the main room, which originally constituted the entire house (called jisba or kuc'a); this stove took the place of the open hearth because of the German and Latin influence (fig. 45 a-b). The ante-room, (pitvor) which originally had no heating, was changed into a kitchen with a hearth (called kuchyna in Czech or kyha in Serb) (2) since the time when the opening of the stove it was moved and opened on the party wall, so that the fuel could be cast from the ante-room; for in front of the mouth of the stove, a base for a hearth was thus created. (Fig. 45c and 46). B [171] SL 342 354 [177] Se [342] [354]

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inating from the Greek and are to-day used in the written Bulgarian language: gonia (γωνία)=corner; dilavia (λαβίς)=pincer; enghistra (ἄγκιστρον) =hook; kerami (κεραμίδι)=tile etc. B 192 342

1) The word **isba** which is also used by the Bulgars, and means the house or rather the basement is found in Russian texts of the 10th and 11th centuries as «istuba» and originates from the German word «Stube», meaning a place for baths, equipped with a stove, and generally a warm place (**Niederle,** Manuel 2, 105. **E. Berneker,** Slavisches etymol. Wörterbuch, word istuba (istba, izdba, izba). According to **Niederle,** op. cit. p. 106 Note 3 «Slavs may have even before learned to know the very oven through their immediate relations to the Greeks (Romains) and the Greek towns of Pontos. The construction of the upper floor and other details of the Russian and generally the Slav house are also due to the German and Norman influence». (**Niederle,** ibid. 2, 108). B [192] SL [177]

2) This changing of the ante-room (antichambre or vestibule according to Niederle) into a «cuisine à foyer» (kitchen with a fire-place) was not performed with all Slav peoples and is not older than the 11th cent. We do not see it with Russians, part of the Poles and Slovaks, who preserved the vestibule as a non-heated room (**Niederle,** ibid. 107 foll). Cf. **R. Meringer,** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina in Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien VII, 1900 Wien, 248 foll.

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9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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Slavic Peoples E16
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342 Among Bulgarians, on the contrary, (Fig. 44) the open hearth
354 (ognichte) is always to be found in the main room which, as it is shown by its name (kăsta=house), originally constituted the whole

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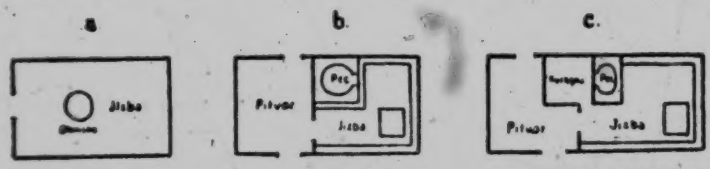

Fig. 45 Three developing forms of a Slovak house in W. Karpathia. jisba=room, ohnisko=hearth, pitvor=ante-room, pec=stove, kuchyňa=kitchen (L. Niederle, Manuel de l'antiquité Slave 2, 107).

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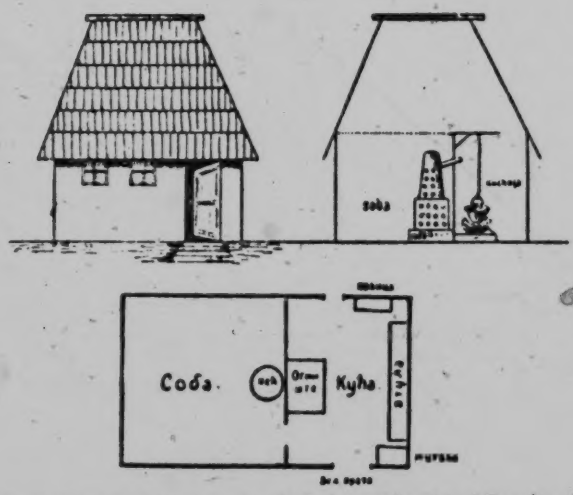

Fig. 46 Plan and section of a Serb house (kuc'a) of Bosnia, after R. Meringer (soba=room with stove, kyha=kitchen)

B
342 house. This hearth is often built on one of the main walls or in one
354 corner of it and the stove is in the other room, which is called «soba». On the other hand, this combination of hearth and stove in the Bulgar-
[177] ian house is neither old nor is it generally found since, according to Jireček's descriptions, bublished towards the end of the 19th century: the Bulgarian house «usually consists of a single space levelling with the

ground and having a beaten earth floor and an open fire-place» (1); as L. Niederle remarks (ibid. p. 108, note 1): «in the Balkans the Latin influence is shown in the addition of the soba to the kuc'a; this change, however, is not older than the 19th century» (2).

B 342 [354] [177]

Consequently, even this difference, which is noted at many places, in the system of heating between the Bulgarian agricultural house and the Greek one, is neither original nor basic.

G [342] [171]

The houses of the Rodope area are peculiar in their external architectural shape, as they do not have the open portico of the upper storey, which is so typical for the mountainous Bulgarian houses (3). Obviously it is the lack of security in these districts, where there was a lot of banditry (called Momtsilo, Kirtzalis) (4) since the later Byzantine years, that imposed here, as well as in Western Macedonia equally suffering from the incursions of Albanians, the system of fortified buildings, with their heavy and strong walls, reaching as far up as the roof even on the frontage of the house; an internal staircase; a strong main-door, with loop-holes on each side as well as the arrangement of the veranda (heliakos) into a large ante-room, or drawing room, with fine balconies or kioschks, protruding on its ends (fig. 47) (Zlatev, fig. 61 and 67), exactly as it is seen in the covered balconies and the high sofas of the rich houses in Western Macedonia, Epirus and Thessaly (5). It is understood that in the simplest shapes of houses

G [171] [342]

1) **C. Jirecek**, op. cit. p. 158.

2) The Russian ethnologist **Tokariof**, when describing the Bulgarian house, says: «Almost all the old houses have an open hearth on the wall with a pot hanging over the fire, and with a wide open chimney that has its exit through the roof The bread is usually baked in this hearth. As for the horizontal plan, the house is divided into two parts: the kitchen with the fire-place and the «oda», the room, that now has an iron stove». (Μόρφωση, Γ' 1946 p. 126). According to **R. Meringer** (Sitzungsber. Philos. Histor. Kl. der Wiener Akad. Abh. 2 p. 13) Bulgaria, Albania and the Hercegovina are placed in the category of the countries with fire-place (Kaminländer).

3) According to **Tokariof** «one sees as completely different thing in the Rodope mountains. We have an example in the village of Baskovo. There, the old houses have an extremely complicated plan which is very difficult to be analysed. Houses are very big; they have three or four floors and sometimes the wall of the front of the house has no windows at all. The upper floors sometimes extend over the lower by covered balconies, as it is the custom in the East. Houses are built one against the other, thus forming whole blocks. This architectural style is entirely different from the Eastern-Slav type of house where the plan is always a simple rectangular parallelopiped».

4) See **W. Slatarski**, Geschichte der Bulgaren, I Leipzig 1918 p. 165.

5) **G. Megas**, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις pp. 55, 88, 97, 104, 109, fig. 50, 80, 90.

[Text continues on p.75]

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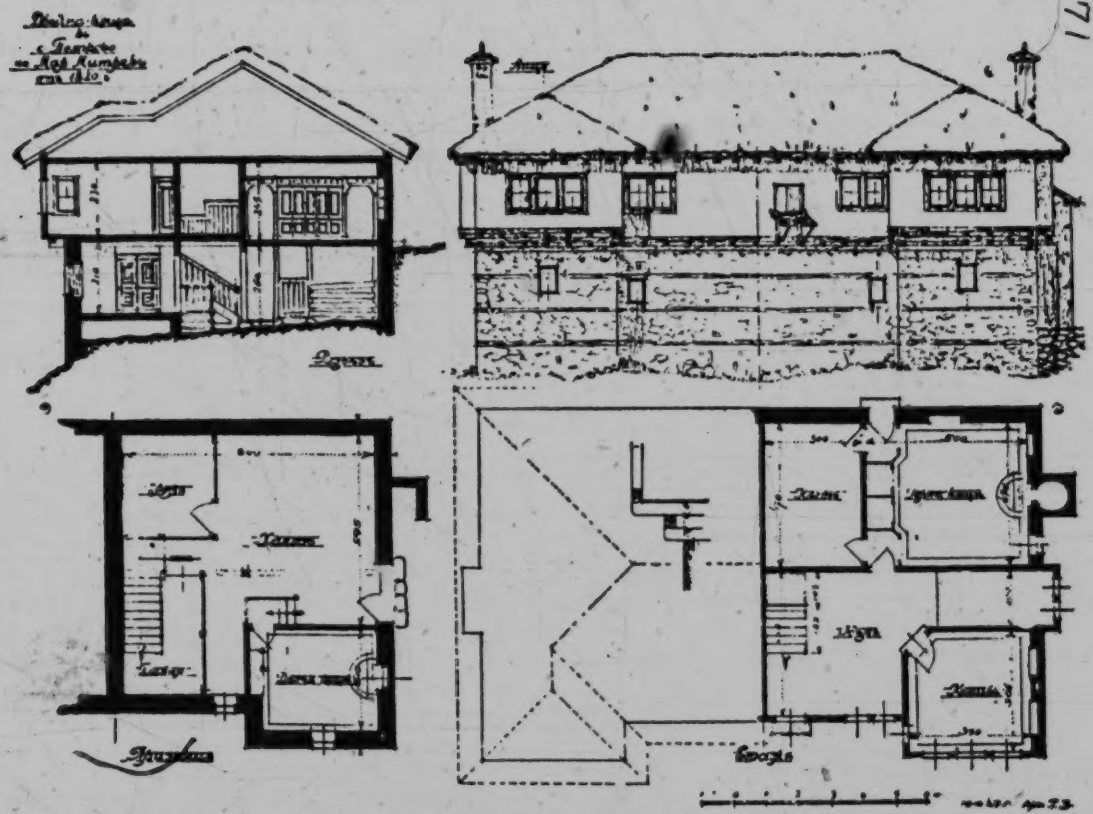

ground floor

Fig. 47 Double dwelling in Petkovo of central Rodope, in 1820

(Zlatev, bālg. Kăsta, fig. 61)

upper floor

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we see here also the open portico in the ground-floor and the external staircase to the upper floor (fig. 48 Plate XVI 1 and 1a, 2); so the similarity of the building shapes of Rodope to that of the rest of Greece is very evident (See Plate XVI, 5. 6; comp. Plate VIIa, 4a, 4b).

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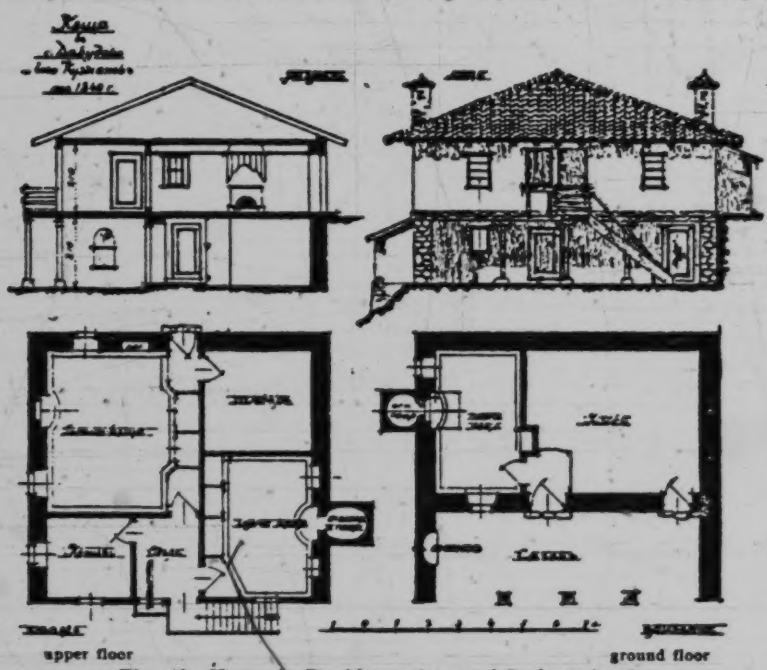

Fig. 48 House in Davidovo of central Rodope, in 1840.
(Zlatev, Balg. Kŭsta, fig. 63).

This may also be said generally for the house of the Orvelo (Bulg. Pirin) district, which, owing to the great use of wood, shows some unimportant variations (1).

3. The Troglodyte Houses.

The troglodyte houses (called by the Bulgars «bourdel» from the Roumanian word «bordeiu») are, by origin and construction, entirely different in shape from those already examined above.

B [192]

1) See Zlatev, Bălgar. kăsta pp. 81-89.

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342 These houses can still be seen only in the districts of Plevna and of the river Lom; but only a few years ago they were prevalent in the districts of Vidin and Bella Slatina, i. e. in the entire valley of the Danube, from the Serb frontiers to the Ossem River (1).

On the slope of the ground, a 4-5m. wide trench is dug, with an average depth of 1.80-2 m. Another trench is dug perpendicularly to the above, so as to form under the ground all the space necessary for the housing of the people and the cattle, and for the stores. The roof-

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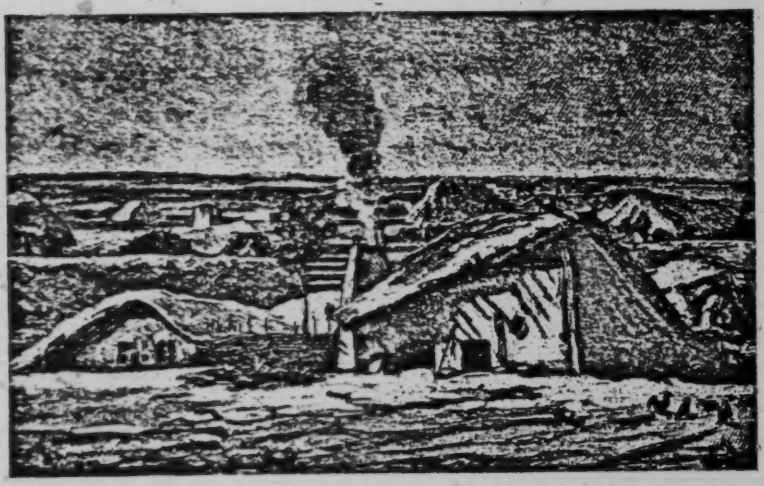

Fig. 49 A troglodyte village near the river Lom in Bulgaria.
(From a picture of the year 1892. Niederle, Manuel II 97).

ing of this lair is done through the help of a frame made of uplaned timber logs: these are placed obliquely, on horizontal beams supported in the middle by wooden poles. The logs are covered with thatch, which is spread over with mud or clay and then covered with earth, so that the roof has a thickness of one meter. The walls of the lair are covered with clay inside and then they are white-washed. The height of the interior of the dwelling is usually of 2 meters.

The arrangement of spaces is typical and may be seen in the

1) About the troglodyte houses, see also **T. Zlatev**, Balgar. kästa p. 111 foll., **C. Jirecek**, Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien, 1891 p. 157, and **Niederle**, Manuel de l'antiquité slave 2, p. 97 and foll.

attached plan of such a house of the village of Dolna Mitropolia in the Plevna District of the year 1895 (fig. 50). 342

This consists of two underground galleries. The first and main gallery has, after the entrance, three spaces, meant for the housing of the family and of the cattle. The first is the anteroom (prust), the second is the stable (zemnik) and the third is the room (breg). The second gallery which is perpendicular to the first, comprises the house (kăsta) with the hearth and the cellar (called zadnik = back side). [231]

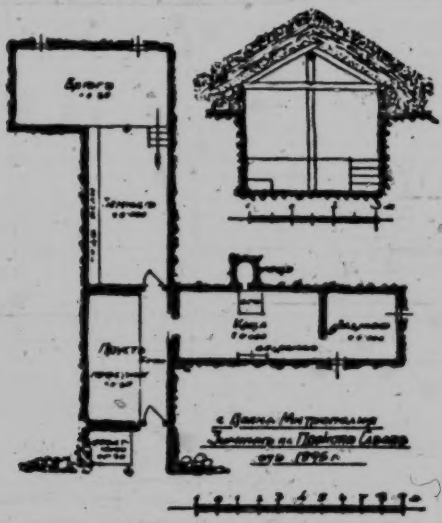

Fig. 50 Village Dolna Mitropolia. Trogle of Prokopi Savoff, 1895
(Zlatev, Balg. Kăsta fig. 98).

The entrance, protected by the roof which is protruding, has, as a rule, an earthen plat-form (prastnik) where the inhabitants sit, or even sleep, in summer. [513]

After a slight slope of the ground, one goes through the entrance into the prust, which plays the role of an ante-room and which, in winter protects the inner spaces from the influence of the atmosphere and in summer, it is used for the habitation of the family, having for this purpose, an earthen sofa. Two doors open from the «prust» to the two main spaces of the house, the zemnik and the kăsta.

The zemnik is never less than 7 m. long and has mangers for the cattle on one side. After this room, one goes to the breg, that [231] [513] [354]

342 has a floor higher by 0.80–0.90 than the rest, and is used as a
[513] bedroom for the members of the family. No wall separates these two
[354] spaces from each other, neither is there any provision for heating.

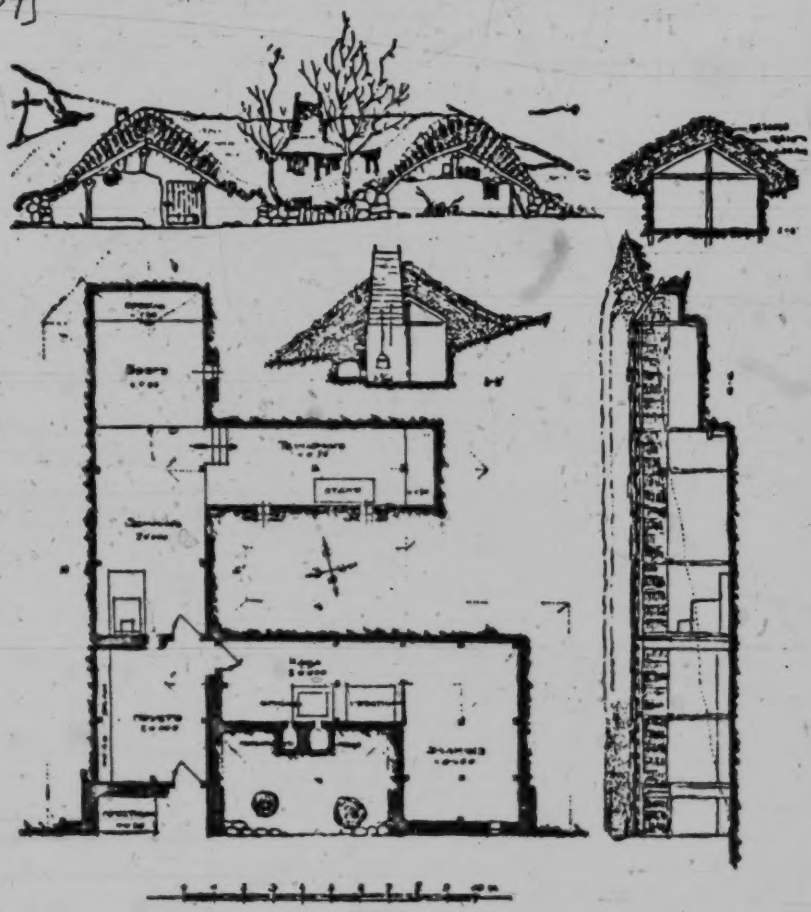

Fig. 51 Trogle of Pentso Tsoloff in the village Dolna Mitropolia, 1876
(Zlatev, Bălg. kăšte, fig. 97)

[354] Instead of heating, the inhabitants keep warm by the heat omitted by
[231] the cattle in the zemnik. For this reason, the male and female buffalo

are tied nearer the breg, for these animals emanate a lot of heat while feeding. One or two sky-lights are to be found on the roof of the breg and give some light to this very dark dug-out. B 342 354

In the second gallery, as we have said, there is the main house. It has a fire-place, 2×2 m., with a wide chimney for the escape of the smoke. The bread is baked under the ash of this hearth and there is an opening near the fire-place for the collection of the ashes. Finally, the zadnik is the space behind the house, where food, agricultural products and other useful articles are kept (1). 231 252 251 353

The same formation is seen in another lair of the same village, which was built in 1876 (Fig. 51.)

Dug-out houses existed from the ancient times among the Slavs, and other peoples of central and Nothern Europe, but, as it is shown by the remnants found, these dwellings constituted simple shelters (abris). That is to say, the Slavs dug out a deep trench, of more than one meter depth, which they covered with a roof of timbers, branches, hay and mud. According to Niederle «the construction of the house, or rather of the roof, was more or less simple, according to whether the stay in that place was to be of short duration; because the Slavs, used to live a nomadic life for a long time and till the beginnings of historic times». Such shelter-holes (fosses-abris) were already found in the Slav countries, of dimensions 1.50×4 meters, dating from the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries. Their construction has been retained, though on a less primitive shape, until the 19th century in some districts of Russia and Poland (2). The reason of such a form of housing is the lack of forests and of timber for construction of houses in the steppe districts. SL 172 342 B 342 171

The troglodyte houses of Bulgaria prove of an evolution, obviously due to the influence exercised by surface houses; they are neither of Slav nor of Bulgarian origin. Ancient authors, such as Strabo VII, 5, 12, Plinius, Nat. Hist. IV, 80, Ptolemaeus (C. Müller, Ptolemaei Geographia I, 463), mention the «troglodytes» in the district of Little Skythia, now Dobroutcha, and in Dardania, who lived, like the Phrygians and the Armenians, in subterranean dwellings (3). B SL 342

Consequently the Bulgars, and the Slavs who established them-

1) **T. Zlatev** op. cit. p. 112 figg. 97 98.
2) **L. Niederle**, op. cit. 2 p. 96 foll., 98.
3) See **C. Jirecek**, op. cit. 157. **G. Kazarow**, Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Thraker, Sarajevo 1916, p. 30.

B
342 selves in the valleys of the Danube, found both troglodyte and sur-
SL face dwellings in use among the previous inhabitants of these areas,
i.e. the Thracians, from whom Roumanians of Vlachia and Moldavia,
[342] and Albanians of the Skodra lake area took over these huts, called bordeiu (1).

B More specially the Bulgars, who in their ancient home were living
a nomad life, had no permanent houses. They lived just as the rest of
[361] Turanian peoples, in tents they put up in places where they could find pastures for their herds; when the pastures were exhausted, camps were dissolved and the tents carried with the nomads.

B When, under the leadership of Asparuch, Bulgars established a
175 strong base in the Delta of the Danube and when, using this strong-
648 hold as a base, they occupied all the area between this river and the
361 Balkan mountains, only then began the Bulgars to know the ad-
G vantages of permanent installation. For a long time, however, they
175 were wild fighters and lived on the peoples they subjugated, the old
648 Thracians, who had been hellenised, or latinised, and the other Greeks
SL and Slavs who had established themselves in those areas during the
previous century (2). These Slavs, according to Procopius (3) and to
[342] the Biography of Saint Demetrius (4), knew only how to build (5)
B «miserable huts» or «tents» besides the underground shelters men-
[727] tioned above. The thousands of Greek prisoners who were kidnapped during the Bulgarian invasions were «drafted» into the in-

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1) According to **Fr. Nopcsa,** Albanien, 1925, p. 11 these underground dwellings of Roumania and Bulgaria represent the immediate descendants of the pre historic and Roman housings of the Haimos peninsula. The writings on the tiles found in pre-historic dwellings have a Thracian character. Remains of Thracian tribes have been found despite the Illyric over layer, both, in the Skodra lake and in Dardania. Dobroutcha has always been a Thracian area.

2) **D. Zakythinos,** Οἱ Σλάβοι ἐν Ἑλλάδι, Athens, 1945, p. 27 «The permanent installation of Slav tribes in the Balkan peninsula begins only during the first years of the 7th Century».

3) **Procop.** De bello Gotth. 3, 14: Οἰκοῦσι δὲ (Σκλαβηνοί τε καὶ Ἄντται) ἐν καλύβαις οἰκτραῖς διεσκηνημένοι πολλῷ μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀμείβοντες δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικήσεως ἕκαστοι χῶρον.

4) **A. Tougard,** De l'histoire profane dans les actes grecs des bollandistes. Paris 1874, p. 184, 190.

5) According to **Niederle,** op. cit. 2, p. 98, «it is easily understood that the Slavs used to build, besides the underground shelters (abris) which were covered by an additional wooden roof, light huts without any trenches on the model of the «koliba», built by the shepherds of the Karpathians and the Balkans, made of inter-woven branches of trees».

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vader's country[1] and they were obliged not only to cultivate the land on behalf of their owners, but also to carry out all other work and naturally to build permanent houses which were necessary, since Bulgars were to establish themselves for good in these newly conquered districts.

For a long time Bulgars had either the disposition nor the sense to learning arts and crafts. Even where they had abandoned their incursions and lootings and were giving themselves to peaceful occupations, as agriculture and stock-breeding, they did not take to the arts. The palaces and the churches of Bulgaria have been built by foreigners, especially by Greeks, such as the beautiful palace of Aboba near Schumen, which is a monument of Byzantine style of the 9th or 10th century[2]. But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, accord-

1) The Bulgarian inroads on Greek territories for looting and capture of prisoners began in the period of Asparouch (679-701) and continued till the reign of Michael (1246-1257). King Krum, when he captured Adrianoupolis in 813, took away all her inhabitants, as well as those of the surrounding areas, all amounting to 40.000, into Bulgarian territory to the North of the Danube. Another 50.000 prisoners together with other loot, were taken during the winter of the same year from Thrace (**W. Slatarski,** Geschichte der Bulgaren, I, Leipzig, 1918 p. 15,29). According to the Bulgarian historian **Ivan Sakazov** (Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Berlin u. Leipzig, 1929, p. 57 foll.) «Bulgaria was filled up with prisoners and cattle, which formed the Bulgarian national wealth and made their well-being possible. It was on this basis that the material civilization was formed, which Omortag, Krum's heir, bequeathed to his descendents.» Later (1206), during a battle near the Tountza river, when the Bulgarian Ioannitzis or Skyloyiannis was totally defeated by the Greeks, 20.000 prisoners together with 3.000 carts were liberated, while they were led towards Bulgaria together with a great amount of loot. See **Diog. Xanalatos,** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βούλγαροι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θρᾴκην. Α' Athens 1914 pp. 17, 22 etc. 33, 39, 40 etc. Cp. **K. Paparrigopoulos,** Ἱστορ. Ἑλλ. Ἔθνους 6th edition, tome 4, b, 186 and foll. t. 5, a 23. **K. Amandos,** Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους Α' 1939 p. 411. Β' 1947, pp 5, 173, 426. Οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1923 p. 26 and 40 **Ant. Keramopoullos** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες, Athens 1945, p. 167 and foll. **G. A. Megas,** Ἀδριανούπολις ἡ πολυχρουσεμένη in the periodical Ἑλληνικὴ Δημιουργία t. I 1948 pp. 93 and foll.

2) **L. Niederle,** op. cit. 112. **C. Jirecek** says that: «Even in the best years of the Middle Ages, during the reign of Tsar Symeon, according to the evidence given by Joannis Exarchos, there were to be seen but straw-covered huts in Bulgaria, except for the palace of the king». Straw-covered huts in Bulgaria are also mentioned by Kantakouzinos, 1, 144, edit. Bonn.

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According to the Bulgarian historian **I. Sakazov,** op cit. p. 41, «The very beginnings of an economic organisation in Bulgaria appeared in the court of the Tsars and with the aristocracy, who were trying to imitate the Byzan-

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But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, accord-
ing to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages)(1).

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic(!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, ~~where~~ it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov**, op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

G [172] [463] [331]

1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2 000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali,** Ἠπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη. Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll.

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the Greek influence on Bulgarian architecture; but he attributes it to the Italian Renaissance elements of art introduced long before from Byzantium to the Western Europe as well. The Bulgarian author, however, not being able to ignore the historical truth completely, admits somewhat vaguely the links that connected his country with Hellenic cilivisation even during the Turkish occupation. He says that: «The far reaching boundaries of the Ottoman empire isolated the Bulgarian race from the civilized world and thus neutralized the various influences. The Bulgarian people, being thus isolated, was placed under the influence of the Byzantine civilization under which it has been in the past and with which it was closely connected» (p. 155).

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The remarks of Jovan Cvijic are thus proved by the facts; he says the following about the Bulgarian house: «Before the Bulgarian liberation (1878) most of the houses belonged to the farm house (tsiflik) type [1]. On the Haimos mountains, however, and in the ends of the Hevros plain, and above all in the Rodope valleys we see big two storied houses, due to Greco-mediterranean and Byzantine influence».

B [342]

B. THE JUGOSLAV HOUSE

About the Jugoslav dwellings, I did not manage to have under consideration a survey so detailed as that I had about Bulgarian housings[2]; that is why I shall limit myself, for the time being, to the studies of R. Meringer on the popular house of Bosnia and Herzegovina[3] and to elements given on the Jugoslav houses by some

Y 342 127

1) He means the agricultural house of the slave-farmers of the Thessalian, Macedonian and Thracian valleys and of the other countries that were under Turkish rule. **J. Cvijic**, Peninsule Balkanique p. 250.

2) The relative surveys, which I could not find in the local libraries, are the following:

1. **M. Murko,** Zur Geschichte des volkstümlichen Hauses bei den Südslaven (Mittheilungen der Anthropol. Gesellschaft, vol. 35-36, Wien, 1906).
2. **K. Rhamm,** Ethnographische Beiträge zur germanisch-slavischen Alterthumskunde I-III, Braunschweig, 1905-1910 (II Altslav. Wohnhaus).
3. **A. Haberlandt,** Volkskunst der Balkanlinder, Wien 1918.
4. **A. Haberlandt,** Kulturwissenschaft. Beiträge zur Volkskunde von Montenegro, Albanien u. Serbien, Wien, 1917.

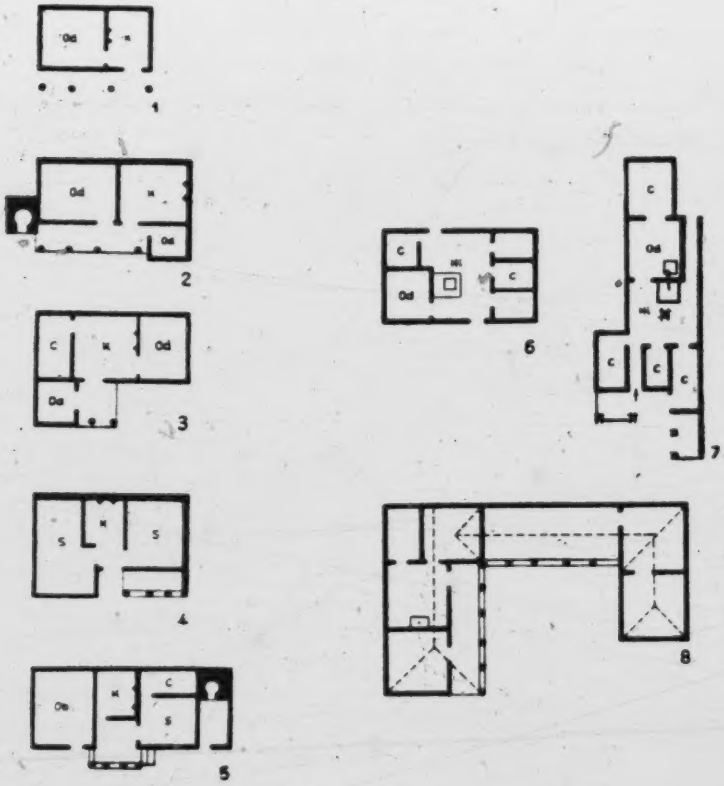
Y [113]

3) **R. Meringer** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina (Wissenschaftl. Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina, VII, 1900, pp. 249 290). **R. Meringer,** Die Stellung des bosnischen Houses und Etymo-

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Bulgaria EE1

342 BULGARIAN HOUSE PLATE XIII

TYPES OF WIDE FRONTED (OR ONE-STOREY) PLAIN HOUSE



[231]

MEMORANDUM

C cilier, cellar
Hi hiza, house, the main room
K kasta, house, the main room
Ob obór, stable
Od odaja, room
S oba, room with stove

[End Plate 13]

9:Megas I, B-5, 4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece

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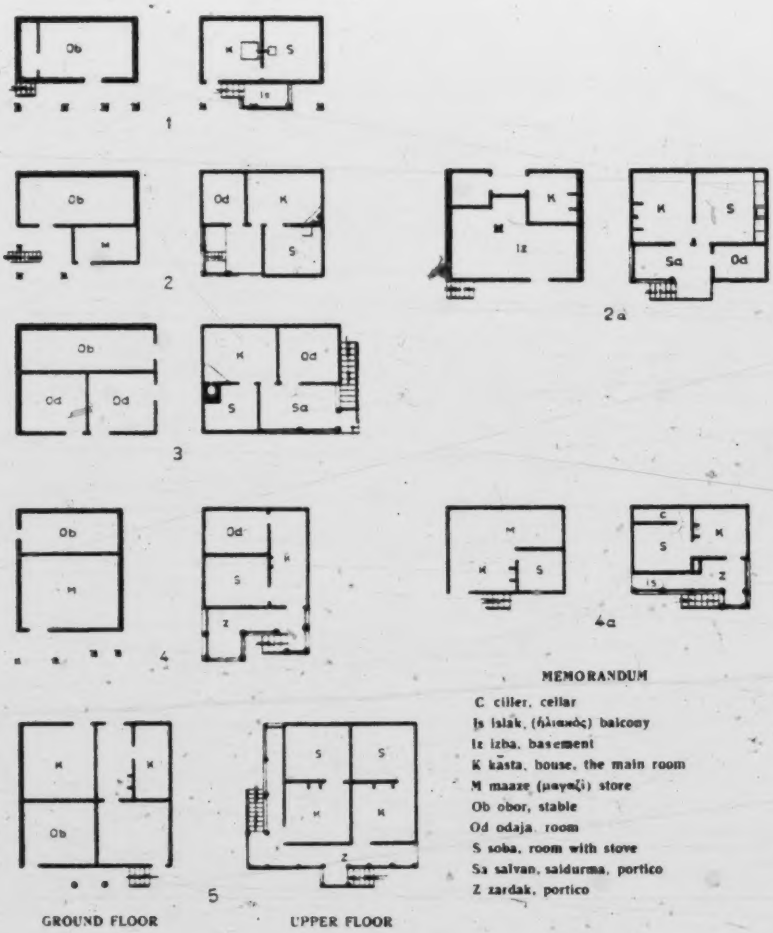
342 BULGARIAN HOUSE

PLATE XIV

TYPES OF MOUNTAINOUS (OR TWO STOREY) WIDE FRONTED HOUSE; ORIGINALLY TWO ROOMS ON THE UPPER FLOOR.



GROUND FLOOR

UPPER FLOOR

MEMORANDUM

C ciller, cellar
Is islak, (ἡλιακός) balcony
Iz izba, basement
K kāsta, house, the main room
M maaze (μαγαζί) store
Ob obor, stable
Od odaja room
S soba, room with stove
Sa salvan, saldurma, portico
Z zardak, portico

[231]

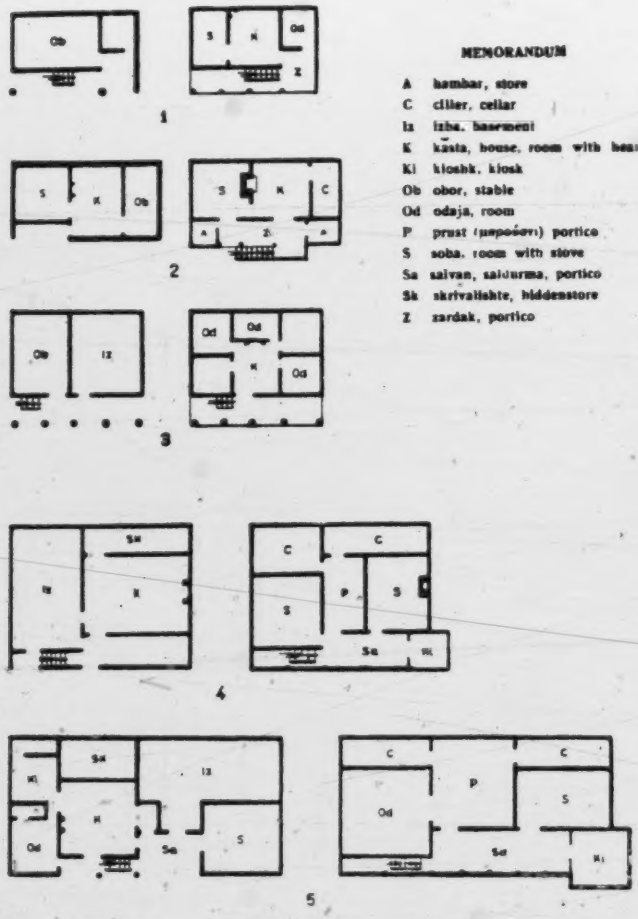
[End Plate 14]

9:Megas I, B-5, 4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Bulgaria EE1

BULGARIAN HOUSE

PLATE XV 342

TYPES OF MOUNTAINOUS (OR TWO STOREY) WIDE FRONTED HOUSE, OF ORIGINALLY THREE ROOMS IN THE UPPER FLOOR.



MEMORANDUM

A hambar, store
C ciliar, cellar
Iz izba, basement
K kasta, house, room with hearth
Kl kioshk, kiosk
Ob obor, stable
Od odaja, room
P prust (μεροόστι) portico
S soba, room with stove
Sa salvan, salidurma, portico
Sk skrivalishte, hiddenstore
Z zardak, portico

[231]

GROUND FLOOR UPPER FLOOR

[End Plate 15]

9:Megas 1,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece

Bulgaria EE1

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THE HOUSE IN RODOPE

IN ITS EVOLUTION

PLATE XVI

MEMORANDUM

A hambar, store
d dvor, courtyard
H hajet, (χαγιάτι) portico
Iz izba, basement
K kästa, house, a main room
Ki kioshk, (κιόσκι) balcony
Kl klet, a little room
M maaze (μαγαζί) store
Ob obór, stable
Od odaja, room
odar, (σάλα) saloon
Pl plevnla, hayloft

GROUND FLOOR

UPPER FLOOR

[End Plate 16]

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Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For general information on houses and farm buildings, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, pp. 79-86./

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Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For the special terminological usage of "cylindrical tiles" in house construction, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, p. 87./

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/For information on the construction and form of houses, yards and farm buildings, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, pp. 70-74, passim and 86N./

Bulgaria	EE1
Yugoslavia	EF1
Albania	EG1

113, 342

/For each end plate illustrating house plans in source 9:Megas, the author lists his sources of information in an appendix. See 9:Megas, EH1 Greece, category 116, pp. 120-134./

almost all farms have high walls of unfired brick which are topped with a small roof of straw. The large gateway is also roofed over and has a small door for people. In the eastern Marica plain the fence is of wickerwork or consists merely of a hedge (Gellert, 1937: 161-62). In eastern Bulgaria the enclosure, if present, is a low one of brushwood (Gellert, 1934: 5). 351 184

In the Marica plain there appears to be a difference between the enclosures in the east and west that cannot be attributed to the presence or absence of the necessary raw materials. Gellert believes that the high enclosures in the west are due to a persistence of Turkish traits (Gellert, 1937: 162). Also, in Sredna Gora and the Sub-Balkan basins high walls are limited to the west (Gellert, 1937: 162). [177]

In the mountains and the Sub-Balkan basins the yards are small and crowded together because there is little arable land (Gellert, 1937: 164). When the enclosures are of stone the yards are rectangular; when the fences are of wood or hedges the yards are often rounded and there is often much free land between the separate yards (Gellert, 1937: 165). 351 [311]

Since the houses are generally built to shelter both men and farm animals and have a number of annexes built onto them, one would expect fewer separate farm buildings. Barns are not typical of central Bulgaria. In Ihtiman we find two-roomed barns made of timber-framing and mud. The eaves may be extended and supported by pillars to form a shelter. Only in the extreme east of the Marica plain are barns widespread. Here a small side annex is added to the barn; the entrance is on the short side where the eaves are extended to form a shelter (Gellert, 1937: 158). In Juricite one finds Turkish store houses being used by the Bulgarian population, although in east Bulgaria they are used almost exclusively by the Turks (Gellert, 1937: 160). These are large buildings of woven brushwood with a straw roof that extends far out to the sides. They are generally built on an incline. The entrance is on the short side and the back is rounded (fig. 39) (Gellert, 1934: 3). In Karlovo Basin one finds store houses of wickerwork with straw roofs which have poles attached to the ridge to prevent the straw from being blown away (Gellert, 1937: 159). Stables for sheep in east Bulgaria are long narrow huts of stone covered with straw or reed (Gellert, 1934: 3). In general the various sheds and shelters for animals are of poor construction and have no particular regional characteristics (Gellert, 1937: 159). 343 184 [177]

Summer kitchens are numerous; they are either built onto the house or are in the open, in which case they are covered by a roof of straw, reed, brushwood or brick that is supported on four poles (Gellert, 1937: 160; 1934: 3). 343 [342]

Buildings Outside the Village. Outside mountain villages one finds shepherds' huts of brushwood, round or rectangular in shape, 342 233

This type of house is as a rule in the middle of a large courtyard, surrounded by a plaited fence; the secondary parts of the housing, such as stable, hay-barn, cereal store, etc. are dispersed into this yard. B 342 [351] 343

In Southern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian farmers' houses do not present any difference from the rural houses of the Greeks, who were established there many centuries ago in the areas of Kavakli and Messimvria, as I have described them in my survey Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις (pp. 27-29 and 43-44), or from the houses of Southern, Eastern and Western Thrace. This is evident from the plans of two houses, one from the village of Macrolivado (Ouzountsovo) of the Chaskovo district (fig. 33) and the other from the Karatoprak village, of the Philippople district (fig. 34). [171] [342]

The first one was built in 1780; it consists of two main rooms, completely separated from each other, and of a portico which originally covered all the frontage of the house. The small room (odaja) on the right hand end of the portico is an addition of recent years. According to Zlatev «the existence of a fire place in both rooms is not normal» (p. 104) «and it is characteristic to note that the hearth in the main room, the kĭsta, has been built on the external wall». In the other room, called here «zantsa», the hearth has derived from repair and it is obvious that the use of the other room was different, namely it was used to stabling the cattle or storing fruits, ect., as it is usual in the rural houses of Southern Thrace (1). On one end of the building, in line with the two rooms, the oven has been built on one end of the portico, which is often seen in other parts of Thrace. Zlatev says that, «the division of space was not changed in bigger houses, possessing more rooms. The additional spaces are placed in line, and the portico is increased by expansion along the entire lengthened frontage of the house (2). When this lengthening is extended too much, and the length has an oppresive influence on the external appearence, the portico is then adapted so that it is extended outwardly from its centre, in the shape af a square, thus very much reminding the shape ot the mountainous house» (Zlatev, p. 104). B [354] B [252]

The same is noted in the house of the Karatoprak village (built in 1912) which is tripartite and consists of two rooms and a stable, but a part of one of its rooms (of the soba) has been separated and formed a special space which was called, from the Greek language, B [192]

1) G. Megas, Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 13.
2) Cf. G. Megas, ibid. figg. 10 and 13.

9 Megas I.B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EHI Greece
Bulgaria SE1

from the other purely valley type houses, such as the houses of the Hevros or the Plevna valleys» (p. 95). 342

The house of the village of Divlia, Radomir district, (fig. 37) is a «typical bipartite valley building with a portico all along its frontage» (Zlatev, p. 98), and that of the village of Grigorevo, Novo-Celo district, (fig. 38 and 39) is only slightly elevated from the ground and includes, apart from the two spaces, basic for every valley house (the kăsta and the soba), one cellar in line with these spaces, and a small room on the front of the house which, together with the portico, forms a wing,

Fig. 40 House in Sapantsi, district of Novo Celo
(Zlatev, Balg. kăsta fig. 82)

coming out of the main body of the building. All the rooms have an earthern floor, covered with clay. The hearth is in the kăsta, i.e. the «house», on the wall separating the two rooms and has next to it two built-in cupboards (dulapze). Opposite the hearth, on the other inner wall, there is the pitcher shelf. The bread-oven, the stable and the other buildings, essential for rural life, are to be found in the large courtyard. This is surrounded by a two metres high wall, made of unbaked bricks and covered with tiles (Bulg. keramidi). The entrance door is double, and wide enough to permit the entrance of carts, but next to it there is another door for the entrance of people. The [354] [353] [252] [343] [351]

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Bulgaria EE1

/For information on the construction and form of houses, yards and farm buildings, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, pp. 70-74, passim and 86N./

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Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For general information on houses and farm buildings, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, pp. 79-86./

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

344

"The school is largely responsible for the change." *See page 72.*

585

". . . a wedding was a village affair . . ." *See page 85.*

[Facing p. 81]

Il: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EEl Bulgaria EEl

529

VARNA: A VIEW FROM THE PARK

345

SOFIA: THE OPERA HOUSE

[Facing p. 65]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

346

Rila Monastery, sacred to Bulgarians for six centuries

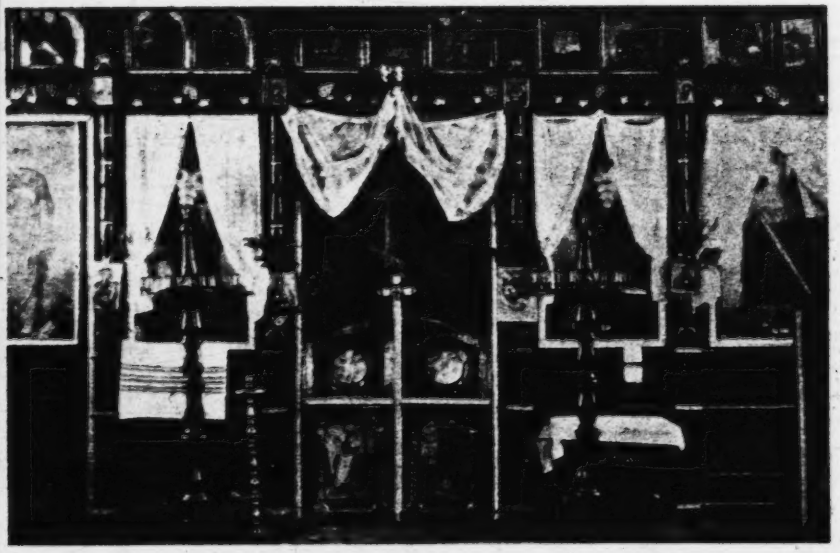
[- Frontispiece -]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

596

"The family is the productive, distributive, and consumptive unit . . ."
See page 144.

346

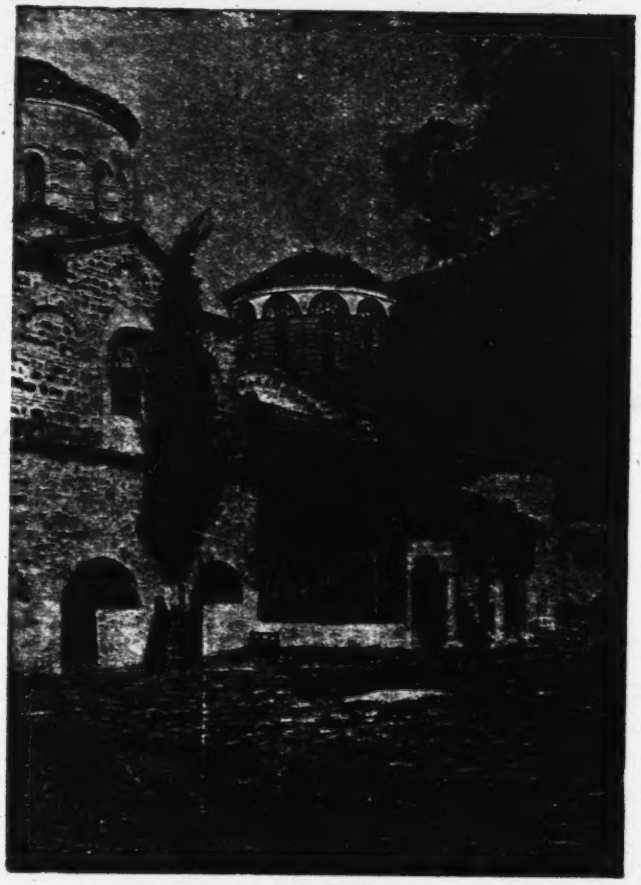


". . . religion . . . has become rigidly institutionalized." (The altar of the church). *See page 145.*

[Facing p. 144]

Il: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EEl Bulgaria EEl

346



THE BATCHKOVO MONASTERY

[facing p. 35]

133 to the tourist.[1] The Rila mountains with their numerous lakes, Alpine scenery, extensive pine forests, beautiful valleys, and crystal streams, constitute a perennial source of attraction. The famous Rila monastery which is reached •346 by a narrow gauge railway from Dupnitsa, as well as by road from Sofia accessible to motor cars, extends its large hospitality to all visitors and may serve as a hostelry for those intent on indulging in the healthy joys of mountaineering. The monastery deserves a visit by itself; its imposing pile crowned with its domes and cupolas and its battlemented tower, all encased and dominated by a ring of forest clad mountains, leaves a lasting impression of calm and repose on the visitor. The great gate of the monastery leads into a vast pentagonal yard in the midst of which is the church brilliantly decorated with frescoes and stone-work and endowed with a magnificent ikonostasis. By the side of the church is the five storied stern old tower, that constitutes the only remaining relic of the original structure of the monastery built in 1335. The immense yard is surrounded by a number of galleries, giving access to the cells of the monks which now usually serve as lodgings for visitors. These galleries rise in tiers, forming a series of picturesque arcades overhanging the yard with its numerous fountains which fill the air with their endless murmur of running water, all vying to dominate the roar of the swift-flowing stream traversing the mountain gorge in which the monastery is built, and which supplies the enraptured traveller at the rustic restaurant kept purposely for his behalf, with a dish of succulent mountain-trout, such as would have relished even Lucullus himself.

133 To the south ot the Rila range rise the Pirrin Mountains and further east the Rhodopes. The little town

[1] An excellent and profusely illustrated guide-book in English, may be obtained free of charge from the Tourist Bureau of the Bulgarian State Railways in Sofia.

li: Legio S-4 (no date) 1936 EEl Bulgaria EEl

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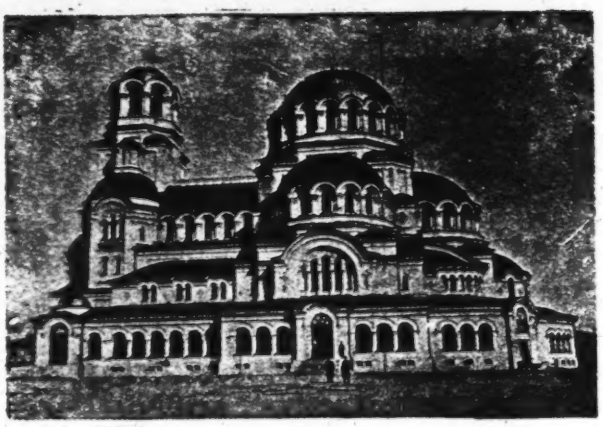

SOFIA: THE ALEX. NEVSKI CHURCH

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142

A GROUP OF PEASANTS

[facing p. 97]

Il: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EEl Bulgaria EEl

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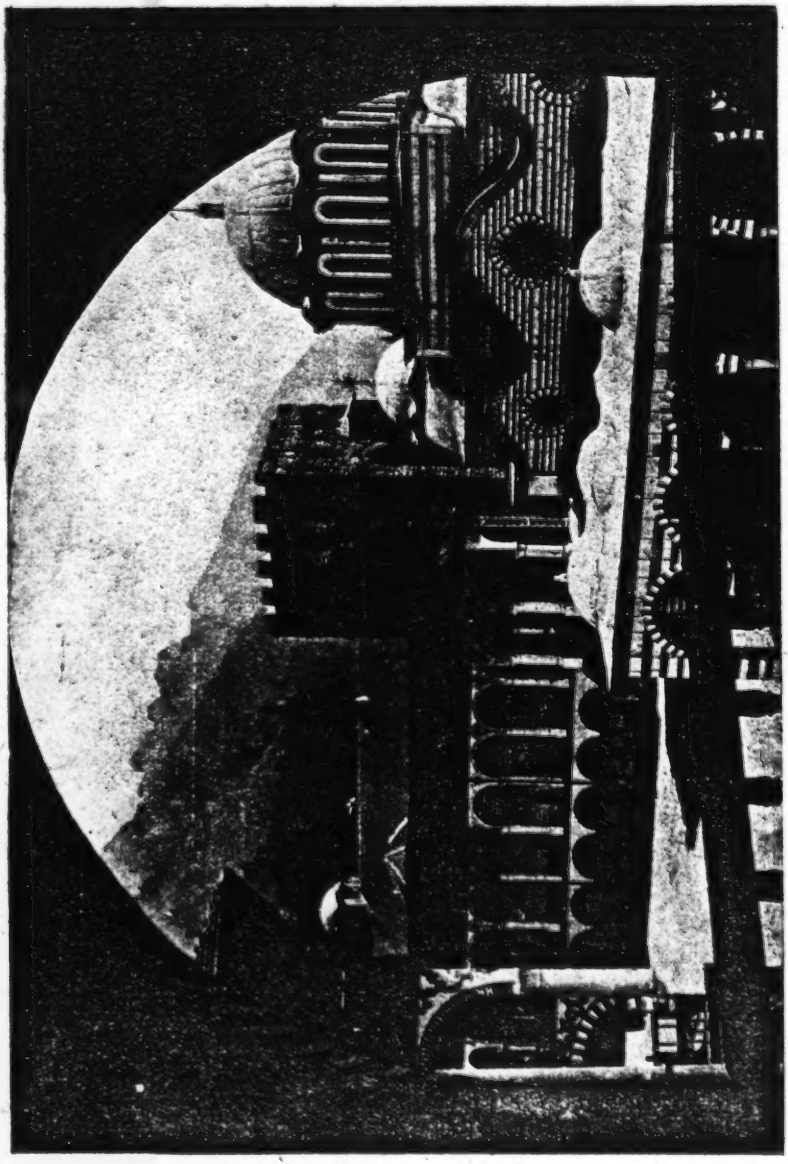

THE RILA MONASTERY

[Facing p. 145]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Thus the house became a home. Birth and death took their turn, so that every square foot of the small dwelling held its special memories. Over in that corner Ivanche was born; that stool by the bed was the one great-grandmother sat on many hours each day until her death at 102 years of age. She was the one who told the children the fascinating stories about dragons, who were "human beings like the rest of us but had wings in their armpits." She always enjoyed telling the legend about the lazy woman back in the days when people did not have to bring wood home from the forest in a wagon but simply tied the wood together in a bundle, whipped it, and sent it home by itself. It seems that the lazy woman was not content with this simple expedient, but after tying the pieces of wood together sat on top the bundle in the hope it would carry her home. God became so angry at this presumption that He forbade the wood to go home any longer under its own power. Henceforth it had to be taken home in a wagon.

Not far from the iconostas was a faded photograph, the only one in the room, of Peter and his bride Tsveta. Peter was the oldest son, and soon after his marriage in 1917 left for the army, never to return from the battlefield. Tsveta of course was married again, three months after his death, to a man from Bistritsa who needed an efficient housekeeper.

But not all of the life at the homestead took place indoors. The walled-in yard was also the scene of many family experiences. In fact, so many of the household processes went on outside in warm weather that the grass was completely worn away. I once asked a woman doing her washing out in the yard where she preferred to do that job. She replied:

"Clothes are washed with soap and hot water, and since we do not have special places for washing we do it in the living room in bad weather, or in the yard in good weather. Many times we carry the clothes to the river, but even there we heat water for rinsing. We pound the clothes with the *buhalka* [heavy wooden paddle] and wash not only our underclothes, but our outer garments as well, with the exception of the leather *kozhusi* [jackets]." She also volunteered in-

296 formation as to wash days: "We wash twice a week: on Monday and Wednesday, or on Wednesday and Saturday."

351 Many of the yards still had the threshing floor, reminiscent of Old Testament days. This could be located by a forlorn post which seemed to be serving no useful purpose. In the fall great quantities of drying wool hung from the clotheslines; and a little later the family piled in the yard the winter supply of wood from the forest.

342 The eaves of the house, deep as they were, sheltered such things as strings of drying peppers and ears of corn; milk utensils hung beneath them practically the year round; even the scythes and wooden hayforks found frequent lodging there. Storks nested in the trees and chimneys. With the coming of the warmer weather the sheep left their folds in the yards for the pastures, and the shepherd took with him his wattled shelter, which he moved on sleds across the grassy meadows.

[789] In many yards a heavy, large-wheeled wagon stood near the
351 primitive sheds for the animals and the ever-present strawstack. If the peasants were unusually superstitious, there would be dabs of blue paint on the wagon to keep the Evil Eye away. When the weather
231 was nice there were usually children at play in the yard. Upon seeing
609 a visitor they added their lusty shouts to the ominous barking of the dogs. They chased the dogs away from the gate by throwing sticks and stones at them, and at the same time warned the visitor to be on the alert. Far too often the dogs sneaked up behind to nip an ankle of the unsuspecting visitor.

247 The yards had few flowers, because chickens of a nondescript
351 variety pecked freely throughout the premises. One or two scraggly trees, from which the children shook most of the fruit before it had
735 time to ripen, stood in a corner wistfully seeking to give a touch of
511 beauty to the scene. In the spring the blossoms of such trees made the village bright, but when the fruit and leaves were gone the bare, black skeletons of the trees fitted in only too well with the poverty and sternness of village life. Poor land, inefficiently tilled, contributed to this poverty. Although the peasants worked hard in their fields, they had little cash on hand after selling their crops and paying their debts. Home improvements were postponed from year to year, but the hard work kept on just the same.

342 the entrance is generally in the center of the long side of the house, there are a number of houses (some of them two-story) where the door is on one of the short sides. In this case, the veranda is also found on the short side (Gellert, 1934: 6-7). Gellert (1934: 14) states that complicated houses such as appear in western [171] Bulgaria and Macedonia are missing in east Dulgaria. The Turkish-Oriental style present in southwestern Dulgaria is likewise missing.

[184] In central Dulgaria the same building materials are used as in eastern Dulgaria. In Ihtimanska Sredna Gora the ground floor may be of stone and bond timbers. The upper story is of brushwood, with or without plaster, or timber-framing filled with mud or unfired bricks. Whitewashing is frequent. Straw is rarely used for roofing and tiles predominate. On the foothills near Čirpan thin chalk slabs are used for roofing. Shingled roofs are absent (Gellert, 1937: 152-3).

One-story houses with a veranda enclosed at the sides are common. The veranda rarely extends along the whole front of the [184] house. In general, these houses are larger in the plains than in Sredna Gora and the Sub-Balkan Basins. In south central Dulgaria (Taleŝmanli and Monastirski Vrh) the side rooms protrude to such an extent that they are covered with separate hipped roofs the ridge-poles of which are connected with the main roof (Gellert, 1937: 154).

Two-story houses are numerous in the mountain regions. They are usually built on an incline. Very frequently, the veranda is changed into an anteroom and a balcony is added (fig. 56a) (Gellert, 1937: 155). Generally the lower story serves as a shelter for animals, as storage rooms and also as winter living quarters for the family (Ivimy, 1939).

[184] In the mountain regions near Golak and in Mečka on the Topolnica River the houses tend to be squarer and in this case the veranda is bordered only on one side by a room. The roof is in the shape of a flat pyramid, or has only a very short ridgepole (Gellert, 1937: 157). In central Dulgaria one finds the čardak, a [341] balcony on a two-storied house. It differs from the veranda in that it is not as massive and is not built into the building (fig. 56d) (Gellert, 1937: 151).

•351 184 Farm Buildings. The material used for the enclosure of farm-yards varies from region to region, and there may be a great variety of forms in a single area. In the mountain regions and in the Sub-Balkan basins the enclosure is made of woven brushwood or, less commonly, of dry masonry or mud. The entrance is a door of simple wickerwork or boards. In some villages at the foot of Sredna Gora and in some western villages the yard is enclosed by a stone wall with inserted bond timbers. In some areas, particularly around Mečka on the Topolnica River, a fence may be lacking. In general however, wood and brushwood are preferred in the mountain regions. In the Marica plain, between Ihtimanska Sredna Gora and Čirpan,

BULGARIA EE 1

almost all farms have high walls of unfired brick which are topped with a small roof of straw. The large gateway is also roofed over and has a small door for people. In the eastern Marica plain the fence is of wickerwork or consists merely of a hedge (Gellert, 1937: 161-62). In eastern Bulgaria the enclosure, if present, is a low one of brushwood (Gellert, 1934: 5). 351 184

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<u>Buildings Outside the Village</u>. Outside mountain villages one finds shepherds' huts of brushwood, round or rectangular in shape, 342 233

This type of house is as a rule in the middle of a large courtyard, surrounded by a plaited fence; the secondary parts of the housing, such as stable, hay-barn, cereal store, etc. are dispersed into this yard. B 342 [351]

In Southern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian farmers' houses do not present any difference from the rural houses of the Greeks, who were established there many centuries ago in the areas of Kavakli and Messimvria, as I have described them in my survey Θρακικαὶ Οἰκήσεις (pp. 27-29 and 43-44), or from the houses of Southern, Eastern and Western Thrace. This is evident from the plans of two houses, one from the village of Macrolivado (Ouzountsovo) of the Chaskovo district (fig. 33) and the other from the Karatoprak village, of the Philippople district (fig. 34). 343 [171] G [342] [171]

The first one was built in 1780; it consists of two main rooms, completely separated from each other, and of a portico which originally covered all the frontage of the house. The small room (odaja) on the right hand end of the portico is an addition of recent years. According to Zlatev «the existence of a fire place in both rooms is not normal» (p. 104) «and it is characteristic to note that the hearth in the main room, the kasta, has been built on the external wall». In the other room, called here «zantsa», the hearth has derived from repair and it is obvious that the use of the other room was different, namely it was used to stabling the cattle or storing fruits, ect., as it is usual in the rural houses of Southern Thrace (1). On one end of the building, in line with the two rooms, the oven has been built on one end of the portico, which is often seen in other parts of Thrace. Zlatev says that, «the division of space was not changed in bigger houses, possessing more rooms. The additional spaces are placed in line, and the portico is increased by expansion along the entire lengthened frontage of the house (2). When this lengthening is extended too much, and the length has an oppresive influence on the external appearence, the portico is then adapted so that it is extended outwardly from its centre, in the shape af a square, thus very much reminding the shape ot the mountainous house» (Zlatev, p. 104). B [354] B [252]

The same is noted in the house of the Karatoprak village (built in 1912) which is tripartite and consists of two rooms and a stable, but a part of one of its rooms (of the soba) has been separated and formed a special space which was called, from the Greek language, B [192]

1) G. Megas, Θρακικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 13.
2) Cf. G. Megas, ibid. figg. 10 and 13.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Bulgaria EE1

from the other purely valley type houses, such as the houses of the Hevros or the Plevna valleys» (p. 95). 342

The house of the village of Divlia, Radomir district, (fig. 37) is a «typical bipartite valley building with a portico all along its frontage» (Zlatev, p. 98), and that of the village of Grigorevo, Novo-Celo district, (fig. 38 and 39) is only slightly elevated from the ground and includes, apart from the two spaces, basic for every valley house (the kăsta and the soba), one cellar in line with these spaces, and a small room on the front of the house which, together with the portico, forms a wing,

Fig. 40 House in Sapantsi, district of Novo Celo
(Zlatev, Bălg. kăsta fig. 82)

coming out of the main body of the building. All the rooms have an earthern floor, covered with clay. The hearth is in the kăsta, i.e. the «house», on the wall separating the two rooms and has next to it two built-in cupboards (dulapze). Opposite the hearth, on the other inner wall, there is the pitcher shelf. The bread-oven, the stable and the other buildings, essential for rural life, are to be found in the large courtyard. This is surrounded by a two metres high wall, made of unbaked bricks and covered with tiles (Bulg. keramidi). The entrance door is double, and wide enough to permit the entrance of carts, but next to it there is another door for the entrance of people. The [354] [353] [252] [343] [351]

342 years ago, was giving shelter to a 40 members' family and which
[592] was especially built for this purpose (Plate XIII 6). It is an evolution
of the basic type of a house with two spaces (hyza and odaja). The
[513] cellars on the one side of the hyza are a subdivision of the third compartment into smaller spaces, and are used by the various couples of the family only to sleep in. The hyza remains the central appart-
[252] ment and it includes the hearth, measuring 2 m. x 2 m. where the bread is also baked in a special pot (srepnia, podnitsa). The cellars and the oda open to a hyza without any communication between them. The external architecture of this house presents the character-

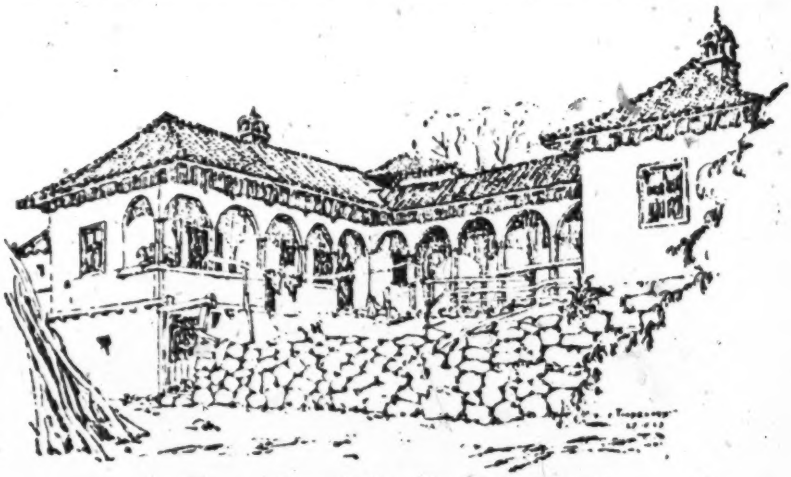

Fig. 42 House in the village of Tiorekovtsi
(Zlatev, Bălg kăsta fig. 77)

istic lack of a prostoon, which, according to Zlatev (p. 91) is the permanent element of the Bulgarian house. The house (Zlatev fig. 78) of the village of Tiorekovtsi, built in 1870, presents the same composition, but with a different arrangement of spaces (See Plate XIII 7).

Another house of this latter village is built according to the second method (Zlatev, Fig. 76 and 77) presenting an apparent archi-
[351] tectural synthesis: «two independent bipartite houses, extending parallel to each other are united on one side by a covered portico thus forming a sort of central courtyard, surrounded on two sides by porticoes which, according to Zlatev, remind us of monasteries and

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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clearly show its origin from the Italian Renaissance» (!) (see fig. 42, Plate XIII 8). B 342

In this category of houses of the plains can also be included the troglodyte house, which is seen even to-day in some villages of Nothern Bulgaria. But it forms a separate sort of building as to disposition, construction and arrangement, and it will be mentioned separately at the end of the present survey. [351]

2. The Bulgarian House of the Mountains.

The houses of the mountainous areas of Bulgaria show a much greater variety of shapes: they are two-storied and, from an architectural point of view, more advanced, than the houses of the plains. The explanation, however, given by Zlatev, that this fact is due to the higher income of the population who live in mountainous areas and become rich through cattle-breeding, can only be accepted if we consider the fact that in the plains of Bulgaria, as well as in those of Greece, there have been big farms belonging to Turks during their occupation, and the farmers were living there as serfs.

The older of the still existing houses of the mountainous areas of Bulgaria are from the middle or the beginning of last century. If we exclude the houses of the Rodope and the Orvelo areas, that present some peculiarities, the characteristic mark of the highland Bulgarian house is the open portico, which covers all the length of one of the sides of the upper floor, usually the side overlooking the yard. The building has normally no windows opening to the street. This portico also includes the staircase leading from the ground floor to the upper floor. Thus the staircase is almost external, but under the roof of the house (Plates XIV and XV).

The upper storey usually projects over the external wall of the ground floor, along the whole or part of the frontage of the house. This is achieved by the very wide use of timber, both in construction and decoration. The kind of timber used is oak, in the forest districts of Haimos (Balkan) and Sredna Gora, and pine-trees as well as other conifers in the districts of Rodope and Orvelo (Pirin). It would appear that for the abundance of timber, the whole of the highland house was originally made out of wood (1). B [313]

1) According to **Niederle,** op. cit. p. 119, «the wood construction is the original form of house building for the Slavs, both in their villages and their SL 342

[Text continues on p. 69]

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Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1 ●

/For general information on houses and farm buildings, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, pp. 79-86./

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Bulgaria EE1

/For information on the construction and form of houses, yards and farm buildings, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, pp. 70-74, passim and 86N./

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

The hearth or stove was the focal point of the barely furnished living room. When winter came the small fires burned steadily, but slowly as though undernourished. For fuel, people in Dragalevtsy used small branches brought from the village forest up on the mountainside, though a few bought coal from the mine at Pernik. No longer did they burn cow dung. Older people of the family felt that fire was sacred because it could bring on great disasters; therefore, it should not be treated lightly. The aged would never think of spitting in the fire, and gravely deplored this disrespect of the young. This attitude is perhaps an ancient survival of the days when the Bulgarians were sunworshipers. 354 372

The walls of the homes were pierced by comparatively few windows, which were small and were kept tightly shut during the winter to keep out the "dangerous" night air. The rest of the wall space was brightened somewhat by gaudy calendars decidedly patriotic in theme. The iron bedsteads or the heavy wooden beds which lined the walls contrasted strikingly with some homemade cradle or trundle bed reserved for the succession of young. A kneading trough stood near the door, usually covered to serve as a table. The only other table was a low circular *sofra* around which people ate seated on three-legged stools. I once asked a peasant: 342 [353] 352 ● 811

"Why do all of your little stools have three legs instead of four?"

"Far back in the past people used such stools and so we use them also. And I guess they are easier to be made and also are cheaper; furthermore, some people think that they keep a better balance since on a three-legged stool there is one less leg to wear down and become uneven than would be the case with a four-legged stool."

I have not been able to discover any flaw in this example of peasant logic. The same woman once explained to me why the people use the *sofra,* which is two feet high:

"This height was chosen through the ages because if it were lower, people would have to sit on the dirty floor. If it were the height of a regular table such as people have in the taverns, the three-legged stools would be too short. Therefore, the height of our table and the height of our stools are intimately connected."

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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No home was really furnished until it had a small wooden iconostas which contained an icon, a picture of the Virgin or a saint. The iconostas was usually placed in the east or southeast corner of the room. In case some disaster befell the family, they found out to which saint the unlucky day belonged, and got a picture of him for their iconostas. Thereafter, on his name day they did no work and used holy water in the house. In the *kandilo,* the small lamp before the icon, they burned olive oil during church time and on the eve of holidays. In case the family had used holy water at home in the hope of curing some sick person, the flowers with which the water had been sprinkled were placed on the household shrine.

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Usually there were a number of small implements or articles scattered about the room. A two-edged axe might be leaning against the door frame, and old clothes or bed clothes hanging from a long thick pole in a corner. I often saw in common use small baskets obtained from the gypsies. For pay, the gypsies asked the purchaser to fill the basket with beans or wheat, which they retained. The peasants themselves, especially the shepherds and goatherds with much leisure on their hands, made the very large baskets or hampers used for carrying hay or straw. These baskets stood in the entryway or hung under the eaves.

312

Only a few of the Dragalevtsy homes had a washstand, but even for these the water had to be carried from the nearest fountain. Over and over again the peasant women would say:

"We would like to have running water in our houses because it would help us a lot and make our life a little easier. But we don't have the money, and all this needs much money for installing a water system in the house, and also we would have to pay quite a high tax to the Obshtina. Anyway, the fountains in the village are sufficient and it doesn't take us much time to go and get water."

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The water was carried from the fountains either in clay vessels called *stomni* or in the more modern large copper vessels called *mentsi.* The long sticks on the ends of which the water vessels were suspended were called *kobilitsi.* The water from the fountains was used only for preparing food and drinking, and the water for the animals came from the little brooks in the street. Maintaining personal cleanliness was

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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Contemporary Macedonians EF8

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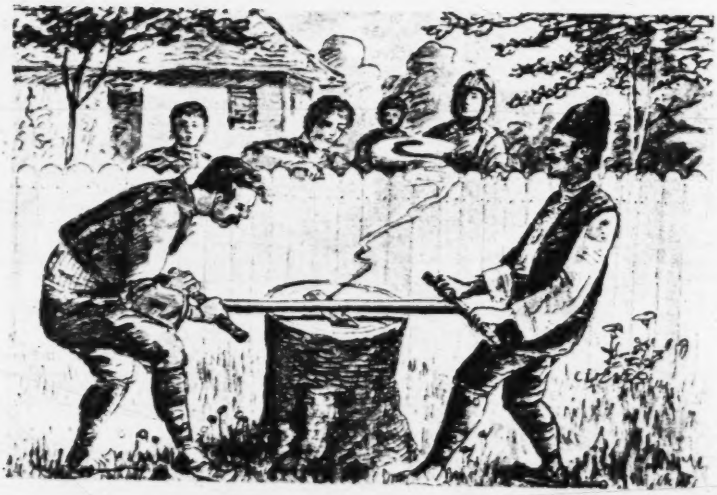

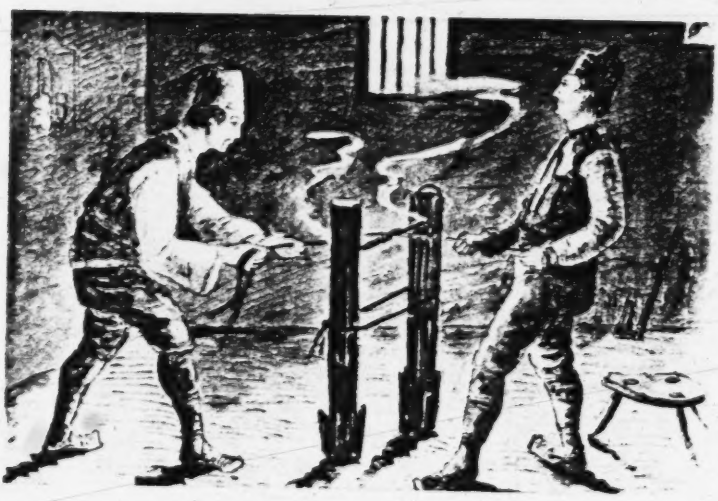

Fire making in Bulgaria and Macedonia
(From drawings by V. Titelbach)

[Facing page 144]

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342 of Zeravna (Plate XV 4, 5) one end of the portico is arranged as a
171 balcony (kioschki) slightly projecting and giving a view on the road, with its floor higher by 50-70 cm. from that of the rest of the portico, exactly as in the case of the sofas in the rich Greek houses of Northern Greece (1).

According to the above survey and after the mere examination of plates XIII-XV of the appendix, it is proved, I think, that, if we except the zadrouga-systems 6-8 pl. XIII, the general disposition of space both in one-storied and two-storied Bulgarian houses does not differ from that of the Greek house and especially the North Greek one; it also displays the same consistency and the same evolution from simpler to more complex forms. Exactly as in the external shape and the entire arrangement, the internal arrangement of the space in the Bulgarian house does not differ from the Greek and especially
B the Northern Greek house. The hearth, in the Bulgarian house, is
[354 built in the middle of one of the walls or in one corner of the main room
352] with a chimney that semi-circularly protrudes over it. We also find there our well known shelves high on the walls of the room, wall cupboards (doulapze), little opening (juklouk) and large wooden cupboards (moussandri) on both sides of the hearth; the sofas (menderia) also here extend along the walls and are covered with manifold patterns, rugs and cushions.

B Facing the hearth there is the pitcher-stand and next to it, in the
[352 wall, the cutlery cup-board. Bread is baked in a clay tray down in
252] the hearth, just as in the houses of Agrafa in Thessaly. A low round table is used for eating, exactly as in the Greek rural houses in older times (2).

B C. Jirecek, when describing the interior of the Bulgarian rural
192 house towards the end of the 19th century, also mentions some articles
342 whose names originate from the Greek language: chromel (χειρόμυλος) = a hand-mill for wheat or salt; stomna or stovna (στάμνα) = water pitcher with narrow neck; charkomka (χάλκωμα) = brass-utensil; paploma (πάπλωμα) = bed-cover; sakul (σακκοῦλι) = bag; ikona (εἰκόνα) = an ikon placed in the corner of the room (3).

B 1) See **G. Megas** Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις, pp. 86, 93, 97, 99.
[192] 2) According to Jirecek's note where he describes the Bulgarian urban house «Bulgars use only foreign words for the table. These are the Greek «trapeza», the Rumanian «massa» and the Turkish «sofra».

3) **C. Jirecek,** op. cit. p. 158, K. Myrtilos Apostolides in Ἀρχεῖον Θρᾳκικοῦ Θησαυροῦ vol. 8 p. 102 mentions many names of everyday objects which are orig-

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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from the other purely valley type houses, such as the houses of the Hevros or the Plevna valleys» (p. 95). 342

The house of the village of Divlia, Radomir district, (fig. 37) is a «typical bipartite valley building with a portico all along its frontage» (Zlatev, p. 98), and that of the village of Grigorevo, Novo-Celo district, (fig. 38 and 39) is only slightly elevated from the ground and includes, apart from the two spaces, basic for every valley house (the kăsta and the soba), one cellar in line with these spaces, and a small room on the front of the house which, together with the portico, forms a wing,

Fig. 40 House in Sapantsi, district of Novo Celo
(Zlatev, Bălg. kăsta fig. 82)

coming out of the main body of the building. All the rooms have an earthern floor, covered with clay. The hearth is in the kăsta, i.e. the «house», on the wall separating the two rooms and has next to it two built-in cupboards (dulapze). Opposite the hearth, on the other inner wall, there is the pitcher shelf. The bread-oven, the stable and the other buildings, essential for rural life, are to be found in the large courtyard. This is surrounded by a two metres high wall, made of unbaked bricks and covered with tiles (Bulg. keramidi). The entrance door is double, and wide enough to permit the entrance of carts, but next to it there is another door for the entrance of people. The [354] [353] [252] [343] [351]

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples E16

[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains]

In these two-storey houses as well, we distinguish in the upper-floor the two basic spaces just as in the Bulgarian house of the plains, namely the kăsta and the oda or soba with the so-called tsardak (or islak or soundourma) that is the open portico, in front of them. The lower storey is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the stabling of cattle and the storing of fruits, but very often it also includes a room with a hearth for the residence of the family during the winter. This is also called «kăsta» i.e. house, or even better, «lower house» and «small house» in contrast to the «upper», or «big house» that is the main room of the upper floor, where the family lives in the summer months. B 342 B 231 251 354

The second room, called soba, is also used as sleeping quarter for the family, and more seldom for the storing of food and other articles. For this last purpose, another additional space is also used and is called «killer»; the upper floor is thus divided into three spaces (Plate XV). B 513 251 353

This distribution is shown by the house of Sredna Gora (Messon Oros) which is very important as it exercised an influence upon the houses of Balkan, according to Zlatev (1). (See Fig. 43, 44 and Plate XV 1-2).

The portico in the upper floor is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the drying of fruit and as a living room of the family during the summer months. Parts of it are usually divided by light wooden or brick partitions, forming spaces called «ambar» (stores) for cereals, or even small rooms called «odaja» and «soba». B 251 353

Finally, in some more composite forms of houses there is a space between the two main rooms, used as an anti-room, having the floor higher by 0.15-0.20 m. and called prust (Greek «μπρούστι»); and also some other smaller spaces, divided off and used as hiding-places or cellars. In the more developed forms, such as in the houses of the village G 342 171 B 171

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towns, even in their palaces. Slavs never used stone construction until the 10th cent., except for their Southern tribes who, having arrived in the Balkan peninsula and the Italian boundaries on the 6th cent., could see for themselves the models of Byzantine and Roman architecture». Stone construction was first used in the building of churches and of palaces by experts specially invited from abroad. Cf. **J. Cvijic**, op. cit. pp. 228, 230, 241, **G. Megas**, Θρακ. Οἰκήσεις, p. 48. SL 342 333

1) According to **Cvijic**, op. cit. p. 250, «the house of Srendnja Gora is the one that corresponds better to the desires of all Bulgarian farmers, because it has spread all over the country after the Turkish occupation».

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Slavic Peoples E16

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are tied nearer the breg, for these animals emanate a lot of heat while feeding. One or two sky-lights are to be found on the roof of the breg and give some light to this very dark dug-out.

In the second gallery, as we have said, there is the main house. It has a fire-place, 2×2 m., with a wide chimney for the escape of the smoke. The bread is baked under the ash of this hearth and there is an opening near the fire-place for the collection of the ashes. Finally, the zadnik is the space behind the house, where food, agricultural products and other useful articles are kept (1).

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The same formation is seen in another lair of the same village, which was built in 1876 (Fig. 51.)

Dug-out houses existed from the ancient times among the Slavs, and other peoples of central and Nothern Europe, but, as it is shown by the remnants found, these dwellings constituted simple shelters (abris). That is to say, the Slavs dug out a deep trench, of more than one meter depth, which they covered with a roof of timbers, branches, hay and mud. According to Niederle «the construction of the house, or rather of the roof, was more or less simple, according to whether the stay in that place was to be of short duration; because the Slavs, used to live a nomadic life for a long time and till the beginnings of historic times». Such shelter-holes (fosses-abris) were already found in the Slav countries, of dimensions 1.50×4 meters, dating from the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries. Their construction has been retained, though on a less primitive shape, until the 19th century in some districts of Russia and Poland (2). The reason of such a form of housing is the lack of forests and of timber for construction of houses in the steppe districts.

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The troglodyte houses of Bulgaria prove of an evolution, obviously due to the influence exercised by surface houses; they are neither of Slav nor of Bulgarian origin. Ancient authors, such as Strabo VII, 5, 12, Plinius, Nat. Hist. IV, 80, Ptolemaeus (C. Müller, Ptolemaei Geographia I, 463), mention the «troglodytes» in the district of Little Skythia, now Dobroutcha, and in Dardania, who lived, like the Phrygians and the Armenians, in subterranean dwellings (3).

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Consequently the Bulgars, and the Slavs who established them-

1) **T. Zlatev** op. cit. p. 112 figg. 97 98.
2) **L. Niederle,** op. cit. 2 p. 96 foll., 98.
3) See **C. Jirecek,** op. cit. 157. **G. Kazarow,** Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Thraker, Sarajevo 1916, p. 30.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

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"Most of the houses in Dragalevtsy were one-storied." *See page* 22.

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"The hearth or stove was the focal point of the barely furnished living room." *See page* 23.

[Facing p. 13]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

132 dusty in the summer, icy or slushy in the winter. The refuse from most of the houses flowed through little trenches into the ditches along the streets, thence to be carried, if enough water could be diverted from Dragalevtsy River, to some place below. Fortunately, blasts of fresh, pure air rolled down from the mountain most of the time.

● 354 While all of the mountain villages had the same kind of streets as Dragalevtsy, it alone had electricity. These other villages disappeared from the sight of men as soon as shadows stole up the mountainside, but Dragalevtsy burst into view at dusk as electric lights from street and dwelling shone against the dark background of Vitosha, vividly revealing the location and size of the village. (Electric lights were first used there in 1928.) The lights of the village used to go out one by one as bedtime approached, and at ten o'clock even the street lights were off, leading one to the conclusion that the street lights were as much for adornment as for public safety.

000 Frequently I had to leave the village alone after dark to return to the American College, where I taught and lived during most of the year. Invariably the peasants, still under the sway of a custom wise enough in Turkish times, argued that sensible people never left the village late at night.

"But what is there to be afraid of?" I asked.

"Oh, but one never can tell."

"Are there bandits around?"

"Thank God, no."

"Will I run into wolves?"

"No, not at this time of year. But there are sheep dogs."

"If sheep dogs are all I have to worry about, I guess I had better be starting," I told them.

They would then reply:

"*Gospodine* [Mister], you are a brave man," but I could tell from the way they shook their heads when they spoke that they considered me more foolhardy than brave.

Once away from the village I turned to look at the irregular string of beads of light that was Dragalevtsy and thought of the people with whom I had talked during the day and of their homes, around which centered their simple hopes and unpretentious dreams.

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The hearth or stove was the focal point of the barely furnished living room. When winter came the small fires burned steadily, but slowly as though undernourished. For fuel, people in Dragalevtsy used small branches brought from the village forest up on the mountainside, though a few bought coal from the mine at Pernik. No longer did they burn cow dung. Older people of the family felt that fire was sacred because it could bring on great disasters; therefore, it should not be treated lightly. The aged would never think of spitting in the fire, and gravely deplored this disrespect of the young. This attitude is perhaps an ancient survival of the days when the Bulgarians were sunworshipers.

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[353]
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The walls of the homes were pierced by comparatively few windows, which were small and were kept tightly shut during the winter to keep out the "dangerous" night air. The rest of the wall space was brightened somewhat by gaudy calendars decidedly patriotic in theme. The iron bedsteads or the heavy wooden beds which lined the walls contrasted strikingly with some homemade cradle or trundle bed reserved for the succession of young. A kneading trough stood near the door, usually covered to serve as a table. The only other table was a low circular *sofra* around which people ate seated on three-legged stools. I once asked a peasant:

"Why do all of your little stools have three legs instead of four?"

"Far back in the past people used such stools and so we use them also. And I guess they are easier to be made and also are cheaper; furthermore, some people think that they keep a better balance since on a three-legged stool there is one less leg to wear down and become uneven than would be the case with a four-legged stool."

I have not been able to discover any flaw in this example of peasant logic. The same woman once explained to me why the people use the *sofra,* which is two feet high:

"This height was chosen through the ages because if it were lower, people would have to sit on the dirty floor. If it were the height of a regular table such as people have in the taverns, the three-legged stools would be too short. Therefore, the height of our table and the height of our stools are intimately connected."

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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342 **1. The Bulgarian house of the lowlands.**

192 This type of house mostly consists of two wide front spaces and of a prostoon, i.e. vestibule which is open as a rule on both its lateral sides.

[354] One of these spaces has the hearth (ognichte) and is called the kăsta, or more rarely hyza (1), i.e. house. It can hence be concluded that this space originally constituted the entire house. The other space is heated up by a stove and it is called the «soba», which means stove.

[252]

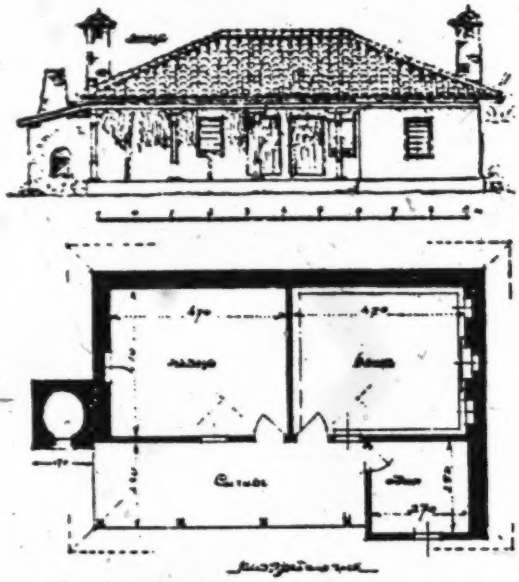

Fig. 33 House at the village Makrolivado (Usúntsovo) in district of Chaskovo
(Zlatev, Bălgar. kăsta, fig. 91)

The vestibule extending in front of the rooms, takes up either all the front part or only part of it, and is called by the Greek name «prust» (2) or by the Turkish names zardak, or saivan, or sundurma (3).

1) This word originates from the German hûs, Haus. Small and lightly constructed houses are also called by the Bulgars and the Slavs koliba or chalupa, from the Greek word καλύβη. (**L. Niederle,** Manuel de l'antiquité slave, II la civilisation Paris 1926 p.98 note 5).

2) Cf. the «μπροῦστι», i.e. the προστῷον, of the Greek houses in the Haimos area and the «μπρόστι» or «ἀμπρόστι» of the Roumloukion house near Thessaloniki (**G. Megas** Θρακ. Οἰκήσεις p. 27).

3) According to **Jirecek,** Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien, p. 158, «the Bulgarian houses have always an open vestibule (prust, sundurma) formed by the extention of the roof and supported by wooden poles».

This type of house is as a rule in the middle of a large courtyard, surrounded by a plaited fence; the secondary parts of the housing, such as stable, hay-barn, cereal store, etc. are dispersed into this yard. B 342 [351] 343 171

In Southern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian farmers' houses do not present any difference from the rural houses of the Greeks, who were established there many centuries ago in the areas of Kavakli and Messimvria, as I have described them in my survey Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις (pp. 27-29 and 43-44), or from the houses of Southern, Eastern and Western Thrace. This is evident from the plans of two houses, one from the village of Macrolivado (Ouzountsovo) of the Chaskovo district (fig. 33) and the other from the Karatoprak village, of the Philippople district (fig. 34). G [342] [171]

The first one was built in 1780; it consists of two main rooms, completely separated from each other, and of a portico which originally covered all the frontage of the house. The small room (odaja) on the right hand end of the portico is an addition of recent years. According to Zlatev «the existence of a fire place in both rooms is not normal» (p. 104) «and it is characteristic to note that the hearth in the main room, the kasta, has been built on the external wall». In the other room, called here «zantsa», the hearth has derived from repair and it is obvious that the use of the other room was different, namely it was used to stabling the cattle or storing fruits, ect., as it is usual in the rural houses of Southern Thrace (1). On one end of the building, in line with the two rooms, the oven has been built on one end of the portico, which is often seen in other parts of Thrace. Zlatev says that, «the division of space was not changed in bigger houses, possessing more rooms. The additional spaces are placed in line, and the portico is increased by expansion along the entire lengthened frontage of the house (2). When this lengthening is extended too much, and the length has an oppresive influence on the external appearence, the portico is then adapted so that it is extended outwardly from its centre, in the shape af a square, thus very much reminding the shape ot the mountainous house» (Zlatev, p. 104). B [354] B [252]

The same is noted in the house of the Karatoprak village (built in 1912) which is tripartite and consists of two rooms and a stable, but a part of one of its rooms (of the soba) has been separated and formed a special space which was called, from the Greek language, B [192]

1) G. Megas, Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 13.
2) Cf. G. Megas, ibid. figg. 10 and 13.

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from the other purely valley type houses, such as the houses of the 342
Hevros or the Plevna valleys» (p. 95).

The house of the village of Divlia, Radomir district, (fig. 37) is a «typical bipartite valley building with a portico all along its frontage» (Zlatev, p. 98), and that of the village of Grigorevo, Novo-Celo district, (fig. 38 and 39) is only slightly elevated from the ground and includes, apart from the two spaces, basic for every valley house (the kăsta and the soba), one cellar in line with these spaces, and a small room on the front of the house which, together with the portico, forms a wing,

Fig. 40 House in Sapantsi, district of Novo Celo
(Zlatev, Bălg. kăsta fig. 82)

coming out of the main body of the building. All the rooms have an [354]
earthern floor, covered with clay. The hearth is in the kăsta, i.e. the
«house», on the wall separating the two rooms and has next to it two [353]
built-in cupboards (dulapze). Opposite the hearth, on the other inner [252]
wall, there is the pitcher shelf. The bread-oven, the stable and the [343]
other buildings, essential for rural life, are to be found in the large [351]
courtyard. This is surrounded by a two metres high wall, made of
unbaked bricks and covered with tiles (Bulg. keramidi). The entrance
door is double, and wide enough to permit the entrance of carts,
but next to it there is another door for the entrance of people. The

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The typical form is shown by a house of the village of Zianozene of the Berkof district, built in 1890 (Fig. 41) «In these areas», says Zlatev (p. 98), «southward and northward of the Haimos, in the plain or even in the mountains, this house is the normal type used. The portico here appears in various forms and positions, depending on the construction, which is here primitive and without any particular sense of shape». Part of the space under the portico has been enclosed with oak-tree boards and it is used as a pig-sty. The walls of the ground-floor are made of stone, and those of the upper floor of daubed wicker-work (Bulg.: pletarka). The floor of the upper storey is made of oak planks, roughly planed, and plastered with a thick layer of clay. Windows are few and small, and thus results a poor lighting in the house. The height of the basement is of 2 metres, and that of the upper floor 2 - 2.5 metres. The portico, formed on the frontage and called «islak» (Greek: ἡλιακός), appears as a non-organic part, attached to the main body, although its roof is a part of the whole roof of the house. It is mainly used for the drying of fruits[1]).

B 342
B [231]
B [354]
B [251]

The need to house a large family, as e.g. the so-called zadruga, created a difficult problem which remained architecturally unsolved in the case of the Serbs and the other Slavs: the young people and the young couples sleep in separate small buildings (vajat, klijet, staja or koliba from the Greek καλύβη = hut) which are constructed alongside or around the family house (called kuc'a), having no hearth and being also used as a stable or a store house[2]). The number of klijeti existing round the kuc'a gives the number of couples living in that cluster[3]). As for the Bulgarians, this problem has been solved through the following two methods: 1. By the addition of rooms, in direct organic connection with the original region of the hearth. 2. By the unification of two independent bipartite or tripartite houses through covered entrances or corridors.

Se SL [342] [592] [513]

The first method is shown by the house in the village Zabel (Zlatev, fig. 16), one of the oldest houses in NW Bulgaria, which, «some

B [592]

1) It is interesting to note the nomenclature of each part of the wooden bone in W. Bulgaria, which is often similar to that used in Thessaly and Epirus (Zlatev, p. 101, fig. 86) 1. Temel (θεμέλιον) = the basis of the post. 2. Direk = the post. 3. Gredi = (γρεντιά) beam. 4. Pope (παπᾶς = priest) (cf. **Megas**, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις p 20).

2) See **J. Cvijić**, La Peninsule Balkanique, Paris, 1918, p. 233 and foll.

3) See **L. Niederle**, Manuel de l'antiquité Slave, Vol. 2 Paris 1926, p. 109.

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[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains]

In these two-storey houses as well, we distinguish in the upper-floor the two basic spaces just as in the Bulgarian house of the plains, namely the kăsta and the oda or soba with the so-called tsardak (or islak or soundourma) that is the open portico, in front of them. The lower storey is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the stabling of cattle and the storing of fruits, but very often it also includes a room with a hearth for the residence of the family during the winter. This is also called «kăsta» i.e. house, or even better, «lower house» and «small house» in contrast to the «upper», or «big house» that is the main room of the upper floor, where the family lives in the summer months. B 342 B [231 251 354]

The second room, called soba, is also used as sleeping quarter for the family, and more seldom for the storing of food and other articles. For this last purpose, another additional space is also used and is called «killer»; the upper floor is thus divided into three spaces (Plate XV). B [513 251 353]

This distribution is shown by the house of Sredna Gora (Messon Oros) which is very important as it exercised an influence upon the houses of Balkan, according to Zlatev (1). (See Fig. 43, 44 and Plate XV 1-2).

The portico in the upper floor is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the drying of fruit and as a living room of the family during the summer months. Parts of it are usually divided by light wooden or brick partitions, forming spaces called «ambar» (stores) for cereals, or even small rooms called «odaja» and «soba». B [251 353]

Finally, in some more composite forms of houses there is a space between the two main rooms, used as an anti-room, having the floor higher by 0.15-0.20 m. and called prust (Greek «μπρούστι»); and also some other smaller spaces, divided off and used as hiding-places or cellars. In the more developed forms, such as in the houses of the village G [342 171] B [171]

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towns, even in their palaces. Slavs never used stone construction until the 10th cent., except for their Southern tribes who, having arrived in the Balkan peninsula and the Italian boundaries on the 6th cent., could see for themselves the models of Byzantine and Roman architecture». Stone construction was first used in the building of churches and of palaces by experts specially invited from abroad. Cf. **J. Cvijic**, op. cit. pp. 228, 230, 241, **G. Megas**, Θρακ. Οἰκήσεις, p. 48. SL 342 333

1) According to **Cvijic**, op. cit. p. 250, «the house of Srendnja Gora is the one that corresponds better to the desires of all Bulgarian farmers, because it has spread all over the country after the Turkish occupation».

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342 of Zeravna (Plate XV 4, 5) one end of the portico is arranged as a
171 balcony (kioschki) slightly projecting and giving a view on the road, with its floor higher by 50-70 cm. from that of the rest of the portico, exactly as in the case of the sofas in the rich Greek houses of Northern Greece (1).

According to the above survey and after the mere examination of plates XIII-XV of the appendix, it is proved, I think, that, if we except the zadrouga-systems 6-8 pl. XIII, the general disposition of space both in one-storied and two-storied Bulgarian houses does not differ from that of the Greek house and especially the North Greek one; it also displays the same consistency and the same evolution from simpler to more complex forms. Exactly as in the external shape and the entire arrangement, the internal arrangement of the space in the Bulgarian house does not differ from the Greek and especially
B the Northern Greek house. The hearth, in the Bulgarian house, is
[354 built in the middle of one of the walls or in one corner of the main room
352] with a chimney that semi-circularly protrudes over it. We also find there our well known shelves high on the walls of the room, wall cupboards (doulapze), little opening (juklouk) and large wooden cupboards (moussandri) on both sides of the hearth; the sofas (menderia) also here extend along the walls and are covered with manifold patterns, rugs and cushions.

B Facing the hearth there is the pitcher-stand and next to it, in the
[352 wall, the cutlery cup-board. Bread is baked in a clay tray down in
252] the hearth, just as in the houses of Agrafa in Thessaly. A low round table is used for eating, exactly as in the Greek rural houses in older times (2).

B C. Jirecek, when describing the interior of the Bulgarian rural
192 house towards the end of the 19th century, also mentions some articles
342 whose names originate from the Greek language: chromel (χειρόμυλος) = a hand-mill for wheat or salt; stomna or stovna (στάμνα) = water pitcher with narrow neck; charkomka (χάλκωμα) = brass-utensil; paploma (πάπλωμα) = bed-cover; sakul (σακκοῦλι) = bag; ikona (εἰκόνα) = an ikon placed in the corner of the room (3).

B 1) See **G. Megas** Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις, pp. 86, 93, 97, 99.

[192] 2) According to Jirecek's note where he describes the Bulgarian urban house «Bulgars use only foreign words for the table. These are the Greek «trapeza», the Rumanian «massa» and the Turkish «sofra».

3) **C. Jirecek,** op. cit. p. 158, K. Myrtilos Apostolides in Ἀρχεῖον Θρακικοῦ Θησαυροῦ vol. 8 p. 102 mentions many names of everyday objects which are orig-

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[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains] SL

The only difference lies in the method of heating of the second room. This is not heated as the main room by an open hearth, but by a stove. This is the reason why this room is called soba (i.e. stove). In order to allow the smoke of the stove to escape through the chimney of the hearth, the latter is often built at the party wall and thus it is possible to feed the stove from the side of the hearth (see fig. 44).

B 342 354 C [342] [171]

This system of heating, the combination of hearth and stove, the latter being fed on the side of the hearth, it is generally seen, in the Slav dwellings and is probably due to German influence (1). The arrangement of the space, however, is in the Slav house entirely different from that of the Bulgarian one. With Slavs, and even with the Serbs of Bosnia the stove (Slav. pec) is in the main room, which originally constituted the entire house (called jisba or kuc'a); this stove took the place of the open hearth because of the German and Latin influence (fig. 45 a-b). The ante-room, (pitvor) which originally had no heating, was changed into a kitchen with a hearth (called kuchyna in Czech or kyha in Serb) (2) since the time when the opening of the stove it was moved and opened on the party wall, so that the fuel could be cast from the ante-room; for in front of the mouth of the stove, a base for a hearth was thus created. (Fig. 45c and 46).

B [171] SL 342 354 [177] se [342] [354]

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inating from the Greek and are to-day used in the written Bulgarian language: gonia (γωνία)=corner; dilavia (λαβίς)=pincer; enghistra (ἀγχιστρον) =hook; kerami (κεραμίδι)=tile etc.

B 192 342

1) The word **Isba** which is also used by the Bulgars, and means the house or rather the basement is found in Russian texts of the 10th and 11th centuries as «istuba» and originates from the German word «Stube», meaning a place for baths, equipped with a stove, and generally a warm place (**Niederle,** Manuel 2, 105, **E. Berneker,** Slavisches etymol. Wörterbuch, word istuba (istba, izdba, izba). According to **Niederle,** op. cit. p. 106 Note 3 «Slavs may have even before learned to know the very oven through their immediate relations to the Greeks (Romains) and the Greek towns of Pontos. The construction of the upper floor and other details of the Russian and generally the Slav house are also due to the German and Norman influence». (**Niederle,** ibid. 2, 108).

B [192] SL [177]

2) This changing of the ante-room (antichambre or vestibule according to Niederle) into a «cuisine à foyer» (kitchen with a fire-place) was not performed with all Slav peoples and is not older than the 11th cent. We do not see it with Russians, part of the Poles and Slovaks, who preserved the vestibule as a non-heated room (**Niederle,** ibid. 107 foll). Cf. **R. Meringer,** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina in Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien VII, 1900 Wien, 248 foll.

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B 342 354 Among Bulgarians, on the contrary, (Fig. 44) the open hearth (ognichte) is always to be found in the main room which, as it is shown by its name (kăsta=house), originally constituted the whole

SL 342 354

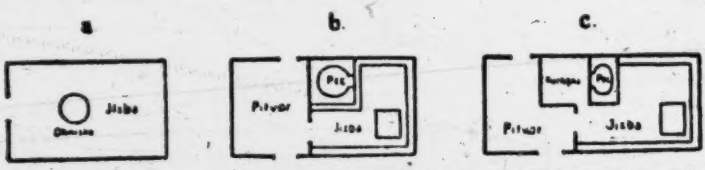

Fig. 45 Three developing forms of a Slovak house in W. Karpathia. jisba= room, ohnisko=hearth, pitvor=ante-room, pec=stove, kuchyňa=kitchen (L. Niederle, Manuel de l'antiquité Slave 2, 107).

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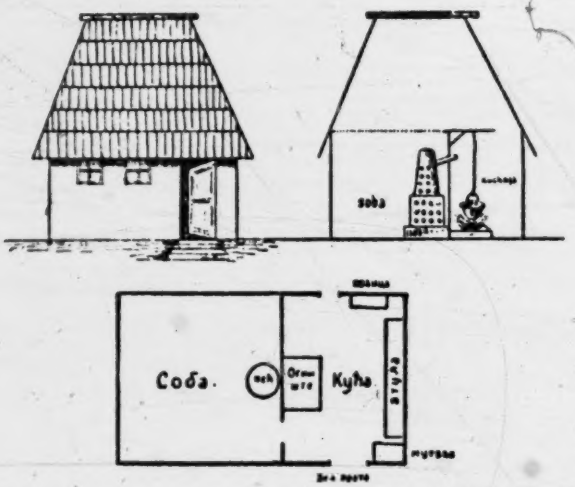

Fig. 46 Plan and section of a Serb house (kuc'a) of Bosnia, after R. Meringer (soba=room with stove. kyha=kitchen)

B 342 354 house. This hearth is often built on one of the main walls or in one corner of it and the stove is in the other room, which is called «soba». On the other hand, this combination of hearth and stove in the Bulgarian house is neither old nor is it generally found since, according to Jirecek's descriptions, bublished towards the end of the 19th century: the Bulgarian house «usually consists of a single space levelling with the

[177]

ground and having a beaten earth floor and an open fire-place» (1); as L. Niederle remarks (ibid. p. 108, note 1): «in the Balkans the Latin influence is shown in the addition of the soba to the kuć'a; this change, however, is not older than the 19th century» (2).

B 342 [354] [177]

Consequently, even this difference, which is noted at many places, in the system of heating between the Bulgarian agricultural house and the Greek one, is neither original nor basic.

G [342] [171]

The houses of the Rodope area are peculiar in their external architectural shape, as they do not have the open portico of the upper storey, which is so typical for the mountainous Bulgarian houses (3). Obviously it is the lack of security in these districts, where there was a lot of banditry (called Momtsilo, Kirtzalis) (4) since the later Byzantine years, that imposed here, as well as in Western Macedonia equally suffering from the incursions of Albanians, the system of fortified buildings, with their heavy and strong walls, reaching as far up as the roof even on the frontage of the house; an internal staircase; a strong main-door, with loop-holes on each side as well as the arrangement of the veranda (heliakos) into a large ante-room, or drawing room, with fine balconies or kioschks, protruding on its ends (fig. 47) (Zlatev, fig. 61 and 67), exactly as it is seen in the covered balconies and the high sofas of the rich houses in Western Macedonia, Epirus and Thessaly (5). It is understood that in the simplest shapes of houses

G [171] [342]

1) **C. Jirecek**, op. cit. p. 158.

2) The Russian ethnologist **Tokariof**, when describing the Bulgarian house, says: «Almost all the old houses have an open hearth on the wall with a pot hanging over the fire, and with a wide open chimney that has its exit through the roof The bread is usually baked in this hearth. As for the horizontal plan, the house is divided into two parts: the kitchen with the fire-place and the «oda», the room, that now has an iron stove». (Μόρφωση, Γ' 1946 p. 126). According to **R. Meringer** (Sitzungsber. Philos. Histor. Kl. der Wiener Akad. Abh. 2 p. 13) Bulgaria, Albania and the Hercegovina are placed in the category of the countries with fire-place (Kamin!ländер).

3) According to **Tokariof** «one sees as completely different thing in the Rodope mountains. We have an example in the village of Baskovo. There, the old houses have an extremely complicated plan which is very difficult to be analysed. Houses are very big; they have three or four floors and sometimes the wall of the front of the house has no windows at all. The upper floors sometimes extend over the lower by covered balconies, as it is the custom in the East. Houses are built one against the other, thus forming whole blocks. This architectural style is entirely different from the Eastern-Slav type of house where the plan is always a simple rectangular parallelopiped».

4) See **W. Slatarski**, Geschichte der Bulgaren, I Leipzig 1918 p. 165.

5) **G. Megas**, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις pp. 55, 88, 97, 104, 109, fig. 50, 80, 90.

[Text continues on p.75]

attached plan of such a house of the village of Dolna Mitropolia in the Plevna District of the year 1895 (fig. 50). 342

This consists of two underground galleries. The first and main gallery has, after the entrance, three spaces, meant for the housing of the family and of the cattle. The first is the anteroom (prust), the second is the stable (zemnik) and the room (breg). The second gallery which is perpendicular to the first, comprises the house (kăsta) with the hearth and the cellar (called zadnik = back side). [231]

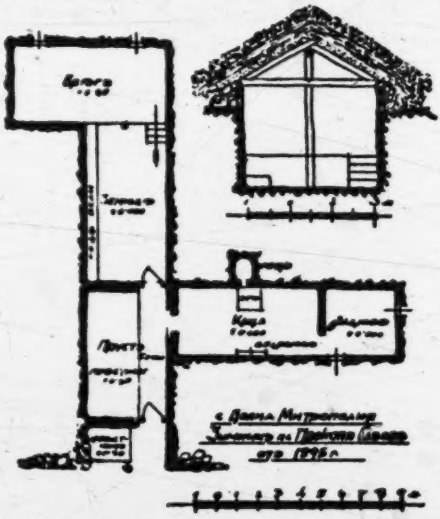

Fig. 50 Village Dolna Mitropolia. Trogle of Prokopi Savoff, 1895
(Zlatev, Bălg. Kăsta fig. 98)

The entrance, protected by the roof which is protruding, has, as a rule, an earthen plat-form (prastnik) where the inhabitants sit, or even sleep, in summer. [513]

After a slight slope of the ground, one goes through the entrance into the prust, which plays the role of an ante-room and which, in winter protects the inner spaces from the influence of the atmosphere and in summer, it is used for the habitation of the family, having for this purpose, an earthen sofa. Two doors open from the «prust» to the two main spaces of the house, the zemnik and the kăsta.

The zemnik is never less than 7 m. long and has mangers for the cattle on one side. After this room, one goes to the breg, that [231] [513] [354]

342 has a floor higher by 0.80–0.90 than the rest, and is used as a
[513] bedroom for the members of the family. No wall separates these two
[354] spaces from each other, neither is there any provision for heating.

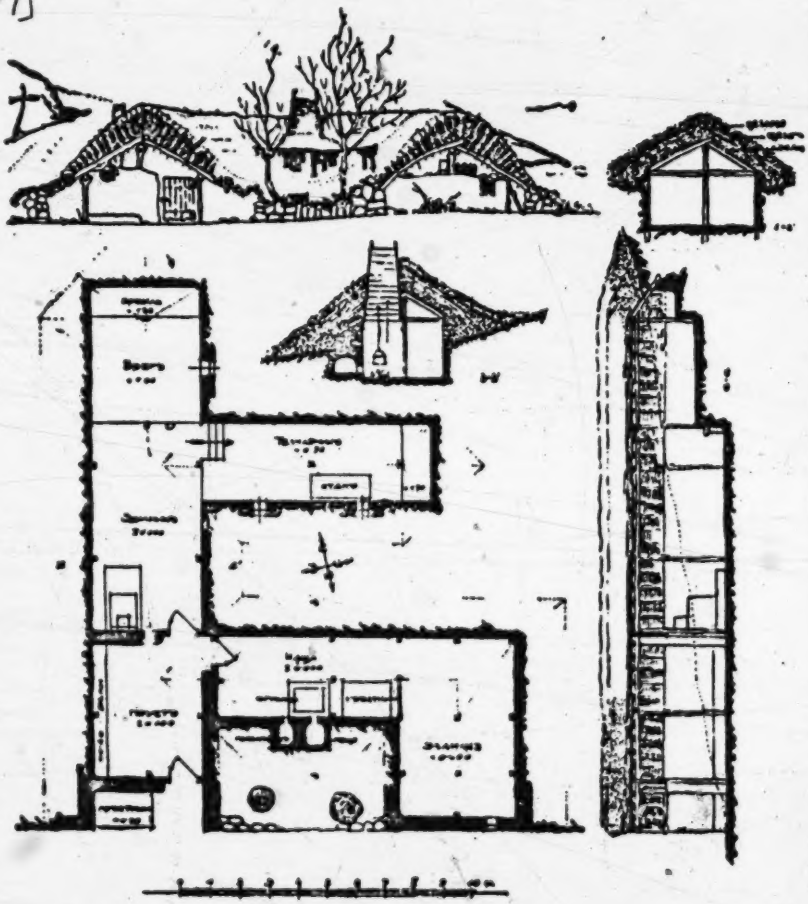

Fig. 51 Trogle of Pentso Tsoloff in the village Dolna Mitropolia, 1876
(Zlatev, Bălg. kăšta, fig. 97)

[354] Instead of heating, the inhabitants keep warm by the heat omitted by
[231] the cattle in the zemnik. For this reason, the male and female buffalo

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are tied nearer the breg, for these animals emanate a lot of heat while feeding. One or two sky-lights are to be found on the roof of the breg and give some light to this very dark dug-out.

In the second gallery, as we have said, there is the main house. It has a fire-place, 2×2 m., with a wide chimney for the escape of the smoke. The bread is baked under the ash of this hearth and there is an opening near the fire-place for the collection of the ashes. Finally, the zadnik is the space behind the house, where food, agricultural products and other useful articles are kept (1).

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The same formation is seen in another lair of the same village, which was built in 1876 (Fig. 51.)

Dug-out houses existed from the ancient times among the Slavs, and other peoples of central and Nothern Europe, but, as it is shown by the remnants found, these dwellings constituted simple shelters (abris). That is to say, the Slavs dug out a deep trench, of more than one meter depth, which they covered with a roof of timbers, branches, hay and mud. According to Niederle «the construction of the house, or rather of the roof, was more or less simple, according to whether the stay in that place was to be of short duration; because the Slavs, used to live a nomadic life for a long time and till the beginnings of historic times». Such shelter-holes (fosses-abris) were already found in the Slav countries, of dimensions 1.50×4 meters, dating from the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries. Their construction has been retained, though on a less primitive shape, until the 19th century in some districts of Russia and Poland (2). The reason of such a form of housing is the lack of forests and of timber for construction of houses in the steppe districts.

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The troglodyte houses of Bulgaria prove of an evolution, obviously due to the influence exercised by surface houses; they are neither of Slav nor of Bulgarian origin. Ancient authors, such as Strabo VII, 5, 12, Plinius, Nat. Hist. IV, 80, Ptolemaeus (C. Müller, Ptolemaei Geographia I, 463), mention the «troglodytes» in the district of Little Skythia, now Dobroutcha, and in Dardania, who lived, like the Phrygians and the Armenians, in subterranean dwellings (3).

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Consequently the Bulgars, and the Slavs who established them-

1) **T. Zlatev** op. cit. p. 112 figg. 97-98.
2) **L. Niederle,** op. cit. 2 p. 96 foll., 98.
3) See **C. Jirecek,** op. cit. 157. **G. Kazarow,** Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Thraker, Sarajevo 1916, p. 30.

113, 323, 462, 415, 354, 789 Bulgaria EE1

[For information pertaining to the production of pottery, ceramic utensils, earth ovens, by women in Bulgaria, and associated magical beliefs, see 3: Filipovic, E13 Balkan Peoples, category 116.]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

591 562 If a daughter failed to marry, she spent the rest of her life in her father's home and received sympathy only as long as her mother was alive. Her father and married brothers thought of her as a servant in the home and treated her accordingly. Fortunately there was rarely more than one old maid at a time in Dragalevtsy.

593 855 562 The treatment of younger children, of course, varied greatly with the home. Children in Dragalevtsy were accustomed to being yelled at from their first toddling days by displeased older people. As we have already seen, there was no question about boys being preferred to girls in most homes, especially if there was only one boy among several girls. In such homes it was the boy who received the presents when the father returned from town, and who was picked up first; it was the boy whom the parents held when they asked to be photographed.

[861] Whipping, which was usually done by the father, was such an effective check on misbehavior that parents often needed only to threaten it. Another method of punishment was to withhold bread from the child for two or three hours, but, as one father said, "This doesn't always work, especially if the child begins to cry."

[357] Some parents, when they were unable to make ends meet, sent a girl off to Sofia to work as a domestic. One family revealed that five years previously a twelve-year-old daughter had been sent to be a servant in Sofia; she would never return to the village to live, nor did she ever come to visit. In this case the parents could not support an extra person, so chose the simplest way out. The fact that many Bulgarian families in cities sought female servants from twelve to eighteen years of age made such a practice possible. Indeed, on St. Dimiter's Day (November 8) and St. George's Day (May 6) there used to be a "servant bazaar" in Sofia. Village girls went to a certain place and stood in a row where housewives could look them over like heifers and choose a maid. Changes in servants, including shepherds, were ordinarily made only at these two times during the year.

593 857 Should parents find a job for a teen-aged boy, the father might require the boy to accept the job. Most boys wanted work; only a few resented working at all. If a father had more sons than he needed on the farm, he sometimes chose a trade for or with the boy. Such

2· Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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"Their round completed . . . the milkmen began . . . to retrace the long uphill journey from the city's outskirts to the village." *See page 5.*

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". . . in front of Bai Penko's tavern on the northern side of Renaissance Square." *See page 8.*

[Facing p. 4]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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"The priest could look past the modern school building . . . to the church just beyond." Sofia is in the background. *See page 8.*

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"Yurdan, the leading tailor . . . and his wife Zdravka were a unique couple." *See page 14.*

[Facing p. 5]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

travelers, dressed in their brightest, newest garments, were speeded on their way. The friends and relatives loaded them with money and presents of clothing, food, and wool, which the pilgrims were to donate to the great and holy monastery. The whole ceremony of leave-taking was made a part of the bright landscape by the flowers everywhere—on the dress of the pilgrims, fastened to the gifts, and carried in huge bunches. Upon their return a few days later the dusty pilgrims were met at the outskirts of the village and escorted home through the blue twilight by those eager to hear of every adventure during the days and nights in the great mountains, whose jagged walls have protected Rila Monastery for hundreds of years. 788 181

Formal piety, as shown in pilgrimages, was only one of the major characteristics which these Bulgarian villagers possessed. The Dragalevtsy people, especially the men, were predominantly literate. Bulgaria, despite what seems a forbidding Cyrillic alphabet, has the highest rate of literacy of all Balkan countries, a fact which can be attributed to the tendency to regard education as a panacea for individual and social ills. While only 44 per cent of the women over fifteen years of age could read and write, 92 per cent of the men were literate. Of course, I often came upon groups of peasants crowded around a friend slowly spelling out a newspaper article aloud, but these little clusters of attentive listeners originated because of the scarcity of newspaper subscribers, not necessarily because of illiteracy. 212

The Dragalevtsy people were also law-abiding. During the first three years I knew the village, and informants said that the record went much farther back than that, no Dragalevtsy peasant had been taken to Sofia for imprisonment. There was no local jail, nor any need for one. This was not a sign of the inefficiency of local police, but rather an indication of the peaceable and honest traits of the people. 181 697

In many other characteristics the villagers shared what have come to be known as the universal "rural virtues," for theirs was an agrarian way of life. More than three-fourths of the family heads were peasant proprietors. In addition to these, there were two other occupational groups: the intellectuals and the artisans. Despite their small number, the intelligentsia, as they were called by the peasants, were the most influential group in the community. Whenever the [181] 463 565 524 361 517

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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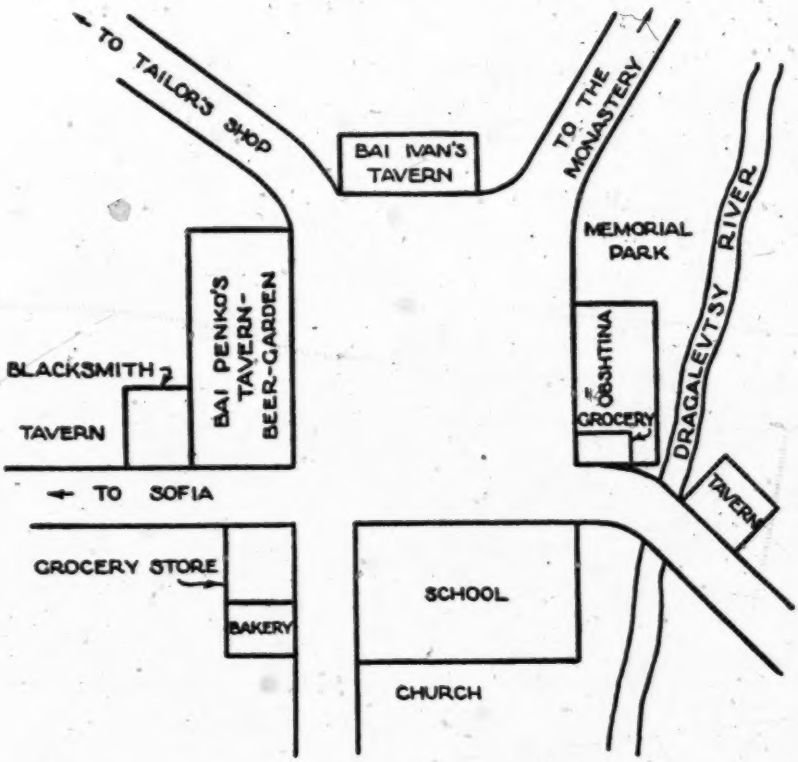

Renaissance Square, the focal point of Dragalevtsy's communal life

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weather was agreeable I was sure to find several of them playing cards in front of Bai Penko's tavern on the northern side of Renaissance Square, where the winter *horo* was held. Even though they sat engrossed in their game, they could still keep an eye on what was happening in the village, since this square was the focal point of community life. The mayor, for instance, could watch the Obshtina, or municipal building, across the square, as well as all traffic that entered this rocky plot of ground on its way to the city of Sofia below or to the monastery higher up Mount Vitosha. The priest could look past the modern school building, flanking the western side of the square, to the church just beyond. The village doctor's husband was near in

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

case his wife needed him, although he invariably grumbled in his native Russian upon being called away from the game. A fourth hand during the summer was a reserve army officer whose intense love for German efficiency and ideology and whose contempt for the "ignorant, unreliable peasant" became bywords in the community. Peasants sitting on the porch of Bai Ivan's tavern on the eastern side of the square could observe with seeming indifference the intelligentsia at play, distracted though they were at times by the fervent temperance lectures delivered by the tavern keeper's daughter-in-law whenever she placed a glass of *rakiyà* in front of a customer.

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These intelligentsia proved to be interesting people. The mayor had a good education, completed by the study of law in Russia. His father had been a priest in Boyana, a village just four miles to the west, so the mayor, himself a *Shop,* knew the workings of the peasant mind. When he was sent to the village as mayor back in 1934, after the *coup d'état* of that year abolished all elections and deprived many local officials of their jobs, he issued a flowery proclamation which contained such thoughts as these:

622 159

> Therefore, as I take up my duties, desiring greatly to use the small abilities that I possess for the economic and cultural uplift of the villages included in the commune entrusted to my care, I wish to express my good feelings of loyalty and friendliness and attachment to the population and to certify that I am ready to work for the uplift of our commune and to be the loyal conveyor of its economic and cultural interests and needs.
>
> Imbued with the idea that we are all members of the same family, sons of mother Bulgaria, let us forget the recent past of shameful partisan struggles and begin to live as genuine brothers—Bulgarians filled with mutual love, patience, harmony, respect, and good will.
>
> Let us do our duty to these beautifully situated villages, perched on the slope of Mount Vitosha, and make them attractive gardens, with culture, and places of merriment and songs.

The people soon learned that the mayor when excited talked so rapidly that he failed to enunciate clearly, and they always enjoyed mimicking this mannerism. They did not particularly resent his management of their affairs, despite the fact that he had been sent by the central government which gave local communes no choice in

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

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"Bulgaria is a man's country."
See page 95.

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"The neighborhood gossiping groups did much more than shock the girl into some of the realities of married life . . ." *See page 93.*

[Facing p. 97]

Il: Logio 3-4 (no date) 1936 EEl Bulgaria EEl

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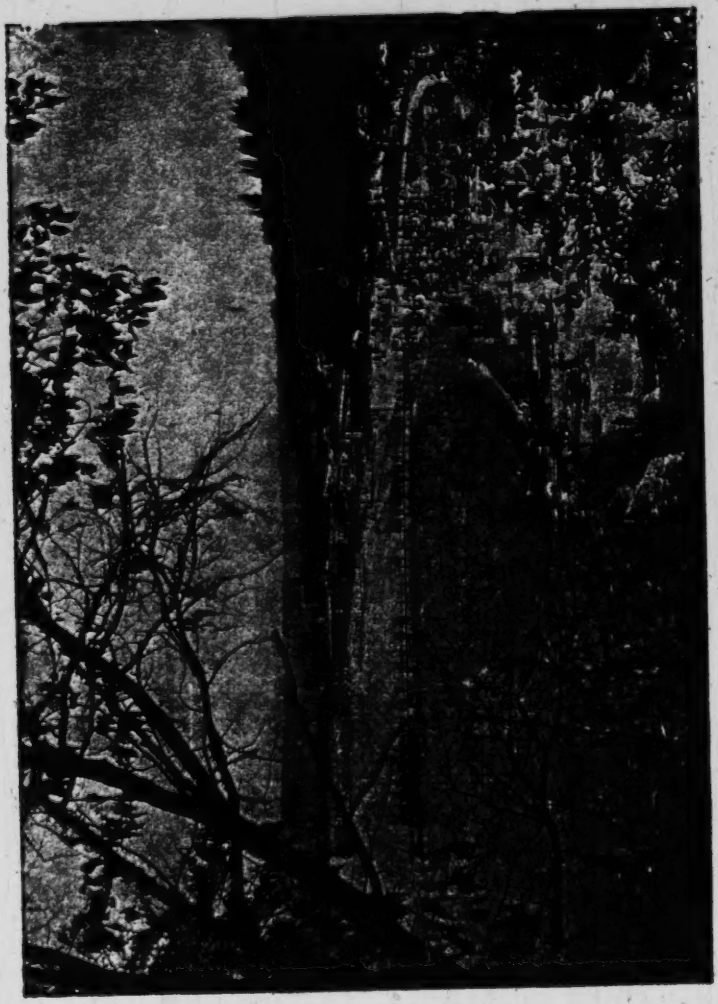

VARNA: A VIEW OF THE BEACH

[facing p. 16]

Il: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EEl Bulgaria EEl

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HISSAR: A VIEW THROUGH THE OLD ROMAN WALLS

[Facing p. 129

17: Thurnher E-4 (no date) 1956 EF6 Serbs EF6
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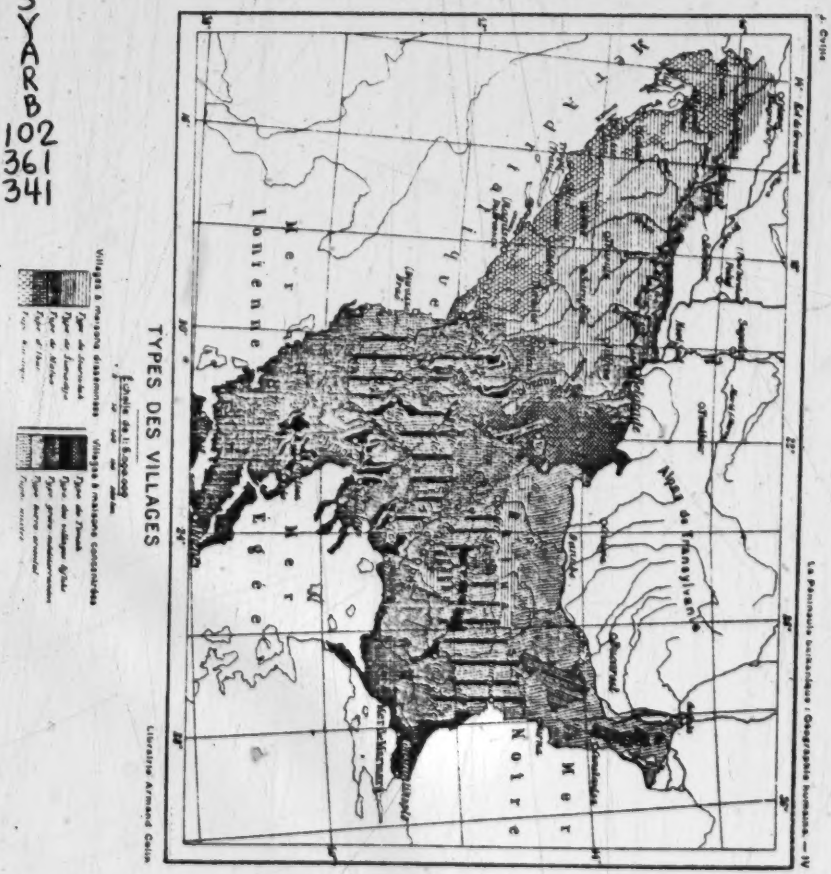

[P.86-R]

extends from the Rumanian border south to the towns of Karnobat and Burgas. 131

Location and Types of Settlement. The presence of water is an important factor in the location of the settlements. Villages tend to be located along the Marica, Topolnica Strema and Tundža rivers. In the Tundža Mountains settlements are on the slopes of hills. Isolated hills in the Marica valley are preferred spots. Settlements rarely descend into the fertile river plain, most of them being located at its edge (Gellert, 1937: 142-43). In the Sub-Balkan regions, settlements are rarely at the bottom of steep valleys or on steep slopes, a gentler terrain being preferred (Gellert, 1937: 143). 361 133 [312]

Due to the irregular terrain and deep valleys in the Topolnica and Ihtimanska Sredna Gora regions, the settlements are in the form of hamlets (mahala, kolibi) of 2-10 farmsteads, scattered over the spurs overlooking a valley in which is located the main village (Gellert, 1937: 168). In eastern Bulgaria the villages show no regular plan. In the plains the villages are large and the buildings less crowded, the roads being often exaggeratedly wide. In mountainous terrain the roads are narrow and crooked, often unsuitable for carts (Gellert, 1937: 164). [491]

House Types. In eastern Bulgaria the building materials are boards, wicker, mud and unfired brick. Usually a framework of wood is filled with wicker, which may or may not be plastered. Compact walls are often made of mud, unfired brick or stones, strengthened with horizontal bond timbers. These may form the foundation on which the upper story of timber-framing is built. The hipped roof is of straw, reeds or brushwood. On the longer side of the house the eaves extend over a veranda that is raised about 10 centimeters from the ground. The walls are generally whitewashed, and each room has an exit to the veranda. Chimneys are of woven brushwood or of fieldstones and are plastered with mud. Bulgarians often build one half of the house first and plan to add more rooms later; when one side of the roof is not hipped it means that the house is not finished (Gellert, 1934: 8). 342

A two to three room house is common. Often the veranda is between the protruding side rooms (fig. 56e). The central room is generally windowless and serves as a winter kitchen. Frequently many farm units are included in the main house. One of the side rooms may be transformed into a stable with a separate entrance from the outside (fig. 56c) (Gellert, 1934: 8-9).

Two-story buildings are in the majority (fig. 56a, 56b). In the ground floor are the stable and cellar. Often annexes are built on the sides (fig. 56e) and the back, and the roof is extended over them. Here, too, the veranda is enclosed by the two side rooms. The stairway leading up to the veranda may be a simple one of wood or a massive one of unfired brick (Gellert, 1934: 10-11). While

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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342 These houses can still be seen only in the districts of Plevna and of the river Lom; but only a few years ago they were prevalent in the districts of Vidin and Bella Slatina, i. e. in the entire valley of the Danube, from the Serb frontiers to the Ossem River (1).

On the slope of the ground, a 4-5m. wide trench is dug, with an average depth of 1.80-2 m. Another trench is dug perpendicularly to the above, so as to form under the ground all the space necessary for the housing of the people and the cattle, and for the stores. The roof-

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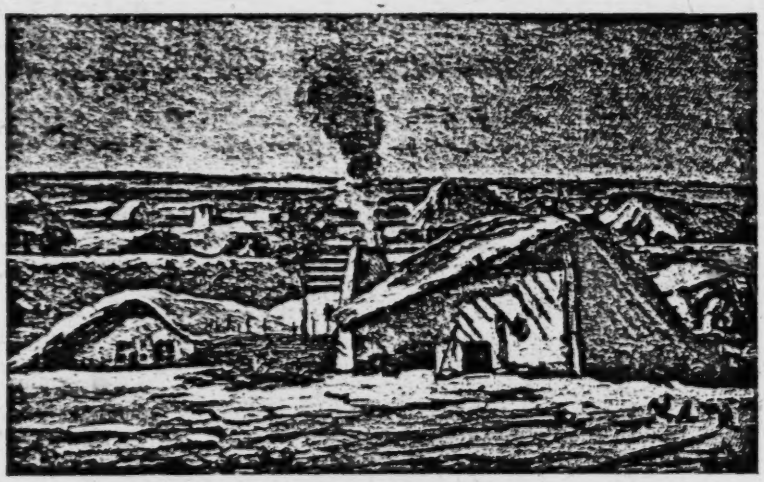

Fig. 49 A troglodyte village near the river Lom in Bulgaria.
(From a picture of the year 1892. Niederle, Manuel II 97).

ing of this lair is done through the help of a frame made of uplaned timber logs: these are placed obliquely, on horizontal beams supported in the middle by wooden poles. The logs are covered with thatch, which is spread over with mud or clay and then covered with earth, so that the roof has a thickness of one meter. The walls of the lair are covered with clay inside and then they are white-washed. The height of the interior of the dwelling is usually of 2 meters.

The arrangement of spaces is typical and may be seen in the

1) About the troglodyte houses, see also **T. Zlatev**, Balgar. kăsta p. 111 foll., **C. Jirecek**, Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien, 1891 p. 157, and **Niederle**, Manuel de l'antiquité slave 2, p. 97 and foll.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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selves in the valleys of the Danube, found both troglodyte and surface dwellings in use among the previous inhabitants of these areas, i.e. the Thracians, from whom Roumanians of Vlachia and Moldavia, and Albanians of the Skodra lake area took over these huts, called bordeiu (1).

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More specially the Bulgars, who in their ancient home were living a nomad life, had no permanent houses. They lived just as the rest of Turanian peoples, in tents they put up in places where they could find pastures for their herds; when the pastures were exhausted, camps were dissolved and the tents carried with the nomads.

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When, under the leadership of Asparuch, Bulgars established a strong base in the Delta of the Danube and when, using this stronghold as a base, they occupied all the area between this river and the Balkan mountains, only then began the Bulgars to know the advantages of permanent installation. For a long time, however, they were wild fighters and lived on the peoples they subjugated, the old Thracians, who had been hellenised, or latinised, and the other Greeks and Slavs who had established themselves in those areas during the previous century (2). These Slavs, according to Procopius (3) and to the Biography of Saint Demetrius (4), knew only how to build (5) «miserable huts» or «tents» besides the underground shelters mentioned above. The thousands of Greek prisoners who were kidnapped during the Bulgarian invasions were «drafted» into the in-

1) According to **Fr. Nopcsa,** Albanien, 1925, p. 11 these underground dwellings of Roumania and Bulgaria represent the immediate descendants of the pre-historic and Roman housings of the Haimos peninsula. The writings on the tiles found in pre-historic dwellings have a Thracian character. Remains of Thracian tribes have been found despite the Illyric over-layer, both, in the Skodra lake and in Dardania. Dobroutcha has always been a Thracian area.

2) **D. Zakythinos,** Οἱ Σλάβοι ἐν Ἑλλάδι, Athens, 1945, p. 27 «The permanent installation of Slav tribes in the Balkan peninsula begins only during the first years of the 7th Century».

3) **Procop.** De bello Gotth. 3, 14: Οἰκοῦσι δὲ (Σκλαβηνοί τε καὶ Ἄνται) ἐν καλύβαις οἰκτραῖς διεσκηνημένοι πολλῷ μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀμείβοντες δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικήσεως ἕκαστοι χῶρον.

4) **A. Tougard,** De l'histoire profane dans les actes grecs des bollandistes. Paris 1874, p. 184, 190.

5) According to **Niederle,** op. cit. 2, p. 98, «it is easily understood that the Slavs used to build, besides the underground shelters (abris) which were covered by an additional wooden roof, light huts without any trenches on the model of the «koliba», built by the shepherds of the Karpathians and the Balkans, made of inter-woven branches of trees».

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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vader's country (1) and they were obliged not only to cultivate the land on behalf of their owners, but also to carry out all other work and naturally to build permanent houses which were necessary, since Bulgars were to establish themselves for good in these newly conquered districts.

For a long time Bulgars had either the disposition nor the sense to learning arts and crafts. Even where they had abandoned their incursions and lootings and were giving themselves to peaceful occupations, as agriculture and stock-breeding, they did not take to the arts. The palaces and the churches of Bulgaria have been built by foreigners, especially by Greeks, such as the beautiful palace of Aboba near Schumen, which is a monument of Byzantine style of the 9th or 10th century (2). But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, accord-

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1) The Bulgarian inroads on Greek territories for looting and capture of prisoners began in the period of Asparouch (679-701) and continued till the reign of Michael (1246-1257). King Krum, when he captured Adrianoupolis in 813, took away all her inhabitants, as well as those of the surrounding areas, all amounting to 40.000, into Bulgarian territory to the North of the Danube. Another 50.000 prisoners together with other loot, were taken during the winter of the same year from Thrace (**W. Slatarski,** Geschichte der Bulgaren, I, Leipzig, 1918 p. 15,29). According to the Bulgarian historian **Ivan Sakazov** (Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Berlin u. Leipzig, 1929, p. 57 foll.) «Bulgaria was filled up with prisoners and cattle, which formed the Bulgarian national wealth and made their well-being possible. It was on this basis that the material civilization was formed, which Omortag, Krum's heir, bequeathed to his descendents.» Later (1206), during a battle near the Tountza river, when the Bulgarian Ioannitzis or Skyloyiannis was totally defeated by the Greeks, 20.000 prisoners together with 3.000 carts were liberated, while they were led towards Bulgaria together with a great amount of loot. See **Diog. Xanalatos,** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βούλγαροι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θρᾴκην, Α' Athens 1944 pp. 17, 22 etc. 33, 39, 40 etc. Cp. **K. Paparrigopoulos,** Ἱστορ. Ἑλλ. Ἔθνους 6th edition, tome 4, b, 186 and foll. t. 5. a 23. **K. Amandos,** Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους Α' 1939 p. 411. Β' 1947, pp 5, 173, 426. Οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1923 p. 26 and 40 **Ant. Keramopoullos** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες, Athens 1945, p. 167 and foll. **G. A. Megas,** Ἀδριανούπολις ἡ πολυκρουσεμένη in the periodical Ἑλληνικὴ Δημιουργία t. I 1948 pp. 93 and foll.

2) **L. Niederle,** op. cit. 112. **C. Jirecek** says that: «Even in the best years of the Middle Ages, during the reign of Tsar Symeon, according to the evidence given by Joannis Exarchos, there were to be seen but straw-covered huts in Bulgaria, except for the palace of the king». Straw-covered huts in Bulgaria are also mentioned by Kantakouzinos, 1, 144, edit. Bonn.

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According to the Bulgarian historian **I. Sakazov,** op cit. p. 41, «The very beginnings of an economic organisation in Bulgaria appeared in the court of the Tsars and with the aristocracy, who were trying to imitate the Byzan-

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

648 "We would have starved," he said, "if America had not sent that ship of food to Varna on the Black Sea." Truly such an accomplishment by one ship would necessitate a cargo legendary in size, but nevertheless symbolized to Bai Milush and others of his generation the humanitarian America, the land of plenty, opportunity, and democracy. And then he told me of the work that Dominic Murphy, an American State Department representative in Bulgaria, had done in the wake of the last war to meet the relief needs of the people. And even Bai Milush knew that a street in Sofia bore Murphy's name transliterated into the Cyrillic alphabet.

000 Bai Milush's wife, his helpmate through the years, had survived the war too. She proffered food and drink and seemed relieved when I suggested that instead of eating then I would like to take a little of the cheese away with me to use in rounding out my meager hotel breakfasts in Sofia. Later, when I was photographing her outside, I realized that she was unsteady on her feet because she had taken too much *rakiya* as a medicine for a racking cough. *Rakiya* remained the cure-all for every ailment as well as the solace to every sorrow.

178 ●362 511 Wherever I turned, whether to look at the new houses Bai Milush had erected, or to talk with the peasants about the past few years, I was impressed by the prosperity that the war had brought. Since I had last seen Dragalevtsy, almost one hundred new houses had made their appearance, constituting a decided boom for a village which had boasted only three hundred earlier. Some of these houses had been built as villas by people from Sofia because the city law prohibited any new construction there. The various bombardments had caused so much destruction in the city that nothing but repairs were allowed. Nevertheless, the peasants of Dragalevtsy themselves were replacing old homes with new ones simply because they could afford it now.

178 465 511 I had already learned that during the war the peasants had been the favored element of the Bulgarian population; they had been paid good prices as incentives to increased production; earlier in the war they could use that money to buy articles which they had always wanted but had not been able to afford. For example, the number of radios in the village rose from three or four in 1937 to more than a hundred in 1944.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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Roumelia,—to those houses of the remaining parts of Greek or Turkish Thrace is complete. 342 [171]

This is evident. The whole of Thrace, not only during the Middle Ages, but also during the Turkish occupation, constituted a geograph- [177]

[363]

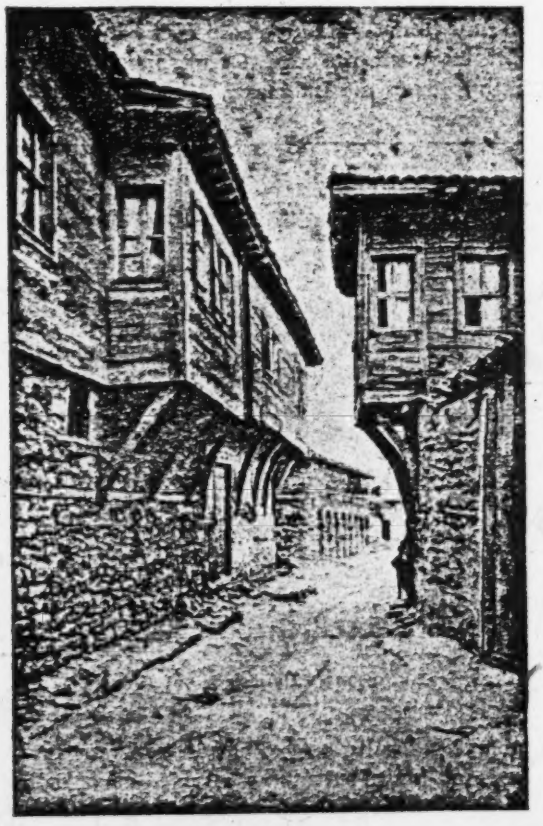

Fig. 35 A street at Messimvria

ical and political entity whose character, from an ethnological and cultural point of view, was purely Greek[1]. The Bulgars who established themselves at various times as labourers and farmers in the Thracian [177]

1) See **K. M. Apostolides,** Ρωμανία—Ζαγορά καὶ τὰ τῆς Θρᾴκης ὅρια ἐπὶ τῆς Βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας (Ἀρχεῖον Θρᾴκ. Θησαυροῦ 8 (1941-42) 80 foll. 83 foll).

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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342 177 farms of Turks or Greeks, found the always existing system of housing better and preferable to the simple hut dwellings to which they had been used, and adapted their way of life and of housing to that of the other inhabitants. The same holds good, as we shall see, for the houses of Middle Mountain (Sredna Gora) and for those of the Bulgarian coastal zone from Agathoupolis to Dionysopolis (to-day Baltsik), where the Greeks, until the anti-Greek actions of 1906, were by far predominating over the Bulgars, as regards population, develop-

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Fig. 36 Houses at Baltsik (ancient Dionysopolis)

342 177 ment of economy and culture. (1) That is why we find the ancient type of the megaron house splendidly retained in all the villages near Messimvria, that is in Aivlassis, Naimonas, Bana, Aspros, Ravdas etc., (see p. 7 above) and the houses of towns and villages there, do not differ, as regards disposition of spaces and general construction, from those of the other Greek urban centres. (Figg. 35 and 36).

C. Jirecek already considers the ancient Greek towns of the coast, [363] such as Messimvria, Sozopolis, etc., as the model for all the small towns situated in the Tyrnavos area, as well as of those built on the

1) See J. Cvijic' op. cit. p. 156.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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Southern slopes of Haimos and the Northern side of Rodope, which are characterised by their stone-built two-storey houses, their tile covered roofs, their stone paved narrow streets and the small commercial street (1). He says on the other hand that «the best houses of Philippople present an entirely Southern character and were used as models in the whole area as far as Koprichtitsa and Kalofer» (2).

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This truth is recognized by Zlatev who writes on page 156 of his book: «The house of Sredna Gora, as well as that of Southern Bulgaria, has without any doubt originated from the influence of Adria-

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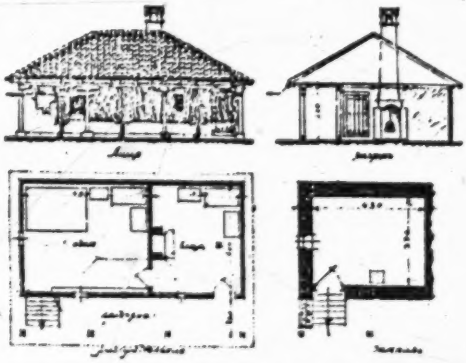

Fig. 37 Plan, section and front of a house in the village of Divlia, district of Radomir
(Zlatev, Balg. kasta fig. 83)

nople and Constantinople», by that he means the influence of Greek architecture on the formation of the houses of Southern Bulgaria.

But even to the West, on the plateau of Sofia, the houses of peasants, according to Zlatev and as it is shown by the plans of two typical houses of that area built in 1860 and 1870 and presented here (figg. 37 and 39), «do not differ at all as regards disposition of spaces,

1) **C. Jirecek,** Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien, Wien 1891, p. 152.

2) **C. Jirecek**, op. cit. p. 163. «From the front-door, one enters a stone-paved courtyard, climbs a wide staircase, comes into an airy veranda supported by wooden beams and through it into the large rooms with big square windows. The well turned edge of the projecting roof and the enclosed or open balconies on the side that overlook the road, complete the pleasant impression caused by this house.» A contrary impression caused by the buildings of the Bulgarian towns is expressed by the author a few lines previously.

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Christmas Eve feast, Easter festivities, and the ceremonies on St. George's Day.

Roughly two-thirds of adult Dragalevtsy was in Sofia on an average Friday. On Thursday evenings the village was already bubbling with excitement. The wagons had already been loaded. All that was necessary in the dim light on Friday morning was the yoking of the sleepy oxen. Soon cart after cart would creak heavily down from the village, overtaking those peasants who cheerfully made the long trip by foot. By the time sleepy city-dwellers were breakfasting, the village was well on its way to the outside world.

Once in Sofia there were four possible destinations for the peasant wagon: the cattle market, the mill, the big curb market, or the *Bezisten Pazar* (another smaller market).

The cattle market was located across the city, back of the railroad station, near the municipal cemetery. This market was owned and managed by the municipality. Every peasant before passing into the enclosure with a beast had to pay the tax of ten leva. The sun had already grown warm by the time the Dragalevtsy peasant and his wife passed through side streets to this square, packed with bargaining, shouting men and noisy animals. Usually the women sat outside the square in their wagons loaded with pumpkins and peppers in season, though once in a while a woman accompanied her husband through the bargaining and sale of the animal. The bright blue uniforms of the police were very much in evidence in this dusty confusion, where hard bargains sometimes led to fist fights. At the east end, gypsies raced their not too spirited horses up and down to prove to would-be purchasers the absence of defects. At the northeast side, the red-eyed water buffaloes and their dirty little black calves moved restlessly because of biting flies. To the northwest, along the iron rail the oxen ruminated.

Through the tumult and dust wandered the sellers of *boza* (fermented millet drink) and the vendors of round *gevretsi* (small rings of bread); here a man was eating a melon near a sucking calf. I was always interested in those performing *pazarluk*, which was the method of clinching a bargain. The buyer and the seller of an animal would stand shaking hands as the seller demanded an unreasonably high

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432 443 • 366 price, to which the buyer retorted with a ridiculously low price. As the two amounts approached each other the handshaking grew warmer and more rapid until finally the buyer and seller agreed on a sensible figure, at which time a third party added his hand to those of the other two. The third peasant, the witness of the sale, often enjoyed shouting as much as the principals. The bargain concluded, the men went to arrange a bill of sale, after which the newly purchased animal was led across the plain to its new home.

[435] At this market in 1937 a sound young bull cost between twenty-five and thirty-five dollars; a fresh buffalo cow, between fifty and sixty dollars; ordinary cows brought slightly less, between thirty-five and forty-five dollars. Horses ranged from twelve to sixty dollars, while the humble donkey varied in value from twelve to eighteen dollars.

Not far away from the big cattle market, in the high-walled enclosure, was the sheep bazaar. There shepherds lolled in the shade with their flocks and waited for purchasers, often long in coming. This too was a municipal bazaar, and the peasants paid a small fee for the privilege of carrying on business there. Ordinarily a pair of sheep cost $3.60.

Near the Bridge of Lions spanning the narrow canal around Sofia was the mill which the people of Dragalevtsy had chosen to patronize. If they were tired out after their trip into the city, the villagers lay down on sacks of grain until their turns came. When at last they aroused themselves they were coated with a thin layer of flour dust which filled the air around the electrically operated machinery. In the mill courtyard the unyoked oxen rested beside the wagons, and chatting groups of women sat in the scanty shade.

From the Bridge of Lions there jutted off a narrow street lined with people displaying homegrown and homemade wares. This was the beginning of the general market which extended with innumerable side-street ramifications for several long blocks. This market did not really get into full swing until nine o'clock, owing to the drowsiness of Sofia housewives.

The real life of this market resided not so much in the great variety of products on sale as in the peasants: their dress, their immeasurable patience, and their childlike curiosity at strange things

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such as a tourist's knickers or the cheap gay contents of the toy-sellers' pushcarts. 432 443 366

Each woman had something to sell: a few eggs, some blueberries picked up on the mountain, two or three chickens, a bag of peppers, strong-smelling buffalo butter, a bunch of carnations, white beans for which Dragalevtsy was especially known throughout this region, or a few walnuts. The woman's merchandise, piled on the sidewalk before her, was her excuse for coming to town.

It was around the next destination, the *Bezisten Pazar*, that fondest memories clung, because this was the spot near the Sofia flower bazaar where young people from surrounding villages went upon completing their morning duties in town. It was here that young men from one village met girls from other villages. During the afternoon, brightly dressed, giggling young couples promenaded in the sunshine while the older people, especially the men, gathered in the *"Dulgata Mehana,"* the tavern to which Dragalevtsy peasants were especially loyal. They lunched and drank, rested, and swapped their stories here. Nor was it without pride that they told how the late Fiodor Chaliapin, the celebrated opera singer, in 1934 spent a very merry evening in this same *"Dulgata Mehana."* [883]

This weekly [illegible] to town on Friday did surprisingly little to introduce change [illegible] the village. Even while in the capital city, the peasants still [illegible]d in a peasant world. In the animal bazaar, for instance, there was little social conversation and little opportunity for a villager to widen his knowledge of urban life. Too often in this place he learned to distrust the city-dwellers through frequent dealings with the keen-witted, professional cattle merchant. In the mill he was still in a peasant world even though noisy machines foreign to his village ran at lightning speed. It was true that in the general market all types of Sofia citizenry passed in review, but the peasants' chief contact here was with the servant girls accompanying the housewives on the Friday shopping expedition. Even after finishing their little business in the general market, the village men and women found most enjoyment in being with other peasants. Few people of Dragalevtsy ventured on the city's main streets; even if they should have happened into a movie house, it would have been one on some 369 443

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

•366

KARLOVO: THE MARKET PLACE ON A SUNDAY

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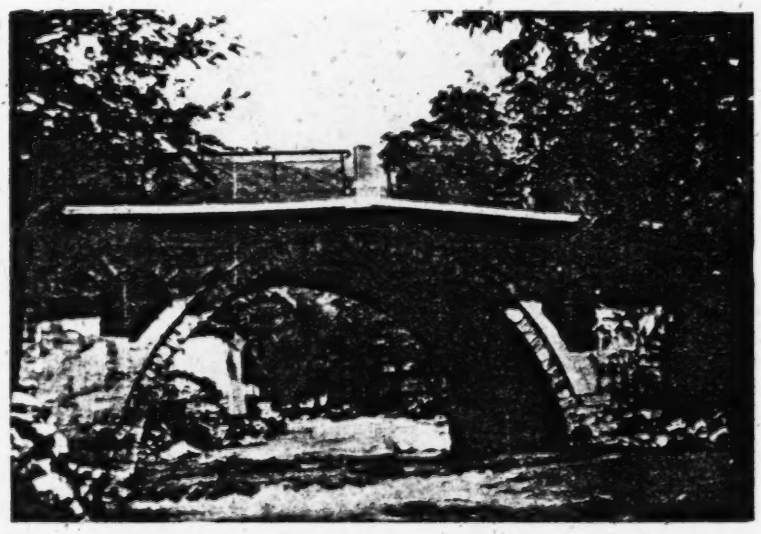

KARLOVO: A REPAIRED ROMAN BRIDGE

[facing p. 225]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

such as a tourist's knickers or the cheap gay contents of the toy-sellers' pushcarts. 432

Each woman had something to sell: a few eggs, some blueberries picked up on the mountain, two or three chickens, a bag of peppers, strong-smelling buffalo butter, a bunch of carnations, white beans for which Dragalevtsy was especially known throughout this region, or a few walnuts. The woman's merchandise, piled on the sidewalk before her, was her excuse for coming to town. 443 366

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369 443 back street. I do know that the inarticulate peasant woman who sat for hours crouched on the sidewalk wondered at the strange styles of women's clothing, and that the village man, in his wandering, coveted some glittering object in a shopwindow for his child. In the late afternoon as they went home, and during the days that followed, man and wife talked about this trip to market. For them it had been a shared adventure.

527 Other activities which the family members shared besides the tasks of home and field and the trip to market were the holidays. The traditional holidays were religious, while the ones most recently introduced were patriotic.

796 January sixth was *Malka Koleda,* or Little Christmas. Many Bulgarian villagers would tell you that Christ was really born on the day before Christmas, but his birth was not made known until the following day. For that reason, great emphasis was laid upon the celebration of Little Christmas, or Christmas Eve, with the meal on Christmas Eve as the most important part of the season's festivities.

[609] Each time I spent Christmas in a Bulgarian village home I was deeply impressed with the simplicity and beauty of its symbolism. I was a foreigner and a Protestant nonbeliever. Bai Milush and his family received me as though I were one of their own large family. Carefully and patiently they explained to me each bit of ceremony and tradition and symbolism. Often a ceremony was repeated so I could photograph it. There was not a single appurtenance of the Western Christmas in the household; even the date was different, but the Christmas spirit meant more there than anywhere else I had ever been.

To commemorate Christ's birth in a manger, straw was laid on the floor and covered with a blanket which served as the tablecloth for the evening's repast. The whole family gathered around this blanket after an incense urn had been carried as a good luck symbol from the iconostas to each room of the house and to all of the animal stalls. Because the meal was late in starting, three of the smallest children had gone to sleep, one in a crib and the other two on a wooden bed. In order to get the meal under way without further formalities, the women passed hot, fiery *rakiya* (plum brandy) to each person and stood patiently until the single glass had been emptied

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Kosharki (Sheep folds). This was a game which had been played extensively a generation ago, but its use was dying out in the village. The children would build miniature sheep folds, houses, and fences out of rocks. This game corresponded after a fashion to our building with blocks. 857 524

The outstanding characteristic of all these games was that they required little equipment and few participants. At home, the play groups were inevitably restricted to the family and nearest neighbors, often relatives. At school, children could choose relatives and other children in the same grade. Play groups in the fields were formed on the basis of family ownership of land and common pasture. These latter groups often gathered in the village and went to the fields together, the youngsters carrying loaves of bread, baked peppers, and fresh tomatoes. Even in play, the family was important, for every type of play group almost automatically included relatives. As was previously pointed out, there was less quarreling among the children who were related. I often heard: "You shouldn't hit him; he's your relative."

The new types of play were still limited. The radio, comic papers, and movies were almost unknown to the village child, just as they were to the average adult. Only twenty-five newspapers reached the village daily, and these had few comic strips. Magazines and books were a rarity. Sofia bookshops had some exquisite children's books, but I never saw one in the village. Sometimes when I came into a village home on a winter evening, I would see an unforgettable picture. Near the fire the father sat quietly, elbows on knees, the mother was spinning near the one dim electric bulb, and in the center, crouched at the low table, a boy, nine or ten years old, was laboriously reading some fragment of a periodical to his parents. Their pride and pleasure was unspoken but obvious. [214] [593]

There was one radio in the village, and the children were of course conscious of it as it blared incessantly in Renaissance Square, but it was not a part of their life, any more than the movies or trains. Only 45 per cent of the total population, including babies, had ever attended a movie, and less than 40 per cent had ever been on a train. [207] [517] 369

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[369] 857 With Sofia, a city of over a quarter million people, only five miles away, the ability of the villagers to resist, however passively, the influence of the "people of the world" was astonishing. It was a remoteness, not to be measured in miles, but in generations.

Such pleasant customs as keeping pets were almost nonexistent. The tiny puppies with which the children sometimes rolled were bred for strictly utilitarian purposes, to guard the sheep, and were taught to be unfriendly to man.

[888] The very young and the very old in the village spent much time together. When I was taken to pay my respects to the oldest man in the village, a venerable figure of over a century, we found him sitting in a sunny corner of the yard under a gnarled pine tree. Tumbling around him were half a dozen tiny children, somewhat hampered in their movements by their clumsy, heavy clothing but very proud to show off their ancient relative.

The older children derived a quiet amusement from their position as spectators at the village ceremonies. There were always little boys making merry along the path of a wedding procession or tramping along wide-eyed beside a funeral. At *Subori* and *hora* mischievous little boys were ubiquitous. The little girls stayed solemnly by their mothers; only their eyes wandered, alternately solemn and amused. The village child had no routine planned for him, either for his physical or his psychological needs. There was no emphasis upon self-expression for the child, only upon conformity to the routine of the family.

858 593 Yet there was warmth and affection for the children. When a child died, the tempo of the household perceptibly slackened. "It is God's will. It is Kismet [Fate]," the family said, but the father grew more taciturn and the mother wept silently as she spun in the evenings. And when a funeral procession reached the cemetery, the new mourners often found there other mothers who had lost their children. These wailed again for the long-departed and begged the spirit of the newly dead to carry messages to their babies.

And when a family grew rich according to village standards, it was on the children that gifts were lavished, perhaps a wish-fulfillment by the elders inherited from their own drab childhood.

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Visitors suddenly confronted with the familistic way of life for the first time are often shocked at the low level of living which they observe: animals sharing the same dwelling; monotonous diet and low health standards; waste of time and energy with inefficient tools and methods. Before the peasant is condemned as unambitious, indolent, or stupid, there are a few things the outsider must bear in mind. In agricultural villages throughout the world the land base has been shrinking while the population has been expanding. This has meant decreased economic opportunity. Farms which were once adequate are now divided up strip by strip and handed over to many descendants, with the results that the term "eking out a living" has come to have real meaning for the peasant. The outsider often forgets that the rise in the level of living in the cities through the techniques of mass production and mass distribution has been relatively recent and phenomenally rapid. The villager is not really so far behind the times if one compares his life with that of many cities a few decades ago, or with the blighted areas of these same cities today. But one cannot deny that quite a few peasants seem to take pride in resisting social change; they are slow to experiment with new methods, and they assume that what was good enough for their fathers is good enough for them. This resistance is based, to a great degree, upon the realization that accepting too much from outside will seriously affect the social organization of their community. Urban society is not nearly so close-knit and can allow for contradictions and inconsistencies on a much broader scale than can the village, where life is still intimate and face-to-face. Dragalevtsy people, for example, in 1937 were conscious of the far-reaching changes brought about by the abandonment of sheep raising in favor of dairying. Sometime ago, a number of the peasants actively resisted this economic trend. In the opinion of many, these conservatives were stupid; at the same time they were bright enough to figure out that changes would result in the economy to which they were accustomed. Because they were accustomed to it, they wanted to preserve it.

511 181 369 829 [178]

In a familistic society religion has usually become rigidly institutionalized and is closely allied with the family. All family events call for the blessing of the religious intermediary; there are usually household shrines; there is considerable emphasis upon observing the

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441 596 [178] In Dragalevtsy, therefore, familism had yielded some ground to commerce. People did make occasional purchases in the village and in Sofia. They talked more and thought more about money. They even valued it more highly than a generation ago, but the basis of their economic life remained self-subsistent, with an emphasis upon goods, not cash.

476 596 Co-operatives had also come to Dragalevtsy. In a very real sense village life itself was a co-operative enterprise, although it did not possess the specific characteristics of an economic co-operative. The large joint family, which has been widely prevalent throughout the world, also had many elements of the co-operative which have been maintained, at least in the sentiments of the people, even though the family group has become individualized and smaller.

Self-subsistent peasant farmers are accustomed to working together when something needs to be done. Theirs is, after all, a co-operative way of life. They also know that their own hard work and their own planning are responsible for whatever success they achieve. They are suspicious of outsiders who seek to organize them, and are fearful that any tie-up with the business interests outside the village means loss rather than gain. They are not accustomed to using money to make more money, although they know well enough what it means to pay interest on borrowed money.

[369] [423] Agricultural co-operatives often gain adherents more quickly when there is a feeling of distinction or distrust between city and the country people. This is because co-operatives have been identified in such places with the agrarianism which unites the peasants. The profit motive of capitalism is linked, in the minds of many villagers, with the urban businessman, in spite of the fact that the villager who owns his land is also a capitalist. Perhaps it is this idea which Americans find hardest to grasp in their evaluation of peasant Europe. Land is not something to be bought and unfeelingly sold for money. It is rather a means of livelihood, an extension of oneself and one's family.

476 As the merchant groups in the villages are few and insecure, the co-operatives do not have the opposition of vested interests which they face in a more highly developed economy. I realized from the beginning that co-operatives had made much less headway in Dragalevtsy

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When I pressed him for his reasons, fully expecting him to say that he was yielding to the pressure of his wife or public opinion, he gravely replied: 527 178 183

"You see in Sofia I did not own any of my own cloth but now I have a great deal downstairs which I must protect from the mice." I might mention in passing that Bai Yurdan had become a faithful member of the Communist party.

The wolf holidays were still observed for three days following the Day of the Archangel Michael, which comes on November 21. During these days the peasants were careful to do no work and refused to cook or boil anything. Such rigid observances, they believed, protected their sheep from wolves, which were still numerous upon the mountain.

One event of overshadowing importance in the changes which had occurred in Dragalevtsy since 1937 had been its incorporation in Greater Sofia in 1939. Even though their village was close to Sofia, Dragalevtsy people had always considered themselves quite apart, and looked upon Sofia ways as alien ways. However, Sofia politicians managed to bring the village under the sway of the city's municipality. Most villagers considered this an evil day in the history of their community and could cite a number of disadvantages which had occurred as a result. One of the village officials, whom I had known previously, complained particularly about the following points: 369 178 186

1. The city municipality had taken over the forests.

2. It had taken over the meadows which the peasants owned in common. For instance, the villagers no longer did the haying in the meadows which used to belong to the school because all of the revenue from the sale of this hay went to the Sofia School Fund. This meant that the three Dog Days,[1] described in an earlier chapter, were once more days of idleness.

3. Formerly the Dragalevtsy Obshtina collected seven or eight million leva in taxes, but since incorporation with Sofia had only a budget of one million on which to operate. My informant failed to mention that much of this money came from the factory district down on the Sofia plain which had once, much to the dissatisfaction of the [651]

1 [cf. p. 58, category 112 -- Analyst]

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[651] people living in the district, been a part of the village Obshtina. This
178 area had always been referred to by the villagers as the Mahala, or
369 Quarter.

4. Repairs in the village, such as putting a wooden bridge back into commission after a heavy storm, could be made only after the Sofia authorities gave their approval. Thus, maintenance of roads and other services in the village were said to suffer.

[759] 5. No longer did the village have its own doctor, and it had even lost, so the villagers said, all the medical equipment including microscopes and blood-testing units which the village Obshtina had once owned. Instead, a doctor came at irregular intervals to render whatever medical services were required. This loss of medical equipment, even more than the loss of the physician's services, was a hard pill for some of the more active village leaders to swallow.

6. In place of the veterinarian, who formerly lived in the village, one came twice a week to examine animals and to see that the various veterinary regulations were observed.

But whether they liked it or not, the Dragalevtsy people were a part of Sofia, even to the extent of being included in the city's wartime rationing system. The old rural-urban differences persisted, reminding Americans of similar situations in the United States where the businessman's daylight saving time was anathema to the farmer.

159 As I tried to reconstruct the chief occurrences of the years in-
565 tervening between my departure in 1937 and the end of the war, I inquired often as to the whereabouts of some members of the intelligentsia whom I had known well. I learned that the mayor, who had been so helpful during my earlier visit, had given up his post during the days of German collaboration. Apparently he had disagreed with the local committee as to procedures and amounts of grain to be requisitioned from the peasants. He had already been suffering from ill health and could no longer stand the pressure of troubles, arguments, and dissatisfactions which each day brought to his office. From Dragalevtsy my mayor friend had been transferred to the picturesque village of Panchevo, which I shall long remember because of the lunch I had there one summer's day many years ago.

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with a relationship as deep-rooted as that of the Balkan peasant to his land, he is also creating the seeds out of which a spontaneous resistance movement could grow. There is little evidence of collectivization at present, but the peasants are not convinced that it is not just around the corner. 668 423 471

Then too, the Balkan peasants, especially in the settled agricultural areas, have not taken kindly to Communism because they characterize it as an urban movement. When seasoned Communists try to converse with peasants about the merits of the Russian system their factory-oriented dialectic falls flat. Nor have they developed an agricultural vocabulary with which to communicate intelligibly with the rural people. The more the Balkan Communists talk, the more the peasants are convinced of the urban orientation of the new government. They consider it anti-Agrarian and anti-peasant. In an attempt to overcome this reserve to their program the Communists organize deputation teams of artisans who spend Sundays out in carefully selected villages helping the peasants repair their wagons, mend their pots and pans, or they even bring along a corps of barbers to cut the villagers' hair. The spirit behind such a move is to have the artisans show by their deeds, "You see, we are your friends. We're all brother Bulgarians [or Yugoslavs, as the case may be]." But it takes more than this to sell such a radical program as Communism to the capitalistic-minded peasant. 668 369 829

The rural villagers elsewhere in the Balkans, as well as in Dragalevtsy, resent the term worker. Newspapers studiously attempt to get the worker ideology accepted by the rural citizens, but the social statuses of the peasant and the worker are such that the government is asking the former to step down a rung, in the peasant's estimation. So Communism is thought to represent a backward rather than a forward move, and is related to the all-important matter of land: the peasant generally possesses it, whereas the worker is usually landless.

Many analyses of the Balkan problems play up rightly the role of the church, whether it be Eastern Orthodox or Roman Catholic, in the peasants' lack of enthusiasm for Communism. Others stress the generations-old nationality antipathies which have some influence. Certainly Pan-Slavism is not paying high dividends in rural areas in 668 641 186

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TABLE 12

FREQUENCY OF TRIPS TO SOFIA, MALE AND FEMALE FAMILY HEADS, DRAGALEVTSY, 1934 CENSUS*

484

FREQUENCY	NUMBER		PER CENT	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Daily:	37	1	13.9	0.4
Weekly:				
4 times	7	1	2.6	0.4
3 times	9	2	3.4	0.7
2 times	17	4	6.4	1.5
1 time	113	99	42.5	37.5
Monthly:				
3 times	8	9	3.0	3.4
2 times	14	26	5.3	9.9
1 time	35	58	13.2	22.0
Yearly:				
4 times	7	16	2.6	6.1
3 times	1	3	0.4	1.1
2 times	3	2	1.1	0.7
1 time	0	4	0.0	1.5
No times	15	39	5.6	14.8
Total	266	264	100.0	100.0

*Unreported: 3 male, 3 female.

The above table, based on the trips of the family heads, reveals the frequency of trips to Sofia: 484

The table* shows that thirty-three male heads go to Sofia oftener than once a week. The great exodus comes on Friday, the market day. The peasants' childlike anticipation of market-day is best symbolized by the wagons which stand already loaded in front of the gates on Thursday evening. All that is necessary in the dim light on Friday morning is the yoking of the sleepy oxen, before the families start on their way to Sofia. I went with the villagers on these expeditions and saw their "ports of call," each visited via back streets and not by any handsome boulevards. 369 512

* At the time of the government census in December, 1934, I received permission to add to the regular census blanks a questionnaire of my own dealing chiefly with social contacts. Every family head was required to appear before one of the local clerks and answer all questions on the blanks, the writing being done by the clerk. Many of my statistics in this article are based on these questionnaires which, in the person of family heads, represented 97 per cent of the population. 125

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484
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443
512

Cattle market: The cattle market and the sheep market, located not far away, lie on the other side of Sofia from Dragalevtsy, back of the railroad station toward the municipal cemetery. It is there a peasant goes if he wishes to dispose of, or purchase, an animal. At this market a nice young bull costs $25-$30, a fresh buffalo cow, $50-$60; ordinary milch cows, $35-$45; horses, $12-$60; donkeys, $12-$18. In the sheep market a pair of sheep sell for $3.60. The cattle market is a colorful place. There is much excitement in the horse section where gypsies ride their not-so-fiery steeds up and down to show how sound they are. But the peasant does little visiting with others in the market; he is not the kind to strike up an acquaintance with just anyone. He does deal with the nimble-witted cattle-buyers whose crafty ways stand for city ways in the peasant's undiscerning judgment. In other words, the peasant's contact with "the outside world" in the cattle market helps build up a psychological barrier against the city since the peasant seldom leaves feeling that he has made a good bargain, unless he has concluded a trade with another peasant more rustic than himself.

The mill: A second place the peasant is likely to visit is the mill, not far away from the general curb market. In spite of the fact that there are many mills in Sofia the people of Dragalevtsy have chosen this as their favorite one, with another ranking as second choice. If they are tired out after their trip to the mill, the villagers lie down on sacks of grain until their turns come; if not sleepy, the peasants form talkative groups near their unyoked animals in the mill courtyard. But here again we find peasant talking with peasant, much of the conversation condemning the modern times, some government policy, or the sad effects of the World War. A talk with a conservative peasant from another village merely heightens the conservatism in the Dragalevtsy peasant.

[462]

Curb market: After finishing at the mill the peasant will perhaps go to the General Curb Market where his wife, squatted on the sidewalk, has been crying her wares for hours in the hope of selling a few bunches of vegetables or several "pairs" of eggs. She has seen many enticing objects in the vendors' pushcarts, observed the styles* worn by city housewives accompanied by peasant servant girls, the strut of the military, the bizarre appearance of a foreign tourist in knickers taking pictures of the scene. She must also have talked to other peasant women who, like herself, return to a favorite spot week after week. But the question arises: Do all the men usually take their wives along? Is it usually a family affair, this trip to market? The answer is that between fifty and sixty per cent of the female heads go to Sofia on a typical market day; fifteen per cent never go at all.

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* The chief tailor in Dragalevtsy says that styles in dress reach the peasants from other villages. The women, for instance, imitate what a peasant from another village wears, but not what a city woman wears.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

Flower bazaar and tavern: It is around the fourth destination on Fridays that fondest memories cling, because this is the spot near the Sofia flower bazaar where young people from surrounding villages go upon completing their morning duties in town. It is here that romance blossoms and young men from one village are introduced to girls from another. While the younger people are amusing themselves here the older people, especially the men, gather at the tavern called *Dulgata Mehana*, the particular establishment to which Dragalevtsy peasants are loyal.[7] They lunch and drink here, they rest here, and here they swap their stories. Nor is it without pride that they tell how Fiodor Chaliapin, the celebrated opera singer, in 1934 spent a very merry evening in this *Dulgata Mehana*, enjoying its drink and atmosphere. Seldom, however, does the peasant get to converse with the Sofia citizenry in this tavern. Here again he is in a peasant world; if he were not, he would feel decidedly uncomfortable. Should he decide to see a movie, in the afternoon he would go to a cheap theater on a side street and guffaw with his fellow peasants.[8]

2. To Serve His Country. The *trudova* system, or that of compulsory labor for the young men of Bulgaria, has received much attention in the West. It served a magnificent purpose, taking as it did young men from villages throughout the land, mixing them up in labor camps, and providing them with picks and shovels for the construction of highways, bridges, and other public works. But now the young Bulgarian citizen is given military training instead. This is not in keeping with the Treaty of Neuilly, which limited Bulgaria's armed forces to 33,000, but what nation in Europe, the Bulgarians ask, has been abiding by the treaties? The trend from *trudova* to military service is shown by the fact that in 1935 not a single youth was called from Dragalevtsy to do *trudova* service, but sixteen went to be trained as soldiers.

The effect of life in a labor camp or a military barracks upon the young men is apparent upon their return to the village. They have gone out from a family system where each member works unquestioningly as a part of the whole; they return, in spite of military discipline, often very conscious of their own individuality, and have to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought again close in about them. However, before the returning young men are reabsorbed by the community, reverberations of struggle are felt throughout parts of the social structure. There are some who never again fall completely into line and who naturally

[7] Every village over a period of years has tended to select one tavern where peasants from that village spend their leisure time while in Sofia.

[8] Fifty-five per cent of the villagers (babies, children, and adults) have never seen a cinema. Out of 265 families reporting, *all* members of 73 families had seen a cinema; *no* members of 78 families had done so.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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involved, the trial is a big, important event, but the effect upon the village is slight. What does have an effect is the quarrel which leads to the lawsuit, but that is an internal and not an external matter.

THE "OUTSIDE WORLD" VISITS THE VILLAGE

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1. THE MOUNTAIN AND THE MONASTERY. The "white-collar" people of Sofia are enthusiastic hikers. On sunny days, both winter and summer, they start out on an extended hike, usually in the direction of Vitosha, a majestic mountain which towers seven thousand feet above the Sofia plain. If very active, they climb to Hizha Aleko, the mountain hotel below the summit, there to spend the night. Or if interested only in a Sunday afternoon stroll of ten miles, they visit *God's Consecrated Spot on Vitosha,* a historic monastery from which they get a magnificent view of the Sofia plain, the city, and the Balkan peaks twenty miles to the north.

Dragalevtsy, hugging as it does a shoulder of the mountain, is on the main road leading from Sofia to the monastery (twenty minutes' walk above the village) and the mountain hotel far above the monastery. Dragalevtsy's taverns serve, therefore, as resting places for the weary, hungry, and thirsty trampers. Especially in Bai Penko's tavern is there mingling between the village "elite" (intelligentsia and richer peasants) and these Sofia visitors—"people of the world." The peasants laugh at the sight of the women dressed in winter in ski trousers or in shorts in summer. No one ever explains to the peasant that sport styles are extreme.

One evening in Bai Penko's tavern I was with a group of peasants who chortled when they saw a fat betrousered woman attempt unsuccessfully to get her loaded knapsack off. Turning to one of them I asked what he thought of such women, "Oh, we know what they are like," was the answer. When I pressed him further as to what he meant, he said: "They are the worst kind." Then I could not resist asking: "What would you do if your daughter came home dressed like that?" and the retort flared back, "Why, damn it, I'd kick her out of the house."

Estimates vary as to the number of *turisti,* as the Bulgarians call them, who pass through the village each year. Suffice it to say that on holidays and week ends there is a steady stream pouring through unless the weather is too forbidding. On August 28th, the Day of the Virgin, thousands flock to the monastery for the special services there as well as for the setting. Many of these hikers visit Dragalevtsy, whose square has been changed overnight into a lively market lined with temporary restaurants and a ramshackle merry-go-round.

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The chief influence that these visitors have upon the villagers is to make them think that life in the city is as gay and carefree as the singing groups who

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

stop to spend money in a generous manner. This is one reason that the peasants complain so bitterly of their dull, monotonous life and long to have their children counted among the white-collar class. 369

Recently Dragalevtsy has become a mountain summer resort. Twelve families have little villas in or near the village, while as many more live in the monastery. These seasonal guests buy most of their produce from the villagers, and patronize Bai Penko's tavern daily. Some, especially the twelve families with summer houses, are counted as real citizens of Dragalevtsy, though the peasants do not try to assimilate them into their informal groups. These summer guests are in a position to do much in the way of village improvement if they cared to seize their opportunities. 529

2. Family Guests. Another important influence from outside comes in the form of guests entertained by the family during the course of a year. The numbers of guests from Sofia, from other towns, and from villages are shown in Table 14 below: 574

TABLE 14

Guests in Dragalevtsy Homes During the Year 1934, Classified According to Domicile (Census of 1934)

Number of Guests	Number of Families Entertaining Guests			Total Number of Guests*		
	From City	From Town	From Village	From City	From Town	From Village
0	96	249	62	0	0	0
1-10	125	8	135	786	36	824
11-20	34	0	58	555	0	888
21-30	3	0	14	75	0	380
31-40	4	0	1	150	0	35
41-50	5	0	0	250	0	0
Over 50	1	0	1	100	0	65
Total	172	8	209	1,916	36	2,192

*Computed from actual figures and not from class midpoints.

Out of the 268 families that reported, 96 families do not have any guests from Sofia during the year. The guests visiting the 172 remaining families total 1,916 people. In other words, if all the people who come from Sofia to visit stayed in the village and did not return home, the village would little more than double its present population, ignoring the possible natural increase. Of course, the total of 1,916 does not necessarily include that many people, but certainly over 1,000. These visitors are relatives or friends, generally of peasant origin, who have gone to the big city and succeeded. As one stands in

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE' Bulgaria EE1

CONCLUSION

571 178 The concept "social contact" implies both the possibility of contact as well as psychic interaction.[21] The quantitative measurements of this study deal chiefly with the possibilities which the peasants have or create for social interaction, since these were sufficiently clear-cut for the village officials and peasants to measure. But when it came to the more intangible element of psychic interaction I had to rely on direct personal observation. Therefore, the following conclusions are based in part on statistics and in part upon observation:

369 571 178 1. Proximity to a "city-culture" and frequent trips to the city on the part of the villagers does not necessarily mean psychological contact with that "city-culture." For the most part, the peasant moves in a peasant world even while in the city. It is quite natural for him to attach himself to the familiar.

2. Proximity to the city may in itself be a deterrent to the ready acceptance of "city ways" on the part of the villager, since he constantly confronts fashions, habits, and viewpoints which clash decidedly with his own. This leads me to wonder whether or not "modernization," granting that it is desirable, might not come more quickly through a small, provincial town which is more in keeping with rural thought and life than through direct contact with the city. The hikers who visit Dragalevtsy, although causing dissatisfaction, make the mature peasant more resistant to city influences; these visitors do seem to have an influence upon the young; but it would be hazardous to guess to what degree, because so often the seemingly liberal young people become conservative when they have children of their own.

656 369 571 178 3. Government leaders in their attempt to raise the peasants' standard of living visit the village systematically for lectures and some demonstrations. They seem to be overlooking the fact that thousands of peasants regularly visit the city where, if some Peasant Center could be established, methods of improved living could be interpreted in a favorable light. Some such approach would lessen the peasant's negativism toward the city, a negativism which has been built up as a defense or as a result of genuine disapproval.

4. The statistics relative to the reading matter which comes into the village weekly show how little is being done effectively to influence the peasant by letters, journals, and other publications, although the literacy rate for males over fifteen years is 92.

[21] At first I had in mind the formulation of a contact Index such as Kulp used in his Chinese study, *Familism in South China.* I soon found that the various contacts were of varying intensity, concerned different types of people, and would, therefore, require separate weighting. My methods were not refined enough to make such weightings feasible. Furthermore, aside from the methodological interest, the value of such an index would be limited to the study of other Bulgarian villages in the same cultural setting.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

5. This study of one village can be merely suggestive and does not afford the basis for any sweeping conclusions, but it can serve as a pattern for those who wish to measure the social contacts of villages which are similar in many respects to Dragalevtsy. 000

6. In considering the social contact which the peasants have with the city and its implication for social change, we must not overlook the sheer enjoyment derived by the peasant from the very fact of contact itself, whether it be from the thrill of a new experience or the more intimate association with friends from other villages. Because recreation is not yet commercialized and impersonalized, face-to-face contact is the chief form of amusement. Of course, this need is usually met within the village, but a talk with someone from the outside world does possess a novelty not afforded by everyday association. 369 571 178

NEW BROOMS SWEEP CLEAN

enchantement, since by this reform rival villages have been incorporated in the same commune. These rivalries were encouraged and promoted by the politicians who hitherto made themselves indispensable to the villagers as intercessors with the authorities in their judicial disputes, and constituted a large source of revenue for all political partisans to the detriment naturally of the rural population. Communes henceforth are to have a population of at least 5000 and they will be governed by mayors appointed by the central government, on whom all authority will devolve. Mayors will choose their advisers from amongst the local notables, teachers and priests. The Government has decided to appoint as mayors, men with a university training in law, active and capable who by their example and by their knowledge will be able to raise the cultural level of the villages. They will be empowered to settle all disputes involving sums less than 2,000 leva among the villagers, thus expediting the course of Justice and settling quarrels rapidly. The perpetual drain of intellectual forces from the country to the towns, which had tended to deplete the rural districts of most intelligent forces, and which accounts for their relative backwardness, has now been fortunately reversed and one may hope for a certain improvement in rural conditions as a consequence of this reform. 132 663 [369]

This administrative reform had been advocated by many social thinkers but never carried out, for it did not suit the political parties to curtail official posts and functions in which they could accommodate their partisans. M. A. Yaranov in his „Bulgaria to-day and to-morrow," a book published in 1928, recommended for instance the suppression of at least four administrative districts, as likely to secure an economy of some 100 million leva per annum and to render 550 government posts superfluous. Even the Radical party had advocated similar curtailments, but 631 663

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

EDUCATION

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In Bulgaria, as in other Balkan countries, complaints have been heard that the spread of education has resulted in the creation of a plethora of office-seekers. The reason for this is that while an excellent instruction is available, the training of character and of personality are neglected. Colleges, technical schools, and higher educational establishments have all been dominated by the idea that all education should be subordinated to place-hunting and not to the preparation of a more efficient citizenship in the life of the community. As a result restrictive measures are being taken to curtail the number of colleges and impede the admission of students to the higher schools and the universities. At present, students coming from rural districts are caught up in the whirlpool of urbanising influences and spurn the idea of returning to their native environment. They take on a false scale of values and, unable to secure public posts, fall by the way and become the easy victims of political propaganda. This could be remedied by making rural life more attractive, and by permeating all the educational institutions with the conception that an educated farmer is by far a more valuable asset to the community than either the public official or the urban worker. It is imperative for Bulgaria to evolve a system of education which will nurture a peasant-citizenry really in love with village life and the countryside, the same as has been achieved in Denmark. This is all the more necessary, as the transformation in Agriculture which is contemplated and which is equally an essential need, can best be achieved by better educated farmers, and by intensifying and modernising agriculture, increased employment would be provided for the educated. It would appear that "more education" ought to be the slogan in vogue, rather than the policy actually adopted. If

there were more educated persons in the countryside there would be less inducement for the educated to congregate in towns. 871 369

It is an erroneous view to believe that Bulgaria is suffering from overeducation. What Bulgarians have a right to complain of is rather of a maldistribution of educated forces. It was the political system which rendered politics the best and easiest career to earn a livelihood, and thereby attracted the intellectuals to this mode of life. Politicians in their turn fostered this tendency since they utilised this intellectual proletariat from which to recruit their partisans. 871

M. Iordan Tabakov in his book "The political situation of Bulgaria after June 9", affirms that on questioning fifteen deputies elected while Stambuliiski was Prime Minister, it was found that eight had not read the Constitution and seven had read it partly, and yet all had taken the oath to govern after its spirit and to defend it! None knew what the capitals of Czechoslovakia and Switzerland were. When asked whether they considered themselves fit to be deputies, some admitted that they were not, for they had not received the requisite education, while some considered themselves worthy of the posts they held since "the people had chosen them". Dr. D. Gabrovski in his Illiterate Bulgaria," affirms that: the percentage of illiterate voters in 1920 was 52%, and that the statistics of 1928 show that the percentage of illiterates in the country was 40%. Many who have been to school, and had later lived in an uncultured environment could no longer read. Of the total population, only 2000 to 3000 read books, and about 30,000 nothing else save newspapers. School attendance was not very satisfactory. In the year 1929-30 there were 727,670 children of school going age, but of these only 670,872 attended school, while another 37,139 dropped off during the course of the year. Those who 871 646 212 871

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Bulgaria EE

185 829 War a program of cooperative farming was inaugurated on a voluntary membership basis, the vast majority of farmers were small landowners of the type which once was so characteristic of the Ukraine. As early as August, 1945, the first of a series of decrees was promulgated, to liquidate the hated kulak and incorporate him into the kolkhoz, or State farm, system. At the same time a blueprint of industrialization was drawn, on the [466] basis of the familiar Two- and Five-Year Plans. The blueprint required first of all cheap compulsory labor in quantity. The published legislation outlines the methods by which that labor force was to be obtained. The police received authority "to commit to communities for educational labor, or to a new place of residence, persons guilty of fascist or antidemocratic manifestations." It was also decreed, soon after the seizure of power, that many hundreds of thousands of persons should be "sent to the factories or shifted to industry." On none of these matters was any effort made to maintain secrecy.

[371] 697 466 Soon dams and electric power plants were being constructed in various parts of the country. The exploitation of Bulgaria's very modest coal deposits was greatly intensified. In order to supply the needed labor force, concentration camps were erected in a surprising variety of places. One of the better known is that at Belene, the inmates of which work at digging canals. Here are cooped up many prominent Bulgarian intellectuals, businessmen, and officers of divers political organizations once opposed to Communism. The Communists themselves have advertised widely this camp, where, it is estimated, 9,000 persons are interned under the most primitive penal conditions. If the accounts of prisoners who have escaped from it are to be credited (and there is no reason why they should not be), it is in all truth an infamous place. The methods of committing people to it have been spelled out in carefully devised legislation, which makes no provision for haling anyone before

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

The hearth or stove was the focal point of the barely furnished living room. When winter came the small fires burned steadily, but slowly as though undernourished. For fuel, people in Dragalevtsy used small branches brought from the village forest up on the mountainside, though a few bought coal from the mine at Pernik. No longer did they burn cow dung. Older people of the family felt that fire was sacred because it could bring on great disasters; therefore, it should not be treated lightly. The aged would never think of spitting in the fire, and gravely deplored this disrespect of the young. This attitude is perhaps an ancient survival of the days when the Bulgarians were sunworshipers. 354 372

The walls of the homes were pierced by comparatively few windows, which were small and were kept tightly shut during the winter to keep out the "dangerous" night air. The rest of the wall space was brightened somewhat by gaudy calendars decidedly patriotic in theme. The iron bedsteads or the heavy wooden beds which lined the walls contrasted strikingly with some homemade cradle or trundle bed reserved for the succession of young. A kneading trough stood near the door, usually covered to serve as a table. The only other table was a low circular *sofra* around which people ate seated on three-legged stools. I once asked a peasant: 342 [353] 352 811

"Why do all of your little stools have three legs instead of four?"

"Far back in the past people used such stools and so we use them also. And I guess they are easier to be made and also are cheaper; furthermore, some people think that they keep a better balance since on a three-legged stool there is one less leg to wear down and become uneven than would be the case with a four-legged stool."

I have not been able to discover any flaw in this example of peasant logic. The same woman once explained to me why the people use the *sofra,* which is two feet high:

"This height was chosen through the ages because if it were lower, people would have to sit on the dirty floor. If it were the height of a regular table such as people have in the taverns, the three-legged stools would be too short. Therefore, the height of our table and the height of our stools are intimately connected."

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Bulgaria EE1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

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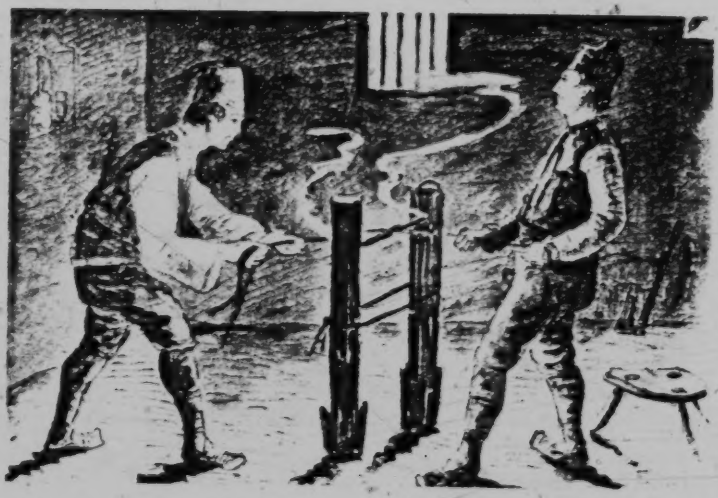

Fire making in Bulgaria and Macedonia
(From drawings by V. Titelbach)

[Facing page 144]

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935

EF6 Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5
Bulgaria EE1
Croats EF4

fire is produced for healing, it is a good sign if it is made easily. If, after a number of trials, no spark is obtained or the dry grass, tinder or cotton to be lit does not catch fire, it is a sign that the sickness is not to be cured. At the same time, every precaution is taken to choose dry materials and fine weather. So it comes about that the act of divination may be considered sufficient for a cure and the rite is found cut down to the mere production of fire. As in an alternative noted in Montenegro, the victim of fire is advised to strike fire from two flints held behind his back. No other fire is laid and nothing is applied to the sore.

S 755 372

M 372 755

At Gospić for *kresavac*, a kind of boil (*kresiti*, to strike fire; cf. *kres*, need fire), sparks are struck over a bowl of water held over the patient so that they fall into the water. At Gablenici new fire was a cure for *strava*. It was made by fixing a horizontal rod about 50 centimetres long in two vertical supports, in which two small holes fitted the ends of the horizontal stick fairly tightly. A cord was twisted twice round the horizontal rod and worked backwards and forwards by two men, while another held a handful of tow at one of the holes. At Doce the apparatus was made of lime wood, and fire produced by means of a leather strap worked by one man. From this fire a heap of chips and rose haws was lit. At Gacko, for *krasta*, fire was struck from iron on an anvil, with a hammer. This cure was the monopoly of a gipsy smith, who charged a fixed price. The first sparks served to light a piece of cotton and this a piece of green homespun, some lime twigs, nine twigs of blackberry, and hips of the wild rose, and these things were burnt to ash. The ash was mixed with young fat and applied with a feather to the scabs three evenings running, at dusk, under the eaves.[1]

C 372 755

S 372 755 [326]

On another occasion I was told that fire was made by the friction of dry lime wood or oak (*Quercus cerris*) or simply to use lime wood charcoal mixed with fat as an ointment. New fire is made during epidemics among men, or cattle. At Nevrokop the apparatus is made of fir, and the fire makers

S [731]

B 372 755

[1] E. Lilek, Gl.Z.M. v.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Montenegrins EF5

B 372 755 should be twins, or the eldest and youngest brothers of a family. The horizontal and upright sticks should also be twins, that is, made of branches growing from the same root or axis, and dried for at least three years.[1] The instance which I found near Plav was for skin disease or epidemics. M 372 755 824 A large apparatus of the kind described above was made entirely of a tree struck by lightning and was set up in the middle of the village street. It required considerable effort to produce fire and was not often done. It was also apparently a rite adapted to the usages on which I could not obtain definite information. Trees struck by lightning seem to be frequently recommended. Of other woods cornel or dogwood is the usual hard wood and lime the soft component, or ash and lime, or lime on poplar. However, it is possible to produce fire without using two different woods, and the most usual wood is lime, or where lime is not plentiful willow, and other woods are hazel, beech, juniper, spruce, pine. It is not clear that there are prohibitions, except as regards trees which are never used under any circumstances, but it is perhaps worth while noting that I myself only once found oak wood used even where it is plentiful and suitable for the purpose, and in literature it only occurs once or twice. Fire can also be produced by drilling an upright stick into a fixed, horizontal plank, or into a standing tree which has been struck by lightning, or into a door post, or by rubbing two sticks together. A search for a magical formula accompanying the rite has been unrewarded. In Lilek's description the gipsy smith is said to have mumbled something. In my S 372 own observations I did not get as much as that. I have heard [782] orthodox prayers, rather confused ones, being said while new fire was made by a family to re-light the hearth fire (Bosnia).

Live fire is obtained by the friction of wood, by striking flints, or flint and steel; by the refraction of the sun's light through a glass bottle of water; or it can be struck from iron.

Fire from wood is obtained by rubbing a stick over a flat

[1] Cf. I. Zahariev, *Kjustendilsko Kraište*, Sb.N.U. XXXII (1918), pp. 147, 148.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5
Bulgaria EE1

755 kept holy for the next year. At some places there are a
731 number of ready-made tunnels kept for this purpose. If it
372 is inconvenient to dig under a river bank or under a tree, a ditch is made which is roofed over with planks and earth. The tunnel may be wide enough to allow a pair of oxen to pass.[1]

S The diseases treated in this way are mainly severe epi-
755 demics such as small-pox, dysentery, etc., skin diseases ('fiery'
751 complaints), *vukojedina*, *zmijojedina* (Hercegovina, Montenegro), and new fire is made as a preventive after the appearance of a mad wolf or a mad dog. Of the various pests among sheep and cattle that can be treated with new fire it is interesting that the popular names for them frequently re-echo the element of fire and thunder.

S Above I have quoted a case where the fire makers had to
608 become brothers. In any case, they are often called upon to embrace or to drink together before and after their work. Although it is probable that to act together in a secret cult creates a special sympathy or intimacy, there is no other indication of its involving a legal tie. On the other hand,
B brotherhood can be made at the hearth, and an instance
372 which occurred in Bulgaria gives an idea of the sacredness
608 of fire. On St John's Day (January 7th), the priest and a few near relatives were invited to the house of the man who made the proposal of brotherhood. The fire on the hearth was raked into two separate heaps and a board was placed across the hearth between the fires. The men who were to

[1] S. Trojanović, *Vatra* (1930), is a compilation of accounts of fire ceremonies with many new descriptions of those witnessed by the author, upon which I have freely drawn. Other sources are E. Lilek, *Vadjenje žive vatre u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Gl.Z.M. v (1893); V. Titelbach, *Internat. Arch. f. Ethnographie*, XIII (1900), p. 1 *passim*; M. Miličević, *Život Srba Seljaka*, pp. 310, etc.; V. Titelbach, *Roznecovani 'Živeho ohňe' u Jihoslovanů*, Česky Lid, v, 4 (1896), pp. 341, etc.; N. Zega, *Volovska Bogomolja*, Glas. Ethnografskog Muzeja u Beogradu, II (1927); F. S. Krauss, *Slavische Feuerbohrer*, Globus, LIX (1891), pp. 140, etc.; I. Zahariev, *Kjustendilsko Kraište*, Sb.N.U. p. 147 *passim*; V. Decev, Sb.N.U. XIX, p. 90; Sb.N.U. XII, 136, pp. 7–9; L. Pećo, *Običaji i Verovanja iz Bosne*, S.E.Z. XXXII, p. 48; T. M. Bulatić, *Temnić*, S.E.Z. VI, pp. 287–8.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Croats EF4
Slovenes EF7
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

keep vows of brotherhood stepped on to the ends of the plank with the right foot. Before beginning to read the Gospel and prayers, the priest asked them in turn three times whether they believed in the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and whether they believed in the Fire.[1]

At Planinica for epilepsy, the doctoress visited the patients' house and divided the fire into two parts in the same way and stood over the fires. Other members of the family then pulled the patient in a trough three times under her legs and between the fires. A footprint of a man, or the track of an animal or an insect which was afterwards found in the ashes over which the trough had passed, was given to the patient in water.[2]

Live fire is also carried round the village or round the flocks and herds during an epidemic, and fire is carried in the same way irrespective of immediate needs at a ceremony variously called *Olalija*, *Alalija*, *Lila*, etc., which takes place particularly in pastoral districts, on Ascension, St John's Day, St Peter's Day, or one of the earlier feasts round about Easter. Torches of dried bark (cherry or birch) are borne in forked sticks. In the Holmoljski district the name *Alalija* is given to large fires of straw, etc., lit in or near the village in honour of the dead at the beginning of the spring carnival. People dance round the fires and try to pull one another over them. The shepherds also come down from the pastures bringing their torches which are carried round the village.[3] There are other familiar fire rites on St John's Eve, Easter Eve, St George's Eve, or at Easter. Sometimes the fires are lit on hills all round a

[1] N. A. Načov, *Za Pobratismtvo*, pp. 60–1.

[2] S. Trojanović, *Glavni Srpski Žrtveni Običaji*, pp. 43, 44.

[3] S.E.Z. XIX, *op. cit.* Cf. M. Miličević, *Život Srba Seljaka*, pp. 133, etc.; M. Arnaudov, *Studie vurhu Bulgarskite Obradi i Legendi*, Spisanie na Bulg. Akademia na Naukite, IV (1912), p. 16 *passim*; N. Zega, *op. cit.*; S.E.Z. XXIII, p. 102, XIV, p. 333; Zb. X, pp. 1, 52, I, pp. 247, etc., etc.; Sb.N.U. XII, pp. 7–9; Zíbrt, *Seznam pověr a zvyklostí pohanských z* VIII *věku* (1894), pp. 90–3; Voraček, *Pohanské oběti u Bulharů*, Slov. Sbornik (1883), pp. 539, etc. Cf. V. Haruzin, *K voprosu o počitanie ognja*, Etnog. Obozrenie (1906); G. Vinogradov, *Samovračivanie i skotoloženie*, Živaja Starina, XXIV (1915).

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Slovenes EF7
Croats EF4
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

village. These ceremonies to the best of my knowledge survive in Northern Croatia, the Dalmatian hinterland, Slavonia, Macedonia, in Bulgaria and sporadically in Serbia, and that mainly in pastoral districts. It is now not usual that the fire on these occasions is new fire. Divining is practised; the aim seems to be mainly apotropaeic and often specifically relates to health, or to prevent magic, or the attacks of witches. The ashes of the fires are kept for medicine or to promote the fertility of animals. Not only do these ceremonies change their dates but there is a tendency to amalgamate rites in which fire takes a part. Some authorities are of the opinion that the various fire ceremonials are ultimately of the same origin. Arnaudov distinguished two main types: one that is cathartic, and one that is exorcismal in aim; and among the latter he classed the celebration of the summer solstice, which in his opinion has sometimes been transferred to the spring.[1]

Mannhardt adopted from Kuhn[2] the identity of the need fire with St John's fire and attributed the same motives to the Roman Palilia. Prof. Trojanović, who has recently published a valuable collection of fire ceremonies, seems to follow the same train of thought, and elaborates the theme 'fire circle = sun disc'. He has sought his parallels, however, in Vedic literature, which cannot possibly give us a prototype on account of its date. The most striking similarity in the Balkan and Indian ritual of new fire is the inspection of melted fat, which the domestic sacrificer in India was instructed to gaze upon, and to show to the other members of his family. In one passage the ghee is called 'thunder'—a term that I am unable to explain.[3] These passages, however, refer to sacrifices to Agni, and I am not sure that Trojanović is right in regarding need fires as sacrificial, although sacrifices occur sporadically. The Indian ritual further demands

[1] M. Arnaudov, *Spisanie na Bolg. Akademia na Naukite*, IV, p. 30.
[2] Cf. Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers*, p. 50, and Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, I (1875–7), pp. 519, etc.
[3] E.g. *Satapatha-Brâhmana*, III, S.B.E. XXVI, pp. 106, 169.

Maintaining personal cleanliness was
very difficult indeed. Not only did the villagers have to contend with 515
the problem of carrying water but also with the lack of privacy in their crowded dwellings. One peasant said:

"We have no public bathhouse in our village, so only the wealthier people can take baths, because they are able to go to the nearby villages two or three times during the summer and make use of the mineral baths. In general, we do not bathe in fall, winter, or spring. If we bathe in the summer at home, we use a wooden tub and warm water. Sometimes when the weather is warm, men and women [of course, separately] bathe in the river. When the women are bathing there must be someone to guard against their being seen by others. Regularly at least once a week we wash our heads with soap and hot water, and also wash our faces and hands in the morning, but not necessarily with soap. No, we do not wash our hands before every meal, nor do we ever wash our teeth."

Throughout Bulgaria it was a common courtesy to say to a friend who had just emerged from a bath, "*Chestito banya*" or "Congratulations on your bath." However, if one dreamed of bathing, the villager [787]
would tell him that some trouble, perhaps death, was imminent.

I was surprised to find that some of the poorest homes had elec- 373
tricity. The occupants explained:

"Oh, we find electricity cheaper than petroleum lamps provided we use small electric bulbs. Those who do not have electricity in their homes know of this advantage but have never saved up enough money to put in the wires."

And there they sat on a winter's night: the older women doing 512
fine, closely stitched embroidery, the girls knitting, and the man per- 373
haps reading a newspaper. The only illumination in the whole room, except for the flicker of the fire in the sheet metal stove, was a fly-specked twenty-watt bulb swinging from the ceiling.

The two or three large kettles hanging over or resting on the 415
floor beside the stove, the knife and fork rack on the wall, and the 262
few pottery dishes stacked on the kneading trough called my attention to the peasant's food habits. This was the way the people described their diet:

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

653 in 1939 — 655.600.000, in 1940 — 826.500.000 and in 1941 — 1.130.000.000. These amounts were spent for hospitals, sanatoriums, establishements for economic and agricultural activity, veterinary hospitals, medical centres, public baths, libraries, churches etc.

In the beginning of the Second World War Bulgaria had 4.289 inhabited localities, 2.535 or 59% of which were under public planning and regulation; while out of 384 inhabited localities in the territory of South Dobroudja, annexed to Bulgaria in 1940, only 8 of them enjoyed public plan and regulation. Only 15 out of 2.000 inhabited localities in the provisionally annexed territories of Macedonia, Morava region and Thrace had plans approved for regulation and improvement!

312 If we throw a glance on the water supply situation we would obtain the following picture for Bulgaria:

in the cities:	complete water supply	87.4%
	partial " "	20.2%
	no " "	2.4%
in the villages:	full " "	21.0%
	partial " "	18.1%
	no " "	60.9%

On the other hand, in the annexed part of Dobroudja and the provisionally annexed territories the picture is:

for the cities:	full water supply	0.0%
	partial " "	60.0%
	no " "	40.0%
for the villages:	full " "	0.0%
	partial " "	5.7%
	no " "	94.3%

During the 20 years before the war, Bulgaria laid 4.608 klms. of metalic pipes for water supply and in the new territories, provisionally administered by Bulgaria, a total of 220 klms. of water supply pipes were laid.

We feel that Bulgaria has reason to be proud of the above accomplishment in that respect.

377 There has been a great progress made in the electrification of the country in recent times, but the subject is too large to cover in this brief study. According to the electrification plan of the entire country, in addition to the present big power plants by the coal mines of Pernic, Rakovski, the Rila River and the Vatcha River by Plovdiv, huge power and transmission plants are projected to carry electric energy to

the remotest corners of the land at a very cheap rate, ranging from 0.5 to 1.0 leva per kilowatt hour. This plan is being revised now and it is anticipated that the enlarged project would absorb an expenditure of 20 billion leva. The consumption of electric energy then would be distributed as follows: 377

For inhabited localities	28.3 %
For agriculture, including irrigation but without azotic fertilizers	13.—%
For transportation	8.9 %
For industries	45.4 %
and for other purposes	4.3 %
	100.—%

What has been said before about motor-car communications and roads may be supplemented by the following figures; for the 10 year period from 1932 to 1941 Bulgaria has built 4.568 km. of new roads, 15.736 km of levelling and new road bedding, 17.565 km. of new bridges and drainage works. This meant a total expenditure of 4,150,540,490 leva or about 550,000,000 leva per year. For the same period we have 615 km. of new railway lines at an expenditure of 1,620,000,000 leva. 653 499

We will not dwell on the question of dams and irrigation, but will only mention the completed big dam on the river Iskar in the Rila Mountain, with a capacity of 15.000.000 cubic meters of water which is 50 meters high and will note that Bulgaria has spent, during the most trying period of life (1939 — 1941) for: 312

drainage works	42.750.490.—	leva
stream corrections	22.521.837.—	leva
irrigation	9 469.815.—	leva or a
total of	74.742.142.—	leva.

This was not the end of Bulgaria's efforts. Bulgaria was anxious to take care of the countries which were provisionally under her administration during the last war. Here is some information taken from a controversy on the subject.

A Greek paper discussing the subject of homes and other buildings built by the Bulgarian authorities in the Aegean Coast Region, writes among other things the following: 653

„If we overlook the public bath at Xanthi built by them for the pleasure and enjoyment of their brothers the Germans,

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

CHAPTER III

LAND, LABOR, AND MONEY

[241] 512 461

A PEASANT'S life in spring and summer centered around the narrow strips of earth which surrounded the village. If the scene of labor was distant from the village, the tired workers who had been at their tasks since sunup often spent the night in the field rather than trudge the long way back home. In the middle of the morning, at noon, and again in midafternoon, the toilers stopped long enough for food, sometimes only bread and salt, and a little sleep. The burning noonday sun sifted through the leaves of the solitary tree beneath which the people sprawled. Fragile rays danced upon tired faces, old-fashioned costumes, a hand raised to brush away a fly, and oxen chewing lazily. Like animals the peasants worked, like animals they slept; but when harvest time brought an end to their toil they experienced the joyous satisfaction of work well done.

241 [134]

The average farm was about eighteen acres in size and was composed of sixteen separate and widely scattered strips. (See Table 10, Appendix I.) This land sold for a comparatively high figure because of its nearness to Sofia, but not because of any superior quality. In fact, most of the soil was sandy and gravelly, with a mixture of heavy clay.

[423] 231 241 [407]

In addition to a house in the village and his land, the peasant also owned a few animals and agricultural implements. The work animals numbered fewer than two for an eighteen-acre holding, and the plow was the only large implement found on every farm. More than any other joint operation, plowing had the flavor of an antique ritual. At dawn a slow procession moved from the village. The distant Balkan range loomed vaguely blue far across the Sofia plain, and the golden dome of Alexander Nevsky Cathedral in Sofia shone in the thin, clear light of morning. Behind the village, the slopes of

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

the shoulder. In late July harvesters came from other villages to help 243
at least one-third of the families (the others harvested their own grain) to cut the grain with sickles and place the stalks in little piles. An old man, expert through years of practice, then made up the sheaves by tying together a bundle of stalks with the longest stalks taken from a previous sheaf. He used a round, pointed stick about fourteen inches long to make the grain compact and to tie the knot ingeniously.

Most of the grain was threshed by the hoofs of animals, usually 231
horses, on the packed, earthen threshing floors near the house. The 243
Karakachani, a band of Wallachians from the village of Yakoruda in the Rhodope Mountains, brought about fifty horses to the village at threshingtime. A peasant paid the equivalent of a dollar a day for the service of a team. The grain was placed in the center of the floor, near a pole to which the animals were hitched. Around and around the pole the horses walked until the rope's length was used up, whereupon they reversed their direction. Much grain was threshed [407]
by the machine owned by some of the wealthier men of the village, which was beginning to supplant the old-fashioned threshing floors. Some of the families still winnowed the grain by tossing it in the face of a stiff breeze, but many others had access to a separating machine in the neighborhood.

But this *smes,* or wheat and rye mixture, was not the only crop 241
raised. Quite a few of the homes had garden patches, either in the yard or on the edge of the village, where peppers, mealy potatoes, cabbages, and tomatoes were grown. The white beans from Dragalevtsy were said to be the best in this part of Bulgaria.

Some families grew sunflowers in order to sell the seeds for oil. Pumpkins from the cornfields were prized for use in a soggy pumpkin pie called *banitsa.* Fruit raising was decidedly underdeveloped, but the trees that were properly cared for produced very well. Straw for the animals was frequently borrowed or purchased from the wealthier peasants who had a surplus from the threshing.

The crop second in importance to *smes,* however, was corn. 462
Of considerable interest were the groups of women who hoed the 241
cornfield first in one direction, and a week later in a different direc- 476
tion. Varying in number from three to fifteen, these groups did 576

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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"Plowing had the flavor of an antique ritual." *See page 42.*

243

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[Facing p. 48]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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TABLE 9

DRAFT ANIMALS OWNED BY DRAGALEVTSY FARMERS, CENSUS, 1926

SIZE OF FARM IN DECARES	HORSES	OXEN	COWS*	WATER-BUFFALO	TOTAL
0- 10	7	0	0	0	7
10- 20	1	4	2	0	7
20- 30	8	10	5	5	28
30- 40	7	11	5	6	29
40- 50	8	16	5	0	29
50- 60	9	32	4	4	49
60- 70	7	27	3	5	42
70- 80	12	20	4	3	39
80- 90	3	6	0	4	13
90-100	5	11	0	0	16
100-150	41	60	6	14	121
150-200	14	16	0	11	41
200-300	5	0	0	6	11
Total	127	213	34	58	432

* Cows includes buffalo cows.

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FARM MACHINERY OWNED BY DRAGALEVTSY PEASANTS, CENSUS OF 1926
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TYPE OF IMPLEMENT OR MACHINE	NUMBER OWNED BY ALL 232 FARMERS
Wooden plow	176
Plows with wheels	157
Metal plows without wheels	5
Harrows	1
Rollers	13
Planters	2
Hay rake	1
Winnowing machines	57
Cream separator	1
Honey separator	1
Others	7

342 and the stables; in the mountains there are usually structures with many stories. Formerly the windows used to have wooden sashes that ran along a groove and that one could slide to the side, in place of window
262 panes. The style of life is simple; in the country the herders were often contented with sour milk, and the farmers with maize and millet beer.
231 The raising of livestock specializes in cattle, sheep, and goats, and
[221] takes place in the form of a migratory herding system, which commutes back and forth between the mountains in the summer and the plains
241 in the winter. The agriculture produces wheat, maize, barley, and rye, and in the temperate, nay, even hot, South, it cultivates rice, cotton, and sesame; from here, too, come the olive trees, the citrous
412 trees, and the chestnut trees. The hand mill is mostly used only for salt, other kinds of primitive tools have scarcely been preserved. The threshing sled (Figure 9)* came from the Orient; it is made of hard planks that have been bent upward at the front and into which sharp-edged fire-stones have been forced. When it is in use it is weighted down enough by the stones and by the weight of the leader to be able to press out the ears of grain. The rattle board (Figure 15)* has its counterparts all over ancient Europe. The sawing frame of the wandering wood cutters is an original invention. It includes a box filled with stones which is fastened by two rods and revolves around a horizontal axis, so that by its weight it supports the backward movement of the
291 saw. Through the universal joy in colors and in ornaments the national dress displays a great deal of variety. The basic elements of the men's clothing are a long, rough shirt with a wide cut which is embroidered with colored wool along the chest opening and along the shoulder; cloth or leather trousers, pleated in the Turkish manner in the east, in the west evenly tight-fitting, with a long woollen waistband; and legging-like calf cloths, as well as sandals; a sleeveless jacket or coat-like upper garment with wool trimmings and laces; a sheep's fur or hooded mantle; a dark and low lambskin cap. The women wear blouses with embroidered and crocheted ornamentation, skirts with belts, firmly woven, embroidered apron skirts, sleeveless vests or sleeve jackets, kerchiefs, headdresses and garlands around their fore-
302 heads with fringe bands covered with coins and hanging far down. The
301 girls wear their hair in from 20 to 30 tresses which are held together just below shoulder level by means of chains or buckles with silver coins and pearls, and which, at the end, are gathered together into one single tress (Figure 1). They also have costly ornaments of little gold and silver plates, as well as of filigree work for which the threads were formerly often taken from ancient coins.

*[see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a --- Analyst]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

353 777 No home was really furnished until it had a small wooden iconostas which contained an icon, a picture of the Virgin or a saint. The iconostas was usually placed in the east or southeast corner of the room. In case some disaster befell the family, they found out to which saint the unlucky day belonged, and got a picture of him for their iconostas. Thereafter, on his name day they did no work and used holy water in the house. In the *kandilo,* the small lamp before the icon, they burned olive oil during church time and on the eve of holidays. In case the family had used holy water at home in the hope of curing some sick person, the flowers with which the water had been sprinkled were placed on the household shrine.

352 285 Usually there were a number of small implements or articles scattered about the room. A two-edged axe might be leaning against the door frame, and old clothes or bed clothes hanging from a long thick pole in a corner. I often saw in common use small baskets obtained from the gypsies. For pay, the gypsies asked the purchaser to fill the basket with beans or wheat, which they retained. The peasants themselves, especially the shepherds and goatherds with much leisure on their hands, made the very large baskets or hampers used for carrying hay or straw. These baskets stood in the entryway or hung under the eaves.

312 Only a few of the Dragalevtsy homes had a washstand, but even for these the water had to be carried from the nearest fountain. Over and over again the peasant women would say:

"We would like to have running water in our houses because it would help us a lot and make our life a little easier. But we don't have the money, and all this needs much money for installing a water system in the house, and also we would have to pay quite a high tax to the Obshtina. Anyway, the fountains in the village are sufficient and it doesn't take us much time to go and get water."

415 312 The water was carried from the fountains either in clay vessels called *stomni* or in the more modern large copper vessels called *mentsi.* The long sticks on the ends of which the water vessels were suspended were called *kobilitsi.* The water from the fountains was used only for preparing food and drinking, and the water for the animals came from the little brooks in the street. Maintaining personal cleanliness was

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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very difficult indeed. Not only did the villagers have to contend with 515
the problem of carrying water but also with the lack of privacy in their crowded dwellings. One peasant said:

"We have no public bathhouse in our village, so only the wealthier people can take baths, because they are able to go to the nearby villages two or three times during the summer and make use of the mineral baths. In general, we do not bathe in fall, winter, or spring. If we bathe in the summer at home, we use a wooden tub and warm water. Sometimes when the weather is warm, men and women [of course, separately] bathe in the river. When the women are bathing there must be someone to guard against their being seen by others. Regularly at least once a week we wash our heads with soap and hot water, and also wash our faces and hands in the morning, but not necessarily with soap. No, we do not wash our hands before every meal, nor do we ever wash our teeth."

Throughout Bulgaria it was a common courtesy to say to a friend who had just emerged from a bath, *"Chestito banya"* or "Congratulations on your bath." However, if one dreamed of bathing, the villager [787]
would tell him that some trouble, perhaps death, was imminent.

I was surprised to find that some of the poorest homes had elec- 373
tricity. The occupants explained:

"Oh, we find electricity cheaper than petroleum lamps provided we use small electric bulbs. Those who do not have electricity in their homes know of this advantage but have never saved up enough money to put in the wires."

And there they sat on a winter's night: the older women doing 512
fine, closely stitched embroidery, the girls knitting, and the man per- 373
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few pottery dishes stacked on the kneading trough called my attention to the peasant's food habits. This was the way the people described their diet:

113, 323, 462, 415, 354, 789 Bulgaria EE1

[For information pertaining to the production of pottery, ceramic utensils, earth ovens, by women in Bulgaria, and associated magical beliefs, see 3: Filipovic, E13 Balkan Peoples, category 116.]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

428 578 [423] was also conflict over the location of boundary stones. At first I could scarcely believe my eyes when I was shown how the peasants distinguished their fields. Taking some landmark such as a tree, a bend in the road, or a stream, the peasants marked off their strips by small piles of stone. Fences and hedgerows were impracticable because the strips were too small to justify the expense of enclosure. Since every farmer possessed several strips, possibilities of conflict over the boundaries were numerous. The wonder is that there was so little trouble, in view of the fact that every foot of the strip must be utilized if the farmer was to make any profit.

578 685 422 Animals too proved a source of dispute. The oxen, for instance, strayed into an unprotected field and did considerable damage to the growing crop. The person incurring loss often took the matter to the mayor for trial in his magistrate's court. Once an effort was made to have all funds collected from such disputes turned over to the local *Chitalishte,* or Library Association, but this received little public support. For some time there was very bad feeling between the shepherds and the dairymen over the question of pasturage. The *Obshtina,* [656] or local government, passed an ordinance that grazing should be done on one's own land and the common pasture abolished. The shepherds, accustomed to roaming over a considerable area in a day's time, were violently opposed to the new measure; those possessing five or six head of cattle naturally favored it.

Other types of conflict also arose over animals. The widow Zdravka, in explaining to me why she was not on good terms with her neighbor Dimiter, brought another case of disagreement over livestock to my attention:

"Just before St. Peter's Day, Dimiter's dogs fell upon my sow as she passed his yard on her way home from pasture. The pig, which was to bear young the next day, became frightened and fell into a ditch. I immediately went to the veterinarian who told me that the pig's young would be stillborn, and sure enough, they were. I went to the priest and the mayor to ask for justice, but Dimiter told them that he didn't let his dogs out and the accident wasn't his fault. Since he was a man, nothing was done to him and I can't do anything about it myself."

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

When I asked her if she and Dimiter had quarrels about other things, Zdravka answered: 578 685 422

"We don't quarrel for I keep quiet, and he only speaks to me 'between his teeth.'"

Poultry was a source of much ill feeling among neighbor women. Whenever a hen or rooster strayed into the garden next door there was apt to be a verbal battle, the effects of which fortunately wore off within a few days. There was one woman, however, who had not spoken to her next-door neighbor for three years because of harsh words uttered about a straying hen. "May her chickens be homeless," cursed the other person in describing the incident.

In case the women quarreled over such things as chickens, overhanging branches of a fruit tree, or the return of a borrowed article, the men were inclined to treat the whole incident lightly and speak of it as "woman's business." On the other hand, if two men had a serious dispute, their families behaved distantly toward each other, either because of actual antipathy or because of paternal command. From the standpoint of social interaction, therefore, a serious row between two men was more of a strain on the social structure than was a quarrel between two women. It was apt to last longer, involve more people, and have larger issues at stake. [562]

A visit to the village courtroom convinced me that money was also the basis for much misunderstanding. The court records were full of cases of men who had argued over financial matters until one of them haied the other into court. Most of these disputes were settled by the mayor, but many people left his courtroom still dissatisfied. Because the Dragalevtsy peasant was penurious, every lev was cherished and spent only when absolutely necessary. Such frugality was a virtue from one point of view, but it became a vice when it led to disruptive conflict. 691 578

This increased emphasis upon money permeated even the family relationships. One woman exclaimed:

"Relatives don't even lend sewing machines to one another without payment. I have a sister-in-law who has a machine, but she won't let my daughters use it unless I pay."

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

CHAPTER III

LAND, LABOR, AND MONEY

[241] 512 461

A PEASANT'S life in spring and summer centered around the narrow strips of earth which surrounded the village. If the scene of labor was distant from the village, the tired workers who had been at their tasks since sunup often spent the night in the field rather than trudge the long way back home. In the middle of the morning, at noon, and again in midafternoon, the toilers stopped long enough for food, sometimes only bread and salt, and a little sleep. The burning noonday sun sifted through the leaves of the solitary tree beneath which the people sprawled. Fragile rays danced upon tired faces, old-fashioned costumes, a hand raised to brush away a fly, and oxen chewing lazily. Like animals the peasants worked, like animals they slept; but when harvest time brought an end to their toil they experienced the joyous satisfaction of work well done.

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The average farm was about eighteen acres in size and was composed of sixteen separate and widely scattered strips. (See Table 10, Appendix I.) This land sold for a comparatively high figure because of its nearness to Sofia, but not because of any superior quality. In fact, most of the soil was sandy and gravelly, with a mixture of heavy clay.

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2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

stopanin, or male head of the house, killed the cock and held its 243
twitching body over a bag of grain seed so that several drops of blood would fall upon it. He then drove slowly to the field to prepare the ground for the sowing, meanwhile eagerly awaiting the arrival at midmorning of the *domakinya,* his wife, dressed in her most beautiful costume and bearing a pan containing the boiled cock, meal, and bread. The family group made a tour once around the field, whereupon the man solemnly broke the bread and, before sitting with the others in the middle of the field to feast, gave pieces of the bread to the oxen. The peasants called this the "sweetest meal of the year" and delighted in having friends from a neighboring field join them in the repast. Summer's hard work was at an end; the harvests were plentiful; the peasants were deeply grateful.

Life in these scattered fields of Dragalevtsy was hard and labo- 241
rious, but to the peasant, life without the fields would not be worth 423
living, for these narrow strips of land were his children growing under his painstaking care. The land was his companion and friend, as he shared with it the thoughts and dreams of a starlit summer night, with a cloak for a pillow and dew for a blanket. Land meant more to the peasant than money in the bank; it meant more than food on the table; it meant life itself.

Some years ago I heard a Sofia University professor say in a 181
lecture that the Bulgarian peasant was more devoted to his work than 461
to his religion. "There are more songs dedicated to labor than to 275
saints," he added. Because I wondered about the truth of this statement in respect to Dragalevtsy, I polled village opinion. Here are some of the questions I asked, with representative or characteristic responses:

Nowadays, which do people enjoy most: working in the field or sitting in the tavern?

"People work to get bread. They can't earn money enough to save. Some prefer to work in the fields because we quarrel when we are in the *kruchma.*"

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

428 578 [423]

was also conflict over the location of boundary stones. At first I could scarcely believe my eyes when I was shown how the peasants distinguished their fields. Taking some landmark such as a tree, a bend in the road, or a stream, the peasants marked off their strips by small piles of stone. Fences and hedgerows were impracticable because the strips were too small to justify the expense of enclosure. Since every farmer possessed several strips, possibilities of conflict over the boundaries were numerous. The wonder is that there was so little trouble, in view of the fact that every foot of the strip must be utilized if the farmer was to make any profit.

578 685 42

Animals too proved a source of dispute. The oxen, for instance, strayed into an unprotected field and did considerable damage to the growing crop. The person incurring loss often took the matter to the mayor for trial in his magistrate's court. Once an effort was made to have all funds collected from such disputes turned over to the local *Chitalishte,* or Library Association, but this received little public support. For some time there was very bad feeling between the shepherds and the dairymen over the question of pasturage. The *Obshtina,* or local government, passed an ordinance that grazing should be done on one's own land and the common pasture abolished. The shepherds, accustomed to roaming over a considerable area in a day's time, were violently opposed to the new measure; those possessing five or six head of cattle naturally favored it.

[656]

Other types of conflict also arose over animals. The widow Zdravka, in explaining to me why she was not on good terms with her neighbor Dimiter, brought another case of disagreement over livestock to my attention:

"Just before St. Peter's Day, Dimiter's dogs fell upon my sow as she passed his yard on her way home from pasture. The pig, which was to bear young the next day, became frightened and fell into a ditch. I immediately went to the veterinarian who told me that the pig's young would be stillborn, and sure enough, they were. I went to the priest and the mayor to ask for justice, but Dimiter told them that he didn't let his dogs out and the accident wasn't his fault. Since he was a man, nothing was done to him and I can't do anything about it myself."

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

441 596 [178] In Dragalevtsy, therefore, familism had yielded some ground to commerce. People did make occasional purchases in the village and in Sofia. They talked more and thought more about money. They even valued it more highly than a generation ago, but the basis of their economic life remained self-subsistent, with an emphasis upon goods, not cash.

476 596 Co-operatives had also come to Dragalevtsy. In a very real sense village life itself was a co-operative enterprise, although it did not possess the specific characteristics of an economic co-operative. The large joint family, which has been widely prevalent throughout the world, also had many elements of the co-operative which have been maintained, at least in the sentiments of the people, even though the family group has become individualized and smaller.

Self-subsistent peasant farmers are accustomed to working together when something needs to be done. Theirs is, after all, a co-operative way of life. They also know that their own hard work and their own planning are responsible for whatever success they achieve. They are suspicious of outsiders who seek to organize them, and are fearful that any tie-up with the business interests outside the village means loss rather than gain. They are not accustomed to using money to make more money, although they know well enough what it means to pay interest on borrowed money.

[369] [423] Agricultural co-operatives often gain adherents more quickly when there is a feeling of distinction or distrust between city and the country people. This is because co-operatives have been identified in such places with the agrarianism which unites the peasants. The profit motive of capitalism is linked, in the minds of many villagers, with the urban businessman, in spite of the fact that the villager who owns his land is also a capitalist. Perhaps it is this idea which Americans find hardest to grasp in their evaluation of peasant Europe. Land is not something to be bought and unfeelingly sold for money. It is rather a means of livelihood, an extension of oneself and one's family.

476 As the merchant groups in the villages are few and insecure, the co-operatives do not have the opposition of vested interests which they face in a more highly developed economy. I realized from the beginning that co-operatives had made much less headway in Dragalevtsy

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But peasant prosperity, especially in a village so close to Sofia, was also based on black-market activities. Even in 1945 economists estimated that about ninety-five per cent of all dairy products reached the urban consumer through the black market at prices fantastically high. The peasants, moreover, had learned new ways of circumventing government requisitioning during the war. Just after harvesting, while rye and wheat crops were still in the field, they would shake from one-fifth to one-fourth of the grain onto blankets and secretly hide this amount from the Germans. Then they would, as the law decreed, take the sheaves to the village to be threshed. A part of this threshed grain, varying in amount each year with the size of the harvest, had to be turned over to the authorities at prices fixed by the government, but the previously sequestered grain could be used at home or disposed of at black market prices. 178 437

One additional economic factor of importance[1] was the rise in land values, which surpassed the general rise in prices. For instance, I had not been in the village long before I learned how valuable was the land on the right as one approached the village from Sofia. Within two years the land had gone up ten times, from 35 leva per square meter to 300-400 leva. No wonder then that peasants had been ridding themselves of their debts, selling a field or two if necessary to put them in the clear. Some of the poorer families had been deriving extra income from the earnings of about twenty teen-aged girls who went daily to Sofia to work in the knitting mill. This was a concession to industrialism which the Dragalevtsy peasants would not have made back in 1937, and it was already having some effect upon village life. 178 423

But perhaps one of the greatest economic changes was the reversal of the trend toward dairying mentioned in earlier chapters. Shortly after my departure from Dragalevtsy, a milk producers' co-operative had been established in the village, largely through government prompting and support, and collected all of the milk formerly taken to Sofia by the individual milkmen. The co-operative also ran a grocery store and sold large quantities of feed to the farmers. Owing to price policies of the co-operative and the government price-fixing agency, the peasants began to consider dairying unprofitable. They 178 234 [474]

1 [Following World War II -- Analyst]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

But some of the peasants who turned Communists were having 668
their days of religious doubt. They asked quite frequently, "Can we 178
be Communists and still believe in God?" They voluntarily sent 626
their children to the priest's class in religion held in the schoolhouse. "And the Communist children know their lessons better than the children of the opposition," was the opinion of a member of the intelligentsia.

The ideas of many new converts to the Marxist doctrine had been [789]
rudely shaken the previous summer at the time of the church processional for rain. The drought had been devastating. Corn was drying up; pastures were turning brown. So a band of villagers, with some Communists who went along for old times' sake, accompanied the priest on a circuit of the fields. The boys carried the church relics and the priest walked faithfully along in his hot, black vestments. No rain came and the Communists thoroughly enjoyed scoffing at those who had started out with such bright hopes. Conditions grew worse and worse, so the religious leaders thought another processional in order. The whole performance was repeated, with Communists along again. This time the priest went up high on the mountainside, so as to include village properties not previously visited. His prayers were efficacious, for a shower which later turned to steady rain burst forth upon the band of villagers, wetting them to the skin before they could return to shelter in the village. The religious people thus had the last word when atheism was discussed.

The prevalent feeling of insecurity included more, however, than 668
beliefs and basic attitudes about religion and politics. It stemmed 178
also from the economic uncertainty which characterized the period. 626
Always lurking in the peasant's consciousness was the fear that his 423
holding, his precious acres, would be collectivized as was done in 829
Russia. It mattered not to him that his farming was inefficiently done or that such inefficiency was no solution for the overpopulation which characterized his land. He wanted no part of a great impersonal *kolkhoz* where in the long run he would become a worker instead of an owner, or where he would work land which he could not call his own. That to him was serfdom; it was not freedom. And discussions of these topics trailed off into many beside-the-point objections, which

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

668 nevertheless seemed important to the peasant. I recall one such
178 discussion which dealt with the idea of a shortened work-week at the
626 factories. The peasants disapproved of the whole plan and used it
● 429 as a basis for condemning land collectivization because "We want to
829 be able to work as long as we want without having people tell us that we have to stop working."

Peasants were greatly confused, therefore, over the farm policies to be pursued in the next two or three years. They planned and schemed and talked endlessly about what they should plant, what they should do about their debts, or whether the aged fathers should distribute their land to their sons before they died. But always there was the great unknown of government policy which upset their calculations and kept them insecure.

668 Another important social change was occuring in the institutional
178 pattern of Dragalevtsy. In earlier chapters we noted how the en-
596 croachment of the state was making considerable impact upon the traditional familistic patterns, while economic life was becoming more commercialized and religious activities were declining in importance. The coming of the Communists had begun to weaken the family ties even further, for the Fatherland Front had given votes to all women and had thus attacked the dogma of male supremacy; it had honored the young at the expense of the aged; and it had turned brother against brother as the struggle for control grew more bitter. As the representative of the central government, the Fatherland Front was affecting an even larger area of life than the prewar regime did, especially when its economic regulations and its threat to the hallowed traditional system of landownership.

668 Another disturbing effect was the substitution of Moscow as
771 the center of the universe, for the Communist adherents at least, when
178 formerly Dragalevtsy or perhaps Sofia by courtesy was thought to be
829 the center. These innovations of the present government had done much to prejudice it in the eyes of the people, who made decisions not upon the basic issues which the government was striving to champion, but resisted blindly and perhaps fanatically simply because the new regime spelled the end of their way of life. As they realized this, some of the peasants turned more and more to the church, the institu-

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
216

RETROSPECT, 1948

000 As soon as I began to understand what was happening in Dragalevtsy I knew that I was in touch with something tremendously important. Here, in a Bulgarian village which I had once known intimately, I was encountering the same peasant reactions which I had found in many parts of Yugoslavia, a country which also was experiencing political and social upheaval. The Yugoslavs had a National Liberation Front under Tito which paralleled Bulgaria's Fatherland Front under Georgi Dimitrov. Throughout Serbia, in Dalmatia, Croatia, and parts of the Vojvodina I heard Yugoslav peasants complaining about their new regime in the same overtones and undertones as did my Dragalevtsy friends.

What was there about the Communist-dominated governments that the peasants did not like? It was not until I had left the Balkans, and was weatherbound in Vienna, that I had time to formulate the reasons. Some of these have already been mentioned in the discussion of postwar changes in Dragalevtsy, but they can be accurately applied to those other areas in the Balkans where landed peasants are the rule.

668 The Communists are aware of the peasant's hunger for more
423 land and have instituted land reforms to bring about a greater mass
471 ownership of the farming areas, on the principle that "the land belongs to those who till it." But in the case of those who have land, even in quantities small enough not to be affected by the reform laws, the governments have given little assurance that the land will remain private property for an indefinite period. Constitutions guarantee this, to be sure, but constitutions mean little to many authoritarian regimes. The greatest insecurity in the rural Balkans today, as previously pointed out in the case of Dragalevtsy, is the ever-present threat that one's land may sooner or later be taken over by the state and operated as a government holding. Part of the Communist policy may be the promotion of this uncertainty on the theory that insecure people are more easily controlled. But when one tampers

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

with a relationship as deep-rooted as that of the Balkan peasant to his land, he is also creating the seeds out of which a spontaneous resistance movement could grow. There is little evidence of collectivization at present, but the peasants are not convinced that it is not just around the corner. 668 423 471

Then too, the Balkan peasants, especially in the settled agricultural areas, have not taken kindly to Communism because they characterize it as an urban movement. When seasoned Communists try to converse with peasants about the merits of the Russian system their factory-oriented dialectic falls flat. Nor have they developed an agricultural vocabulary with which to communicate intelligibly with the rural people. The more the Balkan Communists talk, the more the peasants are convinced of the urban orientation of the new government. They consider it anti-Agrarian and anti-peasant. In an attempt to overcome this reserve to their program the Communists organize deputation teams of artisans who spend Sundays out in carefully selected villages helping the peasants repair their wagons, mend their pots and pans, or they even bring along a corps of barbers to cut the villagers' hair. The spirit behind such a move is to have the artisans show by their deeds, "You see, we are your friends. We're all brother Bulgarians [or Yugoslavs, as the case may be]." But it takes more than this to sell such a radical program as Communism to the capitalistic-minded peasant. 668 369 829

The rural villagers elsewhere in the Balkans, as well as in Dragalevtsy, resent the term worker. Newspapers studiously attempt to get the worker ideology accepted by the rural citizens, but the social statuses of the peasant and the worker are such that the government is asking the former to step down a rung, in the peasant's estimation. So Communism is thought to represent a backward rather than a forward move, and is related to the all-important matter of land: the peasant generally possesses it, whereas the worker is usually landless.

Many analyses of the Balkan problems play up rightly the role of the church, whether it be Eastern Orthodox or Roman Catholic, in the peasants' lack of enthusiasm for Communism. Others stress the generations-old nationality antipathies which have some influence. Certainly Pan-Slavism is not paying high dividends in rural areas in 668 641 186

2 Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEI Bulgaria EEI

TABLE 7

584

LENGTH OF ENGAGEMENT PERIOD, DRAGALEVTSY, 1935*

No engagement	1 couple
"Short"	3 couples
1 day	1 couple
3 days	1 couple
1 week	18 couples
10 days	1 couple
2 weeks	3 couples
6 weeks	1 couple
8 weeks	1 couple

* Information gotten from people selected at random. They were of varying ages and had been married for varying periods of time.

B. TABLES ABOUT THE FARMS

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TABLE 8

SIZE OF HOLDINGS OF DRAGALEVTSY FARMERS, WITH NUMBER ENTIRELY OWNED, CENSUS OF 1926*

SIZE OF HOLDING (DECARES†)	NUMBER OF FARMS	TOTAL DECARES	NUMBER OF FARMS OWNED	TOTAL DECARES OWNED
0- 10	12	35.2	11	32.2
10- 20	14	237.5	14	237.5
20- 30	27	674.9	26	654.6
30- 40	32	1,147.1	29	1,048.4
40- 50	21	947.3	21	947.3
50- 60	24	1,319.4	22	1,206.3
60- 70	17	1,104.0	17	1,104.0
70- 80	19	1,429.8	17	1,276.2
80- 90	7	589.7	7	589.7
90-100	7	657.3	7	657.3
100-150	37	4,300.2	34	3,950.6
150-200	13	2,191.8	13	2,191.8
200-300	2	492.7	2	492.7
Total	232	15,126.9	220	14,388.6
Per cent owned			94.8	95.1

* Monastery farm of 1,176.1 decares omitted from table.
† 1 decare is ¼ acre.

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

These figures show how strongly the people are attached to the cultivation of the land. The background of Bulgarian culture was and still is agricultural labour. 162

44. Bulgaria is a Land of small Ownerships. This is the Background of her Democracy.

Let us show the variety of occupations in Bulgaria. The occupations of 1.284.993 households [1]) in Bulgaria are distributed as follows:

	Households		%
Agriculture	838.899	or	65.2
Manufacture of materials	160.000	„	12.4
Commerce and credit	61.518	„	4.8
Public work and service	38.762	„	3.0
Transport and communications	36.682	„	2.9
Science and education	20.114	„	1.7

The distribution of land property will be shown in the figures below. The total of private properties being 42.810.815 dekars equal to 100 %, the distribution is as follows: 423

Husbandries up to 10 decares [2])	1.3 %
„ from 10 to 20 decares	4.0 %
„ „ 20 „ 30 „	6.6 %
„ „ 30 „ 50 „	18.1 %
„ „ 50 „ 100 „	36.9 %
„ „ 100 „ 150 „	17.0 %
„ „ 150 „ 200 „	7.3 %
„ „ 200 „ 300 „	5.2 %
„ „ 300 „ 500 „	2.0 %
„ „ 500 and more	1.6 %

Since at present Bulgaria could not rely on more guaranteed sources of income for her economy, than those which are connected with her agriculture; along with the efforts laid for the improvement of crafts and industries, the Government takes special care for the agriculture of the country, as the main support of the state and the main background of the democracy of her agrarian population. 241 311

How is land worked in Bulgaria? The private and public land for exploitation being 43.684.381 decares equal to 100 %, its distriburion is as follows:

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[1]) This information is based on statistics for 1934, which is the last census year.

[2]) One decare = 0.247 acres. One acre = 4.047 decares.

AGRICULTURE

It is impossible to treat adequately in the limited space of a chapter a subject of such capital importance for Bulgaria as its agriculture, which is its staple industry and which forms the occupation of some 80% of her population, and only a brief and superficial survey can be given To those who are interested in the subject, the works of Prof. N. V. Dolinski, of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales of Varna are recommended, who has treated this theme with an insight and comprehension worthy of the savant he is. Prof. Dolinski, being a Russian and former professor at the Polytechnical Institute ot St. Petersburg, has studied thoroughly every aspect of this subject and the conclusions he has arrived at as to the future of Bulgarian agriculture are not optimistic. He thus differs from most Bulgarians, who being temperamentaly over-confident, and somewhat unconscious of their limitations, take an over sanguine outlook as to the future, believing as they do, that persevering and unremitting labour can surmount every obstacle. 241

Bulgaria, as is well known, is a country of small holders; according to the census of 1926, the 4,469,987·02 hectares of cultivated surface was divided among 734,191 individual farmsteads, each of an average area slightly over 6 hectares[1]. The tendency however has been towards further subdivision. In 1929 the number of independent holdings had grown to 807,309, and by 1931 to 840,900. The progressive segmentation of the farmsteads is an evil which eventually will have to be stopped through the adoption of the right of primogeniture concerning landed property, or by some other means. As matters stand, there are very few sons of farmers willing to continue their 241 423

[1] The following table gives detailed figures as to the size and number of the holdings:

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

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Area of farmsteads	Number of owners	% of total	Number of hectares	% of total
1 to 2 hectares	86,323	11.8	429,153	0·9
2 to 3 "	90,418	12·3	1,326,784	3
3 to 4 "	88,064	12	2,166,102	4·8
4 to 5 "	72,011	9·8	3,211,065	7·2
5 to 6 "	59,714	8·1	3,250,262	7·3
6 to 7 "	49,287	6·7	3,178,436	7·1
7 to 8 "	39,480	5·4	2,946,641	6·6
8 to 9 "	32,614	4·4	2,777.252	6·2
9 to 10 "	25,462	3·5	2,408,585	5·4
10 to 15 "	68,724	9·4	8,260.854	18·5
15 to 20 "	23,281	3·2	3,976.965	8·9
20 to 25 "	9,092	1·2	2.001,162	4·5
25 to 30 "	3,605	0·5	1,034,139	2·3
over 30 "	4,766	0·6	4,974,404	11
Total	734,191	100	44,693,987	100

parents' calling because they know that at the latter's death, the farmstead will have to be divided among all the members of the family, and that the portion which will revert to them will be too small to support them; hence their unwillingness to remain on the land, and their efforts to become State functionaries. This is also why the secondary agricultural schools have comparatively few students, the majority of whom become eventually functionaries instead of settling on the land. This explains why the progress of farming has not been commensurate with the strenuous efforts made by the government for its promotion.

A peculiar feature of these holdings is that they are often divided into ten or even more different strips, scattered about in various places, often far apart from one another, and of the most surprising dimensions. Thus a great deal of land is wasted on roads and boundaries. This intense subdivision militates against the introduction of rational methods of cultivation, and causes a huge waste of time to farmers who have to trudge from one strip to another in rotation along pathways which are well nigh impassable after heavy rains. One of the causes which led to the dividing up of the farmstead into several strips was to provide against the danger of loss

by hail which is frequent in Bulgaria. Scattered holdings considerably reduced the risk from such loss, for only some of the strips belonging to one farmstead could be so affected. But this custom has outlived its usefulness, for the State now insures farmers against such loss, at a very slight charge, and it has wisely embarked on a policy of encouraging the unification of holdings; even a law has been passed, rendering this obligatory in any commune, 50% of the inhabitants of which express a desire to have their scattered strips unified. Unfortunately little progress has been made so far in this direction owing to the extreme diversity of the quality of the soil in most localities and to the fact that the peasantry is over-conservative by nature, and this is apparent from the comparatively few farmers who insure against loss by hail. In 1934 their number was stated to be 99,600, the premiums collected 22 million leva, and the disbursements made by the State for losses by hail sustained by 25,000 farmers amounted to 25 millions. The average annual loss caused by hail is estimated at 500 millions. Even as regards their cattle, farmers appear equally conservative, for in 1934 out of a total head of large cattle numbering 3 millions, only 105,000 head of cattle vere insured.

If this policy of unifying the scattered strips could be carried through, some 400,000 hectares would be rendered available for cultivation which are now occupied by roads, pathways, boundaries, hedges etc. T. At. Yaranov in his "Bulgaria to-day and to-morrow" estimates the cost ot carrying out this unification of the various strips at 1,584 million leva, or roughly at 4000 leva per hectare and as the actual price of farm land devoted to cereal cultivation averages 5,000 to 8,000 [1] leva, the operation would be practicable. The advantages to be derived from

[1] The pre-war price ranged between 1000 to 1500 leva (gold) per hectare.

[i.e. hail damage,[181] see cat. 116, p. 180-181-A]

241 the application of this measure would be multiple. It
423 would increase the available surface for cultivation by 10%. It would effect a great saving of time to the farmers, who would no longer be obliged to waste their time by visiting scattered holdings, but who would then only have to attend to one. It would permit the rationalisation of agriculture by making feasible the use of agricultural machinery. So far this extreme parcellation of the land has proved an unsuperable obstacle to the employ of modern implements. Thus during the period 1925—1930 some 2620 tractors were bought, at a cost of 1000 million leva, but it has been found impossible to utilise them for ploughing, and the only use they have been put to was to make them work the threshing machines.

However alluring this prospect of regrouping the holdings may be, it is regrettable that it can not be realised for lack of funds. As matters stand an extensive use of expensive agricultural machinery is not likely to prove profitable when there is plenty of cheap labour available and imported oil fuel is dear; besides, the smallholder would scarcely possess sufficient means to acquire them and would not know how to keep them in good condition.[1]
241 The utilisation of machinery on the farms could be
243 lucratively carried out only if it mere undertaken on a co-operative basis, but in such a case it would be necessary to found co-operative societies in every village before proceeding with the wholesale employ of machinery. However, even with such improvements, Bulgaria could

[1] During the Liaptchev administration the government undertook to introduce by hook or crook modern machinery, and a large number was foisted on the peasantry but never utilised. Many complaints were made as to the peasantry having been encouraged to run into debt merely in order to buy machines. The exposures made by certain deputies on May 22 and 30, 1932, on this subject are not at all edifying.

665 Labor Party, are on the way to Socialism and endeavoring to reach it in a peaceful way. . . . I should like to tell our English friend that we too feel that it is quite possible in Bulgaria, granted the work and necessary preparations, to pass on to Socialism some day without dictatorship of the proletariat, on the basis of democracy and a parliamentary régime.

Now, however, the British Labor Party had become a horde of imperialist hyenas, lackeys of Wall Street. Now Socialism was to be attained in Bulgaria not in a peaceful parliamentary way but by force. To make sure that his audience would swallow this strong meat Dimitrov threw in the ominous warning that the program had been developed under the guidance of Stalin himself; he "personally" had helped with advice and explanations so that any "mistakes" which were made could be "corrected quickly."

The Dimitrov talk, though derided in Jugoslavia as postponing indefinitely the advent of Socialism, nevertheless gave notice that the proletarian revolution would now be pushed in Bulgaria by all means and at all costs. Applied to the agrarian problem, it meant that the class war was to begin in earnest in the villages. Collectivization had not proved any more popular with Bulgarian peasants than it had in other agricultural countries. Even at their face value, the official figures of progress in forming collectives (more delicately called "working agricultural enterprises") were not impressive. And one hesitates to accord them face value because of the ample opportunity and great temptation to juggle statistics. Changes are made frequently in the rules for membership, the presidents of village councils (soviets) are desperately anxious to make a good showing in their reports to Sofia, and the Minister of Agriculture himself hopes to save his skin by reporting progress to Moscow.

474 241 423 At the end of 1948, according to a published Soviet source, 73,000 Bulgarian peasant households owning 300,000 hectares of land were joined in 1,000 agricultural coöperatives (collectives); and by August 1, 1949, the figures had become 146,583 households, owning 538,458 hectares, in 1,594 coöperatives.[3] Writing in the official Cominform journal in November 1949, T. Chernokolev, a member of the

[3] N. Vorobyev, *New Times*, Moscow, September 7, 1949.

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia
Bulgaria EE1

Bulgarian Politburo, reported that the number of peasant households had recently reached 147,000 (13.3 percent of all households), the amount of land involved was now 540,000 hectares (11.2 percent of all cultivated land), and the total of coöperatives was 1,600.[4] Soon after Vulko Chervenkov became Prime Minister [5] he revealed that at the end of the first quarter of 1950 the number of coöperative organizations had increased by only 33 over the figure given previously, and that the number of peasant families involved had grown by only about 28,000.[6] 474 241 423

This unsatisfactory organizational progress was matched by production failures. The government organ, *Otechestven Front,* complained on March 27, 1949, that spring sowing quotas which should already have been completed were fulfilled only 56 percent for wheat, 45 percent for rye, 55 percent for barley and 51 percent for oats. It called these figures "extremely disquieting."[7] The results were noticed in the failure of the peasants to meet their wheat and rye requisition quotas in the autumn. Quotas were fulfilled or overfilled in districts bordering the Black Sea or Rumania, *i.e.* where Soviet pressure was most direct, but in districts towards Jugoslavia they were fulfilled only from 20 to 27 percent and in the three districts of Bulgarian Macedonia 59, 54 and 20 percent respectively. The correspondent of *The Economist* (London, November 5, 1949) who reported these figures remarked that "clearly, the 'Tito influence' does exist in Bulgaria, and especially in Bulgarian Macedonia." In the spring of 1950 the same pattern was repeated. Gaston Coblentz gave quotations from *Rabotnichesko Delo* and other Sofia newspapers calling attention to "disastrous" failures in agricultural production, "disgraceful episodes" where village councils showed "open opposition" to the mechanization of agriculture (an indirect way of saying that they opposed the collective farms), and so on. The spring plowing, supposed to be completed by March 8, was 474 241

[4] *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*, Bucharest, November 18, 1949.

[5] On February 1, 1950, Chervenkov succeeded Vasil Kolarov, who had died January 23. Chervenkov, who was Dimitrov's brother-in-law, had spent many years in Moscow.

[6] Harry Schwartz, *The New York Times*, May 18, 1950.

[7] Quoted by Michael Padev, *Manchester Guardian*, August 16, 1949.

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia
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scribed in the preceding chapter he had "carried out a policy leading to the estrangement of the overwhelming mass of medium peasants and of a great part of the small peasants from the Fatherland Front and putting them under the influence of *kulaks* and the reaction, thus destroying the union between workers and peasants." [10] This was very convenient. At one stroke Kostov was linked with the crisis in the countryside, and an excuse was provided for the existence of the crisis. It was not a very good excuse, for the same difficulties with the peasants continued after Kostov had been eliminated from any share in the country's economic life. As for the expectation that the trial would sober nationalist elements in the Party, that did not seem to work out to Moscow's satisfaction either. One count of top-level Communist officials purged in the six months beginning October 1949 showed a tally of nearly 50.

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Class war in the villages, presaged by Dimitrov in December 1948, did not materialize at once. The expectation may have been that the simple threat would overcome peasant resistance, but when it did not a new model statute for collective farms was brought up "for discussion," *i.e.* to prepare the peasants for what the Party had decided would now be imposed by force. Peasants who had come into the collective system and those who had stayed out would both be hit. A member's share in the profits of a coöperative (if there were profits: another story) was henceforth going to be figured 30 percent on the amount of land he had put in and 70 percent on the number of "work days" he contributed, instead of being compensated, as formerly, in direct proportion to the amount of land and the number of "work days." In other words, he was becoming one-third a landowner and two-thirds a state agricultural worker. If he knew about what had happened to the Russian peasants in the final step of the Soviet agrarian "reform" in 1937 he could foresee what would become of the remaining one-third of Bulgarian land values. Actually, of course, the distinction between "rent" for land and "pay" for labor often was theoretical anyway. The product of a collective is turned in to the state in amounts fixed in advance and in return for payment at rates which in practice are confiscatory. A

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[10] Report by the Bulgarian radio, Sofia, July 20, 1949, of the proceedings on that date in the Bulgarian Grand National Assembly.

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474 surplus may or may not remain to be divided among the peasants. Often, as Kolarov admitted, there is none. The rate at which it
● 123 would have been divided if it had existed is then only of theoretical
661 interest. There is no space here to indicate the punishments awaiting the peasants who infringe the new statute.[11] Even negligence is defined as "treason to the common good" and punished as—treason. But I must add one item contributed by a Bulgarian friend of mine, for it reveals clearly one of the important intentions of present Communist policy in Bulgaria. In this man's native village the coöperative contains both industrial and agricultural workers. The first group is scrupulously allotted the same number of ration cards as the second. Nothing could be fairer, except that the first group contains 14 persons and the latter about 500. "Recipe for horse and rabbit stew: one horse, one rabbit."

Membership in collectives is "voluntary," but the meaning of this is shown by Prime Minister Chervenkov's description of what is to happen to peasants who do not join. "All tractors and agricultural machines belonging to peasants outside the coöperative farms should be confiscated," he has warned, and in future "only peasants belonging to coöperative farms can use tractors and machines." After this gloss on the 1950 model statute there is no need to go into further details. Peasants who do not have the use of farm machinery cannot fulfill their government quotas, let alone have anything left over to feed themselves and their families. They will "volunteer" or starve.

177 We have seen repeatedly that Bulgaria is the satellite where ex-
648 treme Soviet measures are given their tryout. She was the first to suppress religious freedom and the first to introduce the system of local government by soviets. She was also the first, as already mentioned, to become officially a one-party state, and Dimitrov was the first satellite leader to proclaim the advent of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Russia's reasons for pushing ahead in Bulgaria seem to be two. It is the country where, with the exception of Rumania, her physical domination comes closest to being absolute. But whereas Russians are contemptuous of Rumanians, and are hated in return, they feel close to Bulgarians in race and language and suppose that they will repay past favors by swinging naturally into their allotted

[11] Details are given in *The Economist*, London, May 27, 1950.

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[For information pertaining to cooperative farms and collectivization, see 5: Free Europe Committee, El Europe, category 116, pp. 61, 64-65, 67--Analyst.]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

What happened if a man owed some money and didn't pay? If the sum owed was over 1,000 leva, the people had to go to Sofia to court. If it was under 1,000 leva, the people appealed to the village court (the mayor was judge, and the registrar was secretary). The creditor made an application for the sum due, and had either to give a certificate that the sum was due or, having no certificate, swear by a cross and the Bible that his claim was just. 686

What happened in case two men got into a fight and hurt each other? In case of a fight or a disturbance of the peace, the men were subject to fine up to 500 leva. However, the mayor smiled when he said: "I haven't given any fines for fighting yet, for I am a man with a Christian soul." Should the mayor feel less virtuous he would fine a drunk, together with the tavern keeper who let him get drunk. The fine would range from two to three hundred leva, leniency being shown to drunken men because they are "not responsible for their actions when drunk." 683

How did people transfer property? The transfer of animals was performed at the *Obshtina.* A bill of sale was made out and signed by the mayor. The transfer of land and houses had to be made through a notary public in Sofia since the banks in such cases usually needed to be consulted regarding indebtedness on the property. 425

How were public lands administered? Because the forest pertaining to the village was not large enough to justify a special forester, it was placed under the care of the *Okoliyski* (county) forester who was in charge of planting new trees. A forest policeman, regularly employed by the *Obshtina,* saw to it that the villagers cut no wood without the special permission of the local authorities. The land belonging to the *Obshtina* had decreased greatly during the past twenty years because of its sale as building sites. If the *Obshtina* decided to sell land valued at less than 200,000 leva, then the *Okoliyski* governor could give permission. For more than that, the Minister of Interior had to approve the transfer. 659

Who saw that roads were kept up and bridges repaired? If a bridge was broken, the fact was reported to the mayor, who sent a man to repair it. The State took care of all the roads outside the village, and the *Obshtina* of those inside. 653

556 181 An intelligent woman once summed up for me the peasant's attitude toward labor and money in this terse fashion:

"Most people work because they want money. Everyone looks for money."

511 181 434 Although the peasant considered money of greater importance than formerly because he was becoming more and more a part of a money economy, he really handled very little in the course of a year. The annual income for a family of four or five was less than two hundred dollars, an amount that came into the family coffer in driblets and was paid out as slowly as possible. After the autumn market or the sale of a cow, the peasant was flush with money, but when he had bought the necessities which he could not produce for himself (kerosene, shoes and other articles of clothing, rice, salt, and some hardware) he was little better off financially. If a member of the family worked outside the home, his wages were a considerable help, especially when some of the many taxes were due.

465 181 I asked nine young men, picked at random, about the money they earned. Their monthly income varied from the meager equivalent of $6 a month earned by a twenty-five-year-old servant and an eighteen-year-old shepherd to $66 earned by a twenty-year-old milkman. There was only one who kept more than half of his earnings for himself. He explained apologetically that the reason he did not turn these over to his father was that he had to pay board and rent in Sofia, where he worked.

454 181 Very few Dragalevtsy people accumulated savings in the bank. They preferred, like people all over Bulgaria, to invest money in real estate. The city people did it because of the security of investment, whereas the peasants, especially in Dragalevtsy, were more interested in possessing land for its own sake.

● 426 181 The great majority of the peasants were in debt, though many debtors were also creditors. Those specializing in field crops preferred long-term loans, usually for fifteen or twenty years, with land as security, while sheep owners usually sought short-term loans of three or four months. One village merchant, to whom many peasants came for advice, estimated that 70 per cent of the loans were taken from [652] banks and 30 per cent from individuals. The government had done much in the past through periodic moratoria to reduce the amount of indebtedness.

NEW BROOMS SWEEP CLEAN

the mine, had nominated 75 partisans as supernumeraries at a daily wage varying between 120 and 150 leva and that these busybodies never presented themselves at the mine even to receive their salaries, but that they had their emoluments regularly remitted to them at their domiciles. Another 170 persons had likewise been appointed in order to receive stipends but without doing any work. The new administration dismissed all redundant functionaries and by the beginning of 1935 the staff had been reduced from 5750 early in 1934, to 5100. The cost of extraction nad been diminisued from an average of 217 leva per ton in 1933, to 193 leva in 1934, and the quantity of coal extracted per day of 8 working hours per miner had increased from 753 kg. to 839 kg. The total output of the mine for 1934 reached the record figure of 1,266,000 tons. A saving of some 30 millions had been realised in the working of the mine, in spite of a decrease of 20% in the price of the coal delivered to the State railways and of 10% to 16% in that furnished to other consumers, which reductions could be estimated as amounting to some 55 millions. The new management likewise attempted to improve the social amenities of the working people and was reported to have provided free meals for the children of the miners attending school, to have opened crèches, and replaced 500 miners, who possessed sufficient incomes to live independently, by others who had no resources whatever, a fact which shows that the colleagues of M. Gheorghiev were decided not only to effect economies, but also to deal out as large a measure of social justice as possible.

Another noteworthy measure passed by the Government was the law relative to the alleviation of debts, which radically solved a problem which was hanging fire for years. Owing to a drop of about 65% in the prices of agricultural produce between 1920 and 1933, the peasantry

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found itself utterly unable to meet its obligations and it became imperative to tackle drastically the question of indebtedness so as to permit debtors to fulfil their obligations and thus reopen the channels of credit which momentarily had become choked, and impart a new impetus to the economic life of the country which was threatening to come to a standstill. The measure aimed chiefly at helping the small farmers, and to a lesser degree the artisans and small traders. They affected debts up to 300,000 leva and contracted prior to January 1, 1931, which were reduced by this decree to the extent of 40%, 30%, and 20% respectively for each of these three categories of debtors Certain mitigations were granted to those who had contracted debts as sureties, while debtors owing over 300,000 leva were awarded a reduction in the rate of interest hitherto payable on their debts, as well as an extension of time for their repayment. The losses entailed were to be taken over by a specially created institute to which the State would henceforth affect revenues from certain imposts to the amount of some 220 milions annually which would suffice to meet the liabilities created by this measure. Private debts are estimated at about 12 milliard leva and it is reckoned that about 50% of the total will benefit rom this law. By July 1935, 281,177 claims had been registered with the special „caisse d'amortissement" created for this purpose for a total sum of 6,417,043,822 leva according to the Bulletin of the Agricultural Bank for July 1935. It is interesting to note that some 600 communes were reported as having filed claims, among which figured some municipalities of large towns such as Pleven and Plovdiv, a fact which proves that municipal finances are in a bad state in Bulgaria. For years previously both the Agrarianss and Communists had been making capital of this question of private debts and instigating debtors not to pay, promising the electorate that if it voted for them

they would pass a law abolishing all private indebtedness. 426
It is gratifying to note that in spite of all this arrant 663
demagogy and incitement to default. the peasantry has not deviated from its traditional honesty, and that in spite of the crisis it has done its best to meet its liabilities. The annual reports of the Agricultural Bank show that its advances to the peasants have during the years 1930 to 1933 slowly but steadilly decreased and that their total indebtedness to the bank had been reduced by 300 million leva at the end of 1933, as compared with the year 1929. In the bank's report for 1933 it is stated that the peasantry has ceased increasing its indebtedness owing to its being conscious of the necessity of adjusting its debts to the present level of their income, a fact which speaks very highly of its common sense as well as of its determination to maintain its standard of integrity by which Bulgarians have so far distinguised themselves from their neighbours.

One of the most active members of the Cabinet was 652
its Finance Minister, M. Peter Todorov, who in a brief 655
period of a few months succeeded in settings order in his department so that the salaries of public functionnaries which were some five months in arrear, began being paid again regularly. Debts to Government contractors which had remained unpaid for years were liquidated and with indefatigable energy M. P. Todoroff set creating new sources of revenue for the State. These were the monopolies of alcohol, tobacco, salt, light mineral oils and school text books. There was an intensive contraband carried on in alcohol, and the State was being deprived of millions of revenue which otherwise ought to have flowed into its coffers. The returns of the Excise on spirituous drinks were yearly diminishing correspondingly with the reported consumption of both beer and alcoholic drinks as may be noted from the following table:

of the reorganisation of agriculture in Bulgaria is a most pressing one if a social upheaval is to be avoided at no distant date. 241 454

Prof. Tsolakov has carefully calculated the revenue of all items of income of farmers from the various cereals, vegetables, fruit, poultry, cattle etc. they raise, as well as the disbursements they make for the purchase of similar articles for their personal requirements in cases where they do not produce one, or several of these articles on their own farms and have to sell certain surpluses, if they have such, in order to buy what they do not produce, and he has come to the conclusion that farmers possessing up to 2 hectares have an annual deficit as regards their needs in agricultural produce of 4,226 leva per farmstead, those possessing 2 to 5 hectares have a surplus of 402 leva, those with 5 to 10 hectares a surplus of 7,103, those with 10 to 15 hectares a surplus of 15,632, and those of over 15 hectares a surplus of 19,919. However, the rural population has other needs besides agricultural produce, which mainly represents food, namely: clothing, light, fuel, etc., and if these requirements be taken into consideration the farmsteads would show the following position as to revenue and expenditure:

Farmsteads up to 2 hectares:	Annual deficit	7,226	leva
" from 2 to 5 "	" "	4,598	"
" " 5 to 10 "	" surplus	103	"
" " 10 to 15 "	" "	5,632	"
" of over 15 "	" "	6,919	"

As a consequence, farmers have been unable to pay their taxes, or to refund their debts. Prof Tsolakov has appended the results of an examination into the accounts of 487 individual farmsteads in the region of Varna, and gives these most impressive data as to the hopeless position in which the peasantry finds itself. Arrears of unpaid taxes have been accumulating for the past years, and there 241 651 426

241 is practically no prospect of their ever being met. The
651 following figures are self-explanatory:
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Cases	Area of farmsteads	Arrears of taxes 1925—6 to 1932—3	Tax for 1933—4	Fines	Total mount of taxes owing
		(forx each category of farmsteads)			
144	up to 1 hectare	79,943 leva	12,016 leva	10,200 leva	102,150 leva
79	1 to 2 „	97,232 „	20,368 „	20,661 „	138,311 „
75	2 to 3 „	132,317 „	31,883 „	29,498 „	193,698 „
83	3 to 5 „	236,560 „	53,260 „	54,575 „	334,495 „
65	5 to 10 „	229,741 „	75,310 „	49,575 „	354,626 „
33	10 to 20 „	132,250 „	73,650 „	55,799 „	261,699 „
8	over 20 „	241,675 „	32,683 „	126,358 „	400,716 „

The amount of individual indebtedness has also been inquired into, and this has been computed as follows.

Farmsteads of	To Agricultural bank	To Co-operative bank	To the State (taxes mainly arrears)	To Municipality	To Private persons	Total
up to 2 hectares	7,360[1]	1,710	970	170	12,050	22,260
of 2 to 5 „	3,820	600	530	60	4,410	9,420
„ 5 to 10 „	2,930	580	360	50	2,370	6,290
„ 10 to 15 „	2,950	440	220	—	1,600	5,210
„ over 15 „	2,800	290	400	40	1,190	4,720

From the above data it will be evident that the smaller farmers are hopelessly insolvent since the actual value of arable land is between 5,000 to 8,000 leva per hectare.

241 With regard to the production of cereals Prof. Tso-
511 lakov calculates that the average deficit of farmsteads

[1] According to a statement made in the Sobranye on Feb. 26 1932, peasant indebtedness to the Agricultural Bank amounted to 4,096,043,000 leva at the end of 1931. Farmsteads of 10 hectares owed it 3360 per hectare, and those of 10 hectares and over, 2170 leva per hectare. The total value of the 4,469,987 hectares under cultivation was estimated in 1927 at 83,933,620,000 leva, rural buildings at 34,845 millions, the live stock at 19,927,205,000 leva and agricultural inventory at 4,760,149,000 leva. By 1932 values had fallen by 60% so that the value of farm property was estimated at only 50,000 millions and the debts of the farmers then amounted at only 12,000 millions. The total revenue from agriculture, had dwindled from 23,347 millions in 1929 to under 13,000 millions in 1930, as the Minister of Agriculture affirmed in the Sobranye on March 6. 1932.

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Dragalevtsy. In general, though the division of labor was traditional, the specialization of occupation was increasing. Though unemployment was absent from the village, this in no way implied that all had the kind of work they wanted. It was astounding enough that even in times of world depression all did have a way of earning a living. 464

In Bulgaria, as in most countries, property passed from parent to child. There too the laws governing this transfer were very complicated. However, as a general principle in the villages sons inherited twice as much land as daughters. Usually the sons received equal amounts, but a father while still alive could divide the land, taking an equal share for himself, which he later gave to his favorite son. Quite often a sister said when the time of division arrived: "Why should I take land away from my brothers?" and forfeited her claim. In some cases she would sell her share of the estate cheaply to a favorite brother. If she was married, however, her husband could insist that she take what was her due and might even go to court to pursue the case. Every year there were a few Dragalevtsy people involved in long-drawn-out lawsuits originating over the division of inherited land. More often than not, lawyers' fees used up a great part of the value of the property. 428 593 [691]

A heavy inheritance tax accompanied any such transfer of property from the father to his children. One man at work in the hayfield took time off to tell me of the arrangement being worked out in his family: 428 651

"Our father, who is still living, told us three brothers to divide his property equally among us. We have not made the division officially as yet, because if we did we would have to pay an inheritance tax amounting to about four hundred dollars. We divide the land by lot. We take strips of land, both meadows and fields of equal value, and draw lots for the strips. Of course, our father has kept some of the land for himself, but we shall divide that among the three of us after his death."

The most serious conflicts in the village arose when there was disagreement over the division of a patrimony. Brother turned against brother, and whole families became involved in the dispute. There 428 578

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428 578 [423]

was also conflict over the location of boundary stones. At first I could scarcely believe my eyes when I was shown how the peasants distinguished their fields. Taking some landmark such as a tree, a bend in the road, or a stream, the peasants marked off their strips by small piles of stone. Fences and hedgerows were impracticable because the strips were too small to justify the expense of enclosure. Since every farmer possessed several strips, possibilities of conflict over the boundaries were numerous. The wonder is that there was so little trouble, in view of the fact that every foot of the strip must be utilized if the farmer was to make any profit.

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Animals too proved a source of dispute. The oxen, for instance, strayed into an unprotected field and did considerable damage to the growing crop. The person incurring loss often took the matter to the mayor for trial in his magistrate's court. Once an effort was made to have all funds collected from such disputes turned over to the local *Chitalishte,* or Library Association, but this received little public support. For some time there was very bad feeling between the shepherds and the dairymen over the question of pasturage. The *Obshtina,* or local government, passed an ordinance that grazing should be done on one's own land and the common pasture abolished. The shepherds, accustomed to roaming over a considerable area in a day's time, were violently opposed to the new measure; those possessing five or six head of cattle naturally favored it.

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Other types of conflict also arose over animals. The widow Zdravka, in explaining to me why she was not on good terms with her neighbor Dimiter, brought another case of disagreement over livestock to my attention:

"Just before St. Peter's Day, Dimiter's dogs fell upon my sow as she passed his yard on her way home from pasture. The pig, which was to bear young the next day, became frightened and fell into a ditch. I immediately went to the veterinarian who told me that the pig's young would be stillborn, and sure enough, they were. I went to the priest and the mayor to ask for justice, but Dimiter told them that he didn't let his dogs out and the accident wasn't his fault. Since he was a man, nothing was done to him and I can't do anything about it myself."

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585 quantities of wine and *rakiya,* the hiring of musicians from Sofia, and the baking of many pies and loaves of bread. Of course, the women of the neighborhood shared in the excitement by helping both the parents of the bride and of the groom.

Before the church service all of the young people who could find a wagon went to the bride's house, and after certain formalities took her possessions to the home of the groom. The bony horses raced around the curves in a cloud of dust while the boys cracked whips and shot guns. The procession to the church went first to the home of the godparents, a point of special honor, then to the home of the groom, and finally to that of the bride. As in America, there was room for great variety in wedding procedures, according to the amount of money the families could afford to spend.

● 431 584 Another important aspect of a village wedding was the custom of presenting important guests with some sort of garment. The groom's family gave a shirt, a belt, or a handkerchief to each of its close relatives, but the bride had to have something ready for the relatives of both families. When she was eight or nine years old she began preparing these numerous presents, doing them all by hand. In return she received a small sum of money from each person she [574] honored. At the first weddings I attended I failed, through ignorance of the custom, to live up to my part of the bargain, but that seemed to make no difference in the way the people felt toward me. They never came to remind me of the oversight, because with natural courtesy they did not want to make me, a guest, feel uncomfortable or embarrassed. One evening when I was visiting one of the families I knew best, I asked a twenty-year-old girl to show me her hope chest containing the presents that she intended to give away as well as those garments that she planned to keep for her own use. This is what the chest contained:

25 pairs of socks knitted by the girl
55 long white shirts of homespun cloth (half to be given away)
35 homespun belts to be given to unmarried men
15 face towels
15 headkerchiefs worn by married women
20 *sukmani,* or black jumper dresses (most to be kept by the girl)

This girl was by no means from a rich house hold.

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Christmas Eve feast, Easter festivities, and the ceremonies on St. George's Day.

Roughly two-thirds of adult Dragalevtsy was in Sofia on an average Friday. On Thursday evenings the village was already bubbling with excitement. The wagons had already been loaded. All that was necessary in the dim light on Friday morning was the yoking of the sleepy oxen. Soon cart after cart would creak heavily down from the village, overtaking those peasants who cheerfully made the long trip by foot. By the time sleepy city-dwellers were breakfasting, the village was well on its way to the outside world.

Once in Sofia there were four possible destinations for the peasant wagon: the cattle market, the mill, the big curb market, or the *Bezisten Pazar* (another smaller market).

The cattle market was located across the city, back of the railroad station, near the municipal cemetery. This market was owned and managed by the municipality. Every peasant before passing into the enclosure with a beast had to pay the tax of ten leva. The sun had already grown warm by the time the Dragalevtsy peasant and his wife passed through side streets to this square, packed with bargaining, shouting men and noisy animals. Usually the women sat outside the square in their wagons loaded with pumpkins and peppers in season, though once in a while a woman accompanied her husband through the bargaining and sale of the animal. The bright blue uniforms of the police were very much in evidence in this dusty confusion, where hard bargains sometimes led to fist fights. At the east end, gypsies raced their not too spirited horses up and down to prove to would-be purchasers the absence of defects. At the northeast side, the red-eyed water buffaloes and their dirty little black calves moved restlessly because of biting flies. To the northwest, along the iron rail the oxen ruminated.

Through the tumult and dust wandered the sellers of *boza* (fermented millet drink) and the vendors of round *gevretsi* (small rings of bread); here a man was eating a melon near a sucking calf. I was always interested in those performing *pazarluk*, which was the method of clinching a bargain. The buyer and the seller of an animal would stand shaking hands as the seller demanded an unreasonably high

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432 443 366 price, to which the buyer retorted with a ridiculously low price. As the two amounts approached each other the handshaking grew warmer and more rapid until finally the buyer and seller agreed on a sensible figure, at which time a third party added his hand to those of the other two. The third peasant, the witness of the sale, often enjoyed shouting as much as the principals. The bargain concluded, the men went to arrange a bill of sale, after which the newly purchased animal was led across the plain to its new home.

[435] At this market in 1937 a sound young bull cost between twenty-five and thirty-five dollars; a fresh buffalo cow, between fifty and sixty dollars; ordinary cows brought slightly less, between thirty-five and forty-five dollars. Horses ranged from twelve to sixty dollars, while the humble donkey varied in value from twelve to eighteen dollars.

Not far away from the big cattle market, in the high-walled enclosure, was the sheep bazaar. There shepherds lolled in the shade with their flocks and waited for purchasers, often long in coming. This too was a municipal bazaar, and the peasants paid a small fee for the privilege of carrying on business there. Ordinarily a pair of sheep cost $3.60.

Near the Bridge of Lions spanning the narrow canal around Sofia was the mill which the people of Dragalevtsy had chosen to patronize. If they were tired out after their trip into the city, the villagers lay down on sacks of grain until their turns came. When at last they aroused themselves they were coated with a thin layer of flour dust which filled the air around the electrically operated machinery. In the mill courtyard the unyoked oxen rested beside the wagons, and chatting groups of women sat in the scanty shade.

From the Bridge of Lions there jutted off a narrow street lined with people displaying homegrown and homemade wares. This was the beginning of the general market which extended with innumerable side-street ramifications for several long blocks. This market did not really get into full swing until nine o'clock, owing to the drowsiness of Sofia housewives.

The real life of this market resided not so much in the great variety of products on sale as in the peasants: their dress, their immeasurable patience, and their childlike curiosity at strange things

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such as a tourist's knickers or the cheap gay contents of the toy-sellers' pushcarts. 432 443 366

Each woman had something to sell: a few eggs, some blueberries picked up on the mountain, two or three chickens, a bag of peppers, strong-smelling buffalo butter, a bunch of carnations, white beans for which Dragalevtsy was especially known throughout this region, or a few walnuts. The woman's merchandise, piled on the sidewalk before her, was her excuse for coming to town.

It was around the next destination, the *Bezisten Pazar*, that fondest memories clung, because this was the spot near the Sofia flower bazaar where young people from surrounding villages went upon completing their morning duties in town. It was here that young men from one village met girls from other villages. During the afternoon, brightly dressed, giggling young couples promenaded in the sunshine while the older people, especially the men, gathered in the *"Dulgata Mehana,"* the tavern to which Dragalevtsy peasants were especially loyal. They lunched and drank, rested, and swapped their stories here. Nor was it without pride that they told how the late Fiodor Chaliapin, the celebrated opera singer, in 1934 spent a very merry evening in this same *"Dulgata Mehana."* [883]

This weekly trip to town on Friday did surprisingly little to introduce changes to the village. Even while in the capital city, the peasants still lived in a peasant world. In the animal bazaar, for instance, there was little social conversation and little opportunity for a villager to widen his knowledge of urban life. Too often in this place he learned to distrust the city-dwellers through frequent dealings with the keen-witted, professional cattle merchant. In the mill he was still in a peasant world even though noisy machines foreign to his village ran at lightning speed. It was true that in the general market all types of Sofia citizenry passed in review, but the peasants' chief contact here was with the servant girls accompanying the housewives on the Friday shopping expedition. Even after finishing their little business in the general market, the village men and women found most enjoyment in being with other peasants. Few people of Dragalevtsy ventured on the city's main streets; even if they should have happened into a movie house, it would have been one on some 369 443

433 **48. Industry.** Naturally, the industry of Bulgaria is still in its budding state. Its development, however, is not artificial, but is determined by the vital needs of the country. Here are some figures (production and solded goods in millions of leva):

	1937	*1938*	*1939*
Mines:			
Number of men-days	2,165.230	2.564.321	2.805.502
Production	495.107	573.086	648.318
Manifacture of raw materials:			
Number of men-days	21.885.257	22.188.657	21.862.592
Goods sold	10.400.032	11.045.943	11.197.577
of which:			
Ceramics:			
Numer of men-days	1.218.806	1.317.019	1.440.678
Produstion	391.138	414.820	490.986
Textile production:			
Number of men-days	7.664.945	7.612.326	7.993.641
Producfion	2.987.025	2.985.840	3.318.399
Food production:			
Number of men-days	8.936.974	8.689.685	7.754.672
Production	4.439.485	4.878.315	5.127.181
Electricity.			
Number of men-days	353.469	390.423	424.853
Production	405.863	430.259	477.760
Furs, hides, skin industry:			
Number of men-days	313.336	320.908	347.673
Production	351.124	296.552	351.138

Coal mining for 1939:

State mines	metr. tons	1.731.000
Private mines	" "	492.000

Distributton of coal:

For domestic purposes (heating)	35 %
" industrial "	33 %
" the railroads	32 %

466 **49. Labour Force of Bulgaria.** The wealth of Bulgaria is the labour of her people. Bulgaria was the first country in Europe to introduce labour conscription. Now it is adopted in almost all European countries. Compulsory labour has much to do with the technical advancement of Bulgaria in recent years:

Year	*Labour conscripts*
1929	16.320
1938	24.309

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sections of the projected international railway which was to traverse Bulgarian territory, an onerous liability for a young State, since such a railway was of little importance to local traffic, and further, it was constrained owing to its political vassalage to maintain a uniform custom tariff with that of Turkey and was thereby debarred from increasing its revenue. The country having been maintained in a most backward condition while under Turkish rule, had to create of a piece a complete administration, organise an army, construct a net-work of roads and railways, build ports, and improvise a minimum of equipment of which it was entirely deficient, possessing few roads and only one railway of international, but of little local importance, namely that between Rustchuk and Varna, of a total length of 224 klm. belonging to an English company and which the Bulgarian government was obliged to buy out a few years later. Towns and villages which had been destroyed during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 and the insurrection which preceded it had to be rebuilt, and even the bulk of the land which belonged to Turkish landlords had to be purchased by the Bulgarian peasantry before the latter could be installed as owners in the fields they cultivated.

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Bulgaria being a pre-eminently agricultural country, with practically no other revenues save such taxation as could be raised from her industrious peasantry was thus faced with the Herculean task of providing out of her meagre means the indispensable equipment of a modern State, and it speaks volumes to the credit of her people that so much should have been achieved within so brief a time, all the more so since the country owing to its undeveloped and backward state had very few resources to draw on. Its main assets being the unflinching laboriousness and the extreme thriftiness of its peasantry.

454 of 1932) and in view of the difficult position the latter finds itself. it would not be an easy matter to find liquid funds to appease a panic should a run on the banks be experienced.

453 The great problem facing the banking institutions in Bulgaria is the providing of cheap long termed credits to the rural population so that it might be able to transform its methods of agricultural production. Until presently, the rates of interest charged to farmers by the Agricultural Bank were 8% to 10% and it is obvious that in the present circumstances it is impossible to expect that capital invested in agriculture would be profitably employed at such rates.

It is an imperative necessity to find means wherewith the rates of interest on advances to the peasants should be reduced to about half this figure, failing which there is little hope of securing an improvement in the economic conditions of the country. This is a matter which of course transcends the limited resources of Bulgaria and it would be well if an international institution took a hand in solving this problem on which hangs the future welfare of the country.

INDUSTRY

433 Bulgaria, like all the Near Eastern States has indulged in a policy of extreme industrialisation which has proved an excessively onerous burden to the community and which with the exception of a few directly interested individuals has brought no benefit whatsoever to the masses. The adoption of this policy is all the more regrettable since it has tended to widen the cleavage between the rural and the urban sections of the population, the former rightly claiming that the increase in the price of industrial articles which this policy involved tended to increase their

cost of living and therefore to handicap them in their efforts to lower their costs of production. 433

One of the reasons given for establishing native industries is that in case of war, a country would find itself less dependent on foreign supplies, but in the case of Bulgaria even this plea can not be maintained, for not only is Bulgaria disarmed and not likely to be drawn into a war by herself, but her industry is almost entirely dependent for its raw materials, and largely for its driving power (oil) on foreign supplies and would come to a standstill in case of war breaking out.

Naturally the extreme protectionism adopted by successive Bulgarian governments elicited very strong protests from the masses and these were voiced by their representatives in the Sobranye, but without avail, for most political groups did their utmost to further the interests of the industrialists who knew how to win over to their cause influential politicians. 433 651

A crushing indictment of this protectionist policy is contained in a most lucid and interesting booklet, written by T. P. Karatsorov in 1932, who has no difficulty in proving to the hilt his contention fortified by statistical data, that protectionism has had on Bulgarian economy ruinous consequences, and in his concluding remarks he adds that it has equally proved morally disastrous among governing circles. He cites in support the case of a prominent politician who in 1931 declared: "These parasitic industries are a terrible evil. Our industry is unduly favoured at the expense of our national economy", and who, on becoming a Cabinet Minister did not hesitate to affirm a month later: "Our industry is not yet sufficiently protected, the State must make further sacrifices for it." This complete *volte-face* being obviously due to the bribes which he received in the meantime while his former declaration may be assumed to have been an attempt to blackmail industrialists.

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The local industry enjoys on the whole a tariff protection of 100 % to over 200% against imported foreign goods. Raw materials utilised in the local industry were liable to an ad *valorem* duty of 3 %, increased to 8% in 1931 on their entry. The loss to the State accruing from applying this extremely reduced import duty, instead of the full tariff had gradually increased to as much as 450 million leva in 1929 and had surpassed 500 millions in 1930.

M. Karatsorov gives many examples of the parasitic industries which have been fostered in Bulgaria. The details relative to one will amply suffice to illustrate all and sundry. Thus five workshops were established to manufasture nails from imported steel wire. The total annual consumption of nails in Bulgaria is 5 to 6 million kg, the import duty 7 to 8 leva per kg., or about 150% of the cost of foreign nails f. o. b. a Bulgarian port. (about 4.50 leva per kg.) The price of the local article was, on an average above 10 leva a kg., so that the profit realised by the local makers was at least 120%. The number of workmen employed was 200 and the amount disbursed in salaries does not exceed 3 to 4 million leva a year. The State loses 30 million leva a year, through levying a duty of 8%, on wire, instead of a duty of 150% on 5 to 6 million kg. of nails, and except for the wages paid to the workmen all this sum of some 26 million leva, is divided among the owners of the 5 workshops, and is obviously provided out of the pockets of the population. This was so self-evident that deputy, I. Kurtev, intervened in the Sobranye on April 5, 1928 and demanded: "That this industry be withdrawn from the list of those which are being favoured", but in vain. An example of how a high tariff barrier encourages the building up of redundant manufacturing plant is furnished by the sheet-glass industry. The consumption of this article amounts to 80,000 cases a year. F. o. b. prices of Belgian glass were 260

leva per case, and the duty 600 leva per case. As the cost of erecting a glass factory was computed at 30 million leva, and the profit to be realised by the non-payment of duty on the locally manufactured sheet-glass was 48,000,000 leva (80,000 cases×600 leva) and would have permitted a profit of 150% to be made during the opening year, work on three different factories was begun in 1930. The creation of such industries, as M. Karatsorov shows, would even have an adverse influence on the country's balance of payments. Thus if 80,000 cases of sheet-glass were imported, currency to the amount of 20 million leva would be exported, while when the factories would begin operating, the owners being foreigners, the amount of currency which would be exported would be equal to the sum of 48 millions of profit made minus the local expenses of the factories.

433 651

M. Karatsorov affirms that in most cases the creation of local industries has increased adversely the country's balance of payments, and he cites in support not only the above instance, but also that of the sugar industry and also the textile. Local textile weaving sheds often paying more for their imported yarn than what would have been paid if the corresponding woven fabric had been imported instead from a country the industry of which had been thoroughly modernised and was producing on a large scale like Japan.

The opinions of the above writer were often re-echoed and punctuated by such remarks as these in the Sobranye. "The law fostering industry has cost two milliard leva which the people had to find". (Dr I. Karadjov, March 26, 1926). "By purchasing materials and machinery abroad the loss to the national economy will be as great as if foreign goods were bought, and besides, protection will give free play to speculation". (G. Zivkov, April 3 1926). "The parasitic industries live on the back of the people, who

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are robbed in order that 1200 to 2000 industrialists and their bankers may profit" (S. Petkov, May 12 1932). "The loss to the revenue through exempting from duty raw materials is 500 million leva a year; these privileges must be put a stop to" (G. Zeliabov, June 8, 1932).

This system of importing semi-manufactured materials practically free, in order to convert them into manufactured articles in Bulgaria, also led to grave abuses. Several unscrupulous manufacturers imported materials and often sold the greatest portion of them secretly. Thus S. Stefanov, subsequently Minister of Finance, declared in the Sobranye on Dec. 8 1927. "Big frauds are committed by pseudo-industrialists who dispose on the market of materials imported duty free for use in their factories. In big factories control is possible but the 800 workshops set up since the war are never inspected. A huge army of inspectors is needed to supervise 1100 industrial establishments and there are only 4 or 5 inspectors affected to this job." Another deputy, S. Boyadjiev, dwelt on the following day on the same abuses, cited instances, and then made the following just criticism: "The law grants to any seven persons the privilege to form a co-operative society. There are several persons who have thus grouped themselves together, and who import materials duty free for alleged industrial purposes, and then sell them secretly, undercutting honest traders who have paid the legal duty on their stuff." Another trenchant attack on protectionism was delivered by deputy K. Manolov on Dec. 15, 1927, who among other things stated: "Experts affirm that the subsidies granted to industry up to the present date amount to 4000 million leva. Is this justified? It should have cheapened the cost of living but the contrary has taken place and foreign articles, inspite of the duty, still compete with the locally manufactured ones. Our balance of payments has not improved, and

our industry is hardly any stronger. Even labour has not been advantaged. In 1909, a workman was paid two gold leva a day, equal to 54 paper leva, and to day he only receives 47 leva. We should not go on dissipating our vital forces in this way or we shall degenerate as a nation... The financial cartel which controls most industries enjoys the sympathies of government circles etc". 433● 651

How the community was exploited in order that a few favoured individuals might amass wealth is also clearly described in the party organ of the Radical party in its issue of Feb 20 1931: "According to the information we possess the Granitoid Cement Manufacturing Co. Has realised for the year 1930 a profit of 180 million leva, a sum which considerably exceeds the capital invested in this concern. How are such profits possible at this time of crisis? This is quite plain. A ton of cement costs 500 to 600 leva; but the duty on it is 800 leva. Consequently foreign cement can not be sold on our market for less than 1450 leva a ton, and this has permitted the Granitoid to sell its locally made cement at about this figure, realising a premium of about 800 leva a ton. Is it not outright robbery to mulct people out of their savings in order that this company might make a profit of 145%, instead of contenting itself with a benefit of 12% to 15%? Cement is an article of prime necessity, both the State and the public buy large quantites of if. Until when will this criminal policy continue?"

These details seem fully to confirm M. V. Novicov's pronouncement on protection, namely: "Tout industriel protégé est un parasite. Et chose étrange, tandis qu'on considere le parasitisme comme un mal, les gouvernements considèrent jusqu'à présent le parasitisme provenant de la protection comme un bien... Un tarif protecteur, n'est autre chose que le gaspillage économique érigé en système de gouvernement. Il a la prétention 000

ticipation in profits. These figures are not likely to be far out since another deputy, M. Dotchev, stated on March 4 1932, that during the financial year 1928/9, over one milliard leva was remitted abroad as dividends and profits of the foreign capital invested in industrial and commercial enterprises in Bulgaria. 454 651

Some preliminary statistics have been published as to the state of industry in 1930/1, but most of these figures refer to those workshops which enjoy privileges extended to them by the law fostering industry, and are necessarily incomplete. These establishments numbered 1250, had a capital of 7500 million leva, used 115,000 H. P., employed 36,000 workmen (the total number of workpeople employed in all industries fluctuates round about 75,000) and had an annual output of 6850 million leva of manufactured goods. The principal branches of industry were: 433

	Number of establishments	Capital in million leva	H. P. employed	workpeople employed	% of local raw materials used
Textile	214	1390·8	19,197	14,641	13·6%
(In 1933:	231	some working with 2 & even 3 shifts		17,976)	
Food & drink . .	172		27,653	4579	
Metallurgical . . .	142	417·3	10,998	4084	14%
Ceramic	110	774	22,604	3382	48%
Chemical	117	397·8	6,707	2031	35%
Leather	52	162·3	4,721	778	18%
Timber	55		2,726	1643	
Paper	4	99·3	2,210	443	38%

There are two other important groups of industries not included in the above table, the tobacco manipulating and cigarette manufacturing in which some 20,000 workpeople are almost permanently employed and the milling industry. In the latter, a capital of 786.[2] million leva is invested. There are 307 flour mills, employing 2579 workpeople and possessing machinery developing 21,637 H. P. This was a thriving industry in the past as deputy

•433 Neitsev remarked in the Sobranye on May 12, 1932, for Bulgarian flour was largely exported. 67 million kg. having been shipped in 1911 as against only 1,265,000 kg. in 1929. Actually ²/₃ of the existing flour mills are redundant and can be bought at a quarter of their cost. This seems to be the case with most industries, for it was reported in 1933 that the mean output was only 45% of the normal.

316 433 There exists a scheme to develop anew copper mining in order that the 5 million kg. of copper sulfate needed annually for spraying the vines and which is obtained from Great Britain at a cost of 50 million leva may be produced locally. This plan may eventually materialise for the existing local copper mines produced as much as 31,310 tons in 1919 and the only product which would then be needed to import would be 700 to 800 tons of sulfuric acid at a cost of 5 million leva. Even this could be manufactured on the spot by utilising the local pyrites when the chemical industries are further developed.

The mineral resources of the country seem to be considerable, but they have not been properly exploited except in the case of the State-owned coal mine of Pernik the output of which reached 1,266,540 tons in 1934. There is a large lignite bed in the valley of the Maritsa, and recently it was reported that an extensive coal field had been discovered near Lom, on the Danube. The production of the mines in work during 1931, in tons was as follows:

Copper	Lead (1929)	Zinc (1929)	Mixed Zinc & Lead (1929)	Mixed Lead & Copper (1929)	Aluminium
900	3985	1925	11396	9923	1,382

Owing to the fall in prices most mines have closed. Salt is extracted from the saline marshes in the neighbourhood of Burgas, production varying from 35 (1932) to 19·5 (1933) million tons annually according to the state of the weather. Local requirements amount to about 60 million tons.

AGRICULTURE

The yield per hectare has been increased, thanks to the efforts of the State Agriculturists and those of the experimental stations. It is affirmed that for about 1/3 of the area sown to wheat selected seed has been utilised from certain new varieties of wheat from which as high a yield as 2650 kg. per hectare has been obtained at the experimental stations, but only 1675 to 1766 kg. when sown in the average farmsteads. This has contributed in raising the yield from about 1000 kg. per hectare during the pre-war period to 1157 kg. at the present time. 243 242

Though about 3/4 of the cultivated land is devoted to cereals, 90% of the total output is absorbed locally, and only 10% is available for export in ordinary circumstances. Often, when the harvest is below the average there is little or nothing to export. The last international wheat Conference held in 1932 fixed Bulgaria's annual export quota of cereals at 2,500,000 quintals, or 236,000 tons, but in the export campaign of 1933/34, the quantity available for export did not reach this figure, and in the following season the cereals exported amounted to some 175,000 tons, so that it may be reckoned that Bulgaria has ceased counting as a grain exporting country. In fact the average Bulgarian farmstead does not produce sufficient grain for its own requirements, and it is only the larger ones, those of over 10 hectares, that have a surplus for disposal. This renders the majority of farmers unaffected by the fluctuation of prices since they consume their own produce, and strange as it seems, the fall in the prices of agricultural produce must on the whole be beneficial to them, since Prof. Y. Mollov, former Minister of Agriculture, affirms in the Annuaire of the Sofia University for 1933 (Agricultural Dept.) that the peasantry on the whole buy more than they sell. the proportion of their purchases to their sales being the following: 243 [439] 243 433

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

	Year 1929—30	Year 1930—1	Year 1931—2	Average
North Bulgaria	171,06%	146,01%	110.70%	142.59%
Sofia region	179.90%	158.43%	158.28%	165.53%
South Bulgaria	119.60%	125.60%	186.23%	143.81%

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This of course has been possible owing to the credits which they have been able to raise from the Agricultural Bank, and to their not applying them to the specific purposes for which these loans were granted; the Agricultural Bank having extended to the rural population credits amounting on an average to 7360 leva per hectare for the smaller category of farmsteads. It must not be thought however that the peasantry has been living wastefully, and has run into debt owing to its being profligate. Very often in periods of drought the Agricultural Bank, under pressure from the State, has been compelled to come to the assistance of the peasantry and to supply them with seed and food, practically with no guarantee. This will largely explain the excessive advances which the Bank has made to the rural population, which, if it were not for this timely aid would have literally starved.

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The source of the trouble is that the available land is unsufficient to support the population, and that if it be not provided with more land In order to increase its production up to its requirements, or if it be not assisted financially in order to modernise its methods of cultivation, and thus be able to raise a larger quantity of products on the land it actually possesses, there will be grave danger of a dislocation of the present social fabric

241 434

Prof. St. Tsolakov, a colleague of Prof. Dolinski, has published a most interesting essay in the 1934 Annuaire de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, of Varna, on the position of the farmers in the Varna region, and on their indebtedness to the State. It is certainly representative of the whole country, and the study of the figures he supplies will convince any one that the problem

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Bulgaria EEl

[For the economic and political position of Bulgaria under Soviet control since the death of Stalin, see 85: Zinner, Rl Soviet Union, category 116, Pp. 157B-163B.]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

556 181 An intelligent woman once summed up for me the peasant's attitude toward labor and money in this terse fashion:

"Most people work because they want money. Everyone looks for money."

511 181 434 Although the peasant considered money of greater importance than formerly because he was becoming more and more a part of a money economy, he really handled very little in the course of a year. The annual income for a family of four or five was less than two hundred dollars, an amount that came into the family coffer in driblets and was paid out as slowly as possible. After the autumn market or the sale of a cow, the peasant was flush with money, but when he had bought the necessities which he could not produce for himself (kerosene, shoes and other articles of clothing, rice, salt, and some hardware) he was little better off financially. If a member of the family worked outside the home, his wages were a considerable help, especially when some of the many taxes were due.

465 181 I asked nine young men, picked at random, about the money they earned. Their monthly income varied from the meager equivalent of $6 a month earned by a twenty-five-year-old servant and an eighteen-year-old shepherd to $66 earned by a twenty-year-old milkman. There was only one who kept more than half of his earnings for himself. He explained apologetically that the reason he did not turn these over to his father was that he had to pay board and rent in Sofia, where he worked.

454 181 Very few Dragalevtsy people accumulated savings in the bank. They preferred, like people all over Bulgaria, to invest money in real estate. The city people did it because of the security of investment, whereas the peasants, especially in Dragalevtsy, were more interested in possessing land for its own sake.

426 181 The great majority of the peasants were in debt, though many debtors were also creditors. Those specializing in field crops preferred long-term loans, usually for fifteen or twenty years, with land as security, while sheep owners usually sought short-term loans of three or four months. One village merchant, to whom many peasants came for advice, estimated that 70 per cent of the loans were taken from [652] banks and 30 per cent from individuals. The government had done much in the past through periodic moratoria to reduce the amount of indebtedness.

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

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241 311 The source of the trouble is that the available land is unsufficient to support the population, and that if it be not provided with more land in order to increase its production up to its requirements, or if it be not assisted financially in order to modernise its methods of cultivation, and thus be able to raise a larger quantity of products on the land it actually possesses, there will be grave danger of a dislocation of the present social fabric

241 434 Prof. St. Tsolakov, a colleague of Prof. Dolinski, has published a most interesting essay in the 1934 Annuaire de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, of Varna, on the position of the farmers in the Varna region, and on their indebtedness to the State. It is certainly representative of the whole country, and the study of the figures he supplies will convince any one that the problem

of the reorganisation of agriculture in Bulgaria is a most pressing one if a social upheaval is to be avoided at no distant date. 241 434

Prof. Tsolakov has carefully calculated the revenue of all items of income of farmers from the various cereals, vegetables, fruit, poultry, cattle etc. they raise, as well as the disbursements they make for the purchase of similar articles for their personal requirements in cases where they do not produce one, or several of these articles on their own farms and have to sell certain surpluses, if they have such, in order to buy what they do not produce, and he has come to the conclusion that farmers possessing up to 2 hectares have an annual deficit as regards their needs in agricultural produce of 4,226 leva per farmstead, those possessing 2 to 5 hectares have a surplus of 402 leva, those with 5 to 10 hectares a surplus of 7,103, those with 10 to 15 hectares a surplus of 15,632, and those of over 15 hectares a surplus of 19,919. However, the rural population has other needs besides agricultural produce, which mainly represents food, namely: clothing, light, fuel, etc., and if these requirements be taken into consideration the farmsteads would show the following position as to revenue and expenditure:

Farmsteads up to 2 hectares:	Annual deficit	7,226	leva
" from 2 to 5 "	" "	4,598	"
" " 5 to 10 "	" surplus	103	"
" " 10 to 15 "	" "	5,632	"
" of over 15 "	" "	6,919	"

As a consequence, farmers have been unable to pay their taxes, or to refund their debts. Prof Tsolakov has appended the results of an examination into the accounts of 487 individual farmsteads in the region of Varna, and gives these most impressive data as to the hopeless position in which the peasantry finds itself. Arrears of unpaid taxes have been accumulating for the past years, and there 241 651 426

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

432 443 366 price, to which the buyer retorted with a ridiculously low price. As the two amounts approached each other the handshaking grew warmer and more rapid until finally the buyer and seller agreed on a sensible figure, at which time a third party added his hand to those of the other two. The third peasant, the witness of the sale, often enjoyed shouting as much as the principals. The bargain concluded, the men went to arrange a bill of sale, after which the newly purchased animal was led across the plain to its new home.

[435] At this market in 1937 a sound young bull cost between twenty-five and thirty-five dollars; a fresh buffalo cow, between fifty and sixty dollars; ordinary cows brought slightly less, between thirty-five and forty-five dollars. Horses ranged from twelve to sixty dollars, while the humble donkey varied in value from twelve to eighteen dollars.

Not far away from the big cattle market, in the high-walled enclosure, was the sheep bazaar. There shepherds lolled in the shade with their flocks and waited for purchasers, often long in coming. This too was a municipal bazaar, and the peasants paid a small fee for the privilege of carrying on business there. Ordinarily a pair of sheep cost $3.60.

Near the Bridge of Lions spanning the narrow canal around Sofia was the mill which the people of Dragalevtsy had chosen to patronize. If they were tired out after their trip into the city, the villagers lay down on sacks of grain until their turns came. When at last they aroused themselves they were coated with a thin layer of flour dust which filled the air around the electrically operated machinery. In the mill courtyard the unyoked oxen rested beside the wagons, and chatting groups of women sat in the scanty shade.

From the Bridge of Lions there jutted off a narrow street lined with people displaying homegrown and homemade wares. This was the beginning of the general market which extended with innumerable side-street ramifications for several long blocks. This market did not really get into full swing until nine o'clock, owing to the drowsiness of Sofia housewives.

The real life of this market resided not so much in the great variety of products on sale as in the peasants: their dress, their immeasurable patience, and their childlike curiosity at strange things

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

quate reason. It would certainly be unfair and injudicious on their part to insist on exacting their full pound of flesh, such a strangulation of Bulgaria in the interests of a creditor minority would not be tolerated. But a demand on the part of Bulgaria for an alleviation in the charge of the actual debt is justifiable in view of the fact that the fall in world prices has increased the burden of the world's debts very considerably, and has therefore correspondingly improved the position of all creditors.

The extent to which this burden has increased, owing to the fall in agricultural produce in respect of these two League of Nations' Loans may be gauged by a very instructive article published a few years ago by the Association of Bulgarian Economists, which shows the respective values of the loans in tons of wheat at the time of their conclusion, and in 1930. It was thus explained that the total proceeds of the two loans at the time of their subscription was equivalent in value to 957,066 tons of wheat, while by 1930 owing to the fall in the price of commodities, Bulgaria would have had to provide 2,638,317 tons of wheat to raise the same amount of money wherewith to repay her debt. This shows to what extent Bulgaria's paying capacity has been impaired, but even if we adjusted it on this basis we should find that she should pay 35% of the original interest instead of the paltry 19% which she taking advantage of the depreciation of the American and British currencies has been serving out until quite recently to the American and British bondholders.[1] This

[1] By an arrangement arrived at in April 1935, the Bulgarian government will continue paying 32½% of the interest due on these loans until Sept. 30, 1935. but of this amount only 15% will be transferred abroad for distribution, while the balance of 17½% will be placed to the credit of a blocked account. Discussions as to subsequent payments are to be resumed in October 1935. The dividend distributed during July 1935 on the Refugee Loan amounted to £5—5—0 per

is hardly fair and if this be brought to the knowledge of the Bulgarian public, it will itself protest against the discrimination which is being exhibited towards a section of its creditors. But unfortunately both the Bulgarian Government and public are helpless, they are bound by the shackles of the Treaty of Neuilly, they are not masters in their house. they are precluded from redressing the wrongs they suffer from, and which are inflicted on others in their name. It is rather on the American and British bondholders that this duty devolves, and when the latter decide to demand a more equitable treatment, let them realise that it entails also a larger share of justice to Bulgaria. For if the revalorisation of the pre-war debts

£1000 of nominal capital, but if the depreciation of the dollar and pound be taken into consideration, this was tantamount to a rate of 0·7% per annum. It will be of interest to bondholders to know that payment at the rate of 15% of the sums due on its foreign debt involves a total charge to the Bulgarian exchequer of 105,667,655 leva apportioned as follows among its foreign committments:

On the pre-war loans	40,735,216
" " two L. of N. loans	42,346,464
" " upkeep of the delegates of the pre-war loans & of the commissary of the L. of N.	4,674,236
" " 6½% 1923 loan	3,063,128
" " sum due to the Diskonto Gesellshaft	3,616,440
" " 7% 1923 loan (utilised for settlement of the des Clusières affair	640,594
On the amount due to the Jonction Salonique-Constantinople railway (paid integrally 100%)	10,561,387

Bondholders should note that if interest on the pre-war loans were paid in paper francs, the amount to be disbursed would be about a third of the 40.735,216 earmarked for this purpose. It would be well if explanations were asked as to why the Bulgarian gorernment is burdened with the upkeep of a special delegate of the holders of these loans, for the commissary of the L. of N. could attend to this job and a saving of over two million leva would thereby be effected. An explanation is likewise due as to why the railway Jonction-Salonique is receiving preferential treatment.

457 435 and the payment of an indemnity for the fictitious claims of the Diskonto Gesellschaft be suspended, this means a considerable alleviation of the charge laid on Bulgaria's shoulders They could equally raise the question of the payment of the sums outstanding to the refugees, for whenever, and if, these unfortunate people recover their due, they will hasten to refund the mortgages on their houses and the money thus recovered will be at the disposal of the bondholders. It should not be forgotten that the sums outstanding are not negligible, 1,030 million leva from Greece and almost ten times as much from Turkey. Let it be remembered that Bulgaria can not recover this money without international support because she has been disarmed and rendered helpless mainly at the instigation of her despoilers. Such interference, it is true, implies the exploding of the existing fiction of a nation's sovereignty but it is high time that this outgrown conception should be set aside. When a State has recourse to financial assistance abroad, it converts itself into a sort of limited company, and extends in a sense its citizenship to its creditors. The latter are as anxious as the natives for its welfare and there should be no resentment if they proceed to flash theirh searchlights into hidden places and call to account the directors of the „company" when things threaten to go astray. This is the prerogattve of all shareholders in public companies and it has proved an excellent corrective to abuse. Such interference in local affairs by foreigners has been often resented, because it is usually inspired by selfish motives, but occasionally it may be ascribed to altruistic incentives, for all investors are not Shylocks. Especially this i so with the majority of bondholders of the Refugee Loan, who, when investing in this script were under the impression they were helping a distressed country, and many of whom, when the ravages of the earthquake of 1928 became

000 d'enrichir la société, il n'a d'autre résultat, en réalité, que d'arrêter le developpement de la richesse. Le système protecteur c'est une récompense donnée à l'imbecillité, au desordre, à l'incurie, et une punition infligée à la capacité, à l'économie, à l'intelligence." ("Luttes entre sociétés humaines" p. 117/8). They also fully support Mr J. A. Hobson's affirmation in his "The New Protection" p. 113–7 that: "Protection is a crime for its effect as its intention s to perpetuate strife by stamping divisions ... whereas the whole trend of civilisation has been to bind the peoples of the world into closer unity of interests and activities by the growing of interpendence of commerce, protection would reverse the movement .. Cobden was mistaken in thinking that the perception of their obvious self-interest must rapidly lead all nations to adopt Free Trade. His error lay in failing to perceive that, though the interest of each people as a whole lay in freedom of commerce, the interests of special groups of traders or producers within each country would continue to lie along the line of privilege and protection, and that until democracy became a political reality these organised group interests might continue to mould the fiscal policy of their several States".

651 435 In fact protectionism in Bulgaria has contributed in intensifying the existing antagonism between the rural and urban classes, the former bitterly complaining that they were being exploited in favour of the latter. If they were unable to make themselves heard it was because "democracy had not become a political reality" and that "organised group interests" in league with the political flunkeys who bossed Bulgaria, "continued to mould the fiscal policy of the State".

The recriminations of the peasantry were fully justified for if the prices ruling in 1929 be taken as a basis (100) those of agricultural products had sunk to the level

of 34.4 at the beginning of 1934, while those of locally manufactured articles had only been reduced to 88.1, and those of imported industrial goods to 81.8, mainly on account of the high protective duties which remained constant owing to the specific tariff in force. 651 435

As the above figures are based on wholesale prices, it may be assumed that the peasants had to pay 10% to 15% more for their purchases from retail stores, and that they had to give 2 1/2 times as much of their produce as they were accustomed in order to obtain in exchange the manufactured articles they had been used to buy.

The discrepancy between agricultural and manufactured goods has to some extent been reduced since the abrogation of the parliamentary regime, for the military seem to have had a clearer conception of their duties as rulers. This they achieved by drastically curtailing the privileges enjoyed by local manufacturers on the one hand, and by the State intervening as buyer of several agricultural articles, such as wheat, rye, cotton, rice, tobacco etc, and fixing enhanced prices for them. The government attaching less value to the cheapness at which the consuming public might obtain its food than to the maintenance of a level of prices at which the peasants are able to live. This seems to forebode a return to sanity, for level-headed men like Prof. G. P. Ghenov, often laid stress on the necessity of Bulgaria reducing her tariffs if she were not to see foreign markets closed to her produce, and that it was indispensable to buy if she sought to sell. His speech of May 16 1932 in the Sobranye in which he exposed the inanity of subsidising an industrial system which cost one milliard leva annually to the State, was very favourably commented on at the time. 652 435

What seems difficult to explain is how the wiseacres of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations should, on the floating of the Stabilisation loan of 1928 454 651

462 more than merely chop weeds and loosen the soil; they also afforded
241 an opportunity for visiting and conversation. A day or two ahead
476 of time the woman needing help broached the matter to those whose
576 assistance she wanted in her cornfield. She was careful to include only those women who would work in a congenial manner, shunning those known to be gossipy or quarrelsome. At four in the morning on the day of the hoeing the hostess had to go to the home of each guest.

"Anka, Anka," she called above the barking of the menacing dogs. Anka came to the door to greet her walking alarm clock with a cheery "*Dobro utro*" ("Good morning"). Since Anka owed the visitor two days of work for having helped with her cornfield, she readily accepted, hurried about her household tasks, and was ready to leave for the fields by six o'clock. Young women received many invitations because they could better withstand the summer heat. Occasionally, young men, upon hearing that their sweethearts were to be invited, asked the hostess the night before to call them along with the others in the morning. In the field all day long they had a wonderful opportunity to hoe next to the girls of their choice and "to tell secret things and to speak what they shouldn't."

461 Each woman brought her heavy, semicircular hoe and her own
●436 bread, but the hostess provided the vegetables and other food. Some-
576 times the people were paid in cash for their work, but more often the work was repaid in kind. The oldest maiden was "at the post." She apportioned the number of rows and kept the workers from getting in each other's way. She set the pace as the workers moved in a line, side by side, across the field. Her word was supreme, and even the hostess kept quiet, although she might think the girl was giving poor directions. The hostess watched the time and told the group when to stop working for the three meals she served. The girl "at the post" gave the signal to resume work, but she did not urge others to work until she saw that the group sentiment favored it. If one woman was not ready to start, the others began anyway. But the niceties of etiquette were always observed: the hostess, who was profiting from the work, invited the group to stop to eat; a guest, who was directing the group, rather than the hostess, suggested that they take up work once more.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

But peasant prosperity, especially in a village so close to Sofia, was also based on black-market activities. Even in 1945 economists estimated that about ninety-five per cent of all dairy products reached the urban consumer through the black market at prices fantastically high. The peasants, moreover, had learned new ways of circumventing government requisitioning during the war. Just after harvesting, while rye and wheat crops were still in the field, they would shake from one-fifth to one-fourth of the grain onto blankets and secretly hide this amount from the Germans. Then they would, as the law decreed, take the sheaves to the village to be threshed. A part of this threshed grain, varying in amount each year with the size of the harvest, had to be turned over to the authorities at prices fixed by the government, but the previously sequestered grain could be used at home or disposed of at black market prices. 178 437

One additional economic factor of importance[1] was the rise in land values, which surpassed the general rise in prices. For instance, I had not been in the village long before I learned how valuable was the land on the right as one approached the village from Sofia. Within two years the land had gone up ten times, from 35 leva per square meter to 300-400 leva. No wonder then that peasants had been ridding themselves of their debts, selling a field or two if necessary to put them in the clear. Some of the poorer families had been deriving extra income from the earnings of about twenty teen-aged girls who went daily to Sofia to work in the knitting mill. This was a concession to industrialism which the Dragalevtsy peasants would not have made back in 1937, and it was already having some effect upon village life. 178 423

But perhaps one of the greatest economic changes was the reversal of the trend toward dairying mentioned in earlier chapters. Shortly after my departure from Dragalevtsy, a milk producers' co-operative had been established in the village, largely through government prompting and support, and collected all of the milk formerly taken to Sofia by the individual milkmen. The co-operative also ran a grocery store and sold large quantities of feed to the farmers. Owing to price policies of the co-operative and the government price-fixing agency, the peasants began to consider dairying unprofitable. They 178 234 [474]

1 [Following World War II -- Analyst]

1: Lee H-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
Yugoslavia

eventually held in March, 1938, under a changed electoral law which permitted married women to vote but forbade candidates to run as members of the old political parties. In May, 1938, the *sobranie* met for the first time since 1935, but found itself reduced to the position of a consulting body. 646 666

The political crises of the period after 1933 were but outward expressions of the serious economic condition in which Bulgaria, along with all other predominantly agrarian countries of eastern Europe, had found itself as a result of the world-wide economic depression. At the same time both Italy and Germany sought to bring Bulgaria into their political and economic orbits. Bulgaria for several years seemed to waver between them and their rivals in power politics. Although its refusal to join the Balkan Entente, because of its revisionist territorial claims, seemed to align Bulgaria with Italy, a tense situation was avoided by the signature of a Pact of Friendship with Yugoslavia on January 24, 1937. In 1938 when the east European atmosphere had become clouded because of Germany's annexation of Austria and the developing Munich crisis, Bulgaria gained recognition of the right to rearm by means of an agreement in July with Greece who acted on behalf of the Balkan Entente. This was followed by an Anglo-French loan amounting to ten million dollars to assist in Bulgarian rearmament, although Germany had already supplied much material toward this end. Nevertheless, Germany had two advantages over its rivals. One was its freedom to encourage Bulgarian revisionist ambitions which, after the Bulgar-Yugoslav pact, tended to create greatest tension with Romania over the Dobruja. The other was the powerful economic tie developed between the two countries by means of trade agreements. After Austria and [439] part of Czechoslovakia had been incorporated in the Nazi Reich in 1939 about 52 per cent of Bulgaria's exports went to Germany and about 63 per cent of its imports came from there. 648

It is doubtful, however, if the developing ties with Germany influenced the feelings of the Bulgarian people. Tsar Boris and his governments, even though they sanctioned agreements by which the political police cooperated with the Gestapo in pursuing "Communists," sought to keep down native fascism. There was, moreover, very little antisemitism in Bulgaria. The political opposition composed of the former Agrarian, Liberal, Radical, Socialist, and Democratic party elements, was by its nature antagonistic to Nazism. And, finally, the people had always retained a deepseated feeling of sympathy and respect for Russia against whom the Nazis were ostensibly aligned. Indeed, right down to 1941 there was much ground for believing that Bulgaria might well maintain neutrality in the second World War. 648 186 665

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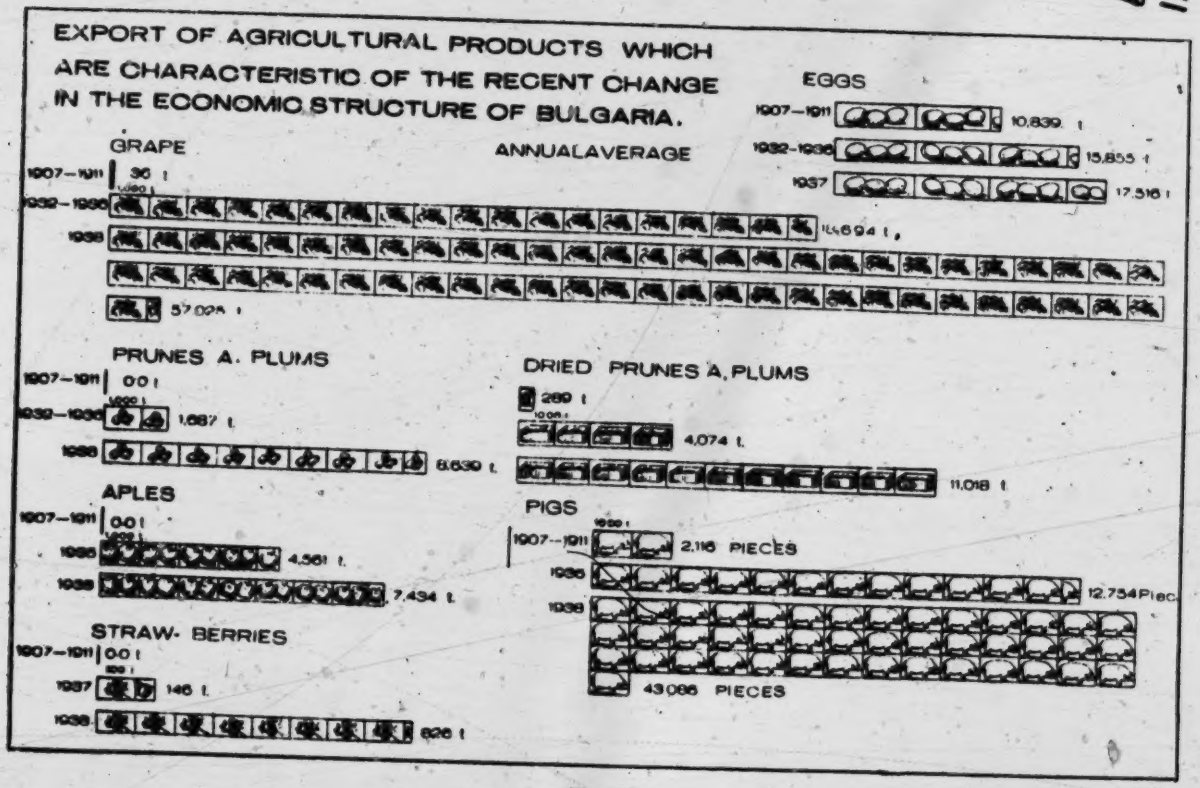

Fig. 17.

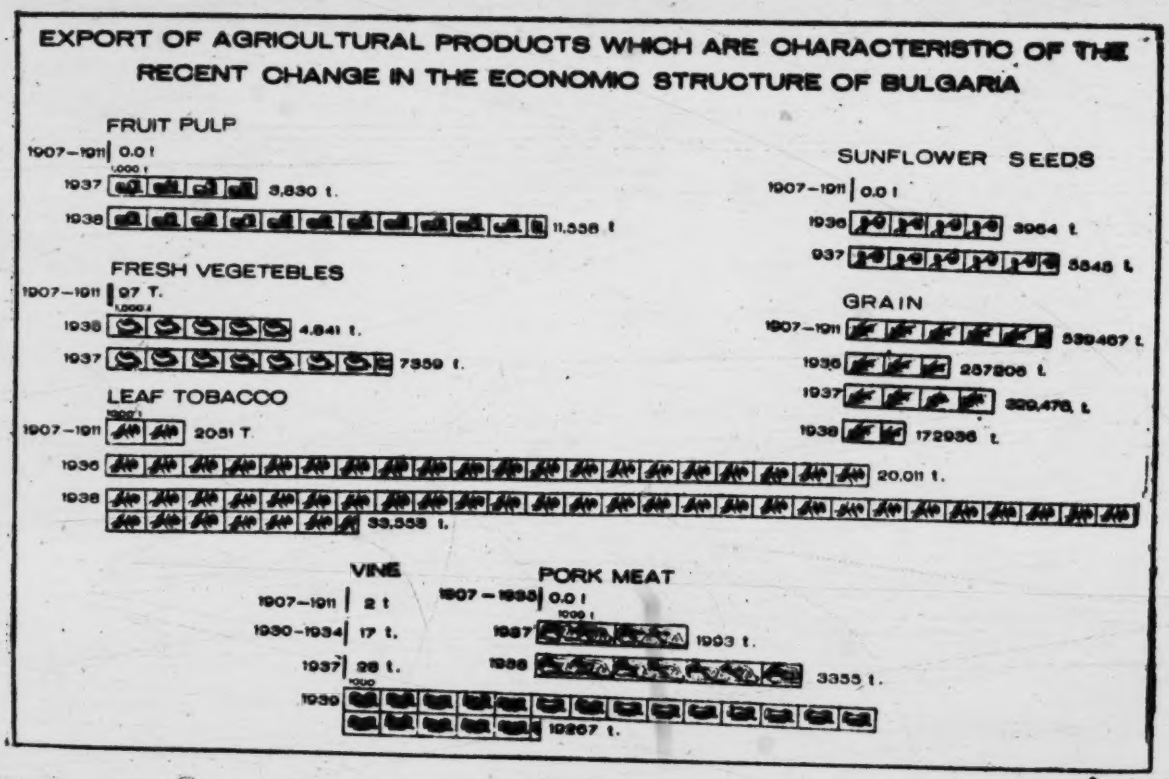

Fig. 18.

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231 The development of cocoon production is remarkable

	in thousands leva
1938	99.391
1939	109.140
1940	135.134

Domestic animals (big)

horses	531.519
mules	36.648
donkeys	180.695
cattle of the bovine genus	1.497.624
black buffaloes	374.977
Total	2.621.463

This represents 2.04 heads per household. The Government endeavors to increase and improve the breed.

Domestic animals (small)

sheep	8.839.492	
goats	913.088	
swine	901.976	
Total	10.654.556	or 8.3 heads per household.

235

Domestic Fowl

hens and rousters	11.813.579	
geese and ganders	303.616	
turkeys	333.860	
ducks	321.685	
Total	12.772.740	or 9.95 per ordinary household.

439 The increasing fowl and eggs export is an indication of the country's improved poultry farming:

Exported live hens:

	Number	*1000 leva*
1936	293.204	10.426
1937	798.694	27,602
1938	883.378	29.836

Exported dressed domestic fowl:

	Metr. tons	*1000 leva*
1930	872	38.265
1932	2.248	84.248
1934	2.934	86.288
1936	4.367	145.129
1937	5.385	168.762

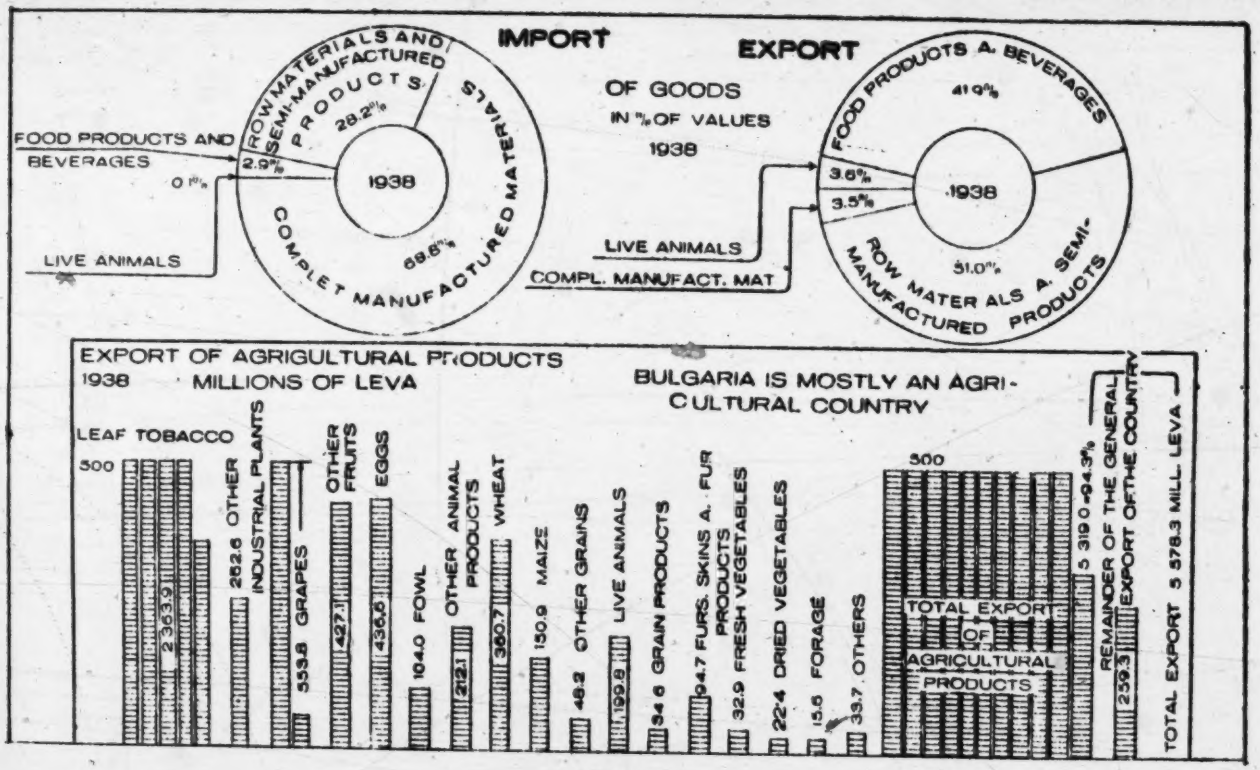
IMPORT
EXPORT
OF GOODS
IN % OF VALUES
1938
FOOD PRODUCTS AND BEVERAGES
0.1%
LIVE ANIMALS
ROW MATERIALS AND SEMI-MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS
2.9%
28.2%
1938
COMPLET MANUFACTURED MATERIALS
68.8%
LIVE ANIMALS
COMPL. MANUFACT. MAT
FOOD PRODUCTS A. BEVERAGES
41.9%
3.6%
3.5%
1938
51.0%
ROW MATERALS A. SEMI-MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS
EXPORT OF AGRIGULTURAL PRODUCTS
1938 MILLIONS OF LEVA
BULGARIA IS MOSTLY AN AGRI-CULTURAL COUNTRY
500
LEAF TOBACCO
2 363.9
282.6 OTHER INDUSTRIAL PLANTS
533.8 GRAPES
427.1 OTHER FRUITS
436.6 EGGS
164.0 FOWL
212.1 OTHER ANIMAL PRODUCTS
360.7 WHEAT
150.9 MAIZE
48.2 OTHER GRAINS
199.8 LIVE ANIMALS
34.6 GRAIN PRODUCTS
94.7 FURS, SKINS A. FUR PRODUCTS
32.9 FRESH VEGETABLES
22.4 DRIED VEGETABLES
15.6 FORAGE
33.7 OTHERS
500
TOTAL EXPORT OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS
5 319.0-94.3%
REMAINDER OF THE GENERAL EXPORT OF THE COUNTRY
259.3
TOTAL EXPORT 5 578.3 MILL. LEVA

Fig. 19.

439

Exported Eggs:

	Metr. tons	1000 leva
1934	14.534	341.388
1935	17.490	465.559
1936	17.516	430.106
1937	15.180	436.623
1940	19.593	807.957

[232] The country has a veterinary staff of 660 doctors and 175 assistants, 90% of which are government employees.

46. Export of Agricultural Products in 1938.

	1000 leva
grain	525.146
of which 69% wheat and 29% corn;	
grain products	34.587
92% of which are bran;	
industrial plants	2.626.510
of which 90% leaf to acco, 4.1% oleaginous seeds and 2.4% rose oil;	
forage	15.601
white beans, broad beans, lentils, peas and potatoes	22.435
of which 83% beans;	
vegetables	32.942
of which 83% fresh vegetables;	
fruit	980.867
of which 56.4% grapes, 27.3% canned fruit;	
beverages (131.105.000 leva for 1939!)	950
live stock	199.554
animal products	752.700
of which 58% eggs, 13.8% dressed fowl;	
hides and skins	94.739
miscellaneous	32.884
Total	5.318.915, which

makes 95.4% of the total (5.578.341.000 leva) export of the country (Fig 19).

47. Foreign Trade Development. The rapid increase of the country's foreign trade or rather in the value of the export per capita, is as follows (Fig. 20):

Year	Millions of inhabitants	Foreign trade in mill. gold leva	Per capita gold leva	Index
1880	2.82	42.24	14.9	100
1890	3.23	155.60	48.2	323
1912	4.43	369.52	83.4	560
1939	6.25	595.25	95.3	640

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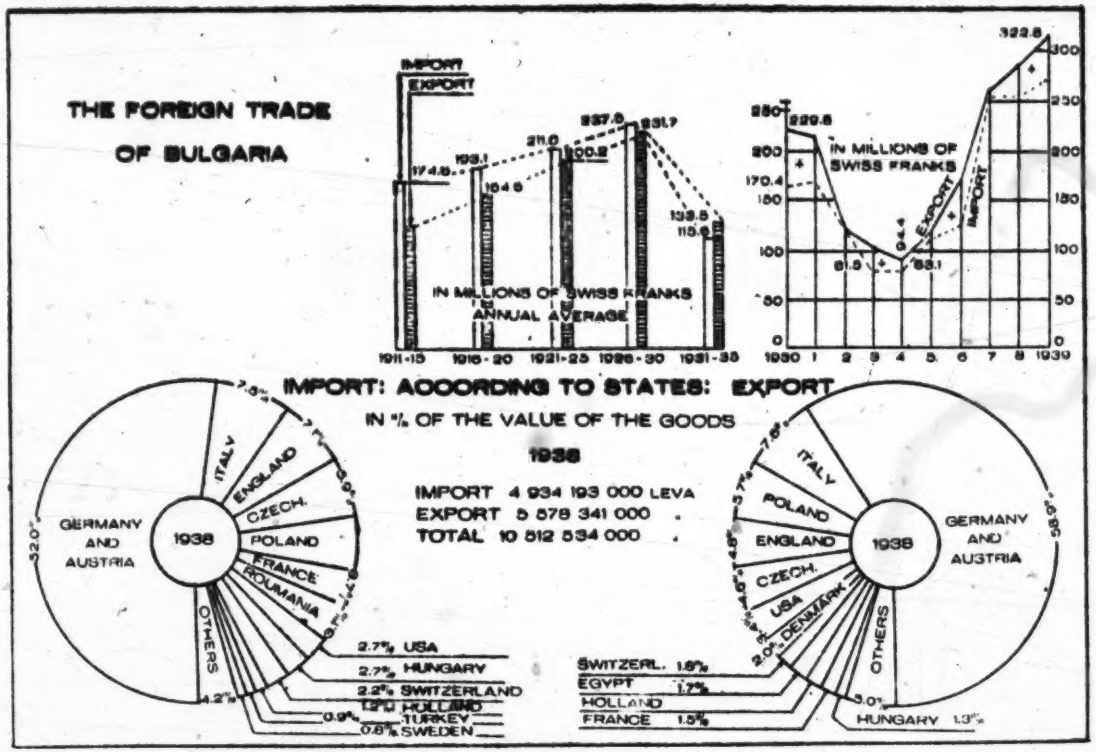
THE FOREIGN TRADE
OF BULGARIA
IMPORT
EXPORT
IN MILLIONS OF SWISS FRANKS
ANNUAL AVERAGE
1911-15
1916-20
1921-25
1926-30
1931-35
IN MILLIONS OF SWISS FRANKS
EXPORT
IMPORT
1930
1939
IMPORT: ACCORDING TO STATES: EXPORT
IN % OF THE VALUE OF THE GOODS
1938
IMPORT 4 934 193 000 LEVA
EXPORT 5 578 341 000 .
TOTAL 10 512 534 000 .
GERMANY AND AUSTRIA
ITALY
ENGLAND
CZECH.
POLAND
FRANCE
ROUMANIA
OTHERS
2.7% USA
2.7% HUNGARY
2.2% SWITZERLAND
1.2% HOLLAND
0.9% TURKEY
0.8% SWEDEN
SWITZERL. 1.8%
EGYPT 1.7%
HOLLAND
FRANCE 1.5%
HUNGARY 1.3%
DENMARK
USA

Fig. 20.

439

of the weather. Local requirements amount to about 60 million tons. 000

The tendency of the government which assumed power on May 19 1934 was to put a stop to the existing abuses and restrict the privileges granted by the State to such industries as could utilise and transform local raw materials. Their efforts will be facilitated if outlets for Bulgarian produce are secured, and compensation for this facility will no doubt be given in the form of a lowering of the present high tariff. If foreign countries, however, persist in their determination to maintain a policy of autarchy, there will be nothing left for Bulgaria but to follow suit and persist in a policy that is mutually undermining the economic fabric of all the nations. 654

Mr. J. A. Hobson's remarks on protection, cited above, are well worth pondering over, for its apparent triumph coincides with the decline of democracy and the growing inability of the will of the masses to find expression. 000

TRADE

Both the commodity composition and the geographical distribution of Bulgarian exports has undergone a considerable transformation since the war. Thus cereals, which until then had figured first as to value on the list of exports, representing as much as 66.6% of the total during the quinquennial period 1908-12, fell to 18.9% for the corresponding period of 1926-30, and to only 10% during 1934, The proportion of tobacco exports on the other hand, has increased from 1.28% to 38.47% and 40%, for the corresponding dates. The Near Eastern and west European markets which in 1911 absorbed respectively 25.09% and 49.53% of Bulgarian exports, in 1931 took only 4.97% and 35.37%. On the other hand exports 439

439 to Central Europe have increased from 20.40% to 73.14%, during the same years. Imports were subject to lesser variations except for a slight decrease of those of Near Eastern and western European origin. to the benefit of Central European, the percentage of the latter increasing from 49.68% to 61.94% between 1911 and 1931.

There has been a noteworthy decrease in the value of Bulgarian trade since 1929, exports falling from a total of 6,397 million leva, to 2,535 millions in 1934, though in weight there was an increase from 313,000 to 396,000 tons, by which may be gauged the effect of the reduction of prices of agriculturai produce on the country's economy.

The table on page 145 gives details as to imports and exports from and to the principal countries trading with Bulgaria during recent years. The figures are in million leva.

It is well worth noting that the chief creditor countries of Bulgaria, France, Great Britain and the United States, show a permanent debit in their trading balance with Bulgaria and that it is indispensable that these countries should do something to assist the access of Bulgarian goods to their markets as otherwise they run the risk of seeing not only their exports to Bulgaria further reduced, but the payment of the interest on the debts owing to their nationals being further curtailed, or totally suspended. Bulgaria has no other resources wherewith to pay her obligations than her exports, and with the system of barter and clearings which is being increasingly applied, there is a growing difficulty ot utilising the surplus trade balance of one country for paying the debit balance due to another. It may be taken for granted therefore, that the surplus balances Bulgaria may have with Germany are only partially available.

The chief products exported from Bulgaria in 1934 were:

TRADE

	6 months ending June 1935					1934					1933				
	Imports	% of total	Exports	% of total	Balance	Imports	% of total	Exports	% of total	Balance	Imports	% of total	Exports	% of total	Balance
Austria	69	5,0	86	6,3	+17	107	4,8	135	5,3	+ 28	137	6,2	277	9·7	+140
Belgium	26	1,9	12	0,9	−14	167	7,5	89	3,5	78	62	2,8	238	8,4	+176
Czechoslovakia	110	8,0	92	6,7	−18	85	3,8	91	3,6	+ 6	106	4,8	99	3,5	7
Danemark	1	0,1	16	1,1	+15	1	0,0	59	2,3	+ 58	1	0,1	42	1,5	+ 41
Egypt	8	0,6	51	4,3	+43	13	0,6	98	3 9	+ 85	7	0,4	65	2,3	+ 58
France	25	1,9	30	2,2	+ 5	86	3,8	53	2,1	33	96	4,4	93	3,3	− 3
Germany	662	48,4	698	51,0	+36	902	40,1	1,083	42,7	+181	841	38,2	1,025	36,0	+184
Gt. Britain	90	6,6	32	2,3	−58	143	6,4	53	2.1	− 90	152	6,9	50	1,7	102
Greece	6	0,4	15	1,1	+ 9	21	1,0	18	0,7	− 3	18	0,8	4	0,1	14
Holland	25	1,8	17	1,2	- 8	28	1,2	79	3,1	+ 51	28	1,3	97	3,4	+ 69
Hungary	18	1,3	42	3,0	+24	23	1,0	11	0,4	− 12	19	0,9	33	1,2	+ 14
Italy	65	4,7	110	8,0	+45	176	7,8	233	9,2	+ 57	281	12,7	258	9,1	23
Palestine	3	0,2	38	2,7	+35	3	0,1	50	2.0	+ 47	3	0,1	32	1,1	+ 29
Poland	13	0,9	2	0,1	−11	47	2,1	40	1.6	7	24	1,1	50	1,7	+ 26
Rumania	31	2,2	6	0.4	− 25	95	4,2	19	0,7	− 76	109	5,0	17	0,6	92
Spain	39	2,8	17	1,2	−22	51	2,3	80	3,2	+ 29	5	0,2	144	5,1	+139
Switzerland	99	7,2	20	1,5	−79	132	5,9	122	4,8	10	151	6,9	148	5,2	− 3
Turkey	7	0,5	4	0,3	− 3	30	1,4	36	1,4	+ 6	27	1,2	18	0,7	− 9
U. S. A.	25	1,8	15	1,1	−10	51	2,3	16	0,6	− 35	49	2,2	32	1,1	− 17
Yugoslavia	3	0,2	10	0,7	+ 7	9	0,4	5	0,2	− 4	8	0,4	2	0,1	− 6
Other countries	44	3,5	56	4,0	+12	77	3,3	165	6,6	+ 88	73	3,4	122	4,2	+ 44
Total	1.369	100	1,369	1.00	—	2,247	100	2,535	100	+288	2,202	100	2,846	100	+644

• 439

Tobacco, 982 million leva worth, eggs 341, cereals 261. (mainly maize 182), grapes 140, dried hides 114, poultry 114, cattle 65, oil cakes 51, haricot beans 43, attar of roses 36, Cheese 35, and sunflower seed 31. Imports consisted of textile materials (wool & cotton) 580 millions in value, metallurgical products 163, machinery 130, mineral oils 93, Chemical products 130, medicinal products 66, hides 61, vegetable oils and fats 18, rubber 32, etc, About 50% of the exports are shipped by way of the Black Sea ports, the other 50% being forwarded in about equal quantities either overland by rail or by the Danube. Imports on the other hand are more evenly divided among the three different ways of access. Exchanges between Austria and Bulgaria are practically all made by way of the Danube, exports to Germany are sent to the extent of 1/6 by this river fairway, while 1/4 of the German imports into Bulgaria also borrow the same route.

Bulgaria's trade with the neighbouring countries is insignificant and is not likely to develop. Her exports to them approximate 2.5% of the total, while her imports from them slightly surpass 5% of her total imports and this mainly owing to her purchases of mineral oils from Rumania, but there is a probability that this custom will be transferred to Russia, as the latter country offers a greater possibility of interchange of commodities than Rumania. How tariffs may affect trade between countries may be illustrated by the abrupt fall of Bulgarian exports to Greece, which from almost one milliard leva in value in the years 1926 and 1927 have contracted to 4 millions in 1933, owing to the tariff war Greece had declared on Bulgaria in 1930.

The huge preponder nce of Germany in the total trade of Bulgaria (40% of total imports & 42·7% of total exports) shows the capital role Germany plays in the economy of the Danubian States and the impossibility of

TRADE

reckoning on their recovery so long as Germany does not return to normalcy. All the pother made about economic conferences and programmes concerning the Danubian countries is empty prattle, and does not deserve to be taken seriously, for neither France nor Italy are in a position to help. The former country, especially, though she holds ³/₄ of the Bulgarian State debt, and possesses considerable private investments in Bulgaria does nothing to assist Bulgarian trade. but on the contrary does not hesitate to have recourse to political pressure in order to exploit to the utmost Bulgaria, to the obvious detriment of the latter and of her other creditors. 439.

British Commercial and Financial circles would do well to consider the advisability of increasing the sale of Bulgarian products in Great Britain, for Bulgaria is still buying three times as much as she is selling to Gt. Britain (a few years ago the ratio was seven to one) and if the proportion is not righted, British exports to Bulgaria run the risk of being further reduced. There is yet another forcible reason for encouraging Bulgarian imports into Gt. Britain and this is in order to provide Bulgaria with a surplus wherewith she might be enabled to discharge her liabilities to British bondholders. If this is not done Bulgaria will very soon be in the material impossibility of paying interest on both the two loans floated under the sponsorship of the League of Nations, a large proportion of which are held by British investors.

AGRICULTURE

The yield per hectare has been increased, thanks to the efforts of the State Agriculturists and those of the experimental stations. It is affirmed that for about 1/3 of the area sown to wheat selected seed has been utilised from certain new varieties of wheat from which as high a yield as 2650 kg. per hectare has been obtained at the experimental stations, but only 1675 to 1766 kg. when sown in the average farmsteads. This has contributed in raising the yield from about 1000 kg. per hectare during the pre-war period to 1157 kg. at the present time. 243 242

Though about 3/4 of the cultivated land is devoted to cereals, 90% of the total output is absorbed locally, and only 10% is available for export in ordinary circumstances. Often, when the harvest is below the average there is little or nothing to export. The last international wheat Conference held in 1932 fixed Bulgaria's annual export quota of cereals at 2,500,000 quintals, or 236,000 tons, but in the export campaign of 1933/34, the quantity available for export did not reach this figure, and in the following season the cereals exported amounted to some 175,000 tons, so that it may be reckoned that Bulgaria has ceased counting as a grain exporting country. In fact the average Bulgarian farmstead does not produce sufficient grain for its own requirements, and it is only the larger ones, those of over 10 hectares, that have a surplus for disposal. This renders the majority of farmers unaffected by the fluctuation of prices since they consume their own produce, and strange as it seems, the fall in the prices of agricultural produce must on the whole be beneficial to them, since Prof. Y. Mollov, former Minister of Agriculture, affirms in the Annuaire of the Sofia University for 1933 (Agricultural Dept.) that the peasantry on the whole buy more than they sell, the proportion of their purchases to their sales being the following: 243 [439] 243 433

ched 25,411,022 kg. valued at 45 million leva. Experiments have also been made with another oleaginous plant, the *Ricinus Communis*, from which castor oil is extracted, with excellent results, a yield of 1500 kg. of seed of superior quality having been obtained per hectare sown. 249 258

Tobacco has come to replace cereals in importance as an article of export. In 1934 it represented 40% of the total exports, and the quantity marketed abroad was valued at 982 million leva. In 1933, 22,531,439 kg. of a value of 1,174,511,061 leva were export. In 1934 the respective figures were 20,830,000 and 982,000,000. Prices have been very much affected by the prevailing crisis, as may be inferred by comparing the above with the figures for 1932, when 22,452,752 kg. were exported, but were priced at 2,654,238,438 leva. It was after the war that tobacco cultivation was particularly fostered, the quantity exported rising from 7,355,448 kg. in 1919 to the record figure of 33,647,241 kg. in 1925. After this date both Greece and Turkey reappeared on the world market as producers of Oriental tobacco and the proportion of Bulgarian tobacco sold abroad fell off, though on the whole it maintained its position in Germany, which buys steadily about half of the amount exported, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia etc., where its qualities have been thoroughly appreciaded. It would appear that the average quantity of nicotine found in it varies from 0·5% to 1%, when according to Kissling, the contents in nicotine of Virginia tobacco are 4·3% to 4·8%, of Kentucky 4·5%, of Sumatra 4·1% and Samsoun (Turkey) 2·5%. German chemists have characterised Bulgarian tobacco as poor in nicotine and have approved the manifacture of cigarettes made from it which are designed as containing the "minimum of nicotine". Tobacco forms one of the chief items of revenue to the State, some 650 million leva being annually derived from the tobacco monopoly. The State also raises a tax of 1 249 439 249 651

and 23·8 kg. in France. which constitutes yet another sure sign ot the pauperisation of Bulgaria, since in Greece and Yugoslavia the consumption of sugar is about three times as high as in Bulgaria. Another article which during recent years has achieved a record success, is the cultivation and export of dessert grapes which as to value are now classed third in the list of Bulgarian exports. Owing to the careful sorting and packing to which the grapes were subjected by government controllers and to their perfection they have been able to secure an easy preeminence on the Central European markets, and even in England.

The variety chiefly exported resembles somewhat in appearance the Spanish grapes of Almeria, but is less sweet in taste, has a thinner skin, and the bunches are larger. The just appreciation which these grapes have achieved in Central Europe may be gauged by the rapid increase of the quantity exported, which from a mere 52 kg. in 1925, reached 21,223,030 kg. or 3740 truck loads of a value of 140 million leva in 1934. In 1932 some 92,094 hectares were devoted to viticulture, of which about 10% were table or dessert varieties, the remaining being chiefly cultivated for the production of wine, of which 142 million litres were produced in the same year[1]. Recently several co-operative societies have installed modern wine presses and cellars, and are now producing wines according to the latest technique several standardised types of wine having been put on the market which are not below the average grades of those produced in France and Spain, even a variety of champagne wine being on sale. Hopes are entertained that eventually a market for wine will be found abroad, as local requirements are much below production The con-

[1] The production of grapes is computed at 400 million kg. of which 120 millions are consumed locally, about 20 millions are exported, and some 260 millions used for wine. In 1935 the quantity exported is expected to be as much as 30 million kg.

274 sumption of wine is about 23 litres per capita yearly, as against 153 in France and 101 in Italy. Owners of vineyards were complaining that they could not meet their expenses as grapes grown for wine were a drug on the market. It was stated in the Sobranye on Dec. 8. 1931 that while revenue from vineyards was 600 millions, expenditure on them was 720 million leva, while the capital they represented was 13,000 million.

245 [242] [439] Concurrently with the vine, orchard planting has received a great impetus, the State having established 39 nurseries and experimental stations from which young fruit trees are supplied to farmers at a nominal price. Apples and plums are being exported in increasing quantities, as well as walnuts, of which 2083 tons were exported in 1934. The area occupied by orchards was stated to be 19,420 hectares in 1932, of which 12,030 hectares were planted with plum trees, 919 with apple trees, 122 with pear trees and 6,349 were described as mixed orchards.

247 303 [439] Bulgaria is renowned for its attar of roses; unfortunately the world crisis has affected to a great extent this industry, and the area planted with rose bushes (6800 hectares in 1931) is consequently being reduced since the export of this product has declined from 3,157 kg. valued at 240 million leva in 1928, to 1218 kg. valued at 36 millions in 1934. Consequently a surplus stock of some 3000 kg. has accumulated and this has affected prices, which from 80,000 leva per kg. in 1932, have declined since to about a third of that figure One of the reasons of this falling off in the quantity exported, is the relative high cost of the attar of roses, due most likely to the unduly large amount of capital invested in the distilleries, the capacity of which is disproportionately great to the roses available for distillation, and which moreover work for only one month in the year. In fact, the 32 distilleries which were operating in 1931 were stated to have cost

244 accomplish was done by Bulgarian gardeners. Ten years
167 ago no one among us knew that it was possible to produce tomatoes, peppers and other vegetables in our land. To-day, however, this is a fact, thanks to the ingenuity of the Bulgarians".

Of fresh vegetables 55 truck loads were exported in
244 1933 to Central Europe, and of these the most appreciated
439 were the tomatoes grown in south Bulgaria, which many experts affirm to surpass in quality even those of Italy. During the summer of 1935 some 2750 tons of fresh
[255] tomatoes were exported to Central Europe. No serious efforts have been made to develop the export of tinned vegetables, though in price they are 50% cheaper than similar ones sold in France, and in every respect as good. Lack of capital, and of commercial connections abroad have prevented the few canning factories to launch in a forward policy which necessarily involves risks and losses at the start. The only leguminous plant which has been exported on a large scale was haricot beans, of which Bulgaria was always a large exporter, the high quality of this product having secured for her a certain preeminence among Near Eastern countries The area devoted to this crop was 73,162 hectares and the yield 74,677,000 kg. in 1933 of which 32,568 tons were exported. The area planted with pulse, vegetables, potatoes and that set aside for market gardening was estimated respectively at 95,000, 13,500, 14,000, and 38,000 hectares in 1932.

241 A great impediment to the steady development of
312 agriculture in Bulgaria is the periodic drought which completely undermines the economic position of the small holders, which even without this scourge, is never too bright. The mean annual rainfall for the period 1920—1930 was 578·2 litres per square metre, but this unfortunately is not evenly apportioned, the mountainous western and south western parts of the country having a much hea-

231 is also employed almost exclusively for ploughing and as draught animals, their manure being also used to fertitise the fields.

235 439 The export of eggs has been steadily diminishing owing to the poverty of the peasantry who can not provide for the proper feeding of ther farm birds, exports of poultry, however, have maintained themselves as may be seen from the following figures:

	1932		1933		1934	
	Quantity kg.	Value in million leva	Quantity kg.	Value in million leva	Quantity kg.	Value in million leva
Eggs. . . .	18 804,000	624	15,670,000	457	14,534,000	341
Live poultry	1,103,0 7	47	1,089,766	34	1,040,146	34
Poultry in cold storage	1,831,000	73	1,640,030	48	2,689,116	80

231 439 The export of cattle is very limited, only 2067 horned cattle and 3700 sheep, valued respectivery at 10 and 3·7 million leva having been exported in 1932. Efforts are actually being made to export bacon to England, and the few trial consignments sent are reported to have been successfully marketed. Certain varieties of cheese much appreciated in the Near East continue to be exported to that part of the world to the extent of 1,202 tons, worth 35 million leva in 1934.

246 The scarcity of fodder militates against a rational development of the cattle raising and dairy industries. The government is making strenuous efforts to increase the area of artificial prairies (32,000 hectares in 1934) and foster the cultivation of clover etc, but so far little headway has been made owing to the shortage of land. The annual supply of fodder is computed at 4800 million kg., when as much as 12,000 millions are necessary. In 1932 592,000 hectares were planted with hay and grass as against 649,000 hectares in 1934, of which 281,000 hectares were described as natural prairies. The most easy solution of

the problem is the utilisation of the fields lying fallow by 246
sowing them with clover and similar plants, and this is being increasingly done, thus in 1932 the total arable land lying fallow had decreased to 434,000 hectares from 665,000 in 1910.

Sericulture too was once another promising branch 231
of agriculture, as may be gauged by the fact that as many as 4600 hectares were planted with mulberry trees (1932) on the leaves of which the silkworms are fed. Unfortunately the decline in prices has discouraged production. In 1935 1,456,924 kg. of silk cocoons were produced all of which were bought up by the local silk weaving workshops. In order to protect the industry, a tax of 600 leva per kg. is levied on artificial silk produced in Bulgaria.

Apiculture is another side line in which farmers take a live interest. There are as many as 257,672 beehives in the country, the production of honey having attained in 1933 2,392,000 kg. and that of wax 114,399.

However persevering and laudable may be the efforts 439
of the Bulgarian people to extricate themselves from their difficult position, these can only be crowned with success if markets can be found for their produce. France and Italy, despite their efforts to solve the difficulties facing the Danubian States can do little to assist them, for from the agricultural point of view both these States are practically self-sufficing, and they even antagonise Bulgaria as purveyors of fruit, poultry and eggs in the markets of Central Europe. England and Germany alone can help. The former country sells three to four times as much as she buys from Bulgaria, and it would not only be a matter of fairness, but even of foresight if she allowed a broader access to her markets to Bulgarian produce, if the Bulgarian market is not to be definitely lost to British manufacturers. Germany on the other hand is in the throes of an ever-

439 deepening economic crisis, and though she remains the best purveyor and client of Bulgaria, such commerce as is carried on is mainly in the form of barter and is yearly becoming more difficult. So long as England seems disinclined to lend a helping hand to Bulgaria and the other Danubian countries in order to facilitate the marketing of their produce on the British market, the only alternative which would bring relief to these hard-pressed communities, is the restoration of prosperity to Germany, which alone seems capable and willing to interchange its products with those of the Danubian countries, for the mutual advantage of all the parties concerned. As prosperity seems to have taken leave of Germany, and England shows little desire to assume the role of a good European, prospects for recovery in Bulgaria and the neighbouring countries can not be said to be bright.

COMMUNICATIONS

Railways

496 655 The Bulgarian State railway system at the end of 1933 consisted of 2,800 klm. of single track normal gauge railway lines, including the section Plovdiv-Panagurishte, 70·88 klm. in length opened to traffic in December 1933, 162 klm. of narrow 76 cm. gauge, and 250 klm. of 60 cm. gauge. According to a statistical report issued during the financial year 1932-3, the capital invested in the railway system amounted to 13,514,847,000 leva (or, 450,494,900 gold francs) and was made up of the following items:

Railway lines (all gauges)	3,085 klm.	value 350,375,520 gold francs
Locomotives	597	" 100,119,380 "
Passenger cars	621	
Tenders	205	
Postal cars	43	
Goods trucks	10,901	

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not been able to find out at what prices Bulgaria was selling her products to capitalist countries. In this way Kostov revealed his mistrust of the U.S.S.R. and went counter to the accepted rule that "secrets and commercialism" do not figure in Bulgarian-Soviet relations. A man's attitude toward the Soviet Union, Kolarov explained, defines his whole ideological orientation; anti-Sovietism is "the most heinous form of national deviation." [1]

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The reader will recall that when opposition to the Soviets appeared in Poland it was dealt with at first quite circumspectly. Gomulka's connection with Tito was carefully concealed. Nothing of the sort was attempted in Kostov's case. By now the Cominform acknowledged that Titoism was not peculiar to Jugoslavia but was an infectious disease menacing the whole Stalinist empire.

The events which awakened Kostov's resistance were like those which had antagonized other satellite leaders. In 1948 the Bulgarian tobacco crop amounted to about 20 million kilos, of which the Soviets bought between 18 and 19 million kilos at arbitrarily fixed prices. When the time came for Bulgaria to market what remained of her crop, after the Soviets had taken the lion's share and after she had provided for her own domestic consumption, she found that she was competing in Italy, Egypt and New York with her own Bulgarian tobacco, offered by the Soviets at less than prevailing world prices. The Soviets profited in the same way with attar of roses, of which Bulgaria possesses almost a world monopoly. The Soviet purchasing agents in Sofia bought up the entire 1948 crop and resold it at higher prices in New York.[2] Later they laid hands on the store of this valuable essence accumulated during the war by the Bulgarian National Bank and disposed of it at whatever prices the world market would stand. Kostov apparently could not bear to see his country cheated in this way. In one sense it does not matter that the sums which the Soviet Government credits to the Bulgarian Government for its purchases in Bulgaria bear no relationship to the prices at which it later resells those same products abroad; it is all a matter of bookkeeping anyway, and Bulgaria cannot win. What does matter is that as the Soviet Government resells in hard-cur-

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[1] *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*, Bucharest, May 15, 1949.
[2] *The Economist*, London, July 16, 1949.

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439 rency areas, the dollars which it gets from the sale of Bulgarian products go to finance imports not into Bulgaria but into the Soviet Union. That ends the last vestige of Bulgaria's freedom of economic manœuvre.

Bukharin might have called this sort of finagle the absence of "selfish competition," just as Kolarov called it the absence of "secrets and commercialism." Kostov decided that it was good old-fashioned exploitation, the sort of thing which he had always heard denounced as a mean capitalist trick. When he tried to tighten up the government agencies which dealt with the Soviet purchasing agents, however, he found that he was a "nationalist deviationist."

665 661 The Sofia morning papers of November 30, 1949, carried the text of the formal indictment against Kostov,[3] based on a 32,000-word statement purporting to have been signed by him in prison and on similar statements by ten codefendants, all of them high government and Party officials. Kostov is described as a consistent supporter of "Left-sectarian," Trotskyite policies. While an émigré in Moscow in 1933–34 he supposedly formed contacts with many other Trotskyites, including Bela Kun and Tito; plotted to replace Dimitrov and Kolarov as leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party; and, as an official of the Balkan Secretariat of Communist Parties, recommended Tito for political work in Jugoslavia. All this seems vague and farfetched, no reason being given why with such a consistently bad record he was allowed to continue as Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Party and was promoted to be acting head of the government.

The indictment goes on to make the bland statement that when Germany's "final defeat" had been sealed on the Soviet front as far back as 1942 (*sic*), the British and American intelligence services, faced with this apparently unwelcome fact, and seeing how Soviet prestige was growing in Southeastern Europe, began to smuggle their agents into the underground Communist Party. Among those allegedly recruited besides Kostov was a former Minister of Finance, Stefanov, who was accused of having given the British information on the budget and on military expenditures in 1946 and 1947, and

[3] A translation in English is to be found in a supplement to the *New Times*, Moscow, December 7, 1949.

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[For a discussion of the nature, scope and probable future trends (up to 1970) of Soviet economic relations with the East European satellites since World War II, and the degree of inter-satellite economic integration, see 60: Bergson, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, pp. 321-355]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

mental activity exists primarily to meet crisis situations and to keep 181
the established ways of life moving smoothly. The giving of relief, 829
the provision of education, healing of the sick, insurance of cattle 596
and crops are all left to the family rather than to the government.

It is quite possible for several societies to use the familistic approach, in the sense that the family is the dominant institution, and still differ as to the relative importance of many community values. Most of them would probably respect the heritage from the past, but even here there would be variations. As far as Dragalevtsy was [577]
concerned, the chief values or virtues were land ownership, hard work, frugality, premarital chastity, observance of some of the more important religious rites, and being a good neighbor. In connection with the last, the villagers said, "God help those with bad neighbors" and "Without good neighbors life couldn't go on."

The Dragalevtsy people, although their underlying organization and philosophy was primarily familistic, had adjusted themselves to a number of modern ways. Some ways persisted because they fitted in with the established customs, and others because they were kept in vogue by force or by the authority of the mayor.

Commerce, as represented by about ten merchant groups, had 441
become established in the village because it was conducted essentially 596
as a family enterprise. From time to time a local man sold some of 462
his land and started in business for himself. He always employed members of his family rather than outsiders, because he trusted his own. If he needed extra help and had an unmarried son, the normal thing was to urge matrimony. He carried over into his business the same idea of division of labor which prevailed at home and in the field. The men ordered the goods, settled the accounts, sold the liquor in the taverns. The women acted as cooks or clerks. Some of the wives who helped keep the store could not read, write, add, or subtract and had to give whole measurements or else depend upon the customer to hand them the right amount for fractions. A husband explained when I discussed the matter with him, "It is better to lose money through error than through dishonesty." Both men and women co-operated in keeping the place clean. Here the man made a concession which he would seldom have made in the home.

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These merchant groups, with the exception of two or three of the most prosperous, led a precarious, short-lived existence. During the three years in which I knew the village, three successive proprietors managed a business undertaking in one building alone. Bai Penko's tavern, the largest of all, was founded thirty years ago by his father; another tavern which was founded fifty years ago had been owned by the present proprietor for ten years; one grocery store was started in 1935, and another was taken over by its present managers in 1936.

The largest grocery store had stock, which I carefully inventoried, approximating $200 in value. It included many articles which would have been found in an American country store a generation ago. *(See Appendix III.)*

The degree to which the old familistic way of doing things pervaded the local businesses was shown by the nature of the groups that conducted these businesses. In the case of one grocery store two men were in partnership. One partner took care of the cardplaying, which he promoted in a small space at the end of the store, and his wife took care of the grocery section. The second partner, in addition to helping with the cardplaying and the grocery work, mixed bread for the bakery downstairs, and sent his wife up to work in the store when she was not busy in the bakery. The stock of goods in this particular store was very small, and so was the clientele. The proprietor of a second grocery store was usually away from his place of business, leaving his wife in charge. She was quite dissatisfied with the present arrangement, saying, "I have to get up at two or three in the morning to do the housework before coming to the store. I go to bed at night between eleven and eleven-thirty. Life is full of hard work, but life is more sure now because we have food and money." This couple, incidentally, was one of the few childless couples in the village.

Bai Penko, too, made use of members of his family. He himself was the general manager and worked several hours a day in the tavern; his wife was in charge of the kitchen; the older daughter took care of the six or seven upstairs rooms which were rented to the veterinarian and summer guests when not occupied by members of the family. The older son, Pano, was in charge of serving drink and

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food, and of all accounts connected with this service. His younger brother was in charge of the small grocery store next door, though he often turned the store over to his mother while he served drinks at rush hours in the tavern. The younger daughter helped with both housework and the grocery store, while the eighteen-year-old granddaughter did the heavy, disagreeable work. Both sons married shortly before I left Dragalevtsy and their wives spent several hours each day working under the direction of Bai Penko's wife. Because of this large family circle Bai Penko hired two men only on holidays, one as an extra waiter and the other to roast meat freshly killed for the occasion.

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Familistic, or at least personal, reasons determined why families traded with one particular merchant. Reasons such as these were most frequently cited:

"We are close friends."

"We are slightly related."

"He loans me money when I need it."

"We were members of the same political party."

"I had a quarrel with the proprietor of another grocery store, so changed to this one."

Only occasionally did the people say:

"He sells pure and fine goods."

"His prices are cheaper."

Just the same, there did seem to be considerable shopping around on the part of the villagers. They favored those places where they could get credit. But here again family connections helped decide whether or not a man could get credit from a given merchant. Credit was extended with discrimination. A poor risk, when credit was refused, frequently transferred his trade to a different store. The older proprietors were often called upon to give advice, and thus enjoyed an advantage over the younger businessmen trying to establish themselves. One of these young men said to me: "Because of my age, nobody comes to me for advice. That is why my trade is small."

Commerce also made its way into Dragalevtsy through a few commission merchants who regularly visited the peasants to buy eggs, poultry, and livestock. Occasionally they speculated in land.

441 596 [178] In Dragalevtsy, therefore, familism had yielded some ground to commerce. People did make occasional purchases in the village and in Sofia. They talked more and thought more about money. They even valued it more highly than a generation ago, but the basis of their economic life remained self-subsistent, with an emphasis upon goods, not cash.

476 596 Co-operatives had also come to Dragalevtsy. In a very real sense village life itself was a co-operative enterprise, although it did not possess the specific characteristics of an economic co-operative. The large joint family, which has been widely prevalent throughout the world, also had many elements of the co-operative which have been maintained, at least in the sentiments of the people, even though the family group has become individualized and smaller.

Self-subsistent peasant farmers are accustomed to working together when something needs to be done. Theirs is, after all, a co-operative way of life. They also know that their own hard work and their own planning are responsible for whatever success they achieve. They are suspicious of outsiders who seek to organize them, and are fearful that any tie-up with the business interests outside the village means loss rather than gain. They are not accustomed to using money to make more money, although they know well enough what it means to pay interest on borrowed money.

[369] [423] Agricultural co-operatives often gain adherents more quickly when there is a feeling of distinction or distrust between city and the country people. This is because co-operatives have been identified in such places with the agrarianism which unites the peasants. The profit motive of capitalism is linked, in the minds of many villagers, with the urban businessman, in spite of the fact that the villager who owns his land is also a capitalist. Perhaps it is this idea which Americans find hardest to grasp in their evaluation of peasant Europe. Land is not something to be bought and unfeelingly sold for money. It is rather a means of livelihood, an extension of oneself and one's family.

476 As the merchant groups in the villages are few and insecure, the co-operatives do not have the opposition of vested interests which they face in a more highly developed economy. I realized from the beginning that co-operatives had made much less headway in Dragalevtsy

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6. that I have been registered under No._____ in the election list of the commune. 666
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I wish to have my candidacy recognized as legal and confirmed.

I enclose certificate No._____ from _____ 19__ year issued from _____ commune, which shows that:

(a) I have the right to elections (commune elections)

(b) that I am 30 years of age and have completed my military service (or the regular labor service)

(c) that I have completed _____ (education)

Village, City _____ year 19__

Respectfully:_____

The names of those wishing to run were posted publicly by the mayor; all the villagers had the opportunity to contest the fitness of any candidate; afterwards the mayor sent the names to Sofia with his own recommendations. The final decision was in the hands of the judge in Sofia. Thirteen Dragalevtsy men decided to stand for election. Three of these were rejected by the authorities. People from each district voted only for a candidate from their district. Mothers were the only women permitted to vote.

Before the election, with the permission of the mayor, the candidates were allowed to make speeches. After the election, as is frequently the case in countries elsewhere, some people were dissatisfied with the results and demanded a new election. However, everything seemed to go off in an orderly way and the voting was fairly done. This election, though, was the prelude to the national elections which were later held, resulting in the restoration, after a fashion, of the *Subranie,* or National Parliament.

Re-establishing a commune council seemed to be a very complicated affair to the average peasant, and afforded quite a contrast to his usual way of getting things done. In order to fulfill the law requiring ex officio members to represent the merchants and the agriculturists, two new organizations had to be started in the village before the time of the election. The merchants organized a Merchants' Association, had one or two meetings, elected a representative, and discussed general policies for the future. Although nothing definite had taken shape by the time I left the village, the merchants hoped to 623
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623 practice price-fixing, standardization of products, and the like. The
● 441 representative appointed by the merchants was Ivan Katsarov, previ-
241 ously mentioned as a manager of one of the village taverns who appeared as a plaintiff in court. Furthermore, the farmers had to organize themselves into an association called a zadruga (which had no connection with the old form of joint family known by that name). Such organizations followed the Italian system of corporations under the Fascist regime and insured representation in government on the basis of occupation rather than political preference. These agricultural zadrugas worked well in theory around the council tables in Sofia, but met with resistance in the village. In the opinion of many leaders of co-operatives, the zadrugas ran counter to the strong co-operative movement which had already made such headway in Bulgaria. Their critics point out they not only struck at the very foundation of this movement, but also had the fault of being handed down from above instead of springing from natural needs in the village itself.

623 Should there have been a number of industrial laborers in the village they too would have had an ex officio member on the council. The presence of the other ex officio members on the council was easily understood. The doctors, the school director, and the mayor were expected by the national authorities to take an active part in deciding the policies of the village government. Such a council, in spite of the great furor connected with its formation, was still an advisory rather than a governing body.

In order to get a better understanding of the way government affected the life of the individual peasant, I sought answers to several questions.

651 *How were the taxes paid?* On February 25, July 25, and October 25, people were supposed to come to the *Obshtina* and pay taxes. Those who did not show up were summoned by the courier. If this summons went unheeded, the individuals were sent red notices reminding them that they had to pay within three or four days. If they failed to do this, the *Sekretar Birnik* made out a list of their possessions for a public sale which was held if the taxes remained unpaid. There had been several instances where goods were actually sold for failure to pay taxes, much to the shame of the people involved.

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Christmas Eve feast, Easter festivities, and the ceremonies on St. George's Day.

Roughly two-thirds of adult Dragalevtsy was in Sofia on an average Friday. On Thursday evenings the village was already bubbling with excitement. The wagons had already been loaded. All that was necessary in the dim light on Friday morning was the yoking of the sleepy oxen. Soon cart after cart would creak heavily down from the village, overtaking those peasants who cheerfully made the long trip by foot. By the time sleepy city-dwellers were breakfasting, the village was well on its way to the outside world.

Once in Sofia there were four possible destinations for the peasant wagon: the cattle market, the mill, the big curb market, or the *Bezisten Pazar* (another smaller market).

The cattle market was located across the city, back of the railroad station, near the municipal cemetery. This market was owned and managed by the municipality. Every peasant before passing into the enclosure with a beast had to pay the tax of ten leva. The sun had already grown warm by the time the Dragalevtsy peasant and his wife passed through side streets to this square, packed with bargaining, shouting men and noisy animals. Usually the women sat outside the square in their wagons loaded with pumpkins and peppers in season, though once in a while a woman accompanied her husband through the bargaining and sale of the animal. The bright blue uniforms of the police were very much in evidence in this dusty confusion, where hard bargains sometimes led to fist fights. At the east end, gypsies raced their not too spirited horses up and down to prove to would-be purchasers the absence of defects. At the northeast side, the red-eyed water buffaloes and their dirty little black calves moved restlessly because of biting flies. To the northwest, along the iron rail the oxen ruminated.

Through the tumult and dust wandered the sellers of *boza* (fermented millet drink) and the vendors of round *gevretsi* (small rings of bread); here a man was eating a melon near a sucking calf. I was always interested in those performing *pazarluk*, which was the method of clinching a bargain. The buyer and the seller of an animal would stand shaking hands as the seller demanded an unreasonably high

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

432 price, to which the buyer retorted with a ridiculously low price. As the two amounts approached each other the handshaking grew warmer
443 and more rapid until finally the buyer and seller agreed on a sensible
366 figure, at which time a third party added his hand to those of the other two. The third peasant, the witness of the sale, often enjoyed shouting as much as the principals. The bargain concluded, the men went to arrange a bill of sale, after which the newly purchased animal was led across the plain to its new home.

[435] At this market in 1937 a sound young bull cost between twenty-five and thirty-five dollars; a fresh buffalo cow, between fifty and sixty dollars; ordinary cows brought slightly less, between thirty-five and forty-five dollars. Horses ranged from twelve to sixty dollars, while the humble donkey varied in value from twelve to eighteen dollars.

Not far away from the big cattle market, in the high-walled enclosure, was the sheep bazaar. There shepherds lolled in the shade with their flocks and waited for purchasers, often long in coming. This too was a municipal bazaar, and the peasants paid a small fee for the privilege of carrying on business there. Ordinarily a pair of sheep cost $3.60.

Near the Bridge of Lions spanning the narrow canal around Sofia was the mill which the people of Dragalevtsy had chosen to patronize. If they were tired out after their trip into the city, the villagers lay down on sacks of grain until their turns came. When at last they aroused themselves they were coated with a thin layer of flour dust which filled the air around the electrically operated machinery. In the mill courtyard the unyoked oxen rested beside the wagons, and chatting groups of women sat in the scanty shade.

From the Bridge of Lions there jutted off a narrow street lined with people displaying homegrown and homemade wares. This was the beginning of the general market which extended with innumerable side-street ramifications for several long blocks. This market did not really get into full swing until nine o'clock, owing to the drowsiness of Sofia housewives.

The real life of this market resided not so much in the great variety of products on sale as in the peasants: their dress, their immeasurable patience, and their childlike curiosity at strange things

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such as a tourist's knickers or the cheap gay contents of the toy-sellers' pushcarts. 432 443

Each woman had something to sell: a few eggs, some blueberries picked up on the mountain, two or three chickens, a bag of peppers, strong-smelling buffalo butter, a bunch of carnations, white beans for which Dragalevtsy was especially known throughout this region, or a few walnuts. The woman's merchandise, piled on the sidewalk before her, was her excuse for coming to town. 366

It was around the next destination, the *Bezistén Pazar,* that fondest memories clung, because this was the spot near the Sofia flower bazaar where young people from surrounding villages went upon completing their morning duties in town. It was here that young men from one village met girls from other villages. During the afternoon, brightly dressed, giggling young couples promenaded in the sunshine while the older people, especially the men, gathered in the *"Dulgata Mehana,"* the tavern to which Dragalevtsy peasants were especially loyal. They lunched and drank, rested, and swapped their stories here. Nor was it without pride that they told how the late Fiodor Chaliapin, the celebrated opera singer, in 1934 spent a very merry evening in this same *"Dulgata Mehana."* [883]

This weekly trip to town on Friday did surprisingly little to introduce changes to the village. Even while in the capital city, the peasants still lived in a peasant world. In the animal bazaar, for instance, there was little social conversation and little opportunity for a villager to widen his knowledge of urban life. Too often in this place he learned to distrust the city-dwellers through frequent dealings with the keen-witted, professional cattle merchant. In the mill he was still in a peasant world even though noisy machines foreign to his village ran at lightning speed. It was true that in the general market all types of Sofia citizenry passed in review, but the peasants' chief contact here was with the servant girls accompanying the housewives on the Friday shopping expedition. Even after finishing their little business in the general market, the village men and women found most enjoyment in being with other peasants. Few people of Dragalevtsy ventured on the city's main streets; even if they should have happened into a movie house, it would have been one on some 369 443

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369 443 back street. I do know that the inarticulate peasant woman who sat for hours crouched on the sidewalk wondered at the strange styles of women's clothing, and that the village man, in his wandering, coveted some glittering object in a shopwindow for his child. In the late afternoon as they went home, and during the days that followed, man and wife talked about this trip to market. For them it had been a shared adventure.

527 Other activities which the family members shared besides the tasks of home and field and the trip to market were the holidays. The traditional holidays were religious, while the ones most recently introduced were patriotic.

796 January sixth was *Malka Koleda,* or Little Christmas. Many Bulgarian villagers would tell you that Christ was really born on the day before Christmas, but his birth was not made known until the following day. For that reason, great emphasis was laid upon the celebration of Little Christmas, or Christmas Eve, with the meal on Christmas Eve as the most important part of the season's festivities.

[609] Each time I spent Christmas in a Bulgarian village home I was deeply impressed with the simplicity and beauty of its symbolism. I was a foreigner and a Protestant nonbeliever. Bai Milush and his family received me as though I were one of their own large family. Carefully and patiently they explained to me each bit of ceremony and tradition and symbolism. Often a ceremony was repeated so I could photograph it. There was not a single appurtenance of the Western Christmas in the household; even the date was different, but the Christmas spirit meant more there than anywhere else I had ever been.

To commemorate Christ's birth in a manger, straw was laid on the floor and covered with a blanket which served as the tablecloth for the evening's repast. The whole family gathered around this blanket after an incense urn had been carried as a good luck symbol from the iconostas to each room of the house and to all of the animal stalls. Because the meal was late in starting, three of the smallest children had gone to sleep, one in a crib and the other two on a wooden bed. In order to get the meal under way without further formalities, the women passed hot, fiery *rakiya* (plum brandy) to each person and stood patiently until the single glass had been emptied

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Cattle market: The cattle market and the sheep market, located not far away, lie on the other side of Sofia from Dragalevtsy, back of the railroad station toward the municipal cemetery. It is there a peasant goes if he wishes to dispose of, or purchase, an animal. At this market a nice young bull costs $25-$30, a fresh buffalo cow, $50-$60; ordinary milch cows, $35-$45; horses, $12-$60; donkeys, $12-$18. In the sheep market a pair of sheep sell for $3.60. The cattle market is a colorful place. There is much excitement in the horse section where gypsies ride their not-so-fiery steeds up and down to show how sound they are. But the peasant does little visiting with others in the market; he is not the kind to strike up an acquaintance with just anyone. He does deal with the nimble-witted cattle-buyers whose crafty ways stand for city ways in the peasant's undiscerning judgment. In other words, the peasant's contact with "the outside world" in the cattle market helps build up a psychological barrier against the city since the peasant seldom leaves feeling that he has made a good bargain, unless he has concluded a trade with another peasant more rustic than himself.

The mill: A second place the peasant is likely to visit is the mill, not far away from the general curb market. In spite of the fact that there are many mills in Sofia the people of Dragalevtsy have chosen this as their favorite one, with another ranking as second choice. If they are tired out after their trip to the mill, the villagers lie down on sacks of grain until their turns come; if not sleepy, the peasants form talkative groups near their unyoked animals in the mill courtyard. But here again we find peasant talking with peasant, much of the conversation condemning the modern times, some government policy, or the sad effects of the World War. A talk with a conservative peasant from another village merely heightens the conservatism in the Dragalevtsy peasant.

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Curb market: After finishing at the mill the peasant will perhaps go to the General Curb Market where his wife, squatted on the sidewalk, has been crying her wares for hours in the hope of selling a few bunches of vegetables or several "pairs" of eggs. She has seen many enticing objects in the vendors' pushcarts, observed the styles* worn by city housewives accompanied by peasant servant girls, the strut of the military, the bizarre appearance of a foreign tourist in knickers taking pictures of the scene. She must also have talked to other peasant women who, like herself, return to a favorite spot week after week. But the question arises: Do all the men usually take their wives along? Is it usually a family affair, this trip to market? The answer is that between fifty and sixty per cent of the female heads go to Sofia on a typical market day; fifteen per cent never go at all.

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*The chief tailor in Dragalevtsy says that styles in dress reach the peasants from other villages. The women, for instance, imitate what a peasant from another village wears, but not what a city woman wears.

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APPENDIX III

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AN INVENTORY OF STOCK CONTAINED IN A DRAGALEVTSY GROCERY STORE IN MARCH, 1937

Actual Value: $160

100 grams black pepper
200 grams ground cloves
1½ k* bicarbonate of soda
20 liters sunflower oil
150 eggs (taken in exchange for goods)
3 k homemade bread
2 k ground coffee
1½ k powdered sugar
4 liters vinegar
20 k granulated sugar
40 envelopes cinnamon
50 envelopes vanilla
3 boxes sardines
3 cans beans
100 labels
12 packages cookies
7 packages macaroni
7 packages cake flour
4 papers of pins
3 k loose cookies
bottled soft drinks, in season
60 pairs horseshoes
60 pairs oxen shoes
60 k nails (5 sizes)
3 k wagon bolts
7 k small bolts, nails
4 kerosene lamps
10 sheets wrapping paper
40 liters kerosene (near foods)
50 boxes matches
30 balls lace thread
2 k cleaning soda
¼ k black wool dye
15 balls cobbler's thread
18 boxes shoe polish
12 boxes of icon wicks
5 boxes of crayons
10 boxes Sunlight Soap
12 packages glass cleaner
50 packages special bluing 3
30 pairs shoestrings
60 spools sewing thread and darning cotton
15 k lentils
1 k dried peppers
12 k potatoes
11 k onions
3 k red pepper
1 k garlic
15 k prunes
2 k olives
3½ k *halva* (candy)
1½ k fish
10 k cream cheese
1½ k sausage
1½ k butter
2 k cheese (yellow)
2 dozen rolls
5 k plum jam
2 k zwieback
100 grams tea

*k—kilogram, or 2.2 pounds.

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3 k wheat
10 k lard
9 k spaghetti
3 k sea salt
½ k alum
14 k lump sugar
½ k sage
½ k linden tea
3 boxes cocoa
4 cans honey
11 lemons
9 bungs
100 candles
6 k beeswax
1¼ k sulphur
2¼ k glue
¾ k ink
1 liter Flytox
½ k starch
200 grams resin
7 lamp chimneys
2 k hand soap
30 erasers
30 packages needles
15 nipples
3 curry combs
60 copy books
$4-$5 candy (6 kinds)
3 dozen pencils
135 packages cheap cigarettes
lamp wicking (45 meters)
6 big cans shoe blacking
2 dozen handkerchiefs
15 meters garter elastic
1 dozen key chains
1 pair red earrings
2 dozen knives
10 packages razor blades
1 flashlight battery
12 boxes thumb tacks
12 pairs cuff links
8 boxes hair pins
3 dozen bachelor's buttons
300 grams spices (3 kinds)
6 cigarette holders
6 penholders
100 packages milk biscuits
20 packages pipe tobacco
5 cards of snaps
15 electric bulbs
4 padlocks
1 bottle cleaner
6 brooms
2 balls string and cord
2 jars honey
1 k parchment
90 feet rope
2 boxes toothpicks
80 packages abrasives
2 k naphtholene
¼ k tartaric acid
1 k epsom salts
¾ k dyeing salt
300 grams incense
¾ k bluing
50 k washing soap
6 wick holders
50 crochet needles
200 hair clips
2 scrubbing brushes
4 pacifiers

government, and King Boris, after signing the law, preferred to suspend its application for six months with the hope that events would allow him to abandon it as an unnecessary measure against public opinion. The government confined itself to the mere registration of all Jewish property, movable and immovable. However, when the German Army entered Bulgaria in March 1941, and in April, crushed and occupied Yugoslavia and Greece, anti-Jewish legislation could no longer be deferred. Since King Boris disliked to sign outright discriminatory laws, a law was passed which authorized the Council of Ministers to issue decrees designed to settle the Jewish and related questions. Another law assessed a levy of 20 percent on all property of the Jews. A third law took away from the Jews the concessional pharmacies by obliging them to liquidate their business. (In Bulgaria pharmacies are opened only with a concession from the authorities which give these concessions under strict conditions, and for strictly limited sections of the community under state control.)

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Acting on the authority of the powers given him by the legislature, the Council of Ministers established a special Commissariat for Jewish Affairs, which was given extensive powers, and which was placed under the direction of one of the most embittered persons in the country, acting in close cooperation with the German Legation in Sofia. It was this Commissariat which introduced the regime of limitations for the Jews who were required to sell all apartments and houses not used as personal residences; i.e., those which were rented, as well as the stock piles of various articles which they had

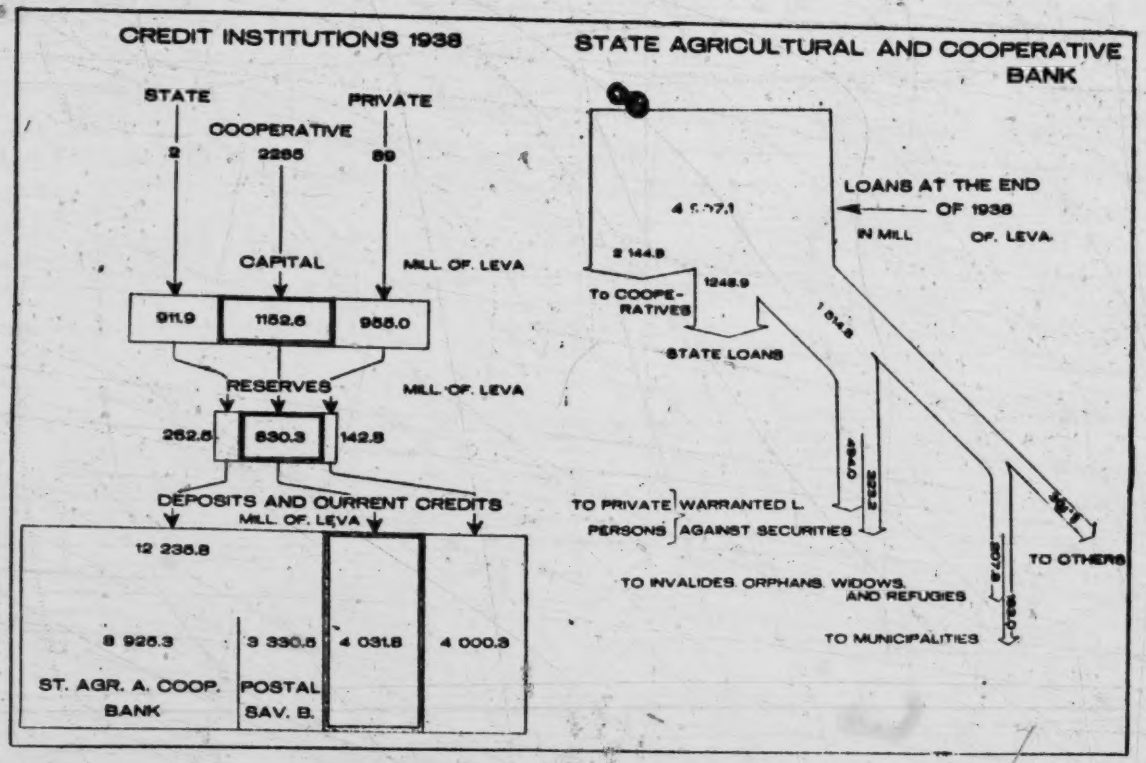

Fig. 26.

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474 average village contains 100 to 200 houses; for this reason pioneers of the co-operative movement, such as P. Ditsev, suggest that two or three villages should be grouped together and pool their resources.

474 In order to supplement its revenues such village credit co-operatives are obliged to engage also in retail 45 distribution of commodities and other activities so as to bring down the running costs while the addition of a distributive branch helps them to increase their membership for the apportionment of the "dividend" forms a very alluring attraction, and accounts for a large percentage of adherents though not to the extent prevalent in England where it explains the adherence of three fourths of the co-operative membership (see an Article by Edwin C. Fairchild in the "19th Century and After", August 1934, p. 179) In Bulgaria however, the divident is paid only partially to purchasers, and usually half of it is retained and placed to the credit of the new customer as his share in the capital of the co-operative society. The great inducement to join a co-operative society is the credit facilities which it accords to its member, for capital is scarce in Bulgaria and rates of interest remain unduly high in spite of the various laws which have been passed to suppress usury. The penury of capital accounts to a large extent for the develoment of the Popular banks which to some extent increase their roll of membership from among those soliciting advances, the latter being granted only after the applicant agrees to subscribe to the bank's share capital, whereupon his indebtedness to the bank figures partly as money loaned by the bank, and partly as capital of the bank; thus one is often induced to form an erroneous estimate as to the soundness of these banks by assuming that their capital is fully paid up. It also often happens that co-operatives are formed mainly owing to the additional credit facilities which will accrue to

their members, their founders being solely instigated by this very utilitarian motive which naturally leads to abuses and to the discrediting of the co-operative idea. This might be ascribed to the undue facility with which State funds were placed at the disposal of the co-operative societies by both the Agricultural and Co-operative banks, especially when an influential politician would discreetly hint that a certain „co-operative" society, often composed exclusively of his own supporters, deserved financial assistance. The present arrangement by which a more effective control will be exerted by the banking authorities which grant these credits will, it is to be hoped eventually eradicate these methods which in the past have allowed several unscrupulous individuals to play ducks and drakes with State funds.

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There seems to have been an undue duplication of the granting of credits as well as of the means of placing savings in the rural districts. Thus, a peasant could secure an advance both from the local credit co-operative, as well as directly from the Agricultural bank, and as the interest he had to pay on loans from the latter was lower he preferred having recourse to it. He also patronised the bank rather than the co-operative when it was a question of confiding his savings, because the Agricultural Bank naturally presented a far better security. If it could be arranged for both operations to de restricted to the co-operatives, and if the Agricultural Bank could be eliminated from granting personal credits to peasants, the scope of the co-operatives would be immensely extended and their position correspondingly strengthened as they would be made an indispensable adjunct of village life. All parties would gain by it, for the local co-operative would be better acquainted with the individual needs of its members and better suited to proffer help and advice. This naturally is not so easy to realise, since according to M. I. Nikolov only 160,000

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peasant proprietors out of a total of 800,000, are members of co-operatives

The disability arising from the exiguity of means under which the individual co-operative society labours, and which equally prevents the formation of several distinctive co-operative societies in one village capable of ministering to the various major needs of its inhabitants has been circumvented by the creation of regional co-operative centres at convenient localities which by concentrating certain operations are able to provide the needed machinery and render its utilisation remunerative. By such concentration a further economy is effected by a reduction in the staff, for the various activities are seasonal, and occur at various times of the year, and the same personnel can be made co attend to them in turn. These regional centres also serve to concentrate the produce collected by the village co-operatives affiliated to them and help to dispose of it more advantageously than could be done in remote villages; they further serve as local wholesale Societies supplying the retail distributing branches with their requirements which they themselves could not obtain direct. Unfortunately such attempts as have been made to coordinate the activities of these regional centres do not seem to have succeeded so far, for there have been repeated complaints of one underselling the other in the open market and thus contributing to the lowering of prices. This has been particularly manifest in the marketing of tobacco, rival co-operatives undercutting prices whenever foreign buyers made their appearance

This antagonism which arises from a lack of understanding of co-operative principles is responsible in many instances for the injudicious utilisation of the limited funds at the disposal of co-operative societies; thus instead of two or three neighbouring village co-operatives pooling

BANKING

The banking facilities extant in Bulgaria were too large for the available volume of business and the crisis which survened after 1929 has affected all credit establishments very severely. In order to parry to the further falling off of the already limited volume of business, a policy of fusioning the banks has been embarked on, which will obviously help to consolidate their position. 453

According to an article published by the Journal of the Society of Bulgarian Economists in Dec. 1934, the total number of banking establishments in the country (including branch offices) at the end of 1931 numbered 2,673, with a total capital of 5,389 million leva, deposits 16,016, and advances amounting to 15,746 millions. This revealed a level of liquidity which is well above the point of safety, but which does not seem to have been maintained, in the case of certain banks.

The following table was appended, giving details of the distribution of the capital among the various groups of banks at the end of 1932.

	Capital	Deposits and moneys confided to them	Advances Current accounts discounted bills etc. (in million leva)
a) Government Banks . .			
Agricultural Bank . .	802	5,374	5, 09
Co-operative " . . .	164	659	769
National " . . .	1,691	464	717
Post Office Savings " . . .		877	730
International " . . .	40	123	124
b) Co-operative Banks .			
Agricultural	450	1,394	1,185
Popular	790	2,465	2,505
Others	189	440	425
c) Private Banks			
Mortgage Bank	92	440	435
Large Sofia Banks . .	606	2,779	2,262
Other Sofia " . . .	250	385	309
Provincial " . . .	504	687	591
Total	5,578	16,106	15,761

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•453 The figure of 16,016 million leva of deposits, is likely to give an erroneous estimate as to the financial strength of the country. Properly speaking, deposits, or savings, do not reach even half this figure, and according to the latest data they were reckoned to have been apportioned at the end of 1933 among the following banks. Agricultural Bank, 1,496, P. O. Savings Banks 1,171, all Co-operative Societies, 3,020, Private Banks 806, Foreign Banks in Bulgaria 450 millions, or a total of 6,943,000,000 leva. The tendency has been during the last few years to transfer savings from the private banks to the State banks and P. O. Savings banks, as presenting greater safety for the depositors. The uncertainty of the situation was increased owing to the pending voting of a Law aiming at alleviating indebtedness, the need of which law became imperative owing to the drop in the prices of agricultural produce, as a consequence of which farmers were no longer able to meet their obligations and credit had come to a standstill. It was rumoured that even savings at banks might be affected and owing to this apparent insecurity of capital, building operations have been indulged in out of all proportion to the present requirements of the country and a great amount of capital has been needlessly locked up. During 1933 some 9,161 buildings have been erected, of a total value of 1,313 million leva, about double the number and value of those constructed in 1931. (The value of the amount spent in Sofia on this head reached 800 million leva in 1933).

Already the disastrous effects are apparent, prices of buildings have depreciated by 30%, while the number of unlet flats and dwelling houses in Sofia is estimated at between 2900 and 3000.

652 453 The National Bank of Bulgaria is the sole central issuing bank, the main activities of which are centred round the aim of maintaining the stability of the national

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currency. It controls the sale of exchange and fixes the quotas of imports.

The Agricultural Bank and the Co-operative Bank which have now been fused into one, exert a preponderating influence in the economic life of the country and have contributed immensely in assisting farming operations and the development of rural credit. The guiding principles of these institutions was to come to the relief of the local population and not the pursuit of profit, with the result that very often less circumspection than the situation warranted was shown in the granting of credits. In the balance sheet of the Agricultural Bank published at the end of 1933 figured a sum of 924,631,000 leva advanced to the State for financing the Cereal Board and to municipalities for the construction of schools.

A sum of 2,553,606,000 leva was owing by farmers, 80% of which liabilities were overdue. A sum of 1,831 millions advanced to co-operative societies either cannot be considered as capable of quick realisation.[1] The bank, owing to the difficult position in which the peasantry find themselves, will be obliged to extend further facilities to its clients in order to enable them to [illegible]alise their farms and initiate other methods of c[illegible]ion, for if this is not done, they will not be in a position to reimburse their debts to the bank. The position of the bank unfortunately does not permit it to undertake such a course and the only hope is that the State will eventually facilitate it to inaugurate such a forward policy.

The Popular Banks, to the number of 247 at the end of 1933, with a total capital and funds amounting to 930 million leva (The corresponding figure for June 1935 was 972 millions). are exerting a growing influence. They are

[1] At the end of 1934 Public institutions and individual farmers were owing to the Bank 3,188,566,436 leva and the co-operative societies 1,894,064,482 leva.

453 run on co-operative lines, having a total membership of 180,366. Their aim is to obtain credit facilities for their members and profit making is a secondary goal. The net profit shown during the year was 4%, which would have been by far higher if a more rational policy had been followed and new banks had not been opened in districts in which similar banks were already operating.

In Sofia there were in 1932, 25 Popular banks and in the course of 1923 seven more were founded. These 25 Popular Banks had an aggregate capital and reserves amounting to some 250 million leva and deposits of about double this figure. The staff of these 25 banks numbered 585 people, costing an outlay of 15·3 million leva annually, which was an unneedful luxury. This has apparently been perceived, whence the policy of bank fusioning which has been initiated by the government. The crisis has equally affected the Popular Banks, it was stated that 142 of these banks had a proportion of their advances to their members „frozen" to the extent of 50% to 80% and over, while in the case of the remainder, the percentage varied between 5% and 50%. The principal foreign Banks operating in Bulgaria were four and their capital and reserves attained at the end of 1931 the following figures: Banque Generale de Bulgarie 60,46; Banque de Credit 72,80; Banque Comerciale Italienne et Bulgare 62 and Banque Franco-Belge 170,86 million leva. Of late their activities have been very much restricted and the amount of their deposits singularly reduced from 2170 million in 1931 to 450 million leva at the end of 1933. The amount of foreign capital engaged in credit operations conducted by limited societies was reported to be 442·5 million leva, according to the Bulletin of the National Bank of Bulgaria (Jan. 1935), and this explains that besides the above mentioned four banks, several Bulgarian Banks such as the Banque Bulgare de Commerce were mainly operated

by foreign money. The main countries having invested capital in banking institutions in Bulgaria were: Belgium (66·9), France (92·2), Germany (53·4), Italy (53·3), U. S. A. (41·3), Holland (28·2), Hungary (26·8), Czechoslavakia (26·7) and Gt. Britain (24) million leva. Among the principal Bulgarian joint-stock banks are the Banque Bulgare de Commerce and the Union des Banques Bulgares possessing a capital and reserves amounting to 90 and 110 million leva respectively at the end of 1931. With the policy initiated by the government of fusioning the Bulgarian banks, it is probable that one, or both these two institutions will be merged in the newly created banking institution of the Credit Bulgare. 453

Among the credit establishments enjoying the greatest confidence are the Post Office savings banks, and the rapid growth of their deposits at a time these last were rapidly dwindling at other banks testifies to this.[1] The depositors are mainly women, householders (12.77%), farmers (15%), artizans (13·36%), workmen (7·29%) and functionaries (7·22%), and 37·85% of the depositors have only sums varying between 10 and 500 leva to their credit. This percentage of small deposits represents 4·14% of the total savings entrusted to the banks. If the deposits be divided into two categories, namely 10 to 1000 leva, and 1000 to 10,000 leva, the former belong to 57·43% of the depositors and represent 10·89% of the total sum confided to the savings banks, while the figures for the second category would be respectively 42·57% and 82·11%. The popularity of these banks is due in part to the facilities they extend and to the fact that 555 post offices are authorised to receive deposits and make payments. The savings banks have invested the major parts of their deposits with the Agricultural Bank (1.321,333,545 leva, at the end 454

[1] These had increased from 173 millions at the end of 1925 to 2006 million leva at the end of 1934 and to 2097 in June 1935.

454 of 1932) and in view of the difficult position the latter finds itself. it would not be an easy matter to find liquid funds to appease a panic should a run on the banks be experienced.

453 The great problem facing the banking institutions in Bulgaria is the providing of cheap long termed credits to the rural population so that it might be able to transform its methods of agricultural production. Until presently, the rates of interest charged to farmers by the Agricultural Bank were 8% to 10% and it is obvious that in the present circumstances it is impossible to expect that capital invested in agriculture would be profitably employed at such rates.

It is an imperative necessity to find means wherewith the rates of interest on advances to the peasants should be reduced to about half this figure, failing which there is little hope of securing an improvement in the economic conditions of the country. This is a matter which of course transcends the limited resources of Bulgaria and it would be well if an international institution took a hand in solving this problem on which hangs the future welfare of the country.

INDUSTRY

433 Bulgaria, like all the Near Eastern States has indulged in a policy of extreme industrialisation which has proved an excessively onerous burden to the community and which with the exception of a few directly interested individuals has brought no benefit whatsoever to the masses. The adoption of this policy is all the more regrettable since it has tended to widen the cleavage between the rural and the urban sections of the population, the former rightly claiming that the increase in the price of industrial articles which this policy involved tended to increase their

This instead of confiding to one central bank the
474 task of financing the co-operatives, two government insti-
453 tutions were entrusted with this aim, with the result that each attempted to detach from the other as many of its clients as possible, and the nefarious example set by these government institutions was followed down the scale by many co-operatives which seemed to take pleasure in tress-passing on each others activities. To crown all, the fissi-parous tendency which characterises the growth of every intellectual manifestation in Bulgaria split many groups into rival factions that wasted their means in fighting rather than in helping each other. The recent decision of the Government to amalgamate the Agricultural with the Co-perative Bank, the two governmental institutions financing the co-operatives, ought therefore to be applauded for it will tend to put a stop to the insensate rivalry between the two banks and facilitate the exertion of stricter super-vision on their activities since they supply the bulk of the operating funds of the co-operative societies, for after all, it is the one who pays the piper who should call the tune. As the agricultural co-operatives, the popular banks, the producers' societies and the associations of consumers will each be represented by a delegate elected by them in the council of administration of the fused banks, it may be assumed that their respective requirements will be duly
474 studied and attended to. Thus one of the recommendations set forth in the Report prepared by the experts of the League of Nations in 1930 as to the Co-operative move-ment in Bulgaria has been realised. Any one interested in the state of the country should read this document for in it one will find a plethora of data which will permit one to form a general idea of the prevailing conditions which the experts do not view very optimistically, for according to them:

"The burden of taxation threatens to undermine the whole economic development of the country. The situation is difficult, but

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

	Year 1929—30	Year 1930—1	Year 1931—2	Average
North Bulgaria	171,06%	146,01%	110.70%	142.59%
Sofia region	179.90%	158.43%	158.28%	165.53%
South Bulgaria	119.60%	125.60%	186.23%	143.81%

This of course has been possible owing to the credits which they have been able to raise from the Agricultural Bank, and to their not applying them to the specific purposes for which these loans were granted; the Agricultural Bank having extended to the rural population credits amounting on an average to 7360 leva per hectare for the smaller category of farmsteads. It must not be thought however that the peasantry has been living wastefully, and has run into debt owing to its being profligate. Very often in periods of drought the Agricultural Bank, under pressure from the State, has been compelled to come to the assistance of the peasantry and to supply them with seed and food, practically with no guarantee. This will largely explain the excessive advances which the Bank has made to the rural population, which, if it were not for this timely aid would have literally starved.

The source of the trouble is that the available land is unsufficient to support the population, and that if it be not provided with more land in order to increase its production up to its requirements, or if it be not assisted financially in order to modernise its methods of cultivation, and thus be able to raise a larger quantity of products on the land it actually possesses, there will be grave danger of a dislocation of the present social fabric.

Prof. St. Tsolakov, a colleague of Prof. Dolinski, has published a most interesting essay in the 1934 Annuaire de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, of Varna, on the position of the farmers in the Varna region, and on their indebtedness to the State. It is certainly representative of the whole country, and the study of the figures he supplies will convince any one that the problem

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

556 181 An intelligent woman once summed up for me the peasant's attitude toward labor and money in this terse fashion:

"Most people work because they want money. Everyone looks for money."

511 181 434 Although the peasant considered money of greater importance than formerly because he was becoming more and more a part of a money economy, he really handled very little in the course of a year. The annual income for a family of four or five was less than two hundred dollars, an amount that came into the family coffer in driblets and was paid out as slowly as possible. After the autumn market or the sale of a cow, the peasant was flush with money, but when he had bought the necessities which he could not produce for himself (kerosene, shoes and other articles of clothing, rice, salt, and some hardware) he was little better off financially. If a member of the family worked outside the home, his wages were a considerable help, especially when some of the many taxes were due.

465 181 I asked nine young men, picked at random, about the money they earned. Their monthly income varied from the meager equivalent of $6 a month earned by a twenty-five-year-old servant and an eighteen-year-old shepherd to $66 earned by a twenty-year-old milkman. There was only one who kept more than half of his earnings for himself. He explained apologetically that the reason he did not turn these over to his father was that he had to pay board and rent in Sofia, where he worked.

●454 181 Very few Dragalevtsy people accumulated savings in the bank. They preferred, like people all over Bulgaria, to invest money in real estate. The city people did it because of the security of investment, whereas the peasants, especially in Dragalevtsy, were more interested in possessing land for its own sake.

426 181 The great majority of the peasants were in debt, though many debtors were also creditors. Those specializing in field crops preferred long-term loans, usually for fifteen or twenty years, with land as security, while sheep owners usually sought short-term loans of three or four months. One village merchant, to whom many peasants came for advice, estimated that 70 per cent of the loans were taken from [652] banks and 30 per cent from individuals. The government had done much in the past through periodic moratoria to reduce the amount of indebtedness.

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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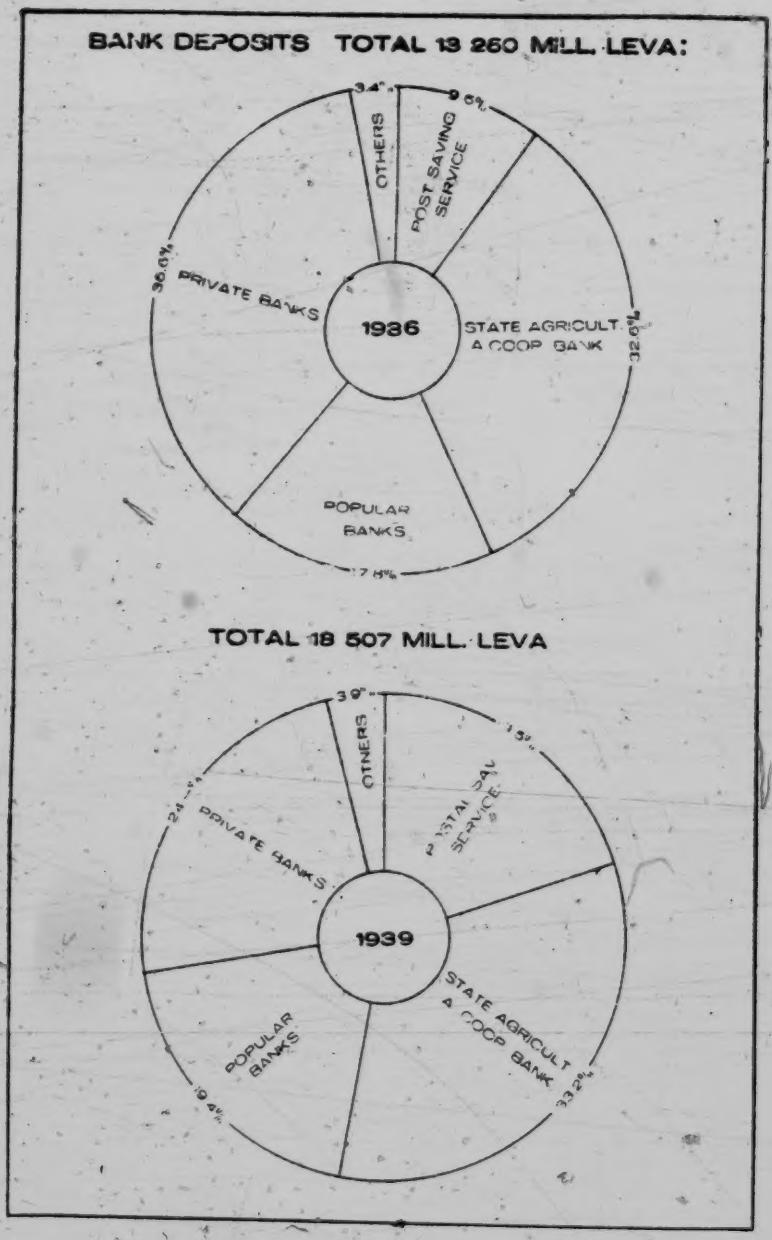

Fig. 27.

by foreign money. The main countries having invested capital in banking institutions in Bulgaria were: Belgium (66·9), France (92·2), Germany (53·4), Italy (53·3), U. S. A. (41·3), Holland (28·2), Hungary (26·8), Czechoslavakia (26·7) and Gt. Britain (24) million leva. Among the principal Bulgarian joint-stock banks are the Banque Bulgare de Commerce and the Union des Banques Bulgares possessing a capital and reserves amounting to 90 and 110 million leva respectively at the end of 1931. With the policy initiated by the government of fusioning the Bulgarian banks, it is probable that one, or both these two institutions will be merged in the newly created banking institution of the Credit Bulgare.

Among the credit establishments enjoying the greatest confidence are the Post Office savings banks, and the rapid growth of their deposits at a time these last were rapidly dwindling at other banks testifies to this.[1] The depositors are mainly women, householders (12.77%), farmers (15%), artizans (13·36%), workmen (7·29%) and functionaries (7·22%), and 37·85% of the depositors have only sums varying between 10 and 500 leva to their credit. This percentage of small deposits represents 4·14% of the total savings entrusted to the banks. If the deposits be divided into two categories, namely 10 to 1000 leva, and 1000 to 10,000 leva, the former belong to 57·43% of the depositors and represent 10·89% of the total sum confided to the savings banks, while the figures for the second category would be respectively 42·57% and 82·11%. The popularity of these banks is due in part to the facilities they extend and to the fact that 555 post offices are authorised to receive deposits and make payments. The savings banks have invested the major parts of their deposits with the Agricultural Bank (1.321,333,545 leva, at the end

[1] These had increased from 173 millions at the end of 1925 to 2006 million leva at the end of 1934 and to 2097 in June 1935.

454 of 1932) and in view of the difficult position the latter finds itself. it would not be an easy matter to find liquid funds to appease a panic should a run on the banks be experienced.

453 The great problem facing the banking institutions in Bulgaria is the providing of cheap long termed credits to the rural population so that it might be able to transform its methods of agricultural production. Until presently, the rates of interest charged to farmers by the Agricultural Bank were 8% to 10% and it is obvious that in the present circumstances it is impossible to expect that capital invested in agriculture would be profitably employed at such rates.

It is an imperative necessity to find means wherewith the rates of interest on advances to the peasants should be reduced to about half this figure, failing which there is little hope of securing an improvement in the economic conditions of the country. This is a matter which of course transcends the limited resources of Bulgaria and it would be well if an international institution took a hand in solving this problem on which hangs the future welfare of the country.

INDUSTRY

433 Bulgaria, like all the Near Eastern States has indulged in a policy of extreme industrialisation which has proved an excessively onerous burden to the community and which with the exception of a few directly interested individuals has brought no benefit whatsoever to the masses. The adoption of this policy is all the more regrettable since it has tended to widen the cleavage between the rural and the urban sections of the population, the former rightly claiming that the increase in the price of industrial articles which this policy involved tended to increase their

of 34.4 at the beginning of 1934, while those of locally manufactured articles had only been reduced to 88.1, and those of imported industrial goods to 81.8, mainly on account of the high protective duties which remained constant owing to the specific tariff in force. 651 435

As the above figures are based on wholesale prices, it may be assumed that the peasants had to pay 10% to 15% more for their purchases from retail stores, and that they had to give 2½ times as much of their produce as they were accustomed in order to obtain in exchange the manufactured articles they had been used to buy.

The discrepancy between agricultural and manufactured goods has to some extent been reduced since the abrogation of the parliamentary regime, for the military seem to have had a clearer conception of their duties as rulers. This they achieved by drastically curtailing the privileges enjoyed by local manufacturers on the one hand, and by the State intervening as buyer of several agricultural articles, such as wheat, rye, cotton, rice, tobacco etc, and fixing enhanced prices for them. The government attaching less value to the cheapness at which the consuming public might obtain its food than to the maintenance of a level of prices at which the peasants are able to live. This seems to forebode a return to sanity, for level-headed men like Prof. G. P. Ghenov, often laid stress on the necessity of Bulgaria reducing her tariffs if she were not to see foreign markets closed to her produce, and that it was indispensable to buy if she sought to sell. His speech of May 16 1932 in the Sobranye in which he exposed the inanity of subsidising an industrial system which cost one milliard leva annually to the State, was very favourably commented on at the time. 652 435

What seems difficult to explain is how the wiseacres of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations should, on the floating of the Stabilisation loan of 1928 454 651

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have granted Bulgaria a free hand to raise her tariff, on the pretext that this step would increase the revenues earmarked for the service of this loan, a prognostication which was radically contradicted by subsequent events since the increase of the tariff which followed in 1930, imparted a further impetus to the creation of local industries, reduced imports and diminished very considerably the custom dues raised from them. But the Financial Committee was not so obtuse as it would appear at first sight. Its secret desire was not to strengthen either the position of the bondholders, or that of Bulgaria, but rather to grant increased facilities to certain financial interests for exploiting the Bulgarian consumer through the dominant position these occupy in industial, banking and commercial enterprises, and which position they hitherto managed to exploit to the full owing to the venality and flunkeyism of the politicians, who did not hesitate to sell themselves to these occult influences. According to the bulletin of the National Bank of Bulgaria of Jan. 1935, the total fully paid up capital of industrial limited companies during 1934 was 3,202.4 million leva, of which 1631.3 millions were foreign, so that it is obvious that protection favoured more foreign interests than Bulgarian, and explains why the Financial Committee was so prodigal in extending to Bulgaria the right to increase its tariff. The participation of foreign capital can only be traced in limited companies, and the above mentioned bulletin specified that 325.9 millions of foreign capital were invested in banking establishments, 281.3 in commercial, 11 in transport enterprises, and 30.7 in insurance companies. No particulars are obtainable about the foreign capital in private firms, but it must be as much, if not more, for deputy C. Petkov affirmed in the Sobranye on Feb. 26, 1932, that annually as much as 650 million leva are remitted abroad as interest on foreign capital invested in Bulgaria, and 800 millions as its par-

ticipation in profits. These figures are not likely to be far out since another deputy, M. Dotchev, stated on March 4 1932, that during the financial year 1928/9, over one milliard leva was remitted abroad as dividends and profits of the foreign capital invested in industrial and commercial enterprises in Bulgaria. 454 651

Some preliminary statistics have been published as to the state of industry in 1930/1, but most of these figures refer to those workshops which enjoy privileges extended to them by the law fostering industry, and are necessarily incomplete. These establishments numbered 1250, had a capital of 7500 million leva, used 115,000 H. P., employed 36,000 workmen (the total number of workpeople employed in all industries fluctuates round about 75,000) and had an annual output of 6850 million leva of manufactured goods. The principal branches of industry were: 433

	Number of establishments	Capital in million leva	H. P. employed	workpeople employed	% of local raw materials used
Textile	214	1390·8	19,197	14,641	13·6%
(In 1933:	231	some working with 2 & even 3 shifts		17,976)	
Food & drink . .	172		27,653	4579	
Metallurgical . . .	142	417·3	10,998	4084	14%
Ceramic	110	774	22,604	3382	48%
Chemical	117	397·8	6,707	2031	35%
Leather	52	162·3	4,721	778	18%
Timber	55		2,726	1643	
Paper	4	99·3	2,210	443	38%

There are two other important groups of industries not included in the above table, the tobacco manipulating and cigarette manufacturing in which some 20,000 workpeople are almost permanently employed and the milling industry. In the latter, a capital of 786.[2] million leva is invested. There are 307 flour mills, employing 2579 workpeople and possessing machinery developing 21,637 H. P. This was a thriving industry in the past as deputy

: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

In 1934 the Association for the Insurance of Horses and Cows was organized in the village with the help of the veterinary doctor stationed there at that time. He was acting under the guidance of the Bulgarian National Cooperative Bank. The idea back of the association was to make it possible for peasants to obtain additional credit, since no credit could be extended by the bank on uninsured animals. Insured animals were considered better collateral than land and were allowed a greater percentage of money in proportion to value. When the organization was first founded, the fifteen or sixteen charter members entered because they were in favor of insurance. The seventeen members who joined later did so because they needed to insure their animals to get a loan, regardless of their attitude toward insurance.

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In the normal life of this organization almost no difficulties were encountered. The members used the schoolhouse for the annual meeting, which was open to all outsiders. There was an executive council, a control committee, and a committee for the evaluation of animals. A president was elected every year and a treasurer every three years. Some of the committee members were changed each year. If a farmer wished to join the association, the proper committee appraised his animals and insurance was assessed at the rate of 4 per cent of the total value of the animal.

The conservatism of the peasants prevented any rapid growth of such an organization. As one peasant, not a member, explained: "I haven't joined because I feel that here we have good air, good food, and good water for our animals, and therefore they aren't as subject to diseases as are the animals nearer Sofia. God is kind."

A few years ago a private insurance association was organized which ended unfortunately for the investors. This failure was cited by some people as an additional reason why they should not join the present association, though it was backed by the Co-operative Bank.

In order to get a better idea of the relationships among the members and between the members and the officers of the Insurance Association, I interviewed fifteen of the thirty people registered and found that:

1. Friendship played little part in determining who should become members.

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2. The reasons for joining were varied:

a. "I have six cows. Need help in case a cow dies."

b. "I wanted to get money from the bank."

c. "The veterinary doctor enrolled me when he organized the association."

3. All members were satisfied with the officers who represented them.

4. The relations with the Co-operative Bank in Sofia had been cordial. Once a year the bank sent out a commission to see that everything in the village was in order; a commission also came out in case of the death of an animal.

The Insurance Association illustrated the way many village organizations arose in Bulgarian villages. The idea of the organization originated in Sofia, was put into effect by a State employee, and members were recruited from those who thought that their interests would be served by belonging. A glance at the list of members, ranging in age from twenty-four to sixty, showed that they were among the most enterprising in the village. The organization would doubtless have been only half as large had it not been for the ruling of the bank which required insurance on any animals put up as collateral. Since the association did not attempt to teach the peasants how to feed or stable the animals, it was missing a real opportunity for further service.

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The traditional economy of Dragalevtsy had therefore been subjected not only to the incursion of commerce with its emphasis upon money, but also to the formation of co-operatives to meet some specific needs of a group of interested persons. In addition there was a concerted effort throughout Bulgaria by the national government to raise the peasants' plane of living. Some of this activity found expression in Dragalevtsy, largely through the initiative of the county agent or *agronom* who was concerned with the improvement of agriculture and livestock. Since he had to care for almost a score of other villages, his visits to Dragalevtsy were few and far between, so the peasants were quite correct in saying that little was being done for the improvement of agriculture in the village. While the county *agronom*

474 of 110,622,277 and 14,481,696 leva respectively. The sales for the year were estimated at 376,289,157 and 37,964,023, and the profit for the "Napred group" was 583,107 leva, showing a diminution of 294,138 on the previous year, while the remaining eight co-operatives had sustained a loss of 4,229,855 leva, this being an increase by 1,729,028 on the loss sustained in 1932. The loss however was not equally apportioned, two co-operatives having incurred a loss of 4,792,880 leva, and six having realised a profit of 752,025. The average purchases per member of the second group was about 4,935 leva or approximately £11·75, while its profit and loss account figured at 5,862,346 and 10,083,209 respectively, disbursements on salaries accounting for 22%, interest for 12% loss on merchandise for 29% of this latter figure, while 97% of the former figure was ascribed to profit on the sale of merchandise.

474 456 The most remarkable success registered among co-operative societies is undoubtedly that of the "Functionaries' Insurance Association", and as M. T. G. Vlaikov pointed out, this result has been secured by its directors' rigorous abstention from politics, honest management and devotion to the aim of the association. Its growing importance may be gauged by the fact that of the total insurances on life in force during 1931, namely of a value of 3,601 million leva, policies to the value of 1424 millions had been issued by this association alone. Its success is well deserved for it has been most generous in dispensing grants to its sick members and it even maintains sickhouses and sanatoria for the construction of which it has spent several million leva.

474 In conclusion the following table may be given of the total number of co-operative societies functioning at the end of 1933 according to the official statistics.

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

It is from 1885 onward that a study of statistics becomes informative and the rate of advance more easily traceable since it was at that date that the first step towards the partial realisation of the national unity was taken, namely the union of the principality of Bulgaria with the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia. The territorial accretion thereby secured was maintained until the Balkan wars of 1912-3, so that it is retatively easy to follow the country's development from a study of the statistics provided after 1885 since no calculations have to be made to adjust numbers to territorial alterations. No such change occurred until the Balkan and World wars, when the area of Bulgaria was increased from 96,345.5 in 1912 to 111,836.8 square klm. in 1913, and finally reduced to 103,146.1 in 1919.

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From the following statistical table of exports and imports one may form an opinion of the scantiness of Bulgaria's resourses, since with a few exceptions each year reveals an unfavourable trade balance and Bulgaria never possessed any investments abroad, nor rendered any services, from which she could derive any invisible income wherewith to balance the deficit of her commercial balance.[1] The abrupt increase in the figures cited after the quinquenial period 1916—1920 is due to the gradual depreciation of the leva, which from its equivalent of a gold franc prior to the world war was reduced to the level of only 0.03745 gold franc, or 139 leva to a gold dollar, at which rate it was stabilised in 1928.

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[1] Before the war a certain number of market gardeners emigrated temporarily to neighbouring countries and remitted their savings home. It may also be presumed that the deficit in the commercial balance was not as large as indicated by official statistics for merchants were occasionally inclined to underestimate their exports in order to pay fewer dues as was revealed by Minister Burov in a speech in the Sobranye on April 1928. The income derived from foreign tourists is reckoned at 40 million leva a year.

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YEARS	IMPORTS in million leva	EXPORTS in million leva	BALANCE in million leva
1885—1890	350	310	— 40
1891—1895	416	386	— 30
1896—1900	337	339	+ 2
1901—1905	474	597	+ 123
1906—1910	699	591	— 108
1911—1915	916	698	— 218
1916—1920	4,002	2,993	— 1009
1921—1925	24,924	22,628	— 4296
1926—1930	32,330	31,064	— 1266
1931	4,660	5,934	+ 1274
1932	3,471	3,383	— 88
1933	2,202	2,846	+ 644
1934	7,247	2,535	+ 88

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From the foregoing figures it becomes obvious that Bulgaria had to have recourse to foreign assistance in order to secure the necessary equipment of a modern State as it was unthinkable for her to raise the requisite capital locally. Tbe following loans were contracted prior to the Balkan wars, the proceeds being used for military equipment, for the construction of railways and ports or the financing of expenses incurred through a rather premature davelopment of the political organisation and occasionally through a not very judicious employment of public funds.

Year	Nominal Interest %	Duration of repayment in years	Nominal amount in million leva	Price of issue	Net amount in million leva	Real Interest %
1888	6	33	46,777	at par	46,777	6·
1889	6	33	30,000	86·03	25,650	7·5
1892	6	33	124,962	86·41	107,342	7·34
1902	5	50	106,000	78·32	87,367	6·72
1904	5	50	100,000	75·24	82,383	7·03
1907	4·5	60	145,000	79·91	123,250	5·94
1909	4·5	50	100,000	85·56	86,000	5·56
1909	4·5	75	82,000	at par	82,000	4·75
			734,739		640,769	

The 1888 loan was floated in London, its proceeds being entirely devoted to the purchase of the Rustchuk-

7 [Errata: should be 2247 — Analyst]

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Varna railway line built in 1860 by an English company to which the Turkish government had guaranteed a revenue of 7%, a charge the Bulgarian government considered unduly heavy and out of proportion with the net income derived from the exploitation of the railway.[1]

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The proceeds of the 1889 loan were used for the construction of the Tsaribrod—Sofia—Vakarel, and that of the Yambol—Burgas railway lines. The loan was floated in Vienna as the obligation to construct these lines had been imposed by Austria-Hungary at the Congress of Berlin. A mortgage on these railways secured the loan. The subsequent loan was also contracted in Vienna and served to reorganise the army and to construct the Kaspitchan—Sofia railway line and the building of the two ports of Varna and Burgas. A mortgage on both ports and the railway being taken as security for the loan.

The 1902 loan was the first of a series concluded in France, for Bulgaria having in the meanwhile adopted a distinctly pro-Russian attitude, the Paris money market was opened to her at the intercession of Russia, France's

[1] The capital of the company which constructed this line was represented by 45,000 shares of £ 20 each, or a total of £ 900,000 or 22,500,000 gold francs, and these shares were never quoted above ¾ of their nominal value. A commission of Bulgarian engineers presided over by the late Serbian Premier, N. Passitch, at the time in the employ of Bulgaria in his capacity of an engineer, had evaluated the line as worth 18,575,000 gold francs, which was a fair estimate, yet the Bulgarian Premier, Stambulov, was prevailed upon to pay more than double this sum. This transaction was strongly resented in Bulgaria, but owing to the censorship little was said about it in the Press at the time; and there were good reasons for such resentment, for Bulgaria had been mulcted out of a considerable sum merely in order to placate certain financial circles as likely to influence British political support at a time Bulgaria was traversing a critical period. A very unfortunate precedent being thus created which has since caused havoc in Bulgarian finances.

11: Logic S-- (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

175 ally. The proceeds of this loan served to make good the budget deficits of the period 1895-1900 amounting to 53 million leva and mainly due to a period of bad crops, to pay off the sum of 17,390,664 to the Turkish and Russian governments, due according to the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin, to pay for 2,687,515 leva worth of armaments, and reimburse certain advances made to the Bulgarian government by the Bulgarian State Bank. This was the first loan to which a special revenue was assigned as a guarantee and a special controller delegated to Sofia on behalf of the bondholders to supervise the sale of the special revenue stamps affected to the tobacco tax.

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In 1904 yet another loan was floated in France to which the surplus of the tobacco tax and the proceeds of revenue stamps were assigned as pledges. Owing to the revolution of 1903 in Macedonia, field artillery of the value of some 25 million leva had been purchased from the French firm of Creusot and other military expenses had been incurred and had to be frayed, the balance of the loan was used for the construction of the railway lines Tirnovo — Trevna, and Sofia — Kustendil. Military expenditure was steadily increasing and proving an intolerable burden to the State, yet owing to the anarchic situation in Macedonia and the prevalent belief that Bulgaria was in duty bound to interfere some day on behalf of her unredeemed kinsmen in Turkey, the Bulgarian people assumed stolidly the financial burdens imposed on them. Thus during the two years 1904 and 1905 some 55 million leva were expended solely on armaments, a sum exceeding half of the budget figures of these years.

It must be admitted that the French armament firms which had found an excellent client in Bulgaria must have largely contributed in persuading French Banks as to the advisability of financing the loans made to Bulgaria, which were being gradually floated at shorter and shorter intervals.

ECONOMIC HISTORY

175 In 1907, a further loan was issued in Paris out of which sums of 20,935,000 and 31,584,500 leva were earmarked for the conversion of the 1888 and 1889 loans. The 1907 loan having been issued on a 4·5 % basis it was thought that a considerable economy would be effected by reimbursing the first two loans bearing 6% interest. Unfortunately, owing to the fact that the bonds were quoted above par, the Bulgarian treasury incurred instead a loss of some 21·5 million leva in carrying through this operation The balance of the loan was employed, to the extent of 32 millions for the buying of war material, while another 32 millions were allotted to the construction of railways and some four millions devoted to the settlement of a floating debt. The same pledges which had been assigned to the 1902 and 1904 loans were also affected to the service of this loan as the revenues from these sources were quite adequate. Thus the revenues from the tobacco tax and 'mourouriye' yielded 17,677,000 in 1909 and 18,183,000 leva in 1911, while the yield from the revenue stamps amounted to 6,088,000 and 6,638,000 leva respectively, the service of the three loans necessitating in 1909 the sum of only 18,265,000 leva, thus leaving a surplus of some 5 millions at the disposal of the Exchequer.

The elevation of Bulgaria to the rank of a Kingdom in 1908, and the attending political complications which rendered the mobilisation of the army indispensable had caused a heavy drain to the treasury, and in 1909 another loan was contracted, the proceeds of which were entirely absorbed in reimbursing the State's debts to contractors and to the National and Agrarian Banks, a sum of over 58 millions being due to these two State institutions. This loan was floated in Vienna, and no real guarantees demanded by the Austrian banks, a fact which may be explained by the desire of Austria to express her satis-

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faction at the way Bulgaria had arranged for her proclamation of independence to precede Austria's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908. Simultaneously Bulgaria assumed a liability of 82 millions to Russia, the latter having undertaken to indemnify Turkey on Bulgaria's refusal to continue the payment of her tribute after her proclamation of independence and provided the requisite money (some 42 million leva) wherewith the railways constructed and operated in Southern Bulgaria by the nominally Turkish company of the Chemins de Fer Orientaux were purchased by the Bulgarian government.

By the end of 1911 Bulgaria had a consolidated debt of 603,799,618 and a floating debt of 29,493,524 gold leva which with a population of 4,390,325 represented a per capita charge of 144·25 leva. From the proceeds of the foreign loans some 283,058,566 leva had been employed for the construction or purchase of railways of a total milage of 1,931 klm. and in the building of the ports of Varna and Burgas, 102,670,856 leva had been employed for the purchase of military equipment and the balance was absorbed by budgetary deficits, the liquidation of the tribute payable to Turkey (over 40 millions), and other administrative expenses.. It should be remembered that the latter item included the building of schools, the constructions of roads, bridges, telegraph and telephone lines, barracks, government buildings etc. all of which were almost totally lacking, so that on the whole, few of the successive Bulgarian governments can be accused of having unduly wasted public money. The national wealth had been estimated in 1911 by the late Cyril Popov at 10,500 millions and the national revenue at 1,647 millions, equal to 387 gold leva per capita, which could only provide for a very low standard of living, since yet another 20% had to be provided out of it for the defraying of public and municipal taxation.

ECONOMIC HISTORY

The State budgets were approaching the 200 million figure, but were not always balanced. Thus in 1910 and 1911 the revenue figures stood respectively at 181 and 198 millions while expenditure attained 198 and 181, leaving alternatively for each year a deficit and a surplus of 17 millions. The service of the debt required slightly over 36 millions and absorbed 18% to 20% of the annual revenue of the State, while military expenditure required about 44 millions. Unfortunately the trade balance wherewith the service of the foreign debt had to be provided continued to show an excess of imports over exports, the years 1910 and 1911 showing respectively debit balances of 48 and 15 millions, and this state of affairs forced Bulgaria, so long as she was unable to expand her exports to continue borrowing in order to meet her monetary obligations abroad and to pay for the excess of her imports, which were indispensable for her development and the sustainance or her people.

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So that even prior to the Balkan wars, when Bulgaria was considered powerful and flourishing and her financial situation inspired confidence she was in fact a very poor country living beyond her means and only able to meet her foreign obligations by indulging in a policy of borrowing abroad which was reckless, but which was indulged in for patriotic motives, because it was hoped that when finally Macedonia would have been incorporated, the increased revenue the State would thereby derive would permit the shouldering of the indebtedness incurred mainly in preparing for this territorial expansion. Bulgaria's reputation of a good payer was due to the scrupulous exactitude with which both private and public debts were being met and the extreme sobriety and parsimoniousness of her people which had enabled them to build up a complete machinery of State not only by borrowing but also out of their hard-earned and slender incomes.

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The frugality and thriftiness of the Bulgarian people stood them im good stead for it was thanks to these qualities that they were able to assume practically unaided the financing of the Balkan wars. The 1912 and 1913 budgets closed with deficits of 140 and 181 millions, owing to the falling off of the revenue and the increased military expenditure and were met partly by the expedient of discounting treasury bills abroad namely 75 millions with the Banque de Paris and des Pays Bas, 30 millions with Austrian Banks and 27·7 millions with the Russo-Asiatic Bank, and partly by advances from the National State Bank which attained 142.9 millions by the end of 1913.

Naturally the unfortunate outcome of the Balkan wars found Bulgaria utterly exhausted and in urgent need of funds. An internal loan of 90 millions was inadequate to relieve the pressure on the treasury and as the budget of 1914 was pointing to a deficit of 68 millions, the government was constrained to seek foreign help at all costs. Owing to the pro-Austrian proclivities of the Radoslavov government, the French Banks demanded as a preliminary condition to their granting a loan, that Bulgaria should furnish assurances that she would no longer pursue an anti-Russian policy. Unfortunately these were not forthcoming. On the contrary the Bulgarian government opened negotiations with a group of German and Austrian banks, headed by the Diskonto Gesellschaft, in spite of the violent obstruction of the Opposition and raised a loan from this German banking group. Though the members of the Radoslavov Cabinet have always denied that any political clauses were attached to the loan, this may be considered as forming the preamble to Bulgaria's engagement to the Central Powers, for the Germans have on many occasions declared that the question of Bulgaria's allegiance had been definitely fixed on the conclusion of this loan. The loan was of a nominal amount of 500

million leva. The conditions attached to it were distinctly onerous for they included the cession of the Pernik coal mines belonging to the State, a concession for the construction of a railway line Rakovski—Porto Lagos and the building of its harbour, while specific revenues were affected to it as a guarantee, namely the surplus of the tobacco tax and revenue stamps over the share already affected to the 1902, 1904 and 1907 loans, the proceeds of the State monopoly of cigarette paper and the proceeds of the revenue from the customs. Owing to the outbreak of tne World war the German banks advanced only some 270 millions and though it had been stipulated that the Bulgarian Treasury bonds emitted during the Balkan wars would be reimbursed, only those held by the Austrian banks were paid while the German government placed an embargo on the 27·7 millions due to the Russo-Asiatic bank.

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How Bulgaria financed her participation in the World war.

The cost of Bulgaria's participation in the World war was borne practically unaided, for except for a part of the loan issued by the Diskonto Gesellschaft no other effective aid was received. A convention was signed in September 1915 between Germany and Bulgaria, providing for the granting to the latter of an advances of 50 million leva during each of the four months the war was expected to last, and stipulating for complementary advance should the war last longer. Germany continued to extend these credits only to the end of 1917, so that the total amount secured by Bulgaria on this head attained 1350 million leva. But in fact, not a single penny ever reached Bulgaria, for these monthly advances were deposited in a Berlin bank to the credit of the Bulgarian National Bank which was authorised to issue a corresponding amount

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of paper money which it placed at the disposal of the Bulgarian government. These deposits were to be utilised solely for this purpose, and also for the payment of goods purchased in Germany and with the consent ot the German authorities; but as during the war Germany had little to export, the amount of merchandise thus purchased did not exceed 350 million leva. The balance of about 1,000 millions which had served as cover to the increased fiduciary circulation of the Bulgarian National Bank owing to its being labelled in marks was totally lost to Bulgaria when the mark depreciated after the armictice. The National Bank of Bulgaria attempted to transfer part of this sum to Switzerland, but was precluded from doing so by the initial arrangements entered into by the two governments and subsequently by Article 145 of the Treaty of Neuilly which obliged Bulgaria to transfer to the Reparation Commission any claims she might have to payments or reparations by her late Allies. Besides these monthly credits, munitions and military equipment to the value of 1440 million leva were received from Germany and of 73,398,500 from Austria. Against these sums the Bulgarian government had a larger counterclaim amounting to 2,148,814,923 leva, several items of which represented more tangible value than the nominal monthly German advances, for they represented foodstuffs, raw materials and 240 millions in Bulgarian currency delivered to the German military authorities. It may be affirmed that the only financial service rendered by Germany was that of enabling the Bulgarian National Bank to increase its fiduciary circulation from 369,791,000 leva at the end of 1915 to 2,298,617,000 at the end of 1918, and this was obviously of a very questionable value for in the end owing to the total depreciation of the mark it was the Bulgarian people who had to shoulder the entire loss caused by this inflation. As M. Stefanov the Minister of Finance,

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declared in the Sobranye on May 10, 1932: „Bulgaria was the sole country to conclude the war with so few debts, for she only received 270 millions from the Diskonto Gesellschaft, while she remained a creditor to the extent of 840 millions to Germany." This statement may be compared to the one M. Stefanov made on July 10, 1928, when he maintained that Bulgaria had lived during the world war on her own resources, but had been exploited and robbed by her allies, the latter owing her at the end of the war, 860 million leva.

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The budgets for the four years 1915 to 1918, closed with a total deficit of 2,270 millions due in the main to increased military expenditure. This outlay was met by the expedient of increasing the fiduciary circulation and by advances to the State from the National Bank. At the end of 1918 the metallic cover of the bank still amounted to 64 millions in gold and to 19 millions in silver, but as the country's food supply had been utterly exhausted, flour to the value of 27·25 million gold leva in cash had to be purchased in 1919 from the United States and this drain on the gold reserve coupled with the fact that the balances abroad (mainly in Germany) on which the fiduciary circulation was secured had been rendered worthless through the depreciation of the mark, brought about a rapid fall in the value of the leva; and this was further accentuated as the terms of the Treaty of Neuilly became known. Thus the leva fell from 0.19 gold franc, at which level it was quoted at the end of 1919, to 0·07 at the end of 1920, and to 0.036 at the end of 1921.

Part of the military expenditure incurred during the world war was met out of the post-war budgets, so that it is difficult to assess it correctly, but roughly it may be said to be represented by the budgetary deficits of the years 1915-1921, amounting to 5,706 million leva, to which should be added the amounts of the two internal loans

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raised in 1914 and 1921, of 83, and 157 million leva respectively, as well as that of the 270 millions advanced by the Diskonto Gesellschaft, which would bring the total military expenditure up to 6216 million leva, of varying value, however, since the leva had depreciated from the intrinsic equivalent of a gold franc in 1914 to as little as 0.036 gold franc in 1921. These 6216 millions were financed by the expedients of increasing the fiduciary circulation which from 226,615,000 leva at the end of 1914 rose to the record figure of 4,622,833,000 on Nov. 30, 1924, and by the advances of the National Bank which at the end of the financial year 1921-1922 amounted to 4,206 million leva.

This estimate is for military expenditure incurred by the State during the World war, and it is permissible to presume that even parts of the budgetary deficits of the years 1921 to 1923 represented expenditure on this head. It takes no account of the losses inflicted on the community at large, or of the war pensions the State had to serve subsequently to the disabled and their dependents. The number of killed was according to a statement made by the Minister of War in the Sobranye on Nov. 22, 1927, 53,825 during the Balkan wars and 115,048 during the World war.

In 1929 there were 98,000 persons receiving pensions as war invalids or as dependents of such, and the amount of the annual charge this constituted to the budget was 372 million leva, or less than a paltry £6 a year per person at the then prevailing rate of exchange. This was all a grateful country could afford to pay to those of her sons who had been disabled in defending her. When such heroic sacrifices are so poorly requited, it is not surprising that its citizens' devotion towards it should perceptively cool and that they should turn for consolation to such subversive doctrines as Communism, which holds out the promise of greater justice and equity.

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THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS' LOANS

128 Owing to the non-application of the principle of nationality, regions almost exclusively peopled by Bulgarians were placed under the sovereignty of other Balkan States. The latter though they assumed certain obligations towards the ethnic minorities they incorporated, made light of such safeguards as the Treaties extended to these minorities and by a policv of ruthless denationalisation forced large numbers to emigrate and seek refuge in Bulgaria. A few years after the termination of the war, some 350,000 mostly destitute people had thus come to seek shelter in Bulgaria. They constituted a heavy burden on the country since it had to provide out of its scanty resources for the maintenance of the greater number of these unfortunate people. If the League of Nations had watched and insisted on the carrying out of the obligations imposed by the Treaties, it would have been very easy not only to have stemmed this flow of destitute people into Bulgaria, but to have obliged Bulgaria's neighbours to repatriate most of these unfortunates who had been driven from their homes by persecution.

457 However nothing was done, and the Bulgarian Government finding it difficult to raise the requisite means wherewith to assist this mass of suffering humanity, appealed to the League of Nations for aid. It was reasonable to expect that the League would respond to this appeal and succour Bulgaria without seeking to exploit the misfortunes of a luckless nation, but instead, capital was made out of Bulgaria's helplessness in order to squeeze something further out of her. It is necessary for British and American holders of these loans floated under the aegis of the League, that they should realise how shamefully Bulgaria has been exploited in her hour of need for the benefit of certain International Financiers,

and how these grasping Shylocks have by their disgraceful manoeuvres consummated Bulgaria's ruin and brought about her insolvency. Certainly, this action was rendered possible by the abjectness of certain Bulgarian politicians, who either out of purblindness, astuteness or for personal or party motives, facilitated the spoliation of their country, brought ruin to her and at the same time involved in that ruin a number of well-intentioned people who thought that by subscribing to the loan raised purposely for the settlement of refugees in Bulgaria under the sponsorship of the League of Nations, they were doing a praiseworthy act and at the same time were not exposing their savings to any untoward risk. Sir Arthur Salter in his recent book "Recovery" p. 106 grandiloquently asseverates: 457

"I venture to challenge a denial from any responsible person acquainted with the public borrowings of the years 1926—28 of the assertion that, with the exception of loans recommended by the League of Nations and the Central Banks, the bulk of the foreign loans in these years to public authorities in debtor countries would better not have been made.".

Why he excepts League of Nations' loans, it is hard for one to say, but there is not the slightest doubt that if there were loans which ought never to have been made, it is these two loans to Bulgaria.

The financial Committee of the League of Nations as soon as Bulgaria's demand was submitted to it, decreed that as a preliminary condition Bulgaria ought to agree to revalorise gradually her pre-war loans making them reinbursable in gold francs instead of paper francs, in which currency the Bulgarian Government was repaying them. The Bulgarian Government was paying regularly both interest and annuities in full in French francs, the majority of the bonds being labelled in francs, while British subjects who held the same script issued in sterling had been prevailed upon to accept payment also in

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457 French francs so that they might not be unduly advantaged in comparison with their French colleagues whose national currency had depreciated to 1/5th of its original value. This was a sensible arrangement, for if wealthy France was repaying the gold francs she had borrowed from her creditors in depreciated paper francs it could not be expected that Bulgaria after the amputation of her wealthiest provinces should proceed to refund her French creditors on a more lavish scale then they themselves were being reimbursed by their own State. It is really surprising that these gentlemen of the Financial Committee should have never heard of France's behaviour towards British investors in the French War Loans and of the controversy which arose between them and the French Government over the decision of the latter to repay them in paper francs instead of gold francs, which decision was maintained in spite of the repeated protests of the injured party, and that despite the precedent thus created by France they should have proceeded to reverse it in favour of the nationals of the very country which had issued it. Of course, if Bulgaria had adequate resources to pay her liabilities, she would be free to dispose of her money as she liked, but when her obligations to her American and British creditors are left indischarged on the specious plea of an inadequacy of resources, while such available resources as exist are being utilised to pay her French creditors over and above what they ought to receive, American and British bondholders have a right to protest against such unfair discrimination. Why should Bulgaria be allowed to pay her debts to the French in gold francs instead of in paper francs, depriving thereby some of her creditors of their legitimate share of assets in order that some others may be advantaged? The City of Tokio loan contracted in 1912 in francs in spite of all the pother roused in France and her insistance

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on its being reimbursed in gold francs by a decision of the Supreme Japanese Court taken in December 1934 is to e paid in paper francs.

If Japan is allowed to repay her debts to France in *paper* francs why should Bulgaria be constrained to reinburse hers in *gold* to the manifest prejudice of her other creditors? It is obvious that by advantaging some at the expense of others the Financial Committee of the League of Nations did not act independently in the matter, but that it was biassed in favour of certain French banks which were the principal holders of these Bulgarian bonds. Thus in order to secure the privilege of obtaining the League of Nations' help for her refugees, Bulgaria was constrained to increase her disbursements for the service of her pre-war loans from 81 million leva in the year 1921 to a sum gradually rising to 270 in 1931 and to 486 in 1934. The service of the Refugee Loan demands 186 million leva annually, and bears a nominal interest of 7 %; it is easy to calculate that this extra burden imposed on the Bulgarian Exchequer, the acceptance of which had been made an indespensable preliminary to the floating of the Refugee Loan, brought up in 1931 the interest payable on this Loan to about 10·5 %, the extra 3·5 % being pocketed by people who did not subscribe a single penny of the money handed over to Bulgaria for her refugees! If the Financial Committee was not intent on favouring thus certain particular interests, there was another way of coming to the assistance of Bulgaria, and this was pointed out repeatedly in the Bulgarian Chamber by M. Muchanov, the former Bulgarian Prime Minister and by others. As it is known, Art. 132 of the Treaty of Neuilly imposed a mortgage on all assets and revenues of Bulgaria in order to secure the payment of Reparations and this right was waived by the Reparation Commision so that the two League of Nation loans might have certain

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•457 revenues assigned to them. This same Commission agreed that the payment of reparations would be suspended entirely if their transfer was likely to compromise the stability of the Bulgarian currency and thus endanger the payment of the service of these loans. So that it would have been quite practicable for the Financial Commission of the League of Nations to have given their support to the suggestions which came from Bulgaria. Thus M. Muchanov speaking in the Sobranye on September 27,1926 affirmed: „To grant such privileges to the pre-war loans and instead of maintaining the existing convention, to accept to repay them on the basis of 100 % in gold is not a humane act... if the payment of Reparations had been postponed, Bulgaria could easily have financed the settlement of her refugees by employing for five years the reparation annuities for this purpose without assuming any other burdens such as the upkeep of commissaries and delegates, like M. Charron and other honourable people, whose first thought on their arrival here was to buy a Mercedes car costing 700,000 to 800,000 leva". On December 7,1926 M. Muchanov after denouncing the loan as not a humanitarian one since it increased the amount payable on the pre-war loans and thereby crippled Bulgaria, went so far as to affirm that Bulgaria could have financed if necessary the settlement of the refugees out of her own resources.

„The State by economising might itself have found adequate means for the refugees. We could raise, 200 millions a year for a period of 6 years or a total of 1200 millions just as previous governments had provided 160 millions during each of the preceeding two years".

Another deputy, M. A. Gospodinov, approving the above added that Bulgaria had been shamefully exploited while she was in a difficult position. In fact M. Muchanov was not very far out in his estimate of the approximate cost

of installing the refugees. Out of a nominal sum of 2,246 million leva provided by the Refugee loan, some 1,613 millions only were used for assisting them and the money was expended not in a lump sum but in the course of 5 years in varying instalments. The former Finance Minister, M. Stefanov, speaking in the Sobranye on May 10 1932, affirmed: „We could have avoided contracting the Refugee loan since it was spent in instalments of about 170 millions a year, practically the equivalent of its annual service. It was a huge mistake since it obliged us to accept the revalorisation of the pre-war loans." Naturally the treatment meted out to Bulgaria was strongly reasented and often denounced. Thus M. Ilia Yanulov, a socialist deputy, well known to League of Nations' circles did not hesitate to deliver himself in the following terms in the Sobranye on April 11, 1928:

„From the proceeds of the Refugee loan only 1450 millions will be used for the refugees, almost a whole million has been diverted to other purposes such as the payment of old debts and reparations and yet this loan was dubbed humanitarian. It was a scandalous proceeding without precedent in all financial history. Owing to the revalorisation of pre-war loans we assume to reimburse within 39½ years a total of 6,624 millions in repayment of the 1,450 millions spent on the refugees. The Financial Committee of the League of Nations was nothing but an advisory body of bankers and not a part of the League of Nations. We should refuse to bow to such an idol. Why should we assume this liability of 6·50 milliard leva? In order to stabilise an international order which permits Serbia to annihilate Bulgarians (in Macedonia), Greece to expel Bulgarians from her territory and Rumania to deprive Bulgarians of the lands they possess (in the Dodrudja)"?

No wonder that Bulgarian deputies seeing the shameless exploitation to which their country had been subjected openly advocated default. Thus on June 9, 1932 deputy P. Stoev speaking in the Sobranye stated:

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"Russia has renounced her 80 millions we owed her. The masses of the nation desire the complete writing off of all the other State loans".

Another well known deputy M. P. N. Dackalov followed by stating that Bulgeria had already paid two milliard gold francs on behalf of reparations and this was bleeding Bulgaria white. He also denounced the insincerity of the former Minister of Finances, M. Mollov, who at Geneva represented Bulgaria's position as financially good and her budgets as showing surpluses, while at the same time he sent delegates to Paris to show that the contrary was the case. To ease the atmosphere, M. Stefanov, the Minister of Finance, then got up and stated: that Sir Arthur Salter in his report recommended that the loan to the refugees should not exceed 600,000 to 650,000 leva, but every effort was made to increase the total of the loan for which increase there was no justification whatever and this led to the demand for the revalorisation of the pre-war loans. This was confirmed on another occasion by Prof. G. P. Ghenov in the Sobranye on May 16, 1932 who asserted that if the Government had had the courage to reject the Refugee loan, the revalorisation of Bulgaria's pre-war loans would have never been imposed.

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From the above it becomes evident that the Financial Committee of the League of Nations did not act impartially and that it committed an act of favouritism on behalf of the holders of the Bulgarian pre-war loans and grossly prejudiced thereby the interests of the subscribers of these Bulgarian League of Nations' loans floated at its recommendation and under its auspices. There is no doubt that certain members of the Liaptchev Government, which was in power from 1926 to 1931 are also largely to blame for what has occurred and they were overtly accused of benefitting by these transactions, thus deputy T. Tonkov on May 14,1932 did not hesitate to in-

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terpellate M. Mollov in the Sobranye in the following terms which can hardly be considered as equivocal: 457 661

'I do not know whether you used the proceeds of these loans to establish yourself or the refugees for the latter still live in huts'.

As for the Government's responsibility in saddling Bulgaria with this onerous arrangement, Dr. Beshkov declared on April 20, 1932 in the Sobranye that Liaptchev and Burov were to blame for agreeing in 1926 to reimburse the pre-war loans in gold instead of in paper francs.

When such an example of gross spoliation was set at the top by those who were supposed to supervise and control the funds raised on behalf of the refugees we need not feel suprised that lesser officials manifested little zeal in practising economy and preventing embezzlements. Obviously, the borrowers were encouraged to have a few years of artificial prosperity in order to forget the bitterness engendered by the imposition of such onerous clauses.

Thus in July 1933 the Bulgarian Press cited the names of certain architects and engineers employed by the State in supervising the settlement of the refugees, of having embezzled some 15,000,000 leva, and it was further stressed that out of the construction of 264 houses built at Kavacli for housing the refugees some 5 millions had been misappropriated by them. These malversations were first denounced by M. Vlassakov, a courageous outspoken journalist, and he continued his campaign of denunciation in the *Mir* in spite of M. Charron's (the League of Nations' delegate in Bulgaria) efforts to hush up the matter, and the menaces and threats of the incriminated parties. For a time he was even prevailed upon by official circles to cease writing as he was assured that a commission of inquiry had been appointed to examine into these peculations, but as little was done and the

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culprits remained as active as before, he returned to the charge and continued his exposures. He affirms that over 18,000,000 leva were embezzled by two persons alone who had issued paying orders without adequate justification.

Another revelation as to the improper use of the money provided by the Refugee loan was made by the "Radical" December 6, 1932. This paper being the mouthpiece of M. Kosturkov, former minister of railways, was qualified to know how matters stood. 300 millions from the proceeds of the Refugee Loan were earmarked for the construction of the Rakovski-Mastanli railway but a large part was dissipated in a spirit of levity that illustrates the utter disregard shown by the Liaptchev administration for the obligations it assumed in formal protocols to private creditors. It shows at the same time to what extent M. Kosturkov was vigilant and anxious to cut down expenses in his department. In this he holds a record, for in the two years of his administration he reduced its expenditure by 500 millions. It was his parsimony and scrupulousness which incited his more profligate colleagues to organise the political cabal which caused his overthrow and brought just and swift retribution in the coup d'état of May 19, 1934. Thus the paper stated: "The bridge over the river Arda cost 10 millions while the one over the Sutliika though one fourth the size cost 9,800,000 leva. The discrepancy was due to the bad administration of the Democratic Entente, this will also explain why this railway line is the most expensive one in Bulgaria, costing 4,150,000 leva per kilometer". What many of us will resent even more than the improper use of of our money was that the houses destined for the refugees were very badly built and M. Vlassakov in one of his numerous articles in the *Mir*, August, 1,1933, affirmed that in the Burgas districts hundreds of thousands of leva had to be spent on repairing these houses within

a year of their termination, as 20 % to 50 % of the bricks employed in their construction were of too inferior a quality. And these imputations levelled by M. Vlassakov as to the bad housing of the refugees are well founded for deputy N. Traikov speaking in the Sobranye on March 17, 1932, complained that though these houses cost each 35,000 leva they were badly built, and the people cannot stand erect in them. 457 661

What speaks volumes for the honesty of the masses and contrasts strongly with the behaviour of its leaders is that the refugees to whom this deputy refers after complaining to him of their difficulties, of the impossibility of refunding the cost of their lands and homes to the government, expressed their readiness to evacuate them. For the lands and houses were not presented free to the refugees, but were to be bought by them on easy instalments, the State retaining a mortgage on them until fully reimbursed. The sums thus obtained are to serve for the reimbursement of the loan. By August 31, 1934 the sum of 20,203,733 leva had been reimbursed by the refugees; it is owing to the drop in the value of agricultural produce that proceeds from this head have been so scanty. Some of the funds set aside for the establishment of refugees were specially ear-marked for the draining of marshes, for Bulgaria had not sufficient land to provide for all their requirements. Apparently certain sums so destined were most uneconomically employed, provoking the righteous indignation of a talented deputy, who in his much commented and appreciated book "Among the people wrote as follows on the subject (p. 64):

The authority in charge of the settlement of refugees has bragged a lot about its efforts to drain the Indjekoy marsh (near Mesembria) and proclaiming that it had thus reclaimed a vast track of land. In fact ¾ of this area was grazing land equally as valuable as the arable land into which it will now be converted; as to the remaining part, it is below sea level and without resorting to pumping

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it will remain a marsh. For the conversion of this area of 1000—1200 hectares from pasturage to arable land, 15 million leva[1] have been spent, or 15,000 leva per hectare! (the price of arable land, is less than half this figure in Bulgaria), as to the annual cost of maintaining the drains, the future alone will enlighten us. But this is not all! In order that the cattle of the future settlers may be led to pasture, six huge concrete bridges each capable of sustaining a load of twenty tons were constructed. Will they start breeding Brobdingnagian cattle in these newly opened lands, or is it in tanks that they will transport their harvest? — six bridges costing six million leva. If this is not waste I do not know what else it may be called. At a short distance, all in a group, six colossal bridges, while along the whole lower course of the Kamtsia, that of the Taka Dere and the Karabounar river there is not a single bridge, so that whole districts remain isolated, as if in foreign territory. Thus insensately millions out of this much advertised refugee loan have been dispersed. Let us pray these millions will soon be exhausted in order that these mad acts may also cease."

In the face of these facts are not American and British bondholders entitled to call to account the Financial Committee of the League of Nations and to ask for an explanation not only of their own behaviour but of that of their delegate in Bulgaria, M. Charron, who apparently was too engrossed in contemplating the natural beauties of that country while rolling along in his luxurious Mercedes car, provided as M. Muchanov stated at the cost of some 700,000—800,000 leva out of the moneys subscribed by the bondholders of the Refugee loan?

The debates in the Sobranye on the so-called Stabilisation Loan raised in 1928 reveal that the same policy of exploiting the difficult position Bulgaria was in continued, naturally with the connivance of the same ministers and in spite of public opinion, as far this may be ascertained in Bulgaria, which was decidedly against the conclusion of the loan, as it could be clearly foreseen

[1] This is an underestimate, according to an official report dated March 24, 1933 the sum expended on draining this marsh was 19,230,866.

that it would bring no relief, but that on the contrary it would only involve fresh burdens for the country. The triumvirate, Liaptchev-Mollov-Burov which was in charge of the government had come to the conclusion that the more commercial and private debts Bulgaria concluded the better, for they would certainly get precedence over the political, and that the payment of the latter would be suspended in order that Bulgaria might pay the former. It was thus good policy to run into debt in order to avoid paying indemnities, and in the meantime Bulgaria in her turn had the satisfaction of squeezing something out of her exploiters. It was an astute deal, and the disappointment and loss subsequently inflicted on the financiers who undertook the underwriting of these loans was fully deserved by them. What one regrets is the small investor who fell a victim to the intrigues and cupidity of these two rival camps of astuteness and rascality. When taken subsequently to task in the Sobranye for his financial policy, the late M. Liaptchev attemped to vindicate himself by hinting that default on a large scale would ensue, thus turning to his successor in office, M. Muchanov he made this illuminating remark:

> There will be no loss to Bulgaria. The Prime Minister affirmed in the Committee of Foreign Affairs that he would buy up all the bonds of these two loans for 500 millions. Is it not so M. le President ?

M. Muchanov's answer is not recorded in the Parliamentary minutes (Sept. 6, 1932), evidently it was not politic to dilate on such a thorny matter for... "taisez vous, mefiez vous, les oreilles enemies vous écoutent!"

British investors who subscribed to these loans did so because they inferred that their Government which was represented on the Council of the League of Nations which had approved them, had likewise done so. Their savings were supposed to be safeguarded from improper

•457 use by international control in which their own Government was to participate, and if there has not been proper supervision it should shoulder its share of responsibility. In 1933 the British Government went out of its way and paid £5,500,000 in order to meet "a moral obligation" on its dollar bonds of 1917, though there was no legal obligation upon it to assume a liability of which it had been relieved by the action of the United States when it went off the gold standard and abrogated the gold clause. The Chancellor of the Exchequer championed with considerable warmth the rights of these bondholders "until a short time ago" he said, "they had every reason to suppose that those rights were valid. In these circumstances we came to the conclusion — indeed, we could not resist the conclusion — that we had some moral obligation towards these people etc". Sir Stafford Cripps and others denounced in very plain language:

> "We do very strongly resent this special finding of £5,500,000 for the City of London, because that is what it comes to. . . If we were going to embark on that principle there were better recipients of our bounty than the bondholders of this particular issue. The vast majority of these bonds were now in the hands of quite different people from those who originally lent the money".

Nevertheless the measure was passed and a precedent created which may be usefully invoked by British holders of these Bulgarian loans, who if they cannot secure an indemnity from their own Government should at least secure its support for obtaining a more equitable share in the distribution of the available assets.

However some people may criticise this act of the British Government it serves to emphasize one principle, namely that investors who have suffered a loss through depreciation of currency are entitled to some compensation. This must have been acknowledged even by the

•457 Bulgarian Government when it agreed to repay its pre-war French loans on a gold basis instead of in paper francs. What is somewhat disconcerting however, is that having shown itself so punctilious towards its French creditors it should have failed to comport itself in the same manner towards its American and British creditors, who more gentlemanly, and imbued with a greater sense of fair play, had not attempted like the French to make Bulgaria shoulder the loss which their own governments had inflicted on them by decreeing the depreciation of their respective currencies.

As has been explained, a preliminary condition for the conclusion of the Refugee loan was that of Bulgaria's acceptance of the revalorisation of her pre-war debts, a condition which was clearly a case of favouritism at the expense not only of the Bulgarian public, but also of *bona-fide* investors in this loan. This same policy, though on a smaller scale, was also pursued in connection with the 1928 loan. In order to secure the necessary revenue for the payment of the service of the loan, the Reparation Commission agreed to waive its rights on the customs revenues of the State and assign them specially to this purpose. Art. 132 of the Treaty of Neuilly had pledged all assets and revenues of Bulgaria to this Reparation Commission. The rights of the latter on this branch of revenue were implicit and indisputable for whatever claims German nationals may have had on this particular item they had renounced them, as becomes clear by art. 139 of the same Treaty which plainly stipulates: "If, in accordance with articles 235 and 260 of the Treaty of Peace with Germany, all rights, interests and securities held by any German... national under the contracts and agreements regulating the loan concluded by Bulgaria in Germany in July 1914, are taken over by the Reparation Commission, the Bulgarian Government undertakes to

457 do everything in its power to facilitate this transfer". This loan alluded to, had been contracted by the Diskonto Gesellshaft, but as this German bank had not fulfilled its part of the contract with the Bulgarian government, all its rights had lapsed; besides the Bulgarian Government had a formidable range of claims against the Germans, so that there was not a ghost of evidence to show that there was the slightest justification for raising this veritable skeleton in the cupboard. As M. Liaptchev himself admitted in the Sobranye on June 28, 1928. „We appointed a judicial commission to consider the Diskonto Gesellschaft's claims and it has reported that it had no legal ground whatever for them". Nevertheless the Financial Committee of the League of Nations thought that this question of the Diskonto Gesellschaft's lapsed rights might serve as a colourable pretext for extorting from the wretched Bulgarian peasantry a few hundred millions. As to the motives which inspired this sudden solicitude for the German bank no one can be so artless as to entertain any doubts. As the Sobranye would have rejected outright the loan if this proposed indemnification of the Diskonto Gesellschaft had been divulged this was judiciously hidden from the deputies as becomes evident from a passage in the interpellation addressed by the veteran Bulgarian parliamentarian, M. Ilia Gheorgov, to the Government on March 16, 1928,

> "It is rumoured that Bulgaria will be forced to assume certain engagements towards the Diskonto Gesellschaft. A parliamentary regime demands that the Chamber should be consulted and not placed before a *fait accompli*".

When later it became known that the Liaptchev administration had accepted to satisfy the Financial Committee's demand on this subject a chorus af denunciations arose in the Sobranye, M. Muchanov, the leader of the Opposition declared on June 28, 1928: "Since the

Govern ment knew that this question had to be settled before securing the loan, it ought to have asked the Sobranye's opinion prior to accepting the loan protocole." M. Pastuhov, one of the leaders of the Socialist party added: 457

"This secret should not have been kept from the Sobranye by the Minister of Finance so that the acceptance of the loan protocol might be made easy. His assurance that nothing is to be paid to the Diskonto out of the loan is humbug; the latter bank being now in close association with English and other banks, its claims will be considered".

While M. Gheorghov again denounced the unparliamentary attitude of the government in mystifying the Chamber and insisted that at least the question of Bulgaria's claims against Germany should be simultaneously discussed with those of the Diskonto Gesellschaft. The voting of this loan caused an uproar in the Sobranye and what proves its unpopularity was that it split the Government majority, usually a body characterised by extreme docility and keen attentiveness to the behests of those on high. The feelings of every independently minded and intelligent Bulgarian were correctly interpreted by Dr. Beshkov, an Opposition deputy, when he affirmed in the Sobranye on November 14, 1928:

"With an annual deficit of some 500 millions in our balance of payments increased by 170 millions of the annuity of the Refugee loan and by 250 to 260 millions that of the new loan, all the reserves at the National Bank will soon be exhausted and a new loan needed. The present loan will only serve to stabilise temporarily the party in power but not our national economy. We shall not vote for it".[1]

Another deputy. M. G. Petrov was equally outspoken:

"In a few years the funds provided by the loan will be exhausted and we shall find ourselves in the same situation as now The deficits in the budgets arise from the payment of political debts; by

[1] Both the former Prime Minister M. K. Gheorghiev and Minister of Finance, P. Todorov, who were deputies and nominal supporters of the Government voted against the loan.

457 balancing them with loans we simply transform political indebtedness into commercial or private indebtedness".

It is idle to contend that the Financial Committee of the Leangue of Nations was not aware of the state of affairs in Bulgaria and that it allowed itself to be hoodwinked by that quintessence of diplomatic finesse, the triumvirate Liaptchev—Mollov—Burov. It bears even a greater share of responsibility than these Bulgarian Ministers, for the loss investors in these loans have suffered, since it cannot even offer the same justification for its acts as the latter, who as several Bulgarian deputies affirmed, contracted the loans in order to stabilise, at least temporarily, their seats on the Ministerial bench. What greater condemnation can there be of this insensate policy than that contained in the utterences in the Sobranye of M. Stefanov, the succeeding Minister of Finances, on June 17, 1932 and July 10, 1932:

"Bulgaria could have done without any loans these last years, in such a case she would have had to provide 600 million less annually, this being the amount she has to disburse now on account of the last two loans and for the revalorisation of the pre-war loans. This would have constituted a great relief, and would have allowed Bulgaria to live without worries... The burden of the reparations has not worsened our condition as we ourselves have worsened it by our financial and other transactions. It is true that the reparations constituted a heavy charge but this imposition can not serve to disculpate us for our errors".

457 652 In fact as soon as the proceeds of these two loans became available, the Liaptchev administration began indulging in an orgy of squandering in order to placate its adherents and to show that it could act with munificence worthy of a great government. If we turn once more to M. Stefanov's speeches we shall find him relating:

"In 1928 there were over two milliards of uncollected taxes which in the next two years had increased to 2800 millions, 75% of which could have been collected if the Government had so wished, but there was no effort to do so. No measures were taken to stop in

time the drain on the gold reserves of the National Bank and to-day we are obliged to cut down ruthlessly imports into Bulgaria for we only have foreign exchange enough to meet the requirements of 10% to 30% of our indispensable imports. There has been waste in every direction; in order to show the electorate that the Government had not forgotten it, the construction of railway lines and public works had been started in all directions and had to be suspended later for lack of funds. It will take 12 years to terminate these lines. There was no system, no policy whatever".

In another speech, on June 1, 1932, M. Stefanov informs us that the Liaptchev administration was equally prodigal in the matter of granting loans to towns and communes out of the State Exchequer, or with the State's guarantee; 2744 millions had thus been advanced of which only 400 millions had so far been reimbursed. Many communes were not paying even interest on these advances and the money might well be considered as good as lost.

Concerning the indefensible prodigality the Liaptchev administration displayed in its public works policy it is not necessary to turn to its successors in office in order to find it criticised. It was condemned even by its supporters at the time while it was still indulging in this phenomenal profligacy. Thus in the Parliamentary minutes (June 28, 1928) we read of M. D. Neikov, a government supporter who proceeded to lecture the Government in the following terms:

"The Government has no plan in railway construction and complete anarchy prevails. Eighteen lines are being constructed simultaneously. We start constructing and then suspend work. The earthworks of the Tserven Breg-Teteven line had been completed but the work stopped and the elements have washed them away. If the line is to be constructed the work will have to be done over again. It is the same with the Panagurishte-Plovdiv line. What are we to say however about the fact that, having already a railway between Sarambey and Tsepino, the Government starts constructing a parallel line Tatar-Pazardjic-Tsepino. Does this not prove that we are

457 actuated not by our country's interest but by those of our partisans or by our own private ones?"

652 This speaker was succeeded by another Government deputy, M. G. T. Popov, who confirmed his colleagues' recriminations in the following rejoinder:

"Whoever passes by Tatar Pazardjic sees that money is spent uselessly. . . This railway line is a monument of waste and extravagance".

457 Similar criticisms might be quoted ad infinitum, they came both from official and unofficial circles and bondholders may well ask what was the delegate of the League of Nations doing? True, his functions were to see that the Bulgarian Government made arrangements to pay the annuities of the loans, but it was easy to foresee that the wastefulness of the Government was rapidly exhausting the resources of the country and that it would be impossible to provide for the payment of the coupons in a few years. But apparently there was a cordial entente between the custodian and those who had been confided to his custody. Obviously, if the Financial Committee had imposed on the Bulgarian Ministers the acceptance of the revalorisation of the Bulgarian pre-war loans entailing a supplementary charge of 8500 million leva (see M. Yanulov's speech in the Sobranye (Feb. 12, 1929) to the Bulgarian Exchequer, such generosity had to be requited by the Financial Committee blinking at the intensive "affairisme" of their clandestine associates. This occult fraternisation lasted sometime, for the Bulgarian Ministers equally agreed to raise no opposition about the resurrection of the Diskonto Gesellschaft's untenable claims solemnly abrogated by Articles 235 and 260 of the Treaty of Versailles, and Article 139 of the Treaty of Neuilly. This shady transaction resulted in Bulgaria being saddled with a further total charge of 20,825,000 gold francs, repayable in annual instalments until 1944. In this case no French

politicians, ever alert to denounce threatening infringements of their sacro-sanct Treaties, denounced this gross violation of both Treaties of Neuilly and Versailles. Of course it was a mere matter of fleecing some Bulgarian peasants, or of relieving some American and British investors of a part of their superfluous wealth so why bother about such trivialities! This harmonious co-operation between the Financial Committee of the League of Nations and the Liaptchev Government would have gone on still, for the gullibility of the investing public is well known, and the sign-post of the League of Nations as an association of underwriters is bound to inspire greater confidence than that of a Hatry or a Krüger. 457

The floating of loans presupposes the existence of needy borrowers, spending therefore required encouragement, for if borrowers did not spend the money they raised, they would have no need to resort anew to the bankers. This is self evident and explains the profligacy of the Liaptchev administration, which turned a deaf ear even to the disapprobatory remarks of its more parsimonious supporters. As Prof. G. P. Ghenov affirmed in the Sobranye on May 16, 1932:

> "Its policy was to govern the country by concluding loans every three or four years. It had prepared the preliminary steps for the conclusion of a loan destined to foster Bulgarian co-operative societies".

But those Bulgarian peasants proved too suspicious; the members of the co-operatives gave the alarm. The contents of this cornucopia which the Government wanted to empty on them must contain mixed blessings, it smacked of *"timeo Danaos et dona ferentes"*, for surely foreigners were not going to shower their gold on Bulgaria for nothing! So that when the electorate was consulted in 1931 M. Liaptchev's applecart was upset to his immense surprise and dismay. This was a stroke of luck for the

457 would-be investors in that prospective Bulgarian Co-operatives' Loan which the League of Nations was preparing to patronise; for those would-be investors might now have been in the same fix as the bondholders of the two other loans floated under the alluring and alas! delusive aegis of the League of Nations.

457 65 The Refugee Loan floated in 1926 was labelled in pounds sterling and dollars and was in its great bulk subscribed by American and British investors. It was repayable in 40 years, the price of issue was 92 and the yield 7%. The nominal amount was £3,300,000 and $4,500,000 but the net proceeds available to Bulgaria were £2,112,000 and £3,915,000 for some £625,889 were employed for the reinbursement of the Bulgarian Exchequer bonds issued in 1912-1913 to the French Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas. The money borrowed had been in French francs and the bank was repaid in the current rate of the franc and not in gold and though this arrangement seemed quite fair, yet there were Bulgarian deputies who considered that the Bank had been unduly favoured. (See Prof. P. Stoyanov's speech in the Sobranye Sept. 24, 1926). But when, one comes to consider the case of the revalorisation of the pre-war loans, it is apparent that it was a case of swallowing the camel and straining at its tail. Specific revenues were assigned to its service such as the excise on salt and alcohol and the proceeds of the match monopoly. Further, the Reparation Commission agreed to suspend the payment of reparations if such transfers were likely to affect the stability of the Bulgarian currency. A further security was provided by the fact that the State had undertaken to place at the disposal of the refugees 132,000 hectares of land, and the refugees were to refund both the value of the land and of the houses to be built out of the funds provided by the loan. The money to be

derived from this source was to be earmarked for the repayment of the loan. For this purpose the farms of the refugees had been mortgaged to the Bulgarian Agricultural Bank, which was to supervise the refunding of these sums by the refugees. To all intents and purposes there was full security, the special revenues assigned to the service of the loan providing three times the amount needed for its service though recently the yield of these taxes has slightly decreased. Repayments by the refugees have dwindled, for owing to the fall in the price of agricultural produce they are not in a position to continue the reimbursements of their mortgages. A large number of them had been expelled from Greece, but by the Kalfov-Politis and the Mollov-Cafandaris protocols, which received the sanction of the League of Nations, Greece had undertaken to indemnify them for their possessions which they had left behind. Bulgaria had likewise bound herself to indemnify such Greeks as emigrated from Bulgaria. As the number of Bulgarians who were forced to leave Greece was far in excess of the Greeks leaving Bulgaria, there was an outstanding balance due by Greece to Bulgaria of 1,030 million leva, which sum had it been transferred to the Bulgarian refugees (See M. Smilov's speech in the Sobranye May 5, 1932) would have served for the paying off by them of their mortgages to the Bulgarian Agricultural Bank, and the money would have been used for the gradual repayment of the loan. Nothing, however has been done to compel Greece to carry out her obligations on this head. The Kalfov-Politis agreement admits that the obligation is of a private character, and that the balance arising from the exchanged properties should be handed to the refugees. This stipulation however is not refterated in the Mollov—Cafandaris agreement which superseded it and Greece now takes advantage of the moratorium on inter-government liabilities to put off the settlement of this debt claiming that

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it is not a private matter but a governmental one. Prof. G. N. Ghenov speaking in the Sobranye on March 16, 1932 on this matter stated:

"The Hague Court to which the matter had been referred found that it was not within its province, but the case of the Hungarian optans proves the rectitude of Bulgaria's point of view, namely that it was a case of private debts which should be respected. Bulgaria had concluded a loan to enable these people to settle, if she receives money from Greece she will reimburse the loan, if she is not paid why should she be bound to pay in her turn"?

A perfectly judicious remark, though hardly reassuring to the bondholders who had better see that justice be done to Bulgaria if they wish the latter to do justice to them.

According to official data, a total of 1,619,064,310 leva provided by the State had been expended on the winding up of the department entrusted with the settlement of refugees, on the housing and assisting the refugees, draining marshes, constructing roads, and the railway line Rakovski—Mastanli etc., according to the summary appended below:

	Leva
Preparatory work on lands	77,879,200
Seeds etc.	75,167,806
Cattle	182,097,700
Agricultural implements & carts	81,026,153
Construction of houses	657,692,692
Draining of marshes	122.584,359
Railroad line Rakovski-Mastanli	324,872,617
Roads	13,971,109
Hygiene, Anti-malaria campaign etc.	18,220,905
Water adduction and improvements	36,330,852
Accountancy & general expenses	53,589,570
Total. . .	1,643,432,963

According to a statement by M. Gr. Vassilev in the Sobranye (Feb. 3, 1932) 30,099 families had been financially assisted and settled in rural districts and 7,896 in urban localities. The majority had come from Greece;

7,896 from Western Thrace and 11,705 from Greek Macedonia, 1,240 from Serbian Macedonia 1856 from the west confines of Bulgaria which had been ceded to Serbia, 3,748 from the Dobrudja, and 15,802 from Turkey. There were a few thousand families which had not been in need of State help. 457 65

The balance of the loan over and above the 1,643,433,963 leva was not used for productive purposes; it served to pay reparations and debts, a matter which was strongly criticised in the Sobranye and which has been referred to.

The Stabilisation Loan floated in 1928 was labelled in pounds sterling, dollars, and French francs and was issued for the nominal amounts of £ 1,800,000. $ 13,000,000 and Frs. 130,000,000, the net proceeds being £ 1,616,713-13-0, $ 11,910,750 and Frs. 116,350,000, or a total of 3,370,065,553 leva. The price of issue was 96 in England, 97 in the United States and 98.20 in France, and the yield 7.5%.

The revenue from customs affected to the service of the loan was far in excess of the amount required, and although there has been a marked falling off in custom dues, yet the amount raised annually is still sufficient (774 millions in 1932-3 & 514 millions in 1933-4) to provide twice over the requisite sum. The proceeds of the loan were utilised as follows: £ 1,500,000 paid to the National Bank in partial reimbursement of its advances to the State, £ 500,000 and £ 150,000 each to the Agricultural and Co-operative Bank, so that their scope of action might be extended, £ 1,100,000 were used to wipe off budget deficits, £ 1,250,000 employed for the overhauling of railways, roads and ports, and £ 500,000 for repairing the damage caused by the earthquake in the Plovdiv region. Simultaneously the sphere of action of the National Bank was rigorously limited and defined so as to shield it from all interference from the State.

●457 652 Thus the amount of exchequer bonds it was allowed to discount was limited to 400 million leva and a foreign counsellor was appointed to supervise its accounts and report to the League of Nations on its activities.

Bulgaria, like other countries, has been severely hit by the fall in the price of agricultural produce which has happened since 1929. There has been a marked drop in the State revenues with the result that the budget has continually been closed with deficits, but owing to the draconian measures adopted since 1929 with the object of curtailing imports and thus restricting the outflow of gold from the country, the government has succeeded since 1930 in transforming an almost perpetually passive commercial balance into an active one (except for the year 1932 which showed an excess of imports over exports of 88 millions). Unfortunately, owing to the existing system of clearings and quotas, the realised surplus from excesses of exports over imports to and from one country is not always available for the discharge of a debt towards another country. The principal creditor countries, Great Britain, France, and the United States continue to export to Bulgaria far in excess of what they import from her. Especially this is so in the case of England, for until quite recently Bulgaria used to buy from her six to seven times as much as what she sold. It is obvious therefore that Bulgaria was not in a position to transfer sufficient sums with which to pay her excess of imports over exports, and at the same time to effect the service of her debt towards these States. It devolves on these countries to furnish greater trading facilities to Bulgaria, in order that she may be in a better position to discharge her obligations. This is especially incumbent in the case of Great Britain, which is in the course of losing one of her most valuable clients in the Near East, her exports to Bulgaria having gradually dwindled from 738.9 in 1929

to 152.2 in 1933 and 143 million leva in 1934 while her imports were reduced from 100.08 to 49.8 million leva between 1929 and 1933 (53 millions in 1934). 457 65

The surplus from the commercial balance is the only source from which external debts may be paid, since the gold resserves of the National Bank can not be further drawn upon without compromising the stability of the currency, and Bulgaria has no foreign investments providing other invisible resources. Owing to the continuous shrinkage of the exports and the consequent reduction of this surplus (160.1 million in 1930, 1,274 millions in 1931, a deficit of 88 millions in 1932, a surplus of 644 millions in 1933 and of 288 in 1934) the Bulgarian Government has found it impossible to meet its liabilities, notwithstanding the fact that owing to the moratorium on inter-governmental debts, it has been relieved of the obligation of providing annually some 10 million gold francs under the head of reparations. Thus in 1932 it was obliged to demand a partial suspension of its payments abroad, and this was conceded in the form of a reduction on the interest of its exterior debt to the extent of 40%. But this concession proved insufficient, and by an agreement signed in May 1934 the percentage of the interest payable was further reduced to 32.5% of the original sum for a period of two years, expiring on April 1st, 1936. By the end of 1934, however owing to the shrinkage of the excess of exports over imports, the Bulgarian Government declared itself unable to carry it out, and demanded that the rate of interest payable on its exterior debts should be reduced proportionately to its available resources. Its request is justifiable; since the creditor countries refuse to buy Bulgarian produce wherewith to provide their debtor with the means with which it can discharge its obligations, Bulgaria's creditors must bow to the inevitable. American and British bond-

•457 652 holders of the two last loans, however, are entitled to insist on a better repartition of the available surplus, for in this matter they have been wronged. Owing to the depreciation of their national currencies they were being paid 40 % less by the Bulgarian Government than what the latter was paying to the French subscribers of the Stabilisation loan.

In fact while the latter received 32 ½ % of the original amount of interest due, American and British bondholders were only receiving 19 %. But what seems a far greater injustice is that while American and British bondholders have forfeited 40% of what is due to them, owing to the depreciation of their national currencies, holders of the Bulgarian pre-war loans, labelled in francs, in spite of the fact that the currency in which their bonds are labelled has depreciated to the extent of 80%. should be receiving preferential treatment in the form of a gradually appreciating payment which will shortly attain gold parity. If American and British bondholders were being paid in full in their national currency, there would be no cause for complaining, but when Bulgaria who has taken full advantage of the depreciation of the pound sterling and of the dollar, and proceeds to reimburse her French creditors not in their national currency but in gold, and using for this purpose a portion of the available sum which is the common property of *all* her creditors, it is high time that a halt should be called. Naturally French bondholders who are always strongly backed by their government, will exert the utmost pressure on the Bulgarian Government in order to maintain their present position of vantage and it is useless to appeal to the Financial Committee of the League of Nations which has itself sanctioned this favouritism. The latter really represents the interests of International Finance and these birds of prey have shared the booty plucked from hapless Bulgaria, by ceding the spoils derived from

the revalorisation of her pre-war loans to the French group while reserving the proceeds of the opportunely resurrected claims of the Diskonto Gesellschaft to the Anglo-American or British groups. These are matters which even peasant deputies are conversant with in Bulgaria,[1] and which are powerfully working to poison public opinion against the West which alas! has distinguished itself rather by its rapacity than by anything else, and contributel to turn the country Bolshevik.[2]

The only hope for American and British bona-fide investors in these loans to better their position, is to organise themselves into a committee and take up the defence of their own interests. If they insisted on a more equitable distribution of the available surplus, not only they would get as much as they were receiving under the agreement of May, 1934, but they have a chance of bettering their position. The amount needed for the annual service of Bulgaria's foreign debt by this convention is some 236 million leva, while the available surplus of exports over imports for the year 1934 is 288 millions. It would seem therefore that the paltry 19% (instead of 32½%) of the interest originally due to them and which was served out to them by the above mentioned convention could be substantially increased. It lies also with the

[1] While the Stabilisation loan was discussed in the Sobranye, M. H. Baev, a peasant deputy, got up and in a vigourous invective denounced the Government for endeavouring to bamboozle the opposition by assurances that no promises had been given to consider the defunct claims of the Diskonto. "These" he said," had been bought for a mere song by English bankers and Bulgaria would be made to pay for them through the nose."

[2] One may well sympathise with Prof. F. Soddy when he proceeds to denounce the doings of international bankers and financiers and exhorts us to do away with "a hierarchy of impostors and humbugs whom it is the first task of a sane civilisation to expose and clear out". ("The role of money" p. 214).

000 quate reason. It would certainly be unfair and injudicious on their part to insist on exacting their full pound of flesh, such a strangulation of Bulgaria in the interests of a creditor minority would not be tolerated. But a demand 457 on the part of Bulgaria for an alleviation in the charge of 435 the actual debt is justifiable in view of the fact that the fall in world prices has increased the burden of the world's debts very considerably, and has therefore correspondingly improved the position of all creditors.

The extent to which this burden has increased, owing to the fall in agricultural produce in respect of these two League of Nations' Loans may be gauged by a very instructive article published a few years ago by the Association of Bulgarian Economists, which shows the respective values of the loans in tons of wheat at the time of their conclusion, and in 1930. It was thus explained that the total proceeds of the two loans at the time of their subscription was equivalent in value to 957,066 tons of wheat, while by 1930 owing to the fall in the price of commodities, Bulgaria would have had to provide 2,638,317 tons of wheat to raise the same amount of money wherewith to repay her debt. This shows to what extent Bulgaria's paying capacity has been impaired, but even if we adjusted it on this basis we should find that she should pay 35% of the original interest instead of the paltry 19% which she taking advantage of the depreciation of the American and British currencies has been serving out until quite recently to the American and British bondholders.[1] This

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[1] By an arrangement arrived at in April 1935, the Bulgarian government will continue paying 32½% of the interest due on these loans until Sept. 30, 1935. but of this amount only 15% will be transferred abroad for distribution, while the balance of 17½% will be placed to the credit of a blocked account. Discussions as to subsequent payments are to be resumed in October 1935. The dividend distributed during July 1935 on the Refugee Loan amounted to £5—5—0 per

is hardly fair and if this be brought to the knowledge of the Bulgarian public, it will itself protest against the discrimination which is being exhibited towards a section of its creditors. But unfortunately both the Bulgarian Government and public are helpless, they are bound by the shackles of the Treaty of Neuilly, they are not masters in their house. they are precluded from redressing the wrongs they suffer from, and which are inflicted on others in their name. It is rather on the American and British bondholders that this duty devolves, and when the latter decide to demand a more equitable treatment, let them realise that it entails also a larger share of justice to Bulgaria. For if the revalorisation of the pre-war debts

£1000 of nominal capital, but if the depreciation of the dollar and pound be taken into consideration, this was tantamount to a rate of 0·7% per annum. It will be of interest to bondholders to know that payment at the rate of 15% of the sums due on its foreign debt involves a total charge to the Bulgarian exchequer of 105,667,655 leva apportioned as follows among its foreign committments:

On the pre-war loans	40,735,216
" " two L. of N. loans	42,346,464
" " upkeep of the delegates of the pre-war loans & of the commissary of the L. of N.	4,674,236
" " 6½% 1923 loan	3,063,128
" " sum due to the Diskonto Gesellshaft	3,616,440
" " 7% 1923 loan (utilised for settlement of the des Clusières affair	640,594
On the amount due to the Jonction Salonique-Constantinople railway (paid integrally 100%)	10,561,387

Bondholders should note that if interest on the pre-war loans were paid in paper francs, the amount to be disbursed would be about a third of the 40.735,216 earmarked for this purpose. It would be well if explanations were asked as to why the Bulgarian gorernment is burdened with the upkeep of a special delegate of the holders of these loans, for the commissary of the L. of N. could attend to this job and a saving of over two million leva would thereby be effected. An explanation is likewise due as to why the railway Jonction-Salonique is receiving preferential treatment.

457 435 and the payment of an indemnity for the fictitious claims of the Diskonto Gesellschaft be suspended, this means a considerable alleviation of the charge laid on Bulgaria's shoulders. They could equally raise the question of the payment of the sums outstanding to the refugees, for whenever, and if, these unfortunate people recover their due, they will hasten to refund the mortgages on their houses and the money thus recovered will be at the disposal of the bondholders. It should not be forgotten that the sums outstanding are not negligible, 1,030 million leva from Greece and almost ten times as much from Turkey. Let it be remembered that Bulgaria can not recover this money without international support because she has been disarmed and rendered helpless mainly at the instigation of her despoilers. Such interference, it is true, implies the exploding of the existing fiction of a nation's sovereignty but it is high time that this outgrown conception should be set aside. When a State has recourse to financial assistance abroad, it converts itself into a sort of limited company, and extends in a sense its citizenship to its creditors. The latter are as anxious as the natives for its welfare and there should be no resentment if they proceed to flash theirh searchlights into hidden places and call to account the directors of the „company" when things threaten to go astray. This is the prerogattve of all shareholders in public companies and it has proved an excellent corrective to abuse. Such interference in local affairs by foreigners has been often resented, because it is usually inspired by selfish motives, but occasionally it may be ascribed to altruistic incentives, for all investors are not Shylocks. Especially this is so with the majority of bondholders of the Refugee Loan, who, when investing in this script were under the impression they were helping a distressed country, and many of whom, when the ravages of the earthquake of 1928 became

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CHAPTER III

LAND, LABOR, AND MONEY

[241] 512 461

A PEASANT'S life in spring and summer centered around the narrow strips of earth which surrounded the village. If the scene of labor was distant from the village, the tired workers who had been at their tasks since sunup often spent the night in the field rather than trudge the long way back home. In the middle of the morning, at noon, and again in midafternoon, the toilers stopped long enough for food, sometimes only bread and salt, and a little sleep. The burning noonday sun sifted through the leaves of the solitary tree beneath which the people sprawled. Fragile rays danced upon tired faces, old-fashioned costumes, a hand raised to brush away a fly, and oxen chewing lazily. Like animals the peasants worked, like animals they slept; but when harvest time brought an end to their toil they experienced the joyous satisfaction of work well done.

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The average farm was about eighteen acres in size and was composed of sixteen separate and widely scattered strips. (See Table 10, Appendix I.) This land sold for a comparatively high figure because of its nearness to Sofia, but not because of any superior quality. In fact, most of the soil was sandy and gravelly, with a mixture of heavy clay.

[423] 231 241 [407]

In addition to a house in the village and his land, the peasant also owned a few animals and agricultural implements. The work animals numbered fewer than two for an eighteen-acre holding, and the plow was the only large implement found on every farm. More than any other joint operation, plowing had the flavor of an antique ritual. At dawn a slow procession moved from the village. The distant Balkan range loomed vaguely blue far across the Sofia plain, and the golden dome of Alexander Nevsky Cathedral in Sofia shone in the thin, clear light of morning. Behind the village, the slopes of

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Vitosha and snow-covered Cherni Vruh, its peak, looked raw and wild. Against this background a trio of woman, ox, and man was repeated over and over as the households fell into line. The woman came first, leading the moon-eyed oxen which drew the crude wagon with the wooden plow inside. Behind them walked the man who was to guide the plow. He carried a long staff to poke the oxen when they grew sluggish at their task. With the stately pace set by the animals, the peasants walked as gravely through the hush of early morning as though they were moving to some pagan altar rising in the dewy fields. Time slipped back for me countless centuries when I saw the first spring plowing, for small boys had hung the oxen with garlands as though these animals had been meant for sacrifice. 241 231 461

As the days passed, this picture had its variations. Black buffalo, with a cruel crocodile look on their faces, sometimes replaced the oxen; occasionally the woman was busy about something else and the man plowed alone. If the beasts got off the track, a flood of abusive language burst forth from the exasperated peasant. The sound of the language and the pitch of the voice were even more effective than the meaning. Not only in Dragalevtsy but all over Bulgaria, slowly and laboriously the heavy earth was broken with endless patience, for almost three-fourths of the plows had wooden shares, and oxen outnumbered horses four to one.

After the seed was in the ground the peasants left the responsibility mainly to God, but partly to the field policeman and his routine patrols. To ensure God's benevolence the village had a special day for a religious procession through the fields: the first Thursday after St. George's Day (May 6). Once the constant beating of the church bell coming from a strange direction attracted my attention to a spot about one mile east of the village. There was Father Sava, the priest, in his official regalia, accompanied by several boys carrying the church cross, the bell, a flag, and large icons. From forty to fifty villagers followed in a winding line. The procession stopped to pray for rain in several places where there had been insufficient rainfall. Later I learned that on one occasion the party had climbed almost to the top of Vitosha in order to fulfill to the letter their mission of encircling all of the fields owned by the Dragalevtsy people. 527 241

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462 more than merely chop weeds and loosen the soil; they also afforded
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476 of time the woman needing help broached the matter to those whose
576 assistance she wanted in her cornfield. She was careful to include only those women who would work in a congenial manner, shunning those known to be gossipy or quarrelsome. At four in the morning on the day of the hoeing the hostess had to go to the home of each guest.

"Anka, Anka," she called above the barking of the menacing dogs. Anka came to the door to greet her walking alarm clock with a cheery *"Dobro utro"* ("Good morning"). Since Anka owed the visitor two days of work for having helped with her cornfield, she readily accepted, hurried about her household tasks, and was ready to leave for the fields by six o'clock. Young women received many invitations because they could better withstand the summer heat. Occasionally, young men, upon hearing that their sweethearts were to be invited, asked the hostess the night before to call them along with the others in the morning. In the field all day long they had a wonderful opportunity to hoe next to the girls of their choice and "to tell secret things and to speak what they shouldn't."

● 461 Each woman brought her heavy, semicircular hoe and her own
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576 times the people were paid in cash for their work, but more often the work was repaid in kind. The oldest maiden was "at the post." She apportioned the number of rows and kept the workers from getting in each other's way. She set the pace as the workers moved in a line, side by side, across the field. Her word was supreme, and even the hostess kept quiet, although she might think the girl was giving poor directions. The hostess watched the time and told the group when to stop working for the three meals she served. The girl "at the post" gave the signal to resume work, but she did not urge others to work until she saw that the group sentiment favored it. If one woman was not ready to start, the others began anyway. But the niceties of etiquette were always observed: the hostess, who was profiting from the work, invited the group to stop to eat; a guest, who was directing the group, rather than the hostess, suggested that they take up work once more.

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I spent many hours in the fields chatting with these women. There was a hypnotic rhythm of sound and color in their work as the line of black-clad bodies, and white headcloths, swayed forward together through the thin green blades. In the high altitude everything was sharply defined: the red-roofed village two miles away, the puffs of white cloud infinitely high in the blue, the strong harsh peasant voices close by. While the women worked they sang old folk songs about beautiful heroines and the brave Krali Marko, a legendary Balkan hero who carried out prodigious feats against the Turks, or of peasant girls knitting gay stockings for village boys. The songs were usually romantic and often were cheerful in theme; but now and then one was moved by a haunting sadness deeper even than that of the Negro work songs. Hour after hour I used to hear the unhappy music rise in its bizarre cadence; day after day for three weeks the corn was hoed in one field after another. Week after week the sun beat down on Vitosha and the Sofia plain, while summer burned itself away. The corn grew waist high, then shoulder high, and finally yielded the golden ears to the strong brown fists of some boy or girl at the autumn cornhusking *sedenki.*

Early July was the haying season. Each sunrise would find most of the villagers out in the fields. Some of the men with their sharp scythes cut the hay in even swaths, letting it lie as it fell, to dry in the parching sun. Others would load the cured hay onto the wagons fitted out with ladderlike sides. As the wagons rolled through the village streets they were greeted by the little children who had had to stay at home with their aged grandparents or great-grandparents. The haystacks, whether left in the field or dressed near the house, were weighted down by lines to which heavy stones had been attached.

One could not be with the peasants long at haying time, or indeed at any other time, without sensing their feeling of close dependence upon the weather. In fact, I soon found myself sharing this feeling, although I remained somewhat dubious of the infallibility of the signs by which they "read the weather." They believed, for example,

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stopanin, or male head of the house, killed the cock and held its 243
twitching body over a bag of grain seed so that several drops of blood would fall upon it. He then drove slowly to the field to prepare the ground for the sowing, meanwhile eagerly awaiting the arrival at midmorning of the *domakinya*, his wife, dressed in her most beautiful costume and bearing a pan containing the boiled cock, meal, and bread. The family group made a tour once around the field, whereupon the man solemnly broke the bread and, before sitting with the others in the middle of the field to feast, gave pieces of the bread to the oxen. The peasants called this the "sweetest meal of the year" and delighted in having friends from a neighboring field join them in the repast. Summer's hard work was at an end; the harvests were plentiful; the peasants were deeply grateful.

Life in these scattered fields of Dragalevtsy was hard and labo- 241
rious, but to the peasant, life without the fields would not be worth 423
living, for these narrow strips of land were his children growing under his painstaking care. The land was his companion and friend, as he shared with it the thoughts and dreams of a starlit summer night, with a cloak for a pillow and dew for a blanket. Land meant more to the peasant than money in the bank; it meant more than food on the table; it meant life itself.

Some years ago I heard a Sofia University professor say in a 181
lecture that the Bulgarian peasant was more devoted to his work than 461
to his religion. "There are more songs dedicated to labor than to 275
saints," he added. Because I wondered about the truth of this statement in respect to Dragalevtsy, I polled village opinion. Here are some of the questions I asked, with representative or characteristic responses:

Nowadays, which do people enjoy most: working in the field or sitting in the tavern?

"People work to get bread. They can't earn money enough to live. Some prefer to work in the fields because we quarrel when we are in the *krachma*."

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275 461 181 "Most of the people prefer to be in the tavern, though there are some who go there to do *pazarluk* [arrange a business deal], drink a little, then leave to do their work again."

"I prefer to work in the fields than to sit in the tavern."

463 181 *Why do young people want to become artisans and do not want to become farmers?*

"They want easier work. Field work is heavy. If they work inside, they will live longer, the wind won't beat in their faces, they won't remain in the cold."

"It's better to work inside than out in the weather."

"If one is an artisan, one won't become hungry. There will always be work to do. But in the fields things are not so sure. Work is easier as an artisan than as a farmer. The money is only of minor importance."

461 181 *Do people of Dragalevtsy, like the heroes of old folk songs, love hard work more than easy work?*

"They prefer easy work. Fifty years ago people liked the harder work, for there were few occupations. Now parents don't control their children. A son sees his father at one tavern and he goes to the other. If his father comes to the second tavern, then he goes back to the first. Formerly people had big fields and had to do much work. They prided themselves on the amount of work they could get done. They were healthier, because they didn't smoke and drink so much. The one who could work the most was the most honored. Now the fields are small. There is little work to do in them, and so people get out of the habit of working hard."

"They like easier work now. Everyone looks for something that is light. It was not so fifty years ago, but the change came about especially since the war."

"They love easy work. Formerly there were more animals, more fields, less people, and therefore more work."

556 181 *With what adjective would a Dragalevtsy peasant prefer to be described: industrious, rich, influential, wise?*

105 The Bulgarian case seems particularly apropos for such a study. Unlike Czarist Russia or the countries of Asia, pre-Communist Bulgaria had developed a relatively free and advanced society. Within the framework of a most liberal and democratic constitution, of a social structure without any noticeable class differences and of a predominantly agricultural economy based on independent small landholdings, Bulgaria had produced a social legislation among the [162] most progressive of our time. Native intelligentsia and labor alike represented only about 20 per cent of the population and were nothing more than recent offspring of the nation's backbone—the peasantry—so that no logical conflict of interests had a chance 466 to develop in Bulgaria. Labor, in particular, 461 had attained, as early as the twenties, the status of free labor with all necessary requisites, such as freedom of professional organization, free collective bargaining and impartial settlement of labor disputes, the right to strike, freedom of choosing and changing job, and a firm legal protection, including social security. In fact, by 1924, Bulgaria had incorporated into her domestic legislation all recommendations of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations.*

668 In such a harmonious environment, Communism could not and did not have any chance of success. Still, Communist attempts to artificially create a "social problem" and exploit it for their own purposes go way back to the turn of the century, when, in 1903, a small group of Lenin's followers split from the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party and formed a radical-revolutionary nucleus, known later

113 *For detailed background information and source material, see author's study *Trade Unions and Labor Legislation in Bulgaria (1879-1953)* (New York: Mid-European Studies Center, 1953).

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crime against the state and put within the proscription of Communist criminal law. Any transgression on the part of a worker is, therefore, a direct offense against the state authority. It is easily understandable why Communist criminal law has engulfed the great part of matters which usually pertain to labor legislation, and why even the latter is punitive rather than protective in character.

The basic legal documents related to labor law and relations in Communist Bulgaria are the constitution,[7] the Code of Labor[8] and the Statute of the Trade Unions.[9] They, of course, are supplemented by various acts which, according to the Communist doctrine of "normative acts,"[10] can and do supersede previous legislation, no matter what governmental body originated them.

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According to the constitution, labor, besides being "a right," is "a duty and a point of honor for every able-bodied citizen. It is the duty of every citizen to engage in socially useful labor and to work according to his powers and ability."[11] Of course, it is the government which enforces the observance of this constitutional norm and establishes the "social utility" of the work done. In practice, "the duty to work" is exemplified in the complete regimentation of Bulgaria's labor force.

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Two governmental agencies, the Office of Labor Cadres and the Main Board of Labor Reserves, are especially entrusted with the registration, distribution, recruitment and complete control of all available manpower from 14 years of age upward. Their basic tasks are, in Communist language, "to register the available labor force by finding and keeping at hand, through registration, all employed and unemployed workers; to find them appropriate jobs and, with respect to the fulfillment of the Five-Year Economic Plan, to meet the needs of the industrial, constructional, and other enterprises by guaranteeing to them the necessary manpower . . . . Workers who leave their jobs arbitrarily and without excusable

[7] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year II, No. 91, November 13, 1951, in Bulgarian.

[8] *Ustav na Professionalnite Suyuzi v Narodnata Republica Bulgaria* (Statute of the Trade Unions in the People's Republic Bulgaria), approved by the Third Congress of the Bulgarian trade unions, December, 1951 (Sofia: *Profizdat*, 1952), in Bulgarian.

[10] In Communist jurisprudence, any act of a central governmental authority prevails upon preceding legislation, without distinction of formal superiority. The "doctrine of normative acts" is summarized in United States Department of Labor bulletin cited at footnote 1, pp. 5 and 6.

[11] Art. 73.

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should report to the committee without discontinuing their work." The decree declares two hours overtime is "lawful," so that the working day in Bulgaria usually consists of ten hours, six days a week, and neither the recesses nor even the time when the workers are paid are included in the working time.[81] Furthermore, "it is an archaic damaging tradition for some workers to be absent from work during religious holidays."[82] And Article 79 of the Labor Code regulates the labor remuneration in cases of work on Sundays and the seven official holidays in a year, thus rendering any day of the year a potential, and usually an actual, working day. A Communist source itself admitted that Bulgarian enterprises "regularly use overtime work and deprive the workers of their week ends."[83]

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Usually, overtime work does not help to fulfill or overfulfill the norm either. But even if it does, the quest for more production and productivity of labor never stops. The principal means for extracting a maximum effort from the workers are the so-called socialist competitions or emulations. They represent officially staged contests between individual workers or among plants to "overfulfill" the established norms. The cruelty of this system lies in the fact that as "competitions" are labelled "voluntary," no worker can claim overtime pay. Furthermore, competitions lead inexorably to the establishment of higher quotas and automatically lower the piece rates of even the general wage level.

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"Socialist competition has become a law of the socialist society and has turned into one of the most important methods for Communist education of the working people, an instrument for making them participate in the governmental build-up and the process of production," the Soviet Encyclopedia frankly states.[84] That Communist Bulgaria follows the identical path is plainly evident from the words of the president of the Bulgarian trade unions, Prakhov, who, in 1951, proclaimed "socialist competitions" as "a permanent system for building socialism" and gave the number of participants at "about 70 per cent" of all Bulgarian workers.[85]

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Within the framework of this almost suicidal drive for ever-increasing daily per-

[81] Art. 49, par. 3, and Art. 71 of the Code of Labor.
[82] *Trud*, December 27, 1951.
[83] *Trud*, October 10, 1951.
[84] *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Encyclopediya*, 2d Ed., Vol. 14; *Disciplina Trudoj*, in Russian.

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The Soviet trade unions generally supervise the carrying out of the plans for the construction of dwellings and communal buildings and take part in the distribution of new buildings to the workers, and in this connection their proposals have a decisive importance.—Leonid Nikolaevich Solovyov, Secretary, All-Union Central Council of Trades Unions, USSR.

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half an hour more than twice a month."[44] It should be understood that the minimum consequence of a dismissal is labor mobilization.

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The following remarks of an authority on Soviet labor have full validity for Communist Bulgaria as well: "The fear of being late became a nightmare to workers, many of whom had no watches or clocks, and sent them speeding to work in frantic haste. The same fear made them gulp their lunch as quickly as possible."[45] It sounds unbelievable that such a casual infraction as tardiness can ultimately lead to imprisonment or forced labor.

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As to inefficiency, the recently enacted Decree for Payment of Dead Time and Rejects in Industry, Construction and Transport[46] supplemented the disciplinary punishments of the Labor Code by introducing financial liability for stoppage and defective output. The most unusual feature represents the fact that a worker is deprived of up to 30 per cent of his wage even if he is not responsible for the stoppage or defective output.[47]

This Communist anomaly is even more clear in the provisions regulating the financial responsibility for damages caused to the enterprise. Guided by the principle that "socialist property" is more precious than

[44] Grounds for dismissal in Art. 33 of the Labor Code.

[45] Work by Schwarz, cited at footnote 1, p. 105.

[46] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, No. 22, April 21, 1953.

[47] Art. 2 and 7 of the Decree for Payment of Dead Time and Rejects.

[48] Cf. Arts. 1 and 51 of the Penal Code of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic (*Ugolovnij Kodex RSFSR*, in Russian). Also, Arts. 1 and 31 of the Bulgarian Penal Code of 1951.

[49] Art. 26 of the Labor Code.

[50] Cf. Art. 2 of the Penal Code.

[51] Art. 206, par. 2 of the Labor Code.

[52] This complete disregard for tradition and objective conditions has so much disorganized the national economy and antagonized the

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465 human life and that the "social harm" of an offense is all that matters.[46] Communist legislation makes a worker "responsible for an amount higher than the actually caused damages,"[47] besides, of course, his liability under criminal law.

It is evident that all these financial liability provisions not only reduce the already very low wages of the Bulgarian workers but also violate internationally accepted legal principles—such as the exclusion of liability exceeding actual damage or of liability without guilt or negligence. This is not surprising if one bears in mind that the Bulgarian Penal Code also recognizes the application of the principle of analogy in criminal law,[48] and the Labor Code proclaims the principle that "acts of indictment have the force of proof until the contrary is proven"[49]—that is, one is presumed guilty unless he proves his innocence.

172 46 466 185 Analysis of labor and relations in Communist Bulgaria leads to the conclusion that the Bulgarian labor pattern is a carbon copy of the Soviet original. Neither democratic traditions nor social harmony have been taken into consideration. In their blind imitation, the Bulgarian Communists are trying to change the very basis of Bulgarian economy—from agriculture to heavy industry—as if they were mightier than the very nature which deprived the country of the elements required for such a transformation. Their only guiding light is the Soviet example, no matter how detrimental its application on Bulgarian soil might be.[50]

600 The Bulgarian case—most suitable to test Communism in export—has brutally refuted any illusion that Communism can be "different" if applied in more advanced societies. The tragic paradox of the Communist experiment with the Bulgarian workers is that the alleged primary beneficiaries of the new "socialist order" have, instead, received the harshest possible deal. [The End]

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661 461 population that purges of scapegoats and acts of despair have been a permanent feature in Bulgaria as well. The workers, in particular, have defied pointed guns during the recent open unrest in Plovdiv, the second largest Bulgarian city, and in many other cities (Pleven, Pernik, Haskovo, Gorna Dubumaja). In order to prevent the worst, the government, under Moscow's guidance, has announced a so-called new course, consisting of promises to raise the living standard and to relax the socialist labor discipline. The implementation of these promises is still to come. They clearly imply, however, that the Communist experiment has not succeeded in either converting the Bulgarian workers to Communism or breaking their spirit of resistance. (For details, see work cited at footnote 29, Ch. VIII-X.)

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466 tax, but owing to the poverty of the masses only about 10%, of those liable to serve avail themselves of this opportunity to affranchise themselves, though the percentage of the older classes which liberate themselves from temporary incorporation for 21 days reaches 20% to 25%.

[461] The aim of the law is not merely economic, but also aims at instilling among the conscripts of the labour corps a better comprehension of their duty towards the community, a sense of solidarity, and also a liking for manual work, and open air living, especially among the intelligentsia, who considered any sort of field work beneath their dignity. Originally the law did not provide for exemption by payment, as M. Stambuliiski, who was its chief inspirer, pursued at the same time, another object, that of humbling and persecuting all his bourgeois opponents, but the representatives of the Entente Powers intervened and succeeded in introducing certain modifications which rendered the application of the law much more lenient.

466 653 The State has derived substantial help from the utilisation of the labour corps, and it must be admitted that the condition of both the railways and roads on the repairing of which the labour corps was largely employed would have been infinitely worse off, since the State would not have been in a position to defray the work accomplished on them.

Between the years 1921 and 1931, the annual contingent of youths called upon to join the labour corps varied between 12,000 and 19,000; all those liable to service were not utilised, there not being a sufficiency of work for all, owing to the lack of resources and absence of a plan. It was for the first time in 1932 that as many as 20,750 were incorporated, the number being increased to 26,000 in 1933. The greater part of these labour conscripts were utilised for the construction of railways and

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the shoulder. In late July harvesters came from other villages to help 243
at least one-third of the families (the others harvested their own grain)
to cut the grain with sickles and place the stalks in little piles. An
old man, expert through years of practice, then made up the sheaves
by tying together a bundle of stalks with the longest stalks taken from
a previous sheaf. He used a round, pointed stick about fourteen
inches long to make the grain compact and to tie the knot ingeniously.

Most of the grain was threshed by the hoofs of animals, usually 231
horses, on the packed, earthen threshing floors near the house. The 243
Karakachani, a band of Wallachians from the village of Yakoruda in
the Rhodope Mountains, brought about fifty horses to the village at
threshingtime. A peasant paid the equivalent of a dollar a day for
the service of a team. The grain was placed in the center of the
floor, near a pole to which the animals were hitched. Around and
around the pole the horses walked until the rope's length was used
up, whereupon they reversed their direction. Much grain was threshed [407]
by the machine owned by some of the wealthier men of the village,
which was beginning to supplant the old-fashioned threshing floors.
Some of the families still winnowed the grain by tossing it in the face
of a stiff breeze, but many others had access to a separating machine
in the neighborhood.

But this *smes*, or wheat and rye mixture, was not the only crop 241
raised. Quite a few of the homes had garden patches, either in the
yard or on the edge of the village, where peppers, mealy potatoes,
cabbages, and tomatoes were grown. The white beans from Dragalevtsy were said to be the best in this part of Bulgaria.

Some families grew sunflowers in order to sell the seeds for oil.
Pumpkins from the cornfields were prized for use in a soggy pumpkin
pie called *banitsa*. Fruit raising was decidedly underdeveloped, but
the trees that were properly cared for produced very well. Straw for
the animals was frequently borrowed or purchased from the wealthier
peasants who had a surplus from the threshing.

The crop second in importance to *smes*, however, was corn. 462
Of considerable interest were the groups of women who hoed the 241
cornfield first in one direction, and a week later in a different direc- 476
tion. Varying in number from three to fifteen, these groups did 576

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much in the past through periodic moratoria to reduce the amount of indebtedness.

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Another feature of the economic system in Dragalevtsy was the way the work was divided up, chiefly on a customary basis. There was, for instance, a traditional division between the work of men and women. Certain duties which an American man performs without hesitation, a Dragalevtsy man would think far beneath him. Furthermore, he would use the term *zhenska rabota* (woman's work), and in this one phrase express a feeling of masculine superiority handed down through the ages. To be caught at woman's work was the same as being caught wearing a petticoat. Since the chief labor was agricultural, most of the customary division of labor centered about the work of home and field:

In the House

Cleaning and sweeping: all the women.

Setting the table: daughter or daughter-in-law.

Cooking food: mother or mother-in-law.

Making bread: daughter or daughter-in-law.

Getting the water: children and unmarried daughters.

Taking care of fire: usually mother-in-law. Often anyone. (Depends on who feels cold.)

Spinning thread: all the women.

Weaving cloth: daughter and daughter-in-law.

Cutting out and sewing together garments: undergarments—wife, for her own children and husband; outer garments—village tailor.

Washing clothes: wives for their immediate families; unmarried daughter for herself and parents.

In the Yard

Caring for chickens: the old man or old woman.

Caring for oxen and buffaloes: both men and women.

Caring for horses: men.

Caring for pigs: women.

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In the Field

Caring for animals in the pasture: the children.
Plowing: the father or oldest son.
Sowing: the father or oldest son.
Hoeing the corn: unmarried daughter or housewife.
Harvesting the grain: the whole family.
Threshing the grain: the whole family.
Saving the seed for next year: no one in particular.

At the Market

Selling butter, eggs, poultry, vegetables: the housewife.
Selling sheep, pigs, and other animals: the men.
Buying the necessities from Sofia: the men.
Buying necessities in the village: the women and children.
Keeping the cash box: the father; in rare cases, the mother.

857 883 It can be seen that children as well as the adults shared in this specialization of labor. The chief occupation of those below sixteen was the care of the animals. During the pasturing season these children spent more time in the fields than in the village. Because their pastures joined they were able to get together for group games and still keep a watchful eye upon their animals. The work they were called upon to do was not dangerous, but it was time consuming. Many famous men who grew up in the villages looked back upon this pastoral experience as a childhood heaven-on-earth. Some of the old men, recalling the days when the large joint families *(zadrugi)* still existed, told of being sent with the animals up the mountains a long way from the village. For a month they were absent, seeing no one but a few strangers who happened to pass by. But those distant pastures were no longer available to the peasants, so they kept their animals (and children) close to the village.

464 Whether this seems exploitation or not is a matter of definition, but custom did decree that there should be no idle hands in the village economy, even to the extent of keeping small children occupied. To be sure, the attitude toward labor was changing, but the love of the land persisted, and owning land meant working that land, at least in

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"Zhenska rabota, woman's work" (whitewashing). *See page* 53.

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mental activity exists primarily to meet crisis situations and to keep 121
the established ways of life moving smoothly. The giving of relief, 829
the provision of education, healing of the sick, insurance of cattle 596
and crops are all left to the family rather than to the government.

It is quite possible for several societies to use the familistic approach, in the sense that the family is the dominant institution, and still differ as to the relative importance of many community values. Most of them would probably respect the heritage from the past, but even here there would be variations. As far as Dragalevtsy was [577]
concerned, the chief values or virtues were land ownership, hard work, frugality, premarital chastity, observance of some of the more important religious rites, and being a good neighbor. In connection with the last, the villagers said, "God help those with bad neighbors" and "Without good neighbors life couldn't go on."

The Dragalevtsy people, although their underlying organization and philosophy was primarily familistic, had adjusted themselves to a number of modern ways. Some ways persisted because they fitted in with the established customs, and others because they were kept in vogue by force or by the authority of the mayor.

Commerce, as represented by about ten merchant groups, had 441
become established in the village because it was conducted essentially 596
as a family enterprise. From time to time a local man sold some of 462
his land and started in business for himself. He always employed members of his family rather than outsiders, because he trusted his own. If he needed extra help and had an unmarried son, the normal thing was to urge matrimony. He carried over into his business the same idea of division of labor which prevailed at home and in the field. The men ordered the goods, settled the accounts, sold the liquor in the taverns. The women acted as cooks or clerks. Some of the wives who helped keep the store could not read, write, add, or subtract and had to give whole measurements or else depend upon the customer to hand them the right amount for fractions. A husband explained when I discussed the matter with him, "It is better to lose money through error than through dishonesty." Both men and women co-operated in keeping the place clean. Here the man made a concession which he would seldom have made in the home.

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Cattle market: The cattle market and the sheep market, located not far away, lie on the other side of Sofia from Dragalevtsy, back of the railroad station toward the municipal cemetery. It is there a peasant goes if he wishes to dispose of, or purchase, an animal. At this market a nice young bull costs $25-$30, a fresh buffalo cow, $50-$60; ordinary milch cows, $35-$45; horses, $12-$60; donkeys, $12-$18. In the sheep market a pair of sheep sell for $3.60. The cattle market is a colorful place. There is much excitement in the horse section where gypsies ride their not-so-fiery steeds up and down to show how sound they are. But the peasant does little visiting with others in the market; he is not the kind to strike up an acquaintance with just anyone. He does deal with the nimble-witted cattle-buyers whose crafty ways stand for city ways in the peasant's undiscerning judgment. In other words, the peasant's contact with "the outside world" in the cattle market helps build up a psychological barrier against the city since the peasant seldom leaves feeling that he has made a good bargain, unless he has concluded a trade with another peasant more rustic than himself.

The mill: A second place the peasant is likely to visit is the mill, not far away from the general curb market. In spite of the fact that there are many mills in Sofia the people of Dragalevtsy have chosen this as their favorite one, with another ranking as second choice. If they are tired out after their trip to the mill, the villagers lie down on sacks of grain until their turns come; if not sleepy, the peasants form talkative groups near their unyoked animals in the mill courtyard. But here again we find peasant talking with peasant, much of the conversation condemning the modern times, some government policy, or the sad effects of the World War. A talk with a conservative peasant from another village merely heightens the conservatism in the Dragalevtsy peasant.

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Curb market: After finishing at the mill the peasant will perhaps go to the General Curb Market where his wife, squatted on the sidewalk, has been crying her wares for hours in the hope of selling a few bunches of vegetables or several "pairs" of eggs. She has seen many enticing objects in the vendors' pushcarts, observed the styles* worn by city housewives accompanied by peasant servant girls, the strut of the military, the bizarre appearance of a foreign tourist in knickers taking pictures of the scene. She must also have talked to other peasant women who, like herself, return to a favorite spot week after week. But the question arises: Do all the men usually take their wives along? Is it usually a family affair, this trip to market? The answer is that between fifty and sixty per cent of the female heads go to Sofia on a typical market day; fifteen per cent never go at all.

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*The chief tailor in Dragalevtsy says that styles in dress reach the peasants from other villages. The women, for instance, imitate what a peasant from another village wears, but not what a city woman wears.

113, 323, 462, 415, 354, 789 Bulgaria EE1

[For information pertaining to the production of pottery, ceramic utensils, earth ovens, by women in Bulgaria, and associated magical beliefs, see J. Filipovic, E13 Balkan Peoples, category 116.]

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"Their round completed . . . the milkmen began . . . to retrace the long uphill journey from the city's outskirts to the village." *See page 5.*

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". . . in front of Bai Penko's tavern on the northern side of Renaissance Square." *See page 8.*

[Facing p. 4]

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361

"The priest could look past the modern school building . . . to the church just beyond." Sofia is in the background. *See page 8.*

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"Yurdan, the leading tailor . . . and his wife Zdravka were a unique couple." *See page 14.*

[Facing p. 5]

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out of hand. The fact that not all patrons of the tavern drank liquor was shown by the comment of one of the villagers: 517 521

"I come to the tavern chiefly for the newspaper. I have a strong will, drink little, and know when to stop. The young men when starting the temperance association asked me to be president but I couldn't give up coming here for the newspaper. The small coffee house across the square has only room enough for five or six people and there's no point in going there. Many blame me for going to the tavern, but they have no interest in finding out what is going on in the world." 275 203

One advantage of visiting the tavern included the announcements that the town crier always made there as well as out in the square.

The tavern keepers, however, had no illusions about their standing in the public estimation. All of them were of the same peasant stock as their patrons, but had sold some of their land in order to set themselves up in business. 554 463

"If the people of the village took a vote, the majority would favor shutting up all the taverns. The people don't like us," was the tart comment of one tavern keeper. This dislike sprang from the indebtedness of so many people to the tavern keepers, as well as from the strong feeling many have toward the social consequences of excessive alcoholism.

There were, however, a number of men who had to miss the morning session at the Dragalevtsy *kruchmi*. They were the milkmen. Each morning while it was still dark eight tiny donkeys left their yards, pattered down the slope just outside the village, and followed the straight gravel road five miles to Sofia. They were accompanied by their prodding masters who kept an eye on the two or three large cans of milk which had been strapped onto the wooden saddles. These donkeys long ago learned to swallow any pride they might have had, for each morning, with monotonous regularity, they were overtaken by the high two-wheeled horse-drawn milk carts used by the remaining thirty Dragalevtsy milkmen. Once in Sofia, the majority of the milkmen covered their routes, knocking at the doors of the regular customers and waiting patiently for a container into which to pour a quart or so of milk from the large cans. The round completed, most of the milkmen began at once to retrace the long uphill journey from the city's outskirts to the village. 463 [231]

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travelers, dressed in their brightest, newest garments, were speeded 788
on their way. The friends and relatives loaded them with money 181
and presents of clothing, food, and wool, which the pilgrims were to donate to the great and holy monastery. The whole ceremony of leave-taking was made a part of the bright landscape by the flowers everywhere—on the dress of the pilgrims, fastened to the gifts, and carried in huge bunches. Upon their return a few days later the dusty pilgrims were met at the outskirts of the village and escorted home through the blue twilight by those eager to hear of every adventure during the days and nights in the great mountains, whose jagged walls have protected Rila Monastery for hundreds of years.

Formal piety, as shown in pilgrimages, was only one of the major 212
characteristics which these Bulgarian villagers possessed. The Dragalevtsy people, especially the men, were predominantly literate. Bulgaria, despite what seems a forbidding Cyrillic alphabet, has the highest rate of literacy of all Balkan countries, a fact which can be attributed to the tendency to regard education as a panacea for individual and social ills. While only 44 per cent of the women over fifteen years of age could read and write, 92 per cent of the men were literate. Of course, I often came upon groups of peasants crowded around a friend slowly spelling out a newspaper article aloud, but these little clusters of attentive listeners originated because of the scarcity of newspaper subscribers, not necessarily because of illiteracy.

The Dragalevtsy people were also law-abiding. During the first 181
three years I knew the village, and informants said that the record went 697
much farther back than that, no Dragalevtsy peasant had been taken to Sofia for imprisonment. There was no local jail, nor any need for one. This was not a sign of the inefficiency of local police, but rather an indication of the peaceable and honest traits of the people.

In many other characteristics the villagers shared what have come [181]
to be known as the universal "rural virtues," for theirs was an 463
agrarian way of life. More than three-fourths of the family heads 565
were peasant proprietors. In addition to these, there were two other 524
occupational groups: the intellectuals and the artisans. Despite their 361
small number, the intelligentsia, as they were called by the peasants, 517
were the most influential group in the community. Whenever the

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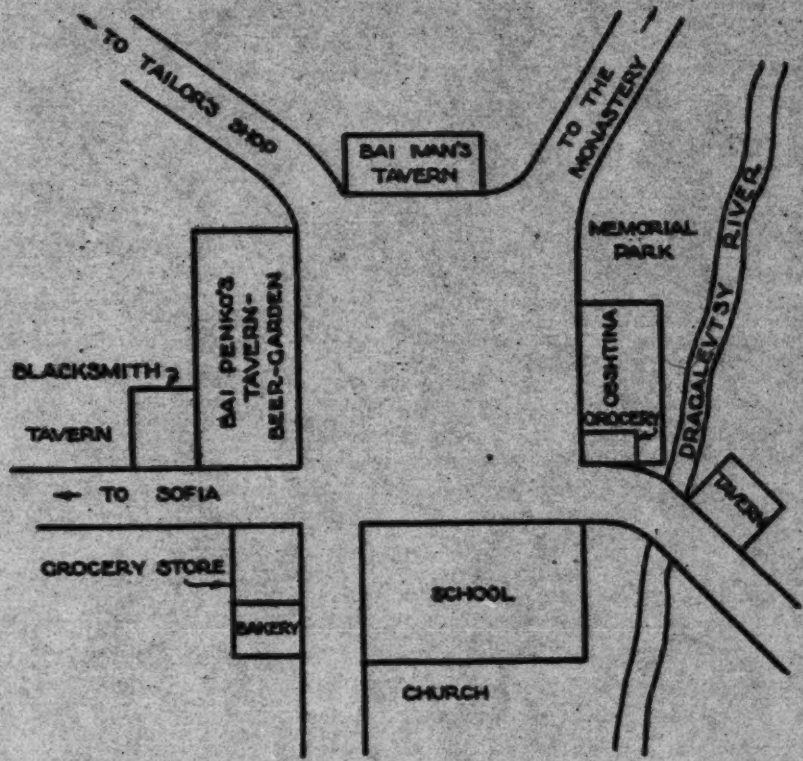

Renaissance Square, the focal point of Dragalevtsy's communal life

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weather was agreeable I was sure to find several of them playing cards in front of Bai Penko's tavern on the northern side of Renaissance Square, where the winter *horo* was held. Even though they sat engrossed in their game, they could still keep an eye on what was happening in the village, since this square was the focal point of community life. The mayor, for instance, could watch the Obshtina, or municipal building, across the square, as well as all traffic that entered this rocky plot of ground on its way to the city of Sofia below or to the monastery higher up Mount Vitosha. The priest could look past the modern school building, flanking the western side of the square, to the church just beyond. The village doctor's husband was near in

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

case his wife needed him, although he invariably grumbled in his native Russian upon being called away from the game. A fourth hand during the summer was a reserve army officer whose intense love for German efficiency and ideology and whose contempt for the "ignorant, unreliable peasant" became bywords in the community. Peasants sitting on the porch of Bai Ivan's tavern on the eastern side of the square could observe with seeming indifference the intelligentsia at play, distracted though they were at times by the fervent temperance lectures delivered by the tavern keeper's daughter-in-law whenever she placed a glass of *rakiya* in front of a customer.

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These intelligentsia proved to be interesting people. The mayor had a good education, completed by the study of law in Russia. His father had been a priest in Boyana, a village just four miles to the west, so the mayor, himself a *Shop*, knew the workings of the peasant mind. When he was sent to the village as mayor back in 1934, after the *coup d'état* of that year abolished all elections and deprived many local officials of their jobs, he issued a flowery proclamation which contained such thoughts as these:

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> Therefore, as I take up my duties, desiring greatly to use the small abilities that I possess for the economic and cultural uplift of the villages included in the commune entrusted to my care, I wish to express my good feelings of loyalty and friendliness and attachment to the population and to certify that I am ready to work for the uplift of our commune and to be the loyal conveyor of its economic and cultural interests and needs.
>
> Imbued with the idea that we are all members of the same family, sons of mother Bulgaria, let us forget the recent past of shameful partisan struggles and begin to live as genuine brothers—Bulgarians filled with mutual love, patience, harmony, respect, and good will.
>
> Let us do our duty to these beautifully situated villages, perched on the slope of Mount Vitosha, and make them attractive gardens, with culture, and places of merriment and songs.

The people soon learned that the mayor when excited talked so rapidly that he failed to enunciate clearly, and they always enjoyed mimicking this mannerism. They did not particularly resent his management of their affairs, despite the fact that he had been sent by the central government which gave local communes no choice in

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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The artisans, though few in number, comprised a third occupational group. Just because their knowledge and special skill raised them above the ordinary peasant, these artisans in no sense of the word walked in the rarified atmosphere of the intelligentsia. In 1937 the people of Dragalevtsy supported one blacksmith, one full-time and two part-time tailors, a cobbler, and a barber. Of course, the six or seven Dragalevtsy men who went to Sofia every day to ply a skilled trade were enumerated in the census but had little connection with the economy of the village. The few tradesmen were identified more with the agricultural group than with the artisans.

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One of the most picturesque characters in the village was Iliya, the smith. Dark-complexioned, sturdy of frame, with his stolid face weighed down by enormous mustaches, he was far too forbidding in countenance to attract the village children to his small establishment behind Bai Penko's tavern. In fact, customers often had to look for him in the tavern, where he consumed record-breaking quantities of liquor. In his sober moods he and his two apprentices occasionally worked fourteen hours at a stretch to finish up some much-needed job. The three of them combined wagon-repairing with blacksmithing, working at the lathe almost as frequently as at the anvil. However, frequent preoccupation with hinges, wagon bolts, horseshoes, plowshares, and wheel rims gave Iliya a fair claim to being a *kovach*, or smith. So did his master smith's certificate hanging on the wall.

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Yurdan, the leading tailor, was another artisan. He and his wife Zdravka were a unique couple in that they were the only Dragalevtsy people to become involved in divorce proceedings within recent years. To be sure, Zdravka withdrew her petition for divorce soon after it reached the high church court, which, rather than civil bodies, then decided upon all matters pertaining to marriage. Yurdan had a small but well equipped workroom attached to his trim little house. Although Dragalevtsy-born, he worked for twelve years in Sofia as an apprentice and *maistor*, later becoming the first tailor to set up business in Dragalevtsy.

I often went to converse with Yurdan and Zdravka, for I found them both loquacious and inclined to be objective in their views of village life. I questioned them in particular about the peasant costumes, which always seemed picturesque to me, a foreigner. It was Zdravka who told me how the women made their garments.

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"Since the World War there has been much change. Men stopped wearing their narrow white trousers which belted below the hips because they saw during the war that pants that belted above the hips were better. The women changed to lighter clothes because a woman from Vladaya [another village] came with others to visit here, married a Dragalevtsy man, and settled here. Other women saw that the clothes she wore were more convenient and began to adopt the new style."

The tailor's customers brought their own cloth. Five or six of the more fashion-minded young women brought dresses from other villages to be copied. A girl before marriage accumulated about twenty black *sukmani* (jumper dresses), all of the same pattern. She wore out about three of these a year. The men had one black and one rough everyday suit.

Much of the cloth was dyed at home by the peasants with the use of commercial dyes. Black was the universal color for men except in the case of the old style white trousers. If any man deviated from this fashion, people said mockingly, "You are a gypsy," thereby reminding him that he had better act like other people or run the risk of additional social disapproval.

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Shoes in Bulgaria were definitely a sign of social rank. *Tsarvulin* or "sandal-wearer," once a common term for farmer or peasant, has been somewhat displaced by *selenin* or "villager." As a matter of fact, most men in Dragalevtsy continued to wear the pigskin sandals, whereas all self-respecting village women possessed a pair of cheap western shoes. Comically enough, they frequently walked barefoot
● 463 and carried these uncomfortable badges of status. Just the same, these shoes periodically needed the services of a cobbler, who in Dragalevtsy happened to be the youngest married son of Bai Milush, a highly respected peasant proprietor. Three sons, their wives and progeny comprised part of the twenty people living in Bai Milush's patriarchal dwelling. As the land which will someday be divided up among the sons was limited, each son agreed to specialize along some particular line: the oldest was the dairyman, the middle son was the crop expert, and the youngest married son (and, incidentally, the most delicate in health) was a cobbler, whom the family agreed to send to a trade school in Sofia. Because he drove in his wooden pegs with the best of them, he was building up a profitable business in the village.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

275 461 181 "Most of the people prefer to be in the tavern, though there are some who go there to do *pazarluk* [arrange a business deal], drink a little, then leave to do their work again."

"I prefer to work in the fields than to sit in the tavern."

● 463 181 *Why do young people want to become artisans and do not want to become farmers?*

"They want easier work. Field work is heavy. If they work inside, they will live longer, the wind won't beat in their faces, they won't remain in the cold."

"It's better to work inside than out in the weather."

"If one is an artisan, one won't become hungry. There will always be work to do. But in the fields things are not so sure. Work is easier as an artisan than as a farmer. The money is only of minor importance."

461 181 *Do people of Dragalevtsy, like the heroes of old folk songs, love hard work more than easy work?*

"They prefer easy work. Fifty years ago people liked the harder work, for there were few occupations. Now parents don't control their children. A son sees his father at one tavern and he goes to the other. If his father comes to the second tavern, then he goes back to the first. Formerly people had big fields and had to do much work. They prided themselves on the amount of work they could get done. They were healthier, because they didn't smoke and drink so much. The one who could work the most was the most honored. Now the fields are small. There is little work to do in them, and so people get out of the habit of working hard."

"They like easier work now. Everyone looks for something that is light. It was not so fifty years ago, but the change came about especially since the war."

"They love easy work. Formerly there were more animals, more fields, less people, and therefore more work."

556 181 *With what adjective would a Dragalevtsy peasant prefer to be described: industrious, rich, influential, wise?*

551 would take the larger family name of his father's kinship group. Thus
178 an outsider could immediately place each child not only in the family
594 group as a whole but in the small conjugal group as well. Students of child development have often pointed out the advantage to the child of growing up with a number of intimate contemporaries, as well as having several adults ready to serve as substitute parents whenever occasion demands.

But the change need not be viewed as entirely unfavorable. The smaller family unit was bringing about a more intimate relationship between members, breaking down the formalism between parents and children, and encouraging democratic living.

178 The good old days, if we are to believe the elders of the village,
● 463 differed not only in the degree of governmental autonomy in community affairs and a patriarchy in which the young respected the old: occupations too were of a different order.

"Half a century ago there were very few educated people, the chief of these being a priest from the monastery and a teacher. The mayor was an ordinary peasant elected by the town council of twelve people. There was a swineherd, as well as other herdsmen, and five merchants, plus a tanner. Practically all of the people were farmers. There was no dairyman; there was no doctor. All dentistry was done by Turks who remedied an aching tooth by pulling it out. We raised no horses, and an itinerant gypsy smith did all the necessary iron work."

When I asked another man about occupations half a century ago, he added this information:

"It was 'simple business' fifty years ago. There was a teacher for boys in the first and second grades; there was no village tailor, and the single tanner had little work. A priest from the monastery min-
652 istered to the people on occasion. We had no tax collector and an
211 illiterate mayor took all the taxes and kept the account on a *rabosh*."

(Here I steered the conversation off the subject of occupations long enough to find out what the *rabosh* was. It was similar to a practice of the Exchequer in twelfth-century England in which accounting was done with pieces of notched wood. Each family had a small piece of wood fitting into another piece kept by the mayor. The notches in the wood told the financial status of the family as far as the tax money was concerned.)

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

000 The notches in the wood told the financial status of the family as far as the tax money was concerned.)

178 463 "There was no barber because shaving and haircutting were done in the home or else by neighbors. When we began to use iron in the wagons, *maistori* came from outside. They also began to help in the building of simple houses. Until their arrival the houses were of straw with no bricks or tiles."

Even half a century ago there were a few young people who wanted to give up agriculture and become artisans, chiefly because there was not enough farm work for all members of the family. But the real shift in the young people's attitude toward farming as an occupation occurred in the 1920's along with the increased importance of the school.

"Formerly we were simple people," my informant concluded. "Now the situation is very different. Many go to study, to be officers and to be priests. Many finish the fifth and sixth class in Sofia. Now young people with ambition can be what they want to be."

One old woman in comparing the present with the period of her childhood said:

"The school is largely responsible for the change. Dragalevtsy would have been the same now as it was fifty years ago if we had had no school. The young people read and write, the discipline is more severe, and the youngsters have to go to school."

Whenever I wanted to stir up a lively discussion at the tavern, or with a group of women spinning thread, or with farmers out in the field, I could rely upon one question to do the trick: "Was life better fifty years ago than it is today?" The oldest person usually led off; after that, the discussion became a verbal free-for-all. Nothing was ever proved to anyone's satisfaction, but it was readily apparent that changes had taken place. The good old days in the opinion of some stood for the best that life had to offer, but others were glad that conditions of half a century ago belonged to the past. Perhaps the village drunk spoke words of wisdom when he finally got the attention of the group long enough to say: "Everything is better now but it is also more difficult." The more I think over that statement the more I feel that the drunk should have been a diplomat.

1: Karutz--59 E-4 (no date) 1925 E1 Europe
Bulgaria EE1

/88/ The Bulgarians

000 1. Hair dress of young women, with tresses decorated with silver. 2. and 3. Decorative pendants. 4. Head ornament of the brides, made of flowers and silver coins. 5. Woman wearing an embroidered blouse and a woven carpet apron. 6. Drawing well. 7. Neck ornament. 8. Hand mill for salt. 9. Threshing sled. 10. Cave dwelling on the Lon. 11. Fire saw. 12. Village street. 13. Shelter of the field herders. 14. Household altar. 15. Rattle board of wood, from a monastery. 16. Signalling horn of a country mailman. 17. Sawing frame.[1]

175 At the time of the Romans present-day Bulgaria was called
101 Moesia in its northern (Danube) region, Thracia in its southern section,
144 and it was inhabited by an Indo-European people of North European extraction, at the time when old Greek, and later Roman and Byzantine, immigrants moved there and intermingled with it. From the sixth century on, the Slavic wave moved closer, and from the seventh century onwards Finnish Turko-Tataric migrant herders and horse breeders repeatedly found their way into this country from the middle Volga.
● 463 From these the Bulgarians adopted and kept the herding system, by the side of which the Thracian and Slavic agriculture was maintained. The Ottoman Turks coming from the southeast provided the country
181 with its class of craftsmen and tradesmen. This mosaic of races and peoples developed a particularly powerful and healthy stock of people whose high life expectancy is well known, as well as a temperate,
531 industrious, and sober character. It mirrors a corresponding multiplicity
177 of cultures; thus we have in art types that range from the Scythian style and its predilection for phantastic animal forms to the Byzantine and ancient Oriental motifs; from the cellular stone inlays of the period of the Teutonic migrations (belt clasps) to the Tatar decorative pendants (Figures 2, 3, and 7),[2] and from the Slavic joy in ornamentation and
592 colors to the Turkish, recent Near Eastern household industries. The Slavic household community, which takes up every new generation into the fabric of the family, has as its consequence the form of settlement
342 by individual and separate farmsteads. Aside from occasional underground dwelling pits in the loess, of which only the pointed roof of rushes rises above the ground, there are one-story high, rectangular panel-work houses covered with loam, placed either on a level with the soil, or else on top of a wooden substructure for the working sheds

[1] [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a -- Analyst]
[2] [See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 57a -- Analyst]

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

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vader's country (1) and they were obliged not only to cultivate the land on behalf of their owners, but also to carry out all other work and naturally to build permanent houses which were necessary, since Bulgars were to establish themselves for good in these newly conquered districts.

For a long time Bulgars had either the disposition nor the sense to learning arts and crafts. Even where they had abandoned their incursions and lootings and were giving themselves to peaceful occupations, as agriculture and stock-breeding, they did not take to the arts. The palaces and the churches of Bulgaria have been built by foreigners, especially by Greeks, such as the beautiful palace of Aboba near Schumen, which is a monument of Byzantine style of the 9th or 10th century (2). But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, accord-

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1) The Bulgarian inroads on Greek territories for looting and capture of prisoners began in the period of Asparouch (679-701) and continued till the reign of Michael (1246-1257). King Krum, when he captured Adrianoupolis in 813, took away all her inhabitants, as well as those of the surrounding areas, all amounting to 40.000, into Bulgarian territory to the North of the Danube. Another 50.000 prisoners together with other loot, were taken during the winter of the same year from Thrace (**W. Slatarski,** Geschichte der Bulgaren, I, Leipzig, 1918 p. 15,29). According to the Bulgarian historian **Ivan Sakazov** (Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Berlin u. Leipzig, 1929, p. 57 foll.) «Bulgaria was filled up with prisoners and cattle, which formed the Bulgarian national wealth and made their well-being possible. It was on this basis that the material civilization was formed, which Omortag, Krum's heir, bequeathed to his descendents.» Later (1206), during a battle near the Tountza river, when the Bulgarian Ioannitzis or Skyloyiannis was totally defeated by the Greeks, 20.000 prisoners together with 3.000 carts were liberated, while they were led towards Bulgaria together with a great amount of loot. See **Diog. Xanalatos,** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βούλγαροι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θρᾴκην. Α' Athens 1944 pp. 17, 22 etc. 33, 39, 40 etc. Cp. **K. Paparrigopoulos,** Ἱστορ. Ἑλλ. Ἔθνους 6th edition, tome 4, b, 186 and foll. t. 5. a 23. **K. Amandos,** Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους Α' 1939 p. 411. Β' 1947, pp 5, 173, 426. Οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1923 p. 26 and 40 **Ant. Keramopoullos** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες, Athens 1945, p. 167 and foll. **G. A. Megas,** Ἀδριανούπολις ἡ πολυκρουσμένη in the periodical Ἑλληνικὴ Δημιουργία t. I 1948 pp. 93 and foll.

2) **L. Niederle,** op. cit. 112. **C. Jirecek** says that: «Even in the best years of the Middle Ages, during the reign of Tsar Symeon, according to the evidence given by Joannis Exarchos, there were to be seen but straw-covered huts in Bulgaria, except for the palace of the king». Straw-covered huts in Bulgaria are also mentioned by Kantakouzinos, 1, 144, edit. Bonn.

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According to the Bulgarian historian **I. Sakazov,** op. cit. p. 41, «The very beginnings of an economic organisation in Bulgaria appeared in the court of the Tsars and with the aristocracy, who were trying to imitate the Byzan-

G 175 648 B 175 648 [463] [177] [341] [342] [171] G [342] [171] B 177 341

But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, according to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages)(1).

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic(!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in I. Sakazov, op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

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1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2.000 years. (See Ant. Keramopoullos, Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι, Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see Ang. Hadjimichali, Ἠπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη. Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll.

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787 that it would rain if the crows bathed in the river, if the sun set or
821 rose behind a cloud or was surrounded by a circle, or if the oxen dug the earth with their horns in the springtime. When the moon was surrounded by a dark circle, the weather would supposedly change to rain if it was summer and to snow if winter. Rain would also follow if the stars shone brightly, the sky was red in the morning, or the middle part of Vitosha was foggy. But the surest sign of bad weather was the sight of pigs carrying straw to the sty at sunset. Yet good weather alone did not ensure good crops. The human element was of utmost importance.

464 Bulgaria had, according to prewar figures, the largest labor
241 supply per decare in Europe, with 5.8 workers available for 100 decares (25 acres) of land. Italy came next with 4.7, then Poland with 4.3, but Great Britain had only 0.7. In spite of such a surplus of labor the people had not begun to cultivate intensively. An increasing number of young people therefore had to seek a living from sources off the farm. Such intensive cultivation, however, would require radical changes in farming practices. Not more than thirty Dragalevtsy families saved liquid fertilizer, although the rest did haul wagonload after wagonload of manure from the stables to the fields late in the winter to be dumped in piles awaiting later spreading. There was very little harrowing, and what was done took place in the spring after the rains.

243 The cornfields were plowed under at once after the harvest and were immediately sown with grain. If the field had produced *smes*, the stubble was plowed under to lie fallow for one or two years. The fallow fields were plowed once in the spring, once in the middle of the summer, and again in the autumn just before the grain was to be sown.

What might be considered a Bulgarian counterpart of our Thanksgiving feast occurred at the time of this fall sowing of grain. Early in the morning the woman arose quietly to bake one large and two small loaves of bread, and to catch a young rooster which she handed over to her husband just before he was ready to start to the field in the oxcart. What followed was the observance of a pagan fertility rite. With the dignity of a priest performing an ancient sacrifice, the

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In the Field

Caring for animals in the pasture: the children.
Plowing: the father or oldest son.
Sowing: the father or oldest son.
Hoeing the corn: unmarried daughter or housewife.
Harvesting the grain: the whole family.
Threshing the grain: the whole family.
Saving the seed for next year: no one in particular.

At the Market

Selling butter, eggs, poultry, vegetables: the housewife.
Selling sheep, pigs, and other animals: the men.
Buying the necessities from Sofia: the men.
Buying necessities in the village: the women and children.
Keeping the cash box: the father; in rare cases, the mother.

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It can be seen that children as well as the adults shared in this specialization of labor. The chief occupation of those below sixteen was the care of the animals. During the pasturing season these children spent more time in the fields than in the village. Because their pastures joined they were able to get together for group games and still keep a watchful eye upon their animals. The work they were called upon to do was not dangerous, but it was time consuming. Many famous men who grew up in the villages looked back upon this pastoral experience as a childhood heaven-on-earth. Some of the old men, recalling the days when the large joint families *(zadrugi)* still existed, told of being sent with the animals up the mountains a long way from the village. For a month they were absent, seeing no one but a few strangers who happened to pass by. But those distant pastures were no longer available to the peasants, so they kept their animals (and children) close to the village.

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Whether this seems exploitation or not is a matter of definition, but custom did decree that there should be no idle hands in the village economy, even to the extent of keeping small children occupied. To be sure, the attitude toward labor was changing, but the love of the land persisted, and owning land meant working that land, at least in

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Dragalevtsy. In general, though the division of labor was traditional, the specialization of occupation was increasing. Though unemployment was absent from the village, this in no way implied that all had the kind of work they wanted. It was astounding enough that even in times of world depression all did have a way of earning a living. 464

In Bulgaria, as in most countries, property passed from parent to child. There too the laws governing this transfer were very complicated. However, as a general principle in the villages sons inherited twice as much land as daughters. Usually the sons received equal amounts, but a father while still alive could divide the land, taking an equal share for himself, which he later gave to his favorite son. Quite often a sister said when the time of division arrived: "Why should I take land away from my brothers?" and forfeited her claim. In some cases she would sell her share of the estate cheaply to a favorite brother. If she was married, however, her husband could insist that she take what was her due and might even go to court to pursue the case. Every year there were a few Dragalevtsy people involved in long-drawn-out lawsuits originating over the division of inherited land. More often than not, lawyers' fees used up a great part of the value of the property. 428 593 [691]

A heavy inheritance tax accompanied any such transfer of property from the father to his children. One man at work in the hayfield took time off to tell me of the arrangement being worked out in his family: 428 651

"Our father, who is still living, told us three brothers to divide his property equally among us. We have not made the division officially as yet, because if we did we would have to pay an inheritance tax amounting to about four hundred dollars. We divide the land by lot. We take strips of land, both meadows and fields of equal value, and draw lots for the strips. Of course, our father has kept some of the land for himself, but we shall divide that among the three of us after his death."

The most serious conflicts in the village arose when there was disagreement over the division of a patrimony. Brother turned against brother, and whole families became involved in the dispute. There 428 578

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crime against the state and put within the proscription of Communist criminal law. Any transgression on the part of a worker is, therefore, a direct offense against the state authority. It is easily understandable why Communist criminal law has engulfed the great part of matters which usually pertain to labor legislation, and why even the latter is punitive rather than protective in character.

The basic legal documents related to labor law and relations in Communist Bulgaria are the constitution,[7] the Code of Labor[8] and the Statute of the Trade Unions.[9] They, of course, are supplemented by various acts which, according to the Communist doctrine of "normative acts,"[10] can and do supersede previous legislation, no matter what governmental body originated them.

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According to the constitution, labor, besides being "a right," is "a duty and a point of honor for every able-bodied citizen. It is the duty of every citizen to engage in socially useful labor and to work according to his powers and ability."[11] Of course, it is the government which enforces the observance of this constitutional norm and establishes the "social utility" of the work done. In practice, "the duty to work" is exemplified in the complete regimentation of Bulgaria's labor force.

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Two governmental agencies, the Office of Labor Cadres and the Main Board of Labor Reserves, are especially entrusted with the registration, distribution, recruitment and complete control of all available manpower from 14 years of age upward. Their basic tasks are, in Communist language, "to register the available labor force by finding and keeping at hand, through registration, all employed and unemployed workers; to find them appropriate jobs and, with respect to the fulfillment of the Five-Year Economic Plan, to meet the needs of the industrial, constructional, and other enterprises by guaranteeing to them the necessary manpower . . . . Workers who leave their jobs arbitrarily and without excusable

[7] *Izvestiya na Prezidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranie*, Year II, No. 91, November 13, 1951, in Bulgarian.

[8] *Ustav na Professionalnite Suyuzi v Narodnata Republika Bulgaria* (Statute of the Trade Unions in the People's Republic Bulgaria), approved by the Third Congress of the Bulgarian trade unions, December, 1951 (Sofia: *Profizdat*, 1952), in Bulgarian.

[10] In Communist jurisprudence, any act of a central governmental authority prevails upon preceding legislation, without distinction of formal superiority. The "doctrine of normative acts" is summarized in United States Department of Labor bulletin cited at footnote 1, pp. 5 and 6.

[11] Art. 73.

●464 reasons, and thereby affect the labor discipline and the fulfillment of the production plans of the enterprises, have to be reported to the Office of Labor Mobilization . . . ."[28] The Board of Labor Reserves, in particular, obtains manpower "in two ways: through organized drafting of manpower from villages and towns—these persons will go directly into production—and through the preparation of skilled labor cadres in the schools for labor reserves."[29]

466 681 It should be clear that the Communist authorities not only decide a youth's profession for good but they also deprive any Bulgarian worker of even an elementary freedom of choice and movement. A Bulgarian citizen must either submit to the governmental labor agencies or be "mobilized" for work by the Office of Labor Mobilization. Further disobedience leads to confinement to "labor-educational work," that is, forced labor camps, under the Law on the People's Militia[30] or to punishments under the Penal Code. The desire for complete control over the labor force is further evidenced by the elimination of any unemployment insurance from Bulgaria's social legislation.

466 [671] But the full captivity of the Bulgarian worker appears even clearer when one considers some of the provisions of the Labor Code as well as some supplementary legislation. Thus, Article 26 of the code officially sanctioned the right of the government to transfer workers and employees "to a different work in the same or another enterprise or in another locality, even without their consent, on order by the respective minister." And Article 2 of the Law for Establishing Stability of the Labor Force in the Enterprises and Offices[31] explicitly prohibited "the arbitrary quitting of the job," under threat of heavy penalties in Article 4, such as imprisonment for up to four months or corrective labor for up to one year, if no greater offense of the Penal Code is envisaged. These acts violate a basic human

[28] Newspaper *Izgrev*, March 8, 1951 (Bulgarian).

[29] *Rabotnicheско Delo* (Worker's Deed), organ of the Bulgarian Communist Party, May 14, 1952 (Bulgarian). The Board was created by Ordinance No. 199 of the Council of Ministers, in *Izvestiya na Prezidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranie*, Year III, No. 45, April 25, 1952.

[30] *Durzhaven Vestnik*, No. 69, March 25, 1948 (Bulgarian). For details on Bulgarian forced labor legislation and practice, cf. Roger N. Baldwin, ed., *A New Slavery* (New York: Oceana Publications, 1953), chapter on Bulgaria based on author's research. See also United Nations, *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour* (Geneva: E/2431, 1953).

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556 181 An intelligent woman once summed up for me the peasant's attitude toward labor and money in this terse fashion:

"Most people work because they want money. Everyone looks for money."

511 181 434 Although the peasant considered money of greater importance than formerly because he was becoming more and more a part of a money economy, he really handled very little in the course of a year. The annual income for a family of four or five was less than two hundred dollars, an amount that came into the family coffer in driblets and was paid out as slowly as possible. After the autumn market or the sale of a cow, the peasant was flush with money, but when he had bought the necessities which he could not produce for himself (kerosene, shoes and other articles of clothing, rice, salt, and some hardware) he was little better off financially. If a member of the family worked outside the home, his wages were a considerable help, especially when some of the many taxes were due.

● 465 181 I asked nine young men, picked at random, about the money they earned. Their monthly income varied from the meager equivalent of $6 a month earned by a twenty-five-year-old servant and an eighteen-year-old shepherd to $66 earned by a twenty-year-old milkman. There was only one who kept more than half of his earnings for himself. He explained apologetically that the reason he did not turn these over to his father was that he had to pay board and rent in Sofia, where he worked.

454 181 Very few Dragalevtsy people accumulated savings in the bank. They preferred, like people all over Bulgaria, to invest money in real estate. The city people did it because of the security of investment, whereas the peasants, especially in Dragalevtsy, were more interested in possessing land for its own sake.

426 181 The great majority of the peasants were in debt, though many debtors were also creditors. Those specializing in field crops preferred long-term loans, usually for fifteen or twenty years, with land as security, while sheep owners usually sought short-term loans of three or four months. One village merchant, to whom many peasants came for advice, estimated that 70 per cent of the loans were taken from banks and 30 per cent from individuals. The government had done much in the past through periodic moratoria to reduce the amount of indebtedness. [652]

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648 "We would have starved," he said, "if America had not sent that ship of food to Varna on the Black Sea." Truly such an accomplishment by one ship would necessitate a cargo legendary in size, but nevertheless symbolized to Bai Milush and others of his generation the humanitarian America, the land of plenty, opportunity, and democracy. And then he told me of the work that Dominic Murphy, an American State Department representative in Bulgaria, had done in the wake of the last war to meet the relief needs of the people. And even Bai Milush knew that a street in Sofia bore Murphy's name transliterated into the Cyrillic alphabet.

000 Bai Milush's wife, his helpmate through the years, had survived the war too. She proffered food and drink and seemed relieved when I suggested that instead of eating then I would like to take a little of the cheese away with me to use in rounding out my meager hotel breakfasts in Sofia. Later, when I was photographing her outside, I realized that she was unsteady on her feet because she had taken too much *rakiya* as a medicine for a racking cough. *Rakiya* remained the cure-all for every ailment as well as the solace to every sorrow.

178 362 511 Wherever I turned, whether to look at the new houses Bai Milush had erected, or to talk with the peasants about the past few years, I was impressed by the prosperity that the war had brought. Since I had last seen Dragalevtsy, almost one hundred new houses had made their appearance, constituting a decided boom for a village which had boasted only three hundred earlier. Some of these houses had been built as villas by people from Sofia because the city law prohibited any new construction there. The various bombardments had caused so much destruction in the city that nothing but repairs were allowed. Nevertheless, the peasants of Dragalevtsy themselves were replacing old homes with new ones simply because they could afford it now.

178 465 511 I had already learned that during the war the peasants had been the favored element of the Bulgarian population; they had been paid good prices as incentives to increased production; earlier in the war they could use that money to buy articles which they had always wanted but had not been able to afford. For example, the number of radios in the village rose from three or four in 1937 to more than a hundred in 1944.

467 pacy can be . . . their constantly teaching the working class that the only correct road is the organization of patriotic socialist competitions and the fulfillment of the state economic plans."[*] And the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party[*] added that "the most important role of the trade unions in a proletarian dictatorship is their organizational-economic and educational role—their role as schools of communism."

It seems obvious that trade unions in a democratic country and their Communist counterpart have absolutely nothing in common except their name. In fact, their nature, functions and aims are diametrically opposed to each other. In Bulgaria, they are channels of the Communist government and can be best compared with an economic police force, operating in factories and other places where the economic plans of the government are being implemented.

How, then, is it at all possible to speak about collective bargaining, when the two contracting parties are, in last analysis, representatives of one and the same Communist state authority? Still, the Bulgarian Communists persist in using the term "collective" or "individual labor contract,"[*] although in theory as well as in practice they exclude any conflict-of-interest matters from contractual regulation. Following the Soviet
●465 656 example, even wages and standards of output are excluded as subjects of bargaining and reserved for exclusive governmental regulation. Wages in Communist Bulgaria are determined on the basis of "labor norms"—that is, production quotas—prescribed by the government for each category of workers. If a worker is not able to fulfill his norm, he is paid according to the quantity and quality of the finished product. This piece-work system is the antipode of the system of hourly wages and was banished in 1905 as a remnant of Turkish feudalism.[*]
466 656 Thus, the Bulgarian Government is absolute master in decreeing all important labor

Preustroyavanato na Sotsializma v Nas (Sofia: 1951), p. 88, in Bulgarian.

[*] Cf. Pt. II, Ch. I and II of the Code of Labor.

[*] Indicative of Communist hypocrisy is the fact that, before 1905, the Bulgarian Communists were bitter opponents of the piece-work system, even for shoemakers, denouncing it as "the most detestable exploitation by the hyenas of private capitalism." Ivan Iliev, *Rabotnicheshko Syndicalno Dvizhenije v Bulgaria* (Sofia: 1927), p. 37, in Bulgarian. Communists everywhere, if out of power, violently oppose piece-work, yet introduce and hail it as "the most progressive achievement of the socialist state," once they take over.

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The Soviet trade unions generally supervise the carrying out of the plans for the construction of dwellings and communal buildings and take part in the distribution of new buildings to the workers, and in this connection their proposals have a decisive importance.—Leonid Nikolaevich Solovyov, Secretary, All-Union Central Council of Trades Unions, USSR.

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half an hour more than twice a month."[38] It should be understood that the minimum consequence of a dismissal is labor mobilization.

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The following remarks of an authority on Soviet labor have full validity for Communist Bulgaria as well: "The fear of being late became a nightmare to workers, many of whom had no watches or clocks, and sent them speeding to work in frantic haste. The same fear made them gulp their lunch as quickly as possible."[39] It sounds unbelievable that such a casual infraction as tardiness can ultimately lead to imprisonment or forced labor.

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As to inefficiency, the recently enacted Decree for Payment of Dead Time and Rejects in Industry, Construction and Transport[40] supplemented the disciplinary punishments of the Labor Code by introducing financial liability for stoppage and defective output. The most unusual feature represents the fact that a worker is deprived of up to 30 per cent of his wage even if he is not responsible for the stoppage or defective output.[41]

This Communist anomaly is even more clear in the provisions regulating the financial responsibility for damages caused to the enterprise. Guided by the principle that "socialist property" is more precious than

[38] Grounds for dismissal in Art. 33 of the Labor Code.

[39] Work by Schwarz, cited at footnote 1, p. 105.

[40] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranie*, No. 32, April 21, 1953.

[41] Art. 2 and 7 of the Decree for Payment of Dead Time and Rejects.

[42] Cf. Arts. 1 and 51 of the Penal Code of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic (*Ugolovni Kodex RSFSR*, in Russian). Also, Arts. 1 and 31 of the Bulgarian Penal Code of 1951.

[43] Art. 98 of the Labor Code.

[44] Cf. Art. 2 of the Penal Code.

[45] Art. 208, par. 2 of the Labor Code.

[46] This complete disregard for tradition and objective conditions has so much disorganized the national economy and antagonized the

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465 human life and that the "social harm" of an offense is all that matters,[6] Communist legislation makes a worker "responsible for an amount higher than the actually caused damages,"[7] besides, of course, his liability under criminal law.

It is evident that all these financial liability provisions not only reduce the already very low wages of the Bulgarian workers but also violate internationally accepted legal principles—such as the exclusion of liability exceeding actual damage or of liability without guilt or negligence. This is not surprising if one bears in mind that the Bulgarian Penal Code also recognizes the application of the principle of analogy in criminal law,[8] and the Labor Code proclaims the principle that "acts of indictment have the force of proof until the contrary is proven"[9]—that is, one is presumed guilty unless he proves his innocence.

172 46 466 185 Analysis of labor and relations in Communist Bulgaria leads to the conclusion that the Bulgarian labor pattern is a carbon copy of the Soviet original. Neither democratic traditions nor social harmony have been taken into consideration. In their blind imitation, the Bulgarian Communists are trying to change the very basis of Bulgarian economy—from agriculture to heavy industry—as if they were mightier than the very nature which deprived the country of the elements required for such a transformation. Their only guiding light is the Soviet example, no matter how detrimental its application on Bulgarian soil might be.[10]

000 The Bulgarian case—most suitable to test Communism in export—has brutally refuted any illusion that Communism can be "different" if applied in more advanced societies. The tragic paradox of the Communist experiment with the Bulgarian workers is that the alleged primary beneficiaries of the new "socialist order" have, instead, received the harshest possible deal. [The End]

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661 461 population that purges of scapegoats and acts of despair have been a permanent feature in Bulgaria as well. The workers, in particular, have dared pointed guns during the recent open unrest in Plovdiv, the second largest Bulgarian city, and in many other cities (Pleven, Peruik, Haskovo, Gorna Dzhumaja). In order to prevent the worst, the government, under Moscow's guidance, has announced a so-called new course, consisting of promises to raise the living standard and to relax the socialist labor discipline. The implementation of these promises is still to come. They clearly imply, however, that the Communist experiment has not succeeded in either converting the Bulgarian workers to Communism or breaking their spirit of resistance. (For details, see work cited at footnote 29, Ch. VIII-X.) 516b

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CHAPTER IX

THE NATIONAL STATE AS INTRUDER AND REFORMER

In Dragalevtsy, as in agricultural villages throughout the world, the national state was building up a loyalty in competition with the unquestioned loyalty people used to give to their family group and their community. The spread of the government-sponsored school, though its scientific teachings were elementary, weakened the hold of the formalistic, institutionalized religion which went along with a familistic society. Because of the school there was increased conflict between the older and younger generations. 178 656

Not only in time of war but also in time of peace the national government had been calling its young men to leave their plows and their cattle to take up pick or rifle. The *trudovatsi* handled the picks, and those in military training the rifles. 466 656 702

After the first World War Bulgaria initiated an ambitious program of compulsory labor as a substitute for military training, formerly required. The original plan called for service from both young men and young women. Recruiting of women later ceased for they proved unsuited to the system. The young men of the country were enrolled in labor camps where they performed their *trudova* (compulsory labor). Each young *trudovak* was required to serve eight months, though for two thousand leva, or less than $25, he could buy himself off at the end of six months. Some young men paid a total ranging from 9,000 leva to 32,000 leva, according to their economic status, to be entirely exempted from service.

The *trudovatsi* built many highways and bridges, and worked without pay in government shops, factories, and lumber plants. Their achievements were significant although much of this potential man power was unused or misused because of the lack of sufficient engineers to give proper direction to the work.

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The *trudova* system existed in principle until Bulgaria joined the Axis, though, she like all countries defeated in the first World War, passed through a period when compulsory labor was gradually replaced by compulsory military service. After the *coup d'état* of May, 1934, various groups of army officers controlled many of the country's policies; so it was not surprising to learn of the strengthening of the military forces of the nation. One sign of the government's changed policy was the fact that in 1935 not a single young man from Dragalevtsy went as a *trudovak*, but sixteen were called to do military service. Those eligible for service were called before a commission of army officers and examined; the successful ones passed on to receive military training, and the rest were returned home. Those who were rejected lost some standing in the eyes of the villagers, because it was thought that they had inherited some family weakness. The *family* rather than the individual was blamed.

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There was undeniably a great influence exercised upon the village by the practice of taking young men, in their impressionable years, away from the village for an interval of several months. They lived in an army barracks or a *trudovak* camp with other young men from different parts of the country. For a time they ceased doing some things which the village thought essential, and they learned to do other things which older family members would perhaps have frowned upon. They went out from a family system where each member worked more or less as a part of the whole; they returned often very conscious of their own individuality, and had to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought once more closed about them. There were some individuals who never again fell completely into line and who turned to Sofia for employment and a more congenial atmosphere.

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Older men who returned to the village as retired noncommissioned officers enjoyed a certain prestige that lingered after brass buttons and clumping boots had been exchanged for the conventional village attire. On the wall of the office of the Village Clerk, the names of all local officials and public employees were posted. There was considerable information regarding each man, but the concluding and perhaps most important item was the statement of the person's service

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to the State, either as a soldier or a *trudovak*. All had served in one of these capacities, else they would not have been employed.

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The young men were the only ones called to leave the village. As for the rest of the people, the national government went to them in the persons of its civil servants, who comprised most of the intelligentsia. Even the priest was a government employee, since the state supported the church. The doctor received most of her salary from public funds, since private practice in a village would have been financially unrewarding. In addition to these, the veterinarian, the schoolteachers, and an occasional lecturer from outside formed the advance guard of the national State. All of these public servants knew that they would be held accountable by their supervisors or inspectors, and identified themselves much more readily with the national bureaucracy than with the peasants whom they were supposed to help. Of these, the mayor was the spearhead in the attack on the old ways. One of his duties was to preside over the village court, where he stood for the law and order of the land.

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One day as I was leaving the office of the mayor he asked me to stay and attend court. I sat in the corner of the room next to a bookcase jammed with documents. The mayor sat behind his desk, covered on such occasions by the white, green, and red Bulgarian flag, on which there was a stack of folders, one for each case to be heard. On the wall over his head were pictures of the King and Queen, a beautifully colored coat of arms of Bulgaria, and a patriotic calendar. Through the window I could see the small memorial garden in which forty-four fruit trees had been planted in memory of the forty-four local sons killed in the battles of Bulgaria's several wars. Two rifles for use when the policemen were on patrol stood in the gun rack not far from the desk. A bench lined another wall close to the small cast-iron stove. Near me there was a hat rack, and a spittoon less popular than the floor. A muddy, unshaven policeman stood at the door to bark people in and out.

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The first man to come in was Iliya Trunin, a thirty-two year old villager in a *kozhuh* (sheepskin coat), who was being sued by Ivan Katsarov, a tavern keeper. Iliya, instead of going to the expense of running an electric line from the main electric cable, had arranged

105 The Bulgarian case seems particularly apropos for such a study. Unlike Czarist Russia or the countries of Asia, pre-Communist Bulgaria had developed a relatively free and advanced society. Within the framework of a most liberal and democratic constitution, of a social structure without any noticeable class differences and of a predominantly agricultural economy based on independent small landholdings, Bulgaria
[162] had produced a social legislation among the most progressive of our time. Native intelligentsia and labor alike represented only about 20 per cent of the population and were nothing more than recent offspring of the nation's backbone—the peasantry—so that no logical conflict of interests had a chance
● 466 to develop in Bulgaria. Labor, in particular,
461 had attained, as early as the twenties, the status of free labor with all necessary requisites, such as freedom of professional organization, free collective bargaining and impartial settlement of labor disputes, the right to strike, freedom of choosing and changing job, and a firm legal protection, including social security. In fact, by 1924, Bulgaria had incorporated into her domestic legislation all recommendations of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations.[2]

668 In such a harmonious environment, Communism could not and did not have any chance of success. Still, Communist attempts to artificially create a "social problem" and exploit it for their own purposes go way back to the turn of the century, when, in 1903, a small group of Lenin's followers split from the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party and formed a radical-revolutionary nucleus, known later

113 [2] For detailed background information and source material, see author's study *Trade Unions and Labor Legislation in Bulgaria (1878-1953)* (New York: Mid-European Studies Center, 1953).

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The Communist experiment with Bulgaria is now ten years old. The evidence at hand is deemed more than sufficient for substantiating a case, with particular regard to labor law and relations.

In analyzing our primary source of evidence—Bulgaria's labor legislation—a sequence of important premises should be constantly borne in mind. The Bulgarian Communist Party, which is the one and only element of power, has fully subscribed to the theory and practice of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It has termed its form of government a "people's democracy" which "fulfills the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat."[5] According to Lenin, the dictatorship of the proletariat represents "a power limited by nothing, by no law, directly based on violence."[6] It is, therefore, difficult, if at all possible, to take even Communist legislation at its face value, when it is known that the law is not binding on the highest repository of power—the Communist Party and government. Still, the existing legislation can be safely considered as the expression of a "minimum of violence" (the way toward the maximum being left open) and, as such, will necessarily reflect the guiding principles of Bulgarian labor law and relations.

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Another important premise is the Communist identification of party and government with the "working class" and the establishment of government ownership over capital and means of production. From labor's point of view, this situation means that in practice the workers are employees of a single owner—the Communist government—yet in theory are owners of their place of work and employers of themselves. This obvious nonsense has a definite purpose: to make impossible any "contrast" between capital and labor and, thus, to place the whole labor force under absolute governmental control. That is why "strike" is an unknown term in Communist labor law (you cannot strike against yourself), its equivalent having been identified as a capital

(Footnote 4 continued)
insufficiently clarified. For details, see Michael Padev, *Dimitrov Wastes No Bullets* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1945), Ch. VI; William B. King and Frank O'Brien, *The Balkans* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), pp. 137-139; and author's study cited at footnote 3, pp. 11-14.

[5] Georgi Dimitrov, *Political Report to the 5th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party* (Sofia; 1949), in Bulgarian, p. 122.

[6] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works* (Moscow: 1930), Vol. 9, Second Russian Edition, p. 95, in Russian.

[7] Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria of 1947, full English translation in Andrew Gyorgy, *Governments of Danubian Europe* (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1949), Appendix, pp. 323-339.

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crime against the state and put within the proscription of Communist criminal law. Any transgression on the part of a worker is, therefore, a direct offense against the state authority. It is easily understandable why Communist criminal law has engulfed the great part of matters which usually pertain to labor legislation, and why even the latter is punitive rather than protective in character.

The basic legal documents related to labor law and relations in Communist Bulgaria are the constitution,[7] the Code of Labor[8] and the Statute of the Trade Unions.[9] They, of course, are supplemented by various acts which, according to the Communist doctrine of "normative acts,"[10] can and do supersede previous legislation, no matter what governmental body originated them.

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According to the constitution, labor, besides being "a right," is "a duty and a point of honor for every able-bodied citizen. It is the duty of every citizen to engage in socially useful labor and to work according to his powers and ability."[11] Of course, it is the government which enforces the observance of this constitutional norm and establishes the "social utility" of the work done. In practice, "the duty to work" is exemplified in the complete regimentation of Bulgaria's labor force.

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Two governmental agencies, the Office of Labor Cadres and the Main Board of Labor Reserves, are especially entrusted with the registration, distribution, recruitment and complete control of all available manpower from 14 years of age upward. Their basic tasks are, in Communist language, "to register the available labor force by finding and keeping at hand, through registration, all employed and unemployed workers; to find them appropriate jobs and, with respect to the fulfillment of the Five-Year Economic Plan, to meet the needs of the industrial, constructional, and other enterprises by guaranteeing to them the necessary manpower . . . . Workers who leave their jobs arbitrarily and without excusable

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[7] *Izvestija na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year II, No. 91, November 13, 1951, in Bulgarian.

[8] *Ustav na Professionalnite Suyuzi v Narodnata Republica Bulgaria* (Statute of the Trade Unions in the People's Republic Bulgaria), approved by the Third Congress of the Bulgarian trade unions, December, 1951 (Sofia: *Profizdat*, 1952), in Bulgarian.

[10] In Communist jurisprudence, any act of a central governmental authority prevails upon preceding legislation, without distinction of formal superiority. The "doctrine of normative acts" is summarized in United States Department of Labor bulletin cited at footnote 1, pp. 5 and 6.

[11] Art. 73.

464 reasons, and thereby affect the labor discipline and the fulfillment of the production plans of the enterprises, have to be reported to the Office of Labor Mobilization . . . ."[33] The Board of Labor Reserves, in particular, obtains manpower "in two ways: through organized drafting of manpower from villages and towns—these persons will go directly into production—and through the preparation of skilled labor cadres in the schools for labor reserves."[34]

●466 681 It should be clear that the Communist authorities not only decide a youth's profession for good but they also deprive any Bulgarian worker of even an elementary freedom of choice and movement. A Bulgarian citizen must either submit to the governmental labor agencies or be "mobilized" for work by the Office of Labor Mobilization. Further disobedience leads to confinement to "labor-educational work," that is, forced labor camps, under the Law on the People's Militia[35] or to punishments under the Penal Code. The desire for complete control over the labor force is further evidenced by the elimination of any unemployment insurance from Bulgaria's social legislation.

466 [671] But the full captivity of the Bulgarian worker appears even clearer when one considers some of the provisions of the Labor Code as well as some supplementary legislation. Thus, Article 26 of the code officially sanctioned the right of the government to transfer workers and employees "to a different work in the same or another enterprise or in another locality, even without their consent, on order by the respective minister." And Article 2 of the Law for Establishing Stability of the Labor Force in the Enterprises and Offices[36] explicitly prohibited "the arbitrary quitting of the job," under threat of heavy penalties in Article 4, such as imprisonment for up to four months or corrective labor for up to one year, if no greater offense of the Penal Code is envisaged. These acts violate a basic human

[33] Newspaper *Izgrev*, March 8, 1951 (Bulgarian).

[34] *Rabotnicheско Delo* (Worker's Deed), organ of the Bulgarian Communist Party, May 14, 1952 (Bulgarian). The Board was created by Ordinance No. 199 of the Council of Ministers, in *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnato Sobranje*, Year III, No. 45, April 28, 1952.

[35] *Durzhaven Vestnik*, No. 69, March 25, 1948 (Bulgarian). For details on Bulgarian forced labor legislation and practice, cf. Roger N. Baldwin, ed., *A New Slavery* (New York: Oceana Publications, 1953), chapter on Bulgaria based on author's research. See also United Nations, *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour* (Geneva: E/2431, 1953).

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The administration [vocational rehabilitation] program provides that during 1955, 70 thousand persons would be rehabilitated, 100 thousand in 1956, and the number would be progressively increased until 1959 some 200 thousand disabled persons would be rehabilitated and returned to useful work.—James P. Mitchell

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right of freedom on the job and a legal principle requesting mutual consent for any modification of existing conditions."[28]

The check upon the workers' movement is performed via so-called "personal passports" and "workbooks." The first, issued by the police and the second by the first employer are labelled "official documents" and must be presented on request. According to the provisions of the Labor Code, as well as of the special Decree for Workbooks,[29] every worker is required to present his workbook, in order to be eligible for any kind of job. The book contains the whole employment record and, specifically, "the reason for the discontinuation" of a previous job.[30] It is kept by the employer and is aimed primarily at the prevention of arbitrary quitting.

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Before discussing the core of labor relations—collective bargaining—it is important to recall the main characteristics of the parties between which the bargaining is supposed to take place. Due to the complete disappearance of private ownership in industry, the one and only owner and employer in Bulgaria is the Communist state. And bargaining with the state, even if duly protected, is always burdensome, especially when such protection is entirely lacking. In fact, Bulgaria's form of government being that of a dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, "a power limited by nothing . . . directly based on violence,"[31] and the sole repository of power being the Communist Party and government, all protective in-

[28] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year IV, No. 14, February 17, 1953.

[29] The Bulgarian Communists themselves seem to have been embarrassed by the shockingly frank language of the Stability Law (cf. author's study cited at footnote 3, p. 20, quoting speech by Vice-President Yugov), so that they repealed it nine months later (*Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year IV, No. 90, November 10, 1953). No change in the actual situation has been reported, however.

[30] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year IV, No. 26, March 31, 1953.

[31] Art. 17, par. 2 of the Labor Code, and Art. 6 (g) of the Decree for Workbooks.

[32] See footnote 6.

page 612 b.

467 acy can be . . . their constantly teaching the working class that the only correct road is the organization of patriotic socialist competitions and the fulfillment of the state economic plans."[28] And the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party[29] added that "the most important role of the trade unions in a proletarian dictatorship is their organizational-economic and educational role—their role as schools of communism."

It seems obvious that trade unions in a democratic country and their Communist counterpart have absolutely nothing in common except their name. In fact, their nature, functions and aims are diametrically opposed to each other. In Bulgaria, they are channels of the Communist government and can be best compared with an economic police force, operating in factories and other places where the economic plans of the government are being implemented.

How, then, is it at all possible to speak about collective bargaining, when the two contracting parties are, in last analysis, representatives of one and the same Communist state authority? Still, the Bulgarian Communists persist in using the term "collective" or "individual labor contract,"[30] although in theory as well as in practice they exclude any conflict-of-interest matters from con-
465 tractual regulation. Following the Soviet
656 example, even wages and standards of output are excluded as subjects of bargaining and reserved for exclusive governmental regulation. Wages in Communist Bulgaria are determined on the basis of "labor norms"—that is, production quotas—prescribed by the government for each category of workers. If a worker is not able to fulfill his norm, he is paid according to the quantity and quality of the finished product. This piece-work system is the antipode of the system of hourly wages and was banished in 1905 as a remnant of Turkish feudalism.[31]
● 466 Thus, the Bulgarian Government is absolute
656 master in decreeing all important labor

Preustroyavanato na Socializma v Nas (Sofia: 1951), p. 88, in Bulgarian.

[30] Cf. Pt. II, Ch. I and II of the Code of Labor.

[31] Indicative of Communist hypocrisy is the fact that, before 1905, the Bulgarian Communists were bitter opponents of the piece-work system, even for shoemakers, denouncing it as "the most detestable exploitation by the hyenas of private capitalism." Ivan Iliev, *Rabotnicheskito Syndikalno Dvizhenije v Bulgaria* (Sofia: 1927), p. 87, in Bulgarian. Communists everywhere, if out of power, violently oppose piece-work, yet introduce and hail it as "the most progressive achievement of the socialist state," once they take over.

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conditions of the alleged individual or collective "agreements," without any negotiation on the part of the workers. Actually, the "labor contract" represents a model form, prepared in advance by the government, and submitted for signature to the labor arm of the government—the trade union committee—thus legally binding all workers to a document in the formulation of which they have not at all participated.

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The secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chankov, calls the labor contract an "economic-political document . . . a means for the mobilization of the working class for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan" and frankly states that "the job of the trade unions with respect to the collective labor contracts by no means ends with the unions' task to sign the contracts. In fact, it starts only then. The most important aspect of their function is that, after the contracts have been signed, the trade unions exercise uninterrupted control and criticism of the administration of the contracts and mobilize the workers and employees for the contracts' fulfillment."[26]

It is obvious that those "contracts" represent nothing but a legally enforceable document with which the government imposes one-sided obligations upon the Bulgarian workers. The only consideration of the Communists in resorting to them seems to be their desire to give the outside world the impression of free labor relations within the Soviet orbit.

The provisions related to the settlement of labor disputes are also symptomatic in this respect. While using the term "labor disputes," the Bulgarian Communists not only shrink its subject matter to predominantly technical problems on the factory level, but also proclaim the supremacy of the executive over the judiciary in settling the disputes.[27] In practice, the dispute seldom leaves the first stage, the so-called conciliatory commission, composed of the persons who signed the collective agreements and reflecting the identical source of authority—the Communist government. It seldom happens, therefore, that the representatives of the government-employer and of the government-controlled committee are allowed

[26] Work cited at footnote 24, pp. 54-55.

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[27] Cf. Pt. II, Ch. IX of the Code of Labor. Also, supplementary decrees in *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Nos. 38, May 9, 1952, and 47, June 3, 1952. Art. 143 of the Code, in particular, prohibits appeals to conciliation boards and courts for disputes involving disciplinary punishments or dismissal by the trade union or the governmental authori-

468 656 to disagree on the settlement of a labor dispute. If they should, the last word is explicitly reserved for the executive.

The collapse of collective bargaining and the regimentation of the labor force have restricted labor relations to technical questions and have transformed labor law into a means for enforcing governmental policy. The key institution of the Communist system vis-à-vis labor has become the so-called socialist discipline of labor.

466 656 "Socialist labor discipline" represents a system of rules affecting the conduct of the workers in any Communist enterprise, office or organization. Its aim is to increase production and productivity of labor without any particular regard to the real capacities of the national economy and of the labor force, including the individual worker. Within the limits of a governmentally recruited, directed and controlled labor force, "socialist labor discipline" embraces all regulations enacted by the Communist administration of every establishment which fix the specific obligations of the workers. In short, it is the regime under which the worker must perform his daily work, to which he is assigned and which he cannot leave.

It has been said that labor remuneration in Communist Bulgaria is based on the piece-work system. Accordingly, the primary requirement of the administration is that the worker fulfills his daily norm in order to get his full wage. But since norms are established by the State Institute for Labor Norms on the basis of the capacity of 5 to 10 per cent of the most productive workers, the remaining 90 to 95 per cent are driven to catch up by the rigorous labor discipline.[29]

466 671 The only possible way to reach the norm is to work more. That is why Article 43 of the Labor Code announces a "nonfixed working day" and Article 46(a) to (f) allows overtime work for a variety of purposes, in spite of general provisions to the contrary in Articles 39 and 43. The Decree for Overtime Work[30] dispels possible doubts by stating, in its Article 11, that "workers and employees cannot refuse . . . to perform overtime work. If they think that the imposed overtime work is unlawful, they

ties. In such cases the worker or employee may only appeal to higher administrative authorities.

[29] Cf. Leland Stowe, *Conquest by Terror* (New York: Random House, 1952), p. 135. While norms are constantly revised and increased, wages remain almost the same, so that, in 1951 alone, there was an automatic wage reduction of up to 25 per cent (p. 136).

[30] Text of decree in *Trud*, May 15, 1952.

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should report to the committee without discontinuing their work." The decree declares two hours overtime is "lawful," so that the working day in Bulgaria usually consists of ten hours, six days a week, and neither the recesses nor even the time when the workers are paid are included in the working time.[28] Furthermore, "it is an archaic damaging tradition for some workers to be absent from work during religious holidays."[29] And Article 79 of the Labor Code regulates the labor remuneration in cases of work on Sundays and the seven official holidays in a year, thus rendering any day of the year a potential, and usually an actual, working day. A Communist source itself admitted that Bulgarian enterprises "regularly use overtime work and deprive the workers of their week ends."[30]

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Usually, overtime work does not help to fulfill or overfulfill the norm either. But even if it does, the quest for more production and productivity of labor never stops. The principal means for extracting a maximum effort from the workers are the so-called socialist competitions or emulations. They represent officially staged contests between individual workers or among plants to "overfulfill" the established norms. The cruelty of this system lies in the fact that as "competitions" are labelled "voluntary," no worker can claim overtime pay. Furthermore, competitions lead inexorably to the establishment of higher quotas and automatically lower the piece rates of even the general wage level.

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"Socialist competition has become a law of the socialist society and has turned into one of the most important methods for Communist education of the working people, an instrument for making them participate in the governmental build-up and the process of production," the Soviet Encyclopedia frankly states.[31] That Communist Bulgaria follows the identical path is plainly evident from the words of the president of the Bulgarian trade unions, Prakhov, who, in 1951, proclaimed "socialist competitions" as "a permanent system for building socialism" and gave the number of participants at "about 70 per cent" of all Bulgarian workers.[32]

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Within the framework of this almost suicidal drive for ever-increasing daily per-

[28] Art. 49, par. 3, and Art. 71 of the Code of Labor.
[29] *Trud*, December 27, 1951.
[30] *Trud*, October 10, 1951.
[31] *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Encyclopediya*, 2d Ed., Vol. 14; *Disciplina Trudoj*, in Russian.

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[204] After metal type for printing has been "set" on a machine like the one whose keyboard is shown on the cover, the type is "locked up" in "chases" on a "stone," which means that it is fastened into a rectangular frame on a table. When the letter-press method is used, the type then goes directly to a press.

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formance, the "socialist labor discipline" represents the most immediate threat facing the worker on the job. Its most important features are absenteeism and inefficiency. Thus, a Bulgarian worker violates the labor discipline and may incur disciplinary or court punishment when he is absent from work, when he is late for work, when he leaves work prematurely, or when he is not efficient enough during his working day.[a] The disciplinary punishment imposed by the administration of the enterprise may range from a warning, reprimand, severe reprimand or transfer, to a lower-paid job in the same or a different enterprise, or dismissal.[b] With the exhaustion of the disciplinary punishments the way is open for criminal prosecution, either under the new Penal Code or under the Law of the People's Militia.[c]

Immediate dismissal is imposed when the worker is "negligent toward his obligations" or "comes to work in evidently drunken condition" and also when he is "absent from work without valid reasons for more than half of a working day as well as late for more than

[a] Trud, December 17, 1951.
[b] Cf. Art. 120 of the Labor Code.
[c] Cf. Art. 120 of the Labor Code.
[d] Penal Code in *Izvestiya na Narodnoto Sobranie*, No. 13, February 13, 1951. Law on the People's Militia, cited at footnote 14.

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The Soviet trade unions generally supervise the carrying out of the plant for the construction of dwellings and communal buildings and take part in the distribution of new buildings to the workers, and in this connection their proposals have a decisive importance.—Leonid Nikolaevich Solovyov, Secretary, All-Union Central Council of Trades Unions, USSR.

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half an hour more than twice a month."[]
It should be understood that the minimum consequence of a dismissal is labor mobilization.

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The following remarks of an authority on Soviet labor have full validity for Communist Bulgaria as well: "The fear of being late became a nightmare to workers, many of whom had no watches or clocks, and sent them speeding to work in frantic haste. The same fear made them gulp their lunch as quickly as possible."[] It sounds unbelievable that such a casual infraction as tardiness can ultimately lead to imprisonment or forced labor.

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As to inefficiency, the recently enacted Decree for Payment of Dead Time and Rejects in Industry, Construction and Transport[] supplemented the disciplinary punishments of the Labor Code by introducing financial liability for stoppage and defective output. The most unusual feature represents the fact that a worker is deprived of up to 30 per cent of his wage even if he is not responsible for the stoppage or defective output.[]

This Communist anomaly is even more clear in the provisions regulating the financial responsibility for damages caused to the enterprise. Guided by the principle that "socialist property" is more precious than

[] Grounds for dismissal in Art. 38 of the Labor Code.

[] Work by Schwarz, cited at footnote 1, p. 105.

[] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranie*, No. 32, April 21, 1953.

[] Art. 2 and 7 of the Decree for Payment of Dead Time and Rejects.

[] Cf. Arts. 1 and 51 of the Penal Code of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic (*Ugolovnyi Kodex RSFSR*, in Russian). Also, Arts. 1 and 31 of the Bulgarian Penal Code of 1951.

[] Art. 98 of the Labor Code.

[] Cf. Art. 2 of the Penal Code.

[] Art. 206, par. 2 of the Labor Code.

[] This complete disregard for tradition and objective conditions has so much disorganized the national economy and antagonized the

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465 human life and that the "social harm" of an offense is all that matters,[6] Communist legislation makes a worker "responsible for an amount higher than the actually caused damages,"[7] besides, of course, his liability under criminal law.

It is evident that all these financial liability provisions not only reduce the already very low wages of the Bulgarian workers but also violate internationally accepted legal principles—such as the exclusion of liability exceeding actual damage or of liability without guilt or negligence. This is not surprising if one bears in mind that the Bulgarian Penal Code also recognizes the application of the principle of analogy in criminal law,[8] and the Labor Code proclaims the principle that "acts of indictment have the force of proof until the contrary is proven"[9]—that is, one is presumed guilty unless he proves his innocence.

172 46 466 185 Analysis of labor and relations in Communist Bulgaria leads to the conclusion that the Bulgarian labor pattern is a carbon copy of the Soviet original. Neither democratic traditions nor social harmony have been taken into consideration. In their blind imitation, the Bulgarian Communists are trying to change the very basis of Bulgarian economy—from agriculture to heavy industry—as if they were mightier than the very nature which deprived the country of the elements required for such a transformation. Their only guiding light is the Soviet example, no matter how detrimental its application on Bulgarian soil might be.[10]

000 The Bulgarian case—most suitable to test Communism in export—has brutally refuted any illusion that Communism can be "different" if applied in more advanced societies. The tragic paradox of the Communist experiment with the Bulgarian workers is that the alleged primary beneficiaries of the new "socialist order" have, instead, received the harshest possible deal. [The End]

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661 461 population that purges of scapegoats and acts of dispair have been a permanent feature in Bulgaria as well. The workers, in particular, have defied pointed guns during the recent open unrest in Plovdiv, the second largest Bulgarian city, and in many other cities (Pleven, Peralk, Haskovo, Gorna Dubnaja). In order to prevent the worst, the government, under Moscow's guidance, has announced a so-called new course, consisting of promises to raise the living standard and to relax the socialist labor discipline. The implementation of these promises is still to come. They clearly imply, however, that the Communist experiment has not succeeded in either converting the Bulgarian workers to Communism or breaking their spirit of resistance. (For details, see work cited at footnote 29, Ch. VIII-X.) 616b

465 human life and that the "social harm" of an offense is all that matters," Communist legislation makes a worker "responsible for an amount higher than the actually caused damages," " besides, of course, his liability under criminal law.

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8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1945 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

433 **48. Industry.** Naturally, the industry of Bulgaria is still in its budding state. Its development, however, is not artificial, but is determined by the vital needs of the country. Here are some figures (production and solded goods in millions of leva):

	1937	*1938*	*1939*
Mines:			
Number of men-days	2,165.230	2.564.321	2.805.502
Production	495.107	573.086	648.318
Manifacture of raw materials:			
Number of men-days	21.885.257	22.188.657	21.862.592
Goods sold	10.400.032	11.045.943	11.197.577
of which:			
Ceramics:			
Numer of men-days	1.218.806	1.317.019	1.440.678
Produstion	391.138	414.820	490.986
Textile production:			
Number of men-days	7.664.945	7.612.326	7.993.641
Producfion	2.987.025	2.985.340	3.318.399
Food production:			
Number of men-days	8.936.974	8.689.685	7.754.672
Production	4.439.485	4.878.315	5.127.181
Electricity.			
Number of men-days	353.469	390.423	424.858
Production	405.863	430.259	477.760
Furs, hides, skin industry:			
Number of men-days	313.336	320.908	347.673
Production	351.124	296.552	351.138

Coal mining for 1939:

State mines	metr. tons	1.731.000
Private mines	" "	492.000

Distributton of coal:

For domestic purposes (heating)	35 %
" industrial "	33 %
" the railroads	32 %

466 **49. Labour Force of Bulgaria.** The wealth of Bulgaria is the labour of her people. Bulgaria was the first country in Europe to introduce labour conscription. Now it is adopted in almost all European countries. Compulsory labour has much to do with the technical advancement of Bulgaria in recent years:

Year	*Labour conscripts*
1929	16.320
1938	24.309

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1948 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

466 We will take as an example the year 1939. During this year the followind work was accomplished:

ground work for new roads	435.5 km.
stone laying for new roads	249.7 "
extensions and repairs	213.5 "
rectifications or modifications of river beds	13.4 "
retain walls	8.1 "
repair of retain walls	1.4 "

total number of men-days 1.230.808.

Compulsory labour was responsible for building most of the difficult railroad lines during recent years and especially

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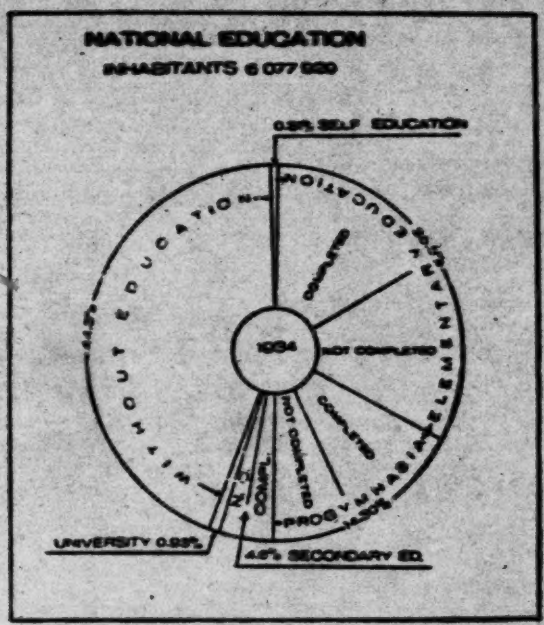

Fig. 22.

466 during the war period. The largest part, for example, of the construction of the railroad running along the Strouma valley in the direction of Western Thrace or Salonica, as well as the railroad line which goes to Macedonia, through difficult ground work and numerous tunnels with artificial equipment, have been accomplished by the labour of draftees.

11: Logic S-4 (no date) 1938 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

	Number of Associations	Members
Credit Co-operatives	1,940	367,345
Consumers' "	142	81,033
Buildings & Dwellers' Co-op.	289	10,160
Mutual furnishing "	359	73,740
Insurance Co-op. (mainly for insuring cattle)	1,135	182,835
Producers' Co-op.	289	76,163
Unions & Centrals Co-op.	42	16,198
Total	4,203	807,474

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Of these Societies 3,165 operated in rural districts and 1,038 in towns. 58% of the members belonged to societies established in urban districts and 41% to societies established in rural districts. This figure of 807,474 is certainly excessive, but is to be explained by the fact that the same individual may figure in several co-opetatives, and it is computed that there are only about 600,000 distinct members. The total capital and funds of these societies amounted to 4,347 million leva and deposits to 2,849 millions, their liabilities amounted to 4,456 millions, while their net profit for the year was reported to have reached 110,366,000 leva.

THE OBLIGATORY LABOUR SERVICE

Owing to Art. 65 of the Treaty of Neuilly abolishing military compulsory service in Bulgaria, those attaining military age are now being utilised to carry out various public works. A special law was voted rendering all men between the ages of 20 and 40 liable to serve during a term ot eight continuous months in the labour corps, and subsequently they are liable to be called upon for temporary service for a term of 21 days every year within the communes in which they are domiciled. Exemption from service may be secured through the payment of a [728] 466

•466 tax, but owing to the poverty of the masses only about 10%, of those liable to serve avail themselves of this opportunity to affranchise themselves, though the percentage of the older classes which liberate themselves from temporary incorporation for 21 days reaches 20% to 25%.

[461] The aim of the law is not merely economic, but also aims at instilling among the conscripts of the labour corps a better comprehension of their duty towards the community, a sense of solidarity, and also a liking for manual work, and open air living, especially among the intelligentsia, who considered any sort of field work beneath their dignity. Originally the law did not provide for exemption by payment, as M. Stambuliiski, who was its chief inspirer, pursued at the same time, another object, that of humbling and persecuting all his bourgeois opponents, but the representatives of the Entente Powers intervened and succeeded in introducing certain modifications which rendered the application of the law much more lenient.

466 653 The State has derived substantial help from the utilisation of the labour corps, and it must be admitted that the condition of both the railways and roads on the repairing of which the labour corps was largely employed would have been infinitely worse off, since the State would not have been in a position to defray the work accomplished on them.

Between the years 1921 and 1931, the annual contingent of youths called upon to join the labour corps varied between 12,000 and 19,000; all those liable to service were not utilised, there not being a sufficiency of work for all, owing to the lack of resources and absence of a plan. It was for the first time in 1932 that as many as 20,750 were incorporated, the number being increased to 26,000 in 1933. The greater part of these labour conscripts were utilised for the construction of railways and

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1938 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

roads as may be seen from the following table which also gives an estimate of the value of the work accomplished: 466 653

Year	Work days employed for the construction of railways and roads	Work days utilised on other work	Total work days	Value of the work carried out in leva
1922	2,271,579	322,131	2,593,710	77,811,210
1923	1,345,936	191,069	1,537,005	93,940,134
1924	1,055,789	112,909	1,168,698	66,058,916
1925	962,361	151,473	1,113,834	75,111,237
1926	710,835	201,225	912,060	68,083,877
1927	1,336,980	234,820	1,571,800	135,450,983
1928	1,310,178	214,299	1,524,477	142,075,936
1929	1,310,166	158,553	1,468,719	154,381,307
1930	1,261,359	190,317	1,451,676	142,082,059
1931	1,236,346	167,893	1,404,239	131,858,836
Total	12,801,529	1,844,689	14,646,218	1,086,854,595

To the labour of these conscripts may be ascribed the construction of some excellent highways traversing the Balkan mountains, such as those between Gabrovo and Shipka, Elena and Sliven, and from Troyan southward along the Boyanski Pass, as well as a road some 50 klm. in length along the banks of the river Kritchim to the hamlet of Duvlen in the Rhodopes. It is reckoned that 49·2% of the total labour was absorbed in the construction and reparation of roads, 3,420 klm. of new roads, as well as 436 bridges, having been constructed, and 2,315 klm. of roads repaired. Railway construction and work on ports absorbed 19.2%, and 21·4% was utilised in industrial enterprises, special workshops having been constructed such as a brick factory, a clothing and shoe factory in the vicinity of Sofia, and a timber exploitation works in the State forest of Titsa, in the region of Varna, where the available timber resources were rationally exploited, sleepers for the railways, pit-props for the

•466 653 mines and telegraph poles being prepared, as well as lumber for building purposes. The balance of the available labour was employed in agricultural work, excavations, construction of aerodromes and dams, reparation of thermal bathing establishments, drainage, afforestation, water adduction etc.

The most impressive work undertaken by the labour contingent was the erection of two large dams along the banks of the Danube namely between the mouths of the rivers Isker and Vit, and near the mouth of the river Yantra. The former one 28·3 klm. in length, has secured an area of some 17.000 hectares from the annual floods of the Danube, and the latter which is a massive dam 17 klm. in length, 24 m. wide at its base, and 5 to 7 m. in height, bearing an excellent road on top has served to reclaim 1,100 h. of marsh land and protect another 1,250 h. from floods. The total cost of this last dam at the mouth of the Yantra to the State was 32 million leva.

Certain other workshops which had been opened at Shumen and Radomir as well as certain agricultural enterprises, and cattle ranches have not proved successful and were closed.

466 652 The financial results of the experiment may be gauged by the following table compiled by the Direction of the Labour Service and which coves the whole period of its functionment from its inception to March 31st 1932.

Disbursements cover: salaries and office expenses of the permanent staff, food, medical attendance, clothing, equipment, general expenses, depreciation of machinery etc. Under the heading of receipts figure, the sums paid for exemption from service, proceeds from the sale of various materials, as well as reimbursements by the various ministries of a nominal wage per man, for the number of labour conscripts affected to their services. This last practice was initiated in the financial year 1924/5 in order

that the budget of this department might not be deficitary; the wages per day paid by the various ministries have varied between 30 and 60 leva and are substantially under the average wage of manual workers hired in the open market. It is reckoned that the upkeep of a labour conscrips costs 15 leva per day to the State, and that the value of his work is on an average about 30 leva. If it were not for the subsidy furnished by the various ministries, the scheme would not even be self-supporting, and as no remuneration whatever is given to the labour conscripts whose labour would certainly be worth semething in the open market it would not appear that this plan of employing labour is on a whole economical to the community, though it may be so to the State or the municipalities. As it should be expected, every man cannot be utilised in his profession and as a consequence the output of his work on the particular job he has been affected to is not a record one; as M. I. Detchev, a radical deputy, stated in the Sobranye on Dec. 34, 1926, the work of 14 labour conscripts equals that of one skilled workman.

The data on page 168 do not refer to the temporary service which is carried out by the communes or municipalites independently. The latter have the right to call up every year for twenty one days all men up to the age of 40, and exceptionally up to 50, who are domiciled within their precincts for the purpose of carrying out any public work which has been decided upon. It is estimated that some 800,000 men are liable to this temporary service and if their daily wage be reckoned at 40 leva per man and per day, this would represents a possible saving of 672 million leva a year on the wage bills of the municipalities employing labour and would permit them to undertake public works which otherwise would never have been contemplated owing to the precarious state of their finances.

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

Years	Receipts from exemptions	Receipts from subsidies paid by Ministries	Receipts from goods sold	Various Receipts	Nett Loss	Gross disbursements
1920—21	16,465				7,475,850	7,492,315
1921—22	2,941,071		1,580,664	37,838	48,709,284 *	53,268,855
1922—23	49,908,210		29,278,321	507,642	98,084,065 *	177,778,237
1923—24	85,463,762		63,757,598	803,678	24,783,318	174,808,356
1924—25	26,202,847	67,223,163	50,340,817	12,785,405		147,384,287
1925—26	36,882,768	80,802,373	66,108,120	10,692,529		182,944,747
1926—27	37,119,522	72,744,526	51,208,024	1,220,288		146,548,629
1927—28	45.542,866	143,751,752	41,389,855	2,524,909		154.388,922
1928—29	77,845,990	173,601,206	50,594,311	8,324,177		164,482,237
1929—30	101 649,332	195,795,776	65,853,521	7,048,642		188,061,303
1930—31	46,169,921	211,843,934	48,699,040	10,169,179		198,413,223
1931—32	35,478,757	184,630,035	46,481,683	9,942,087		173,334,375

* According to a statement by Minister Vassilev in the Sobranye on June 19, 1928 the Direction computes that the loss is smaller, but accounts for the difference by entering a certain sum as extra profits „not figuring in the budget" or, in other words, a subsidy of some sort

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185 829 War a program of cooperative farming was inaugurated on a voluntary membership basis, the vast majority of farmers were small landowners of the type which once was so characteristic of the Ukraine. As early as August, 1945, the first of a series of decrees was promulgated, to liquidate the hated kulak and incorporate him into the kolkhoz, or State farm, system. At the same time a blueprint of industrialization was drawn, on the basis of the familiar Two- and Five-Year Plans. The blueprint required first of all cheap compulsory labor in quantity. The published legislation outlines the methods by which that labor force was to be obtained. The police received authority "to commit to communities for educational labor, or to a new place of residence, persons guilty of fascist or antidemocratic manifestations." It was also decreed, soon after the seizure of power, that many hundreds of thousands of persons should be "sent to the factories or shifted to industry." On none of these matters was any effort made to maintain secrecy.

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[371] 697 466 Soon dams and electric power plants were being constructed in various parts of the country. The exploitation of Bulgaria's very modest coal deposits was greatly intensified. In order to supply the needed labor force, concentration camps were erected in a surprising variety of places. One of the better known is that at Belene, the inmates of which work at digging canals. Here are cooped up many prominent Bulgarian intellectuals, businessmen, and officers of divers political organizations once opposed to Communism. The Communists themselves have advertised widely this camp, where, it is estimated, 9,000 persons are interned under the most primitive penal conditions. If the accounts of prisoners who have escaped from it are to be credited (and there is no reason why they should not be), it is in all truth an infamous place. The methods of committing people to it have been spelled out in carefully devised legislation, which makes no provision for haling anyone before

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a court for trial and sentence. The Law on Labor Mobilization of Idlers and Vagrants, originally enacted on April 30, 1946, and subsequently amended announced: 697 466 [671]

Section 1. All Bulgarian nationals of both sexes, between 16 and 50 years of age [45 for women], fit for work but who have taken to idling and vagrancy or who spend most of their time in saloons, coffee shops, bars, pastry shops, and the like, shall be mobilized for compulsory labor.

Section 2. The purpose of the labor mobilization shall be to make the draftees accustomed to useful work, to develop in them a love of socially useful labor, to eradicate their bad habits, and at the same time to utilize their physical energies and their intellectual endowments for the increase of the population and the welfare of the country.

Section 3. The labor of the draftees shall be used on projects of general usefulness, such as road construction, railroad tracks, canals, dams, buildings, levees, river constructions, tillage of government or public farms, work in mines, quarries, factories, workshops and the like, according to the sex and age of the draftees.

The lot of the "draftees" in such camps as those in the Dobrudja, Bulgaria's most fertile area, has been described by persons who have escaped. A typical camp is that for women near the city of Tutrakan. It is a network of primitive barracks in each of which are to be found two rows of wooden bunks, each row in three tiers. The prisoners work on a large State-owned farm. The camp director gives the assignments. For example, the prisoner may be told to dig up such and such an acreage of sugar beets, or to spade a specified amount of soil in preparation for the planting of paprika. The daily wage is 900 grams of black bread. Failure to complete the task causes the ration to be diminished. As a rule each inmate works eleven hours a day. At ten P.M. there is a roll call, after which each prisoner solemnly promises to do everything she possibly can "for the building up of the People's Republic of Bulgaria."

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There is an austere puritanical fanaticism about the regulations which is difficult for an American, inured to doing what he pleases, to comprehend.

Virtually all potential foes of the Communist regime in Bulgaria have been sent to such camps, which means that any person who deviates in the slightest degree from the established Communist norm invites the public prosecutor to get on with incarcerating him. It is difficult to believe that the system is as far-flung and well established as it is; but the Communist authorities themselves have made available a substantial amount of information on its extent. There are at least thirty slave-labor camps in Bulgaria, and it has been estimated that at least 500,000 persons have been confined in them during the seven years of Communist rule. Among the inmates have been whole families—men, women, and children. Before we condemn the Bulgarian Churches for cowardly behavior it may be well to ask what we ourselves might have done in the circumstances.

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Rumania was not fully subordinated to the Communist Party until the close of 1947. On the eve of the invasion of the country, which had been the only one to lend full support to the Nazi cause, young King Michael overthrew the Iron Front government and its strong man, General Antonescu, by a *coup d'état*. The new Government, in which a general also served as Premier, accepted the terms of armistice. Nevertheless by March 6, 1945, the Communists were unmistakably in control, although a fellow traveler, Dr. Petru Groza, was selected to head a government in which they had the upper hand. At the Potsdam Conference the United States, Great Britain, and Russia agreed to sign a treaty of peace with Rumania as soon as a government should be formed which was "broadly repre-

471 stitutions in a democratic society, such as the legislature, courts, labor boards and media of public opinion, are now agencies of the employer.

467 But even the alleged representatives of the workers—the Communist trade unions—are an arm of the same government-employer. Theoretically excluding any possibility of labor conflict, the Communist system has transformed the trade unions from organizations defending the workers' interests into governmental agencies enforcing official economic policy. In fact, ever since the creation of the Communist trade unions in Bulgaria, centralized in the General Workers Professional Union,[*] their main task has been to enact regulations concerning output, punishments against sabotage, labor discipline, higher norms, competitions, and to warn against wage increases, disorders and inefficiency in production.[*] The Statute of the Trade Unions itself entrusts them with "mobilizing all workers and employees in the enterprises and offices for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the production plan, strengthening of labor discipline, and developing of socialist competition."[*]

A clear statement about what Bulgarian trade unions can and cannot do was published in the official union organ *Trud* shortly after the enactment of the Labor Code and the Trade Unions' Statute: "Due to the fact that the people's democratic state is one of the forms of the proletarian dictatorship . . . it is natural that the trade unions, which in the past were an enemy of the bourgeois state and the bourgeois structure, are today one of the main levers of the people's democratic state, first assistant of the Party in strengthening and leading to complete victory the socialist social structure. Therefore, it is now incorrect to speak in defense of the workers' and employees' interests, as it was in the past, and the trade unions do not and cannot have such a task . . . . The basis for the activity of the trade unions in the people's democ-

[*] The General Workers Professional Union *(Obshi Rabotnicheski Profesionalen Suyuz)* is composed of individual trade unions which are organized according to the "production principle," that is, disregarding the workers' profession and taking into account the place of work only. The Statute of the Trade Unions, cited at footnote 9, is a carbon copy of the Soviet statute, the English translation of which is in Isaac Deutscher's work cited at footnote 1.

[*] Cf. Ministry of Information and Arts, *The General Workers Professional Union* (Sofia: 1946), pp. 37-41, in English.

[*] Art. 35(a).

[*] *Trud*, February 22, 1952.

[*] Resolution in Georgi Chankov, *Profesionalnite Suyuzi i Tekhnite Zadachi v Borbata za*

page 613a

467 pacy can be . . . their constantly teaching the working class that the only correct road is the organization of patriotic socialist competitions and the fulfillment of the state economic plans."[a] And the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party[b] added that "the most important role of the trade unions in a proletarian dictatorship is their organizational-economic and educational role—their role as schools of communism."

It seems obvious that trade unions in a democratic country and their Communist counterpart have absolutely nothing in common except their name. In fact, their nature, functions and aims are diametrically opposed to each other. In Bulgaria, they are channels of the Communist government and can be best compared with an economic police force, operating in factories and other places where the economic plans of the government are being implemented.

How, then, is it at all possible to speak about collective bargaining, when the two contracting parties are, in last analysis, representatives of one and the same Communist state authority? Still, the Bulgarian Communists persist in using the term "collective" or "individual labor contract,"[a] although in theory as well as in practice they exclude any conflict-of-interest matters from con-
465 tractual regulation. Following the Soviet
656 example, even wages and standards of output are excluded as subjects of bargaining and reserved for exclusive governmental regulation. Wages in Communist Bulgaria are determined on the basis of "labor norms"—that is, production quotas—prescribed by the government for each category of workers. If a worker is not able to fulfill his norm, he is paid according to the quantity and quality of the finished product. This piece-work system is the antipode of the system of hourly wages and was banished in 1905 as a remnant of Turkish feudalism.[b]
466 Thus, the Bulgarian Government is absolute
656 master in decreeing all important labor

Preustroyavanato na Spisiliama u Nas (Sofia: 1951), p. 88, in Bulgarian.

[a] Cf. Pt. II, Ch. I and II of the Code of Labor.

[b] Indicative of Communist hypocrisy is the fact that, before 1905, the Bulgarian Communists were bitter opponents of the piece-work system, even for shoemakers, denouncing it as "the most detestable exploitation by the hyenas of private capitalism." Ivan Iliev, *Rabotnicheshko Syndicalno Dvizhenije v Bulgaria* (Sofia: 1927), p. 87, in Bulgarian. Communists everywhere, if out of power, violently oppose piece-work, yet introduce and hail it as "the most progressive achievement of the socialist state," once they take over.

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The Soviet trade unions generally supervise the carrying out of the plans for the construction of dwellings and communal buildings and take part in the distribution of new buildings to the workers, and in this connection their proposals have a decisive importance.—Leonid Nikolaevich Solovyov, Secretary, All-Union Central Council of Trades Unions, USSR.

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half an hour more than twice a month."[39] It should be understood that the minimum consequence of a dismissal is labor mobilization.

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The following remarks of an authority on Soviet labor have full validity for Communist Bulgaria as well: "The fear of being late became a nightmare to workers, many of whom had no watches or clocks, and sent them speeding to work in frantic haste. The same fear made them gulp their lunch as quickly as possible."[40] It sounds unbelievable that such a casual infraction as tardiness can ultimately lead to imprisonment or forced labor.

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As to inefficiency, the recently enacted Decree for Payment of Dead Time and Rejects in Industry, Construction and Transport[41] supplemented the disciplinary punishments of the Labor Code by introducing financial liability for stoppage and defective output. The most unusual feature represents the fact that a worker is deprived of up to 30 per cent of his wage even if he is not responsible for the stoppage or defective output.[42]

This Communist anomaly is even more clear in the provisions regulating the financial responsibility for damages caused to the enterprise. Guided by the principle that "socialist property" is more precious than

[39] Grounds for dismissal in Art. 38 of the Labor Code.

[40] Work by Schwarz, cited at footnote 1, p. 105.

[41] *Izvestiya na Prezidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranie*, No. 32, April 21, 1953.

[42] Art. 2 and 7 of the Decree for Payment of Dead Time and Rejects.

[43] Cf. Arts. 1 and 51 of the Penal Code of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic (*Ugolovnij Kodex RSFSR*, in Russian). Also, Arts. 1 and 31 of the Bulgarian Penal Code of 1951.

[44] Art. 38 of the Labor Code.

[45] Cf. Art. 2 of the Penal Code.

[46] Art. 206, par. 2 of the Labor Code.

[47] This complete disregard for tradition and objective conditions has so much disorganized the national economy and antagonized the

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conditions of the alleged individual or collective "agreements," without any negotiation on the part of the workers. Actually, the "labor contract" represents a model form, prepared in advance by the government, and submitted for signature to the labor arm of the government—the trade union committee—thus legally binding all workers to a document in the formulation of which they have not at all participated.

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The secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chankov, calls the labor contract an "economic-political document . . . a means for the mobilization of the working class for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan" and frankly states that "the job of the trade unions with respect to the collective labor contracts by no means ends with the unions' task to sign the contracts. In fact, it starts only then. The most important aspect of their function is that, after the contracts have been signed, the trade unions exercise uninterrupted control and criticism of the administration of the contracts and mobilize the workers and employees for the contracts' fulfillment."[27]

It is obvious that those "contracts" represent nothing but a legally enforceable document with which the government imposes one-sided obligations upon the Bulgarian workers. The only consideration of the Communists in resorting to them seems to be their desire to give the outside world the impression of free labor relations within the Soviet orbit.

The provisions related to the settlement of labor disputes are also symptomatic in this respect. While using the term "labor disputes," the Bulgarian Communists not only shrink its subject matter to predominantly technical problems on the factory level, but also proclaim the supremacy of the executive over the judiciary in settling the disputes.[28] In practice, the dispute seldom leaves the first stage, the so-called conciliatory commission, composed of the persons who signed the collective agreements and reflecting the identical source of authority—the Communist government. It seldom happens, therefore, that the representatives of the government-employer and of the government-controlled committee are allowed

[27] Work cited at footnote 24, pp. 54-55.

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[28] Cf. Pt. II. Ch. IX of the Code of Labor. Also, supplementary decrees in *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Nos. 38, May 9, 1952, and 47, June 3, 1952. Art. 143 of the Code, in particular, prohibits appeals to conciliation boards and courts for disputes involving disciplinary punishments or dismissal by the trade union or the governmental authori-

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to disagree on the settlement of a labor dispute. If they should, the last word is explicitly reserved for the executive.

The collapse of collective bargaining and the regimentation of the labor force have restricted labor relations to technical questions and have transformed labor law into a means for enforcing governmental policy. The key institution of the Communist system vis-à-vis labor has become the so-called socialist discipline of labor.

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"Socialist labor discipline" represents a system of rules affecting the conduct of the workers in any Communist enterprise, office or organization. Its aim is to increase production and productivity of labor without any particular regard to the real capacities of the national economy and of the labor force, including the individual worker. Within the limits of a governmentally recruited, directed and controlled labor force, "socialist labor discipline" embraces all regulations enacted by the Communist administration of every establishment which fix the specific obligations of the workers. In short, it is the regime under which the worker must perform his daily work, to which he is assigned and which he cannot leave.

It has been said that labor remuneration in Communist Bulgaria is based on the piece-work system. Accordingly, the primary requirement of the administration is that the worker fulfills his daily norm in order to get his full wage. But since norms are established by the State Institute for Labor Norms on the basis of the capacity of 5 to 10 per cent of the most productive workers, the remaining 90 to 95 per cent are driven to catch up by the rigorous labor discipline.[29]

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The only possible way to reach the norm is to work more. That is why Article 43 of the Labor Code announces a "nonfixed working day" and Article 46(a) to (f) allows overtime work for a variety of purposes, in spite of general provisions to the contrary in Articles 39 and 43. The Decree for Overtime Work[30] dispels possible doubts by stating, in its Article 11, that "workers and employees cannot refuse . . . to perform overtime work. If they think that the imposed overtime work is unlawful, they

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ties. In such cases the worker or employee may only appeal to higher administrative authorities.

[29] Cf. Leland Stowe, *Conquest by Terror* (New York: Random House, 1952), p. 125. While norms are constantly revised and increased, wages remain almost the same, so that, in 1951 alone, there was an automatic wage reduction of up to 25 per cent (p. 130).

[30] Text of decree in *Trud*, May 15, 1952.

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RETROSPECT, 1948

000 As soon as I began to understand what was happening in Dragalevtsy I knew that I was in touch with something tremendously important. Here, in a Bulgarian village which I had once known intimately, I was encountering the same peasant reactions which I had found in many parts of Yugoslavia, a country which also was experiencing political and social upheaval. The Yugoslavs had a National Liberation Front under Tito which paralleled Bulgaria's Fatherland Front under Georgi Dimitrov. Throughout Serbia, in Dalmatia, Croatia, and parts of the Vojvodina I heard Yugoslav peasants complaining about their new regime in the same overtones and undertones as did my Dragalevtsy friends.

What was there about the Communist-dominated governments that the peasants did not like? It was not until I had left the Balkans, and was weatherbound in Vienna, that I had time to formulate the reasons. Some of these have already been mentioned in the discussion of postwar changes in Dragalevtsy, but they can be accurately applied to those other [illegible] in the Balkans where landed peasants are the rule.

668 423 474 The Communists are aware of the peasant's hunger for more land and have instituted land reforms to bring about a greater mass ownership of the farming areas, on the principle that "the land belongs to those who till it." But in the case of those who have land, even in quantities small enough not to be affected by the reform laws, the governments have given little assurance that the land will remain private property for an indefinite period. Constitutions guarantee this, to be sure, but constitutions mean little to many authoritarian regimes. The greatest insecurity in the rural Balkans today, as previously pointed out in the case of Dragalevtsy, is the ever-present threat that one's land may sooner or later be taken over by the state and operated as a government holding. Part of the Communist policy may be the promotion of this uncertainty on the theory that insecure people are more easily controlled. But when one tampers

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with a relationship as deep-rooted as that of the Balkan peasant to his land, he is also creating the seeds out of which a spontaneous resistance movement could grow. There is little evidence of collectivization at present, but the peasants are not convinced that it is not just around the corner. 668 423 471

Then too, the Balkan peasants, especially in the settled agricultural areas, have not taken kindly to Communism because they characterize it as an urban movement. When seasoned Communists try to converse with peasants about the merits of the Russian system their factory-oriented dialectic falls flat. Nor have they developed an agricultural vocabulary with which to communicate intelligibly with the rural people. The more the Balkan Communists talk, the more the peasants are convinced of the urban orientation of the new government. They consider it anti-Agrarian and anti-peasant. In an attempt to overcome this reserve to their program the Communists organize deputation teams of artisans who spend Sundays out in carefully selected villages helping the peasants repair their wagons, mend their pots and pans, or they even bring along a corps of barbers to cut the villagers' hair. The spirit behind such a move is to have the artisans show by their deeds, "You see, we are your friends. We're all brother Bulgarians [or Yugoslavs, as the case may be]." But it takes more than this to sell such a radical program as Communism to the capitalistic-minded peasant. 668 369 829

The rural villagers elsewhere in the Balkans, as well as in Dragalevtsy, resent the term worker. Newspapers studiously attempt to get the worker ideology accepted by the rural citizens, but the social statuses of the peasant and the worker are such that the government is asking the former to step down a rung, in the peasant's estimation. So Communism is thought to represent a backward rather than a forward move, and is related to the all-important matter of land: the peasant generally possesses it, whereas the worker is usually landless.

Many analyses of the Balkan problems play up rightly the role of the church, whether it be Eastern Orthodox or Roman Catholic, in the peasants' lack of enthusiasm for Communism. Others stress the generations-old nationality antipathies which have some influence. Certainly Pan-Slavism is not paying high dividends in rural areas in 668 641 186

[185] The administration [vocational rehabilitation] program provides that during 1955, 70 thousand persons would be rehabilitated, 100 thousand in 1956, and the number would be progressively increased until 1959 some 200 thousand disabled persons would be rehabilitated and returned to useful work.—James P. Mitchell

466 right of freedom on the job and a legal principle requesting mutual consent for any modification of existing conditions."

The check upon the workers' movement is performed via so-called "personal passports" and "workbooks." The first, issued by the police and the second by the first employer are labelled "official documents" and must be presented on request. According to the provisions of the Labor Code, as well as of the special Decree for Workbooks,[27] every worker is required to present his workbook, in order to be eligible for any kind of job. The book contains the whole employment record and, specifically, "the reason for the discontinuation" of a previous job.[28] It is kept by the employer and is aimed primarily at the prevention of arbitrary quitting.

●471 Before discussing the core of labor relations—collective bargaining—it is important to recall the main characteristics of the parties between which the bargaining is supposed to take place. Due to the complete disappearance of private ownership in industry, the one and only owner and employer in Bulgaria is the Communist state. And bargaining with the state, even if duly protected, is always burdensome, especially when such protection is entirely lacking. In fact, Bulgaria's form of government being that of a dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, "a power limited by nothing . . . directly based on violence,"[29] and the sole repository of power being the Communist Party and government, all protective in-

[26] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year IV, No. 14, February 17, 1953.

[27] The Bulgarian Communists themselves seem to have been embarrassed by the shockingly frank language of the Stability Law (cf. author's study cited at footnote 3, p. 20, quoting speech by Vice-President Yugov), so that they repealed it nine months later (*Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year IV, No. 90, November 10, 1953). No change in the actual situation has been reported, however.

[28] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year IV, No. 26, March 31, 1953.

[29] Art. 17, par. 2 of the Labor Code, and Art. 6 (g) of the Decree for Workbooks.

[30] See footnote 6.

page 612 b.

● 471 stitutions in a democratic society, such as the legislature, courts, labor boards and media of public opinion, are now agencies of the employer.

467 But even the alleged representatives of the workers—the Communist trade unions—are an arm of the same government-employer. Theoretically excluding any possibility of labor conflict, the Communist system has transformed the trade unions from organizations defending the workers' interests into governmental agencies enforcing official economic policy. In fact, ever since the creation of the Communist trade unions in Bulgaria, centralized in the General Workers Professional Union,[20] their main task has been to enact regulations concerning output, punishments against sabotage, labor discipline, higher norms, competitions, and to warn against wage increases, disorders and inefficiency in production.[21] The Statute of the Trade Unions itself entrusts them with "mobilizing all workers and employees in the enterprises and offices for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the production plan, strengthening of labor discipline, and developing of socialist competition."[22]

A clear statement about what Bulgarian trade unions can and cannot do was published in the official union organ *Trud* shortly after the enactment of the Labor Code and the Trade Unions' Statute: "Due to the fact that the people's democratic state is one of the forms of the proletarian dictatorship . . . it is natural that the trade unions, which in the past were an enemy of the bourgeois state and the bourgeois structure, are today one of the main levers of the people's democratic state, first assistant of the Party in strengthening and leading to complete victory the socialist social structure. Therefore, it is now incorrect to speak in defense of the workers' and employees' interests, as it was in the past, and the trade unions do not and cannot have such a task . . . . The basis for the activity of the trade unions in the people's democ-

[20] The General Workers Professional Union (*Obshi Rabotnicheski Profesionalen Suyuz*) is composed of individual trade unions which are organized according to the "production principle," that is, disregarding the workers' profession and taking into account the place of work only. The Statute of the Trade Unions, cited at footnote 9, is a carbon copy of the Soviet statute, the English translation of which is in Isaac Deutscher's work cited at footnote 1.

[21] Cf. Ministry of Information and Arts, *The General Workers Professional Union* (Sofia: 1946), pp. 37-41, in English.

[22] Art. 35(a).

[23] *Trud*, February 22, 1952.

[24] Resolution in Georgi Chankov, *Profesionalnite Suyuzi i Tekhnite Zadachi v Borbata za*

page 613a

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

But peasant prosperity, especially in a village so close to Sofia, was also based on black-market activities. Even in 1945 economists estimated that about ninety-five per cent of all dairy products reached the urban consumer through the black market at prices fantastically high. The peasants, moreover, had learned new ways of circumventing government requisitioning during the war. Just after harvesting, while rye and wheat crops were still in the field, they would shake from one-fifth to one-fourth of the grain onto blankets and secretly hide this amount from the Germans. Then they would, as the law decreed, take the sheaves to the village to be threshed. A part of this threshed grain, varying in amount each year with the size of the harvest, had to be turned over to the authorities at prices fixed by the government, but the previously sequestered grain could be used at home or disposed of at black market prices. 178 437

One additional economic factor of importance[1] was the rise in land values, which surpassed the general rise in prices. For instance, I had not been in the village long before I learned how valuable was the land on the right as one approached the village from Sofia. Within two years the land had gone up ten times, from 35 leva per square meter to 300-400 leva. No wonder then that peasants had been ridding themselves of their debts, selling a field or two if necessary to put them in the clear. Some of the poorer families had been deriving extra income from the earnings of about twenty teen-aged girls who went daily to Sofia to work in the knitting mill. This was a concession to industrialism which the Dragalevtsy peasants would not have made back in 1937, and it was already having some effect upon village life. 178 423

But perhaps one of the greatest economic changes was the reversal of the trend toward dairying mentioned in earlier chapters. Shortly after my departure from Dragalevtsy, a milk producers' co-operative had been established in the village, largely through government prompting and support, and collected all of the milk formerly taken to Sofia by the individual milkmen. The co-operative also ran a grocery store and sold large quantities of feed to the farmers. Owing to price policies of the co-operative and the government price-fixing agency, the peasants began to consider dairying unprofitable. They 178 234 [474]

[1] [Following World War II -- Analyst]

8: Bojiaff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Particular features of public instruction in schools are given in the drawings (fig. 21-23). Bulgaria could properly boast of a vast system of instruction dating from the time of Turkish political and Greek spiritual dominion and oppression. This national system of public instruction penetrated down to the lowest strata of the population and helped the Bulgarian people to preserve their existence for centuries past. 871

51. Bulgarian Reading Rooms. The Bulgarian reading rooms (libraries) are a national institution for education, which were started during the Turkish domination (1393-1878), when the people guarded and developed their enlightenment with their own means. The national reading rooms to-day are organized in a National Union of Reading Rooms, supported by the State. Supplementing the information given in the drawings (Fig. 24) we will give the following data: 217

The books in the reading rooms are distributed, according to their topics and subject matter, in the following manner for 1938:

	Village reading rooms		*City reading rooms*	
	Number of books	*%*	*Number of books*	*%*
Art and literature	679.885	47.7	269.898	45.3
General works	210,330	14.8	88.987	14.9
Medecine, agriculture, household economy	124,606	8.8	32,704	5.5
History, geography, biography	114,333	8.0	51,501	8.6
Social science	100.415	7.0	60,154	10.1
Mathematics, natural history	32,677	2.3	20,053	3.3
Religion	32,644	2.3	13,401	2.2
Philosophy	30,613	2.2	19,128	3.2
Others	98,705	6.9	40,998	6.9
Total	1,424,208	100.0	596,824	100.0

We have not included in the above statement the books in the municipal libraries, in the large national libraries, supported by the state, as well as in the libraries of the universities and other learned institutions.

52. Cooperative Activity in Bulgaria We may safely say that Bulgaria is a country of cooperative organizations. This tendency in the economic life of the country is inherited too from the long submission to Turkish authority (1393-1878), which was devoid of any 474

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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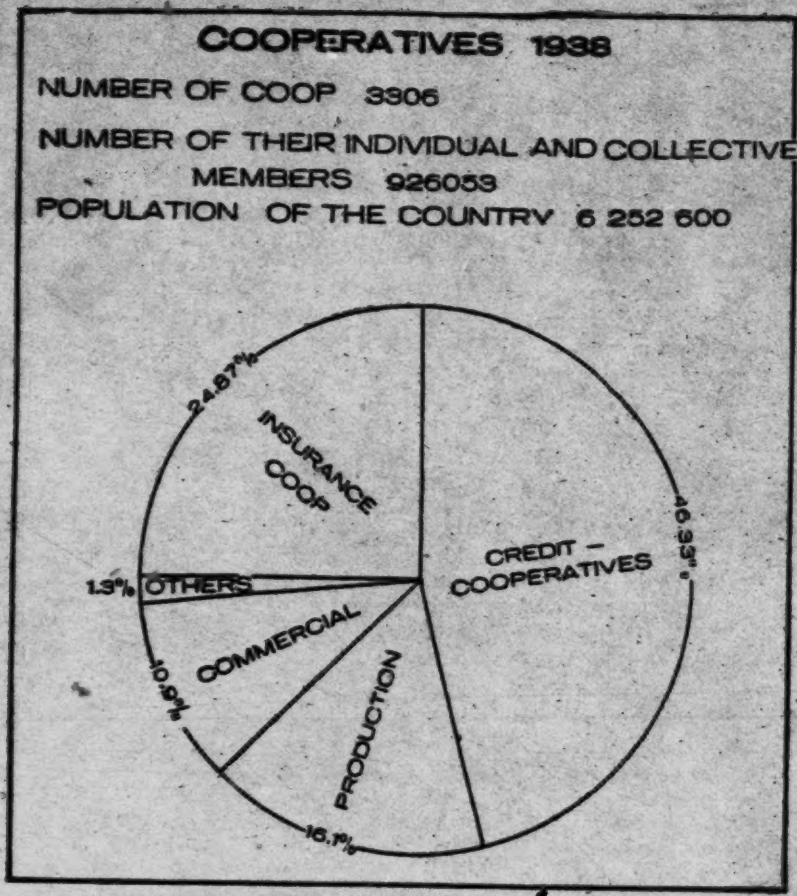

Fig. 25.

feeling of public responsibility. As a reaction to this colourless authoritative attitude developed an inclination towards a wide spread economic organization with public participation, control and responsibility. Here are some general figures regarding Bulgaria's cooperative activity for 1939 (Fig. 25).

	Cooperative societies	
Type of cooperatives	*Number*	*Membership*
Productive	735	200,223
Commercial	278	114,713
Credit	2,386	572,983
Insurance	9	151,747
Public works	30	16,929
Union central offices	64	9,534
Total	3,502	966,149

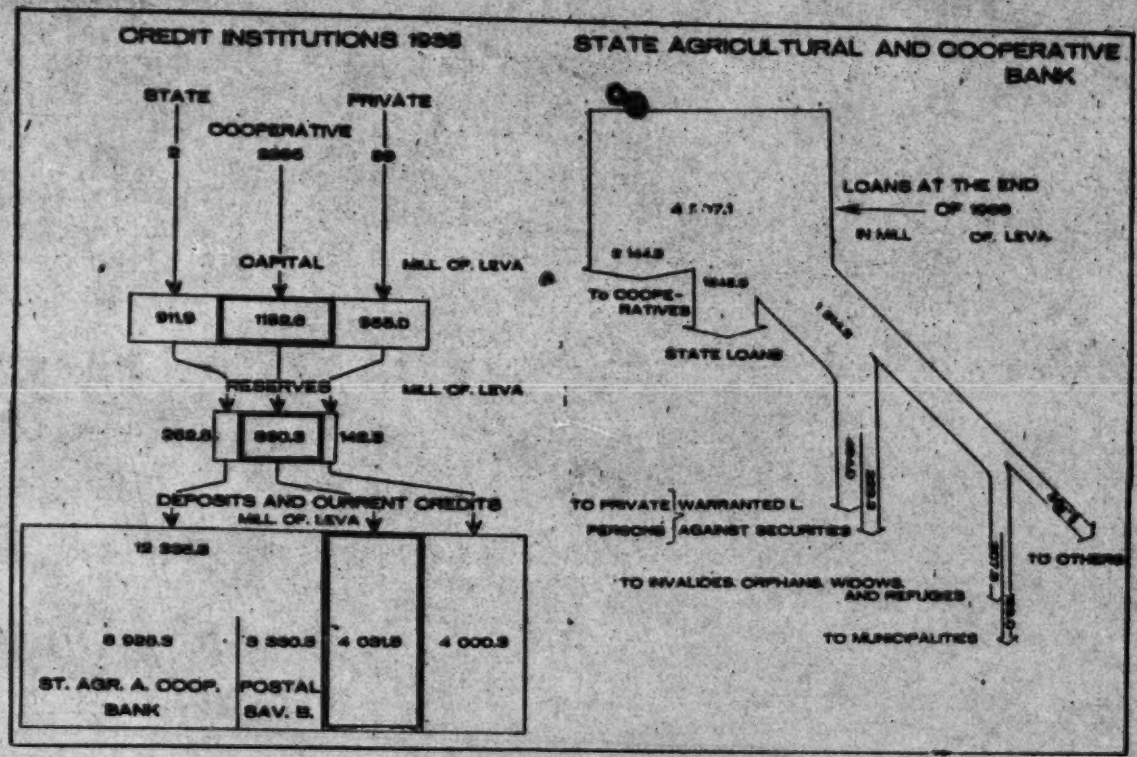

Fig. 26.

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S. Boyadjiff K-4.5 (no date) 1940 HI1 Bulgaria HI1

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

474 With a population of 6.25 millions we have 275 inhabitants per cooperative society, or 1 out of 6.5 inhabitants is a member of a cooperative society. The members of cooperatives make 15.5% of the total population.

745 **53. Public Insurance.** The income from public insurance for 1938 is 281.4 millions leva. The disbursements for accident, sickness, maternity cases, invalidity, old age and unemployment amount to 155.967.000 leva.

496 **54. Bulgarian Railroads.** (Appendix II) At the time of her liberation (1878) Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia (South Bulgaria) received from the Ottoman Empire 542 km. = 336 miles of privately owned railroads. With a territory of 103.000 sq. km. = 39.400 sq. miles and a population of 2.8 millions inhabitants at that time, Bulgaria obtained 5.26 km. railroads per 1000 sq. km. territory and 193 km. per 1 million inhabitants. The average railroad intensity of Europe at that time was respectively 24.5 and 600 km. so that Bulgaria was 4.65 resp. 3.1 times less favorable than Europe in that respect. Bulgaria possesses to day (Dec. 31, 1944) 3,760 km. = 740 miles of railroad lines; this makes 33.6 km. per 1000 sq. km. of territory and 522 km. per 1 million inhabitants.[1]) Consequently Bulgaria, having increased her railroad network 6.95 times, has increased her network intensity 7.1 times in relation to this territory and 2.7 times in relation to her population (the growth of the population is very rapid). Bulgaria is well nigh to catch up with Europe so far as the average density of the railroad network is concerned. We should not fail to underline this fact, because between 1878 and 1945 the growth of Bulgaria's railroad network for the duration of this 67 years has been at the rate 48 km. of railroads per year. At an average cost of 6.4 millions leva per kilometer for railroads, rolling stock, inventory and other equipment, according to prices of 1941, this would represent an expenditure of about 310 millions leva a year, which is quite a significant amount for the limited financial resources of Bulgaria.

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131 [1]) 1945 Bulgaria has a territory of 110.842 sq. km. = 42.800 sq.
161 miles and a population of 6.9 millions. In Fig. 12 read 110.842 instead of 110.342 sq miles.

7 [See pp. 110(A)-110(B) -- Analyst]

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

• 474 The growth of the co-operative movement in Bulgaria and the enthusiasm with which it has been supported by a large number of intellectuals is one of the most hopeful portents in the country, not only because of the material benefits which the peasantry will derive from it, in fact it may prove the only avenue of salvation to the majority of smallholders, but also on account of the ethical training it involves, and the lesson of solidarity and mutual help it teaches its members. In a country where anarchic individualism, and envy of one's neighbour, usually prevail, no propaganda would be more useful to bridle and tame these unsocial propensities than that on behalf of the idea of co-operation. It is therefore highly satisfactory to record that the co-operative movement has met with a great success in Bulgaria in comparison with other countries in the Near East. If it were not for that scourge of politics which has made itself unduly felt also in this branch of social activity, the achievements of the co-operative movement would have been phenomenal and might have equalled those attained in Denmark.

The history of the co-operative movement in Bulgaria is mostly that of the struggle between a few idealists trying to preach coordination and harmony, and the body of intriguing politicians endeavouring to sow discord in order to insinuate themselves in the co-operatives and render them subservient to the political parties; and strange to say, there was no greater sinner in this respect than the Agrarian party, which ought above all to have fostered the growth of the co-operatives since on their success depended the welfare of the peasantry. As M. Petko Ditsev, one of the leaders of the co-operative movement stated in his voluminous memoirs (p. XVIII) published in 1933:

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"In the course of 24 years, I was in continuous conflict with the Bulgarian political parties because their representatives would not remain impartial to the co-operative movement, but always endeavoured to subject it by force or ruse, or demanded leading posts in it when wielding authority". 474

M. D. Berov, a deputy, speaking in the Sobranye on July 17, 1928, also expressed himself in the same way.

"Party influences diverted our co-operatives from their goal a few years ago and turned them into party clubs. Until recently in the statutes of the Bulgarian Co-operative Bank figured article 15 which stipulated that no one was to be assisted if he did not agree to become a member of the Agrarian party. The Co-operative Central Syndicate with a capital of 1,502,000 leva owes eight millions to the Agricultural Bank. All this money was employed to build a party club and a printing press for the Agrarian party, or distributed among various leading Agrarians (a list of names and sums cited). All this money is as good as lost. This is the crown of co-operative activity of the Agrarians".

In whatever Bulgarians undertake they infuse such a tremendous amount of energy that even if a fraction of it happens to be well directed, the goal aimed at is attained. Most often however thay are incapable of coordinating their efforts and their exertions are wasted in counter-checking each other's activities. This will be plainly illustrated by the methods adopted in fostering the co-operative movement and if it has nevertheless survived and prospered, this, proves that local conditions constitute an extremely congenial environment for its development, and that if it be protected from the bane of politics from which it has so far suffered, and if something be done to coordinate and harmonise the forces that have so far impelled it, it is bound to prove an immense and unparalleled success in the country's history. The movement so far has suffered from too great a division of forces, and even governing circles are to blame for setting an 'example of disunion'. Thus instead of confiding to one central bank the

This instead of confiding to one central bank the
•474 task of financing the co-operatives, two government insti-
453 tutions were entrusted with this aim, with the result that each attempted to detach from the other as many of its clients as possible, and the nefarious example set by these government institutions was followed down the scale by many co-operatives which seemed to take pleasure in tresspassing on each others activities. To crown all, the fissiparous tendency which characterises the growth of every intellectual manifestation in Bulgaria split many groups into rival factions that wasted their means in fighting rather than in helping each other. The recent decision of the Government to amalgamate the Agricultural with the Co-operative Bank, the two governmental institutions financing the co-operatives, ought therefore to be applauded for it will tend to put a stop to the insensate rivalry between the two banks and facilitate the exertion of stricter supervision on their activities since they supply the bulk of the operating funds of the co-operative societies, for after all, it is the one who pays the piper who should call the tune. As the agricultural co-operatives, the popular banks, the producers' societies and the associations of consumers will each be represented by a delegate elected by them in the council of administration of the fused banks, it may be assumed that their respective requirements will be duly
474 studied and attended to. Thus one of the recommendations set forth in the Report prepared by the experts of the League of Nations in 1930 as to the Co-operative movement in Bulgaria has been realised. Any one interested in the state of the country should read this document for in it one will find a plethora of data which will permit one to form a general idea of the prevailing conditions which the experts do not view very optimistically, for according to them:

"The burden of taxation threatens to undermine the whole economic development of the country. The situation is difficult, but

better prospects may be secured if the natural capacity, the laboriousness and enterprise of the people are seconded from outside". 474

These foreign experts further criticised the tendency of Bulgarian co-operative societies to extend their activities in too many directions instead of specialising in one line. This apparent defect however, seems an unavoidable necessity owing to the restricted field of operation of each society, though on the other hand much could be done to prevent one co-operative from impinging on another's radius of action in order that a local society may not be atrophied by its natural field of activity being too circumscribed and its resources tapped by a distant and more enterprising rival. Thus M. T. G. Vlaikov, another pioneer of the co-operative movement, in one of his works (volume VI) dilates on the rivalry between Agricultural co-operatives and the Popular banks, the latter intruding in villages where the former already function, a policy which he strongly condemns. The experts of the League of Nations were only six weeks in the country and naturally they could not fathom every question, or grasp the extreme penury of the resources of most co-operative societies since it was natural that they should visit first the most progressive and most promising establishments. An average Agricultural credit co-operation has about a hundred members and disposes of a capital of some 100,000 to 200,000 leva, bringing an annual income of 20,000 leva. The advances it secures from either the Agricultural or Co-operative Bank will amount to 800,000 or one million, and this will yield an extra interest over that which it pays of 2 %, so that its total income will amount to 36,000 leva, if it restricts itself to purely credit operations. What can it achieve with such meagre means, and how can it defray its running expenses, since it has to provide out of them for rent and at least one man's salary? It cannot hope to expand locally, for the

474 average village contains 100 to 200 houses; for this reason pioneers of the co-operative movement, such as P. Ditsev, suggest that two or three villages should be grouped together and pool their resources.

474 In order to supplement its revenues such village credit co-operatives are obliged to engage also in retail 452 distribution of commodities and other activities so as to bring down the running costs while the addition of a distributive branch helps them to increase their membership for the apportionment of the "dividend" forms a very alluring attraction, and accounts for a large percentage of adherents though not to the extent prevalent in England where it explains the adherence of three fourths of the co-operative membership (see an Article by Edwin C. Fairchild in the "19th Century and After", August 1934, p. 179) In Bulgaria however, the divident is paid only partially to purchasers, and usually half of it is retained and placed to the credit of the new customer as his share in the capital of the co-operative society. The great inducement to join a co-operative society is the credit facilities which it accords to its member, for capital is scarce in Bulgaria and rates of interest remain unduly high in spite of the various laws which have bee[illegible]sed to suppress usury. The penury of capital acc[illegible] to a large extent for the develoment of the Popular banks which to some extent increase their roll of membership from among those soliciting advances, the latter being granted only after the applicant agrees to subscribe to the bank's share capital, whereupon his indebtedness to the bank figures partly as money loaned by the bank, and partly as capital of the bank; thus one is often induced to form an erroneous estimate as to the soundness of these banks by assuming that their capital is fully paid up. It also often happens that co-operatives are formed mainly owing to the additional credit facilities which will accrue to

their members, their founders being solely instigated by this very utilitarian motive which naturally leads to abuses and to the discrediting of the co-operative idea. This might be ascribed to the undue facility with which State funds were placed at the disposal of the co-operative societies by both the Agricultural and Co-operative banks, especially when an influential politician would discreetly hint that a certain „co-operative" society, often composed exclusiyely of his own supporters, deserved financial assistance. The present arrangement by which a more effective control will be exerted by the banking authorities which grant these credits will, it is to be hoped eventually eradicate these methods which in the past have allowed several unscrupulous individuals to play ducks and drakes with State funds.

There seems to have been an undue duplication of the granting of credits as well as of the means of placing savings in the rural districts. Thus, a peasant could secure an advance both from the local credit co-operative, as well as directly from the Agricultural bank, and as the interest he had to pay on loans from the latter was lower he preferred having recourse to it. He also patronised the bank rather than the co-operative when it was a question of confiding his savings, because the Agricultural Bank naturally presented a far better security. If it could be arranged for both operations to de restricted to the co-operatives, and if the Agricultural Bank could be eliminated from granting personal credits to peasants, the scope of the co-operatives would be immensely extended and their position correspondingly strengthened as they would be made an indispensable adjunct of village life. All parties would gain by it, for the local co-operative would be better acquainted with the individual needs of its members and better suited to proffer help and advice. This naturally is not so easy to realise, since according to M. I. Nikolov only 160,000

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peasant proprietors out of a total of 800,000, are members of co-operatives

The disability arising from the exiguity of means under which the individual co-operative society labours, and which equally prevents the formation of several distinctive co-operative societies in one village capable of ministering to the various major needs of its inhabitants has been circumvented by the creation of regional co-operative centres at convenient localities which by concentrating certain operations are able to provide the needed machinery and render its utilisation remunerative. By such concentration a further economy is effected by a reduction in the staff, for the various activities are seasonal, and occur at various times of the year, and the same personnel can be made co attend to them in turn. These regional centres also serve to concentrate the produce collected by the village co-operatives affiliated to them and help to dispose of it more advantageously than could be done in remote villages; they further serve as local wholesale Societies supplying the retail distributing branches with their requirements which they themselves could not obtain direct. Unfortunately such attempts as have been made to coordinate the activities of these regional centres do not seem to have succeeded so far, for there have been repeated complaints of one underselling the other in the open market and thus contributing to the lowering of prices. This has been particularly manifest in the marketing of tobacco, rival co-operatives undercutting prices whenever foreign buyers made their appearance

This antagonism which arises from a lack of understanding of co-operative principles is responsible in many instances for the injudicious utilisation of the limited funds at the disposal of co-operative societies; thus instead of two or three neighbouring village co-operatives pooling

their resources to build one flour mill, or one oil-crushing plant, or one wine press. each co-operative will on the contrary endeavour to construct them independently without taking into consideration that such a plant cannot be provided with a sufficiency of work to render its employment remunerative. Thus losses are incurred through a desire to emulate one's neighbours and capital is locked up unecessarily when it could be profitably utilised elsewhere. There is no doubt that if all these disunited and often warring forces could be better coordinated an immense advantage would accrue to the country. Such a consummation would facilitate the pursuance of a more coherent and better defined policy and favour the growth of reciprocal relations with foreign wholesale co-operative societies and the International Union of Co-operatives, the support and aid of which could be solicited more advantageously and more authoritatively than by the existing undisciplined and composite body of some fifty various „Centrals" and „Unions", both General and Regional. The extremely difficult task of harmonising their divergent interests and views has been entrusted to a former Radical deputy, M. Ivan Harizanov, whose conscientious devotion to the cause of conciliation renders him well adapted to bring such trying negotiations to a successful end.[1]

It is held that co-operation is essentially based on voluntary association, that State control is likely to injure it, and that every form of compulsion from above will destroy it. But in a backward community it is impossible to bring together a mass of isolated individuals in a common economic object, and lay the foundation of a new and better rural society by mere persuasion. The State has to

[1] Unfortunately he has been releaved of his post after the fall of the Gheorghiev Cabinet.

474 provide solid inducements in the form of the indispensable capital which otherwise would be lacking, and it should be in duty bound to exert a strict supervision of its utilisation even if this entails a certain restriction of individual freedom.

Of course mistakes often occur, such as were committed in the case of the compulsory transfer of the attar of roses industry to the co-operative societies. The individual traders were prevented from continuing their activities and as a consequence the export of this product has considerably diminished, since the foreign connection the individual firms had built up could not be utilised by the co-perative societies.

Judging from the variety of co-operative societies in Bulgaria, one may justly infer that it is an extremely popular and attractive form of association, for it has been put to some unique experiences. Tenements have been built on a co-operative basis, several individuals pooling their resources to construct a building in which each would possess a flat. Rose growers and vine growers have grouped themselves together to build a distillery or a wine press and cellar, and there is even a sugar beet factory run on these lines. The Bulgarian is an indefatigable constructor, he revels in hard work, but the only thing which he has not yet learnt is how to coordinate his exertions in order that one individual's efforts may not be directed to counterbalancing or undoing the labour of some one else. Hitherto this is what has been happening, but the co-operative movement is beginning to open the eyes of many and eventually it will prove an excellent lesson in disciplining these antagonistic tendencies.

As has been stated, all the co-operative societies were financed and supervised either by the Agricultural or the Central Co-operative Bank. Those affiliated to the former on December 31, 1933 consisted of:

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Agricultural Credit Co-operatives	1,474
Consumers Distributive Co-operatives	6
Tobacco Marketing "	35
Timber " "	48
Wine and viticultural Co-operatives	19
Milk and Dairy "	7
Vegetable and Tinning "	2
Sericultural "	1
Fishing "	3
Water-power Syndicates "	12
Federations & Co-operative Syndicates	41
Various	10
Total	1,658

The total capital of the above co-operatives figured at 580,358,299 leva their reserve funds at 250,033,020, their depositors at 519,330,713, their advances to members at 1,010,490,147 and their debt to the Agricultural Bank at 1,831, 389,502.[1] They possessed an inventory valued at 222,567,836, buildings estimated at 277,109,226 and land at 40,549,954 leva. Their Roll of membership attained a total of 237,627 individuals and 2981 collective members.

The Central Co-operative Bank on the other hand was assisting the following co-operative Societies at the same date:

Popular Banks	247
Consumers & Distributive Co-operatives	64
Artisans "	85
General Suppliers "	61
Building and Dwellers "	52
Insurance "	2
Credit "	8
Co-operative Syndicates "	5
Total	524

[1] At the end of 1934 this sum had increased to 1,898 millions but by June 30 1935, the advances by the now fused Agricultural and Co-operative banks, to all co-operative societies were reported to amount to 2,648,913,900 leva.

•474 The capital and funds of these 524 Societies amounted to 2,289,870,000 leva, their deposists at 2,004,000, and their debt to the Central Co-operative Bank to 1,456,815,009. Their roll of membership attained 418,879. The co-operative societies affiliated to the Central Co-operative Bank were mostly operating in urban centres, while those connected with the Agricultural Bank were mainly established in rural districts This explains why each of the former has on an average five times as many members as the latter and disposes of greater capital resources. The limited number of distributive societies is explained by the fact that most of the credit societies, as well as the popular banks, have branches engaged in the retail distribution of commodities and that they do not limit their activities solely to credit operations. The co-operatives affiliated to the Agricultural Bank, judging from the data supplied by the latter seem to be extremely short of capital, the average loan alloted to an individual member is not even a bare 4,000 to 5,000 leva, and this can hardly satisfy the requirements of a farmer. Occasionally there seems to be an undue discrimination in the apportionment of the Agricultural bank's advances, some co-operatives being favoured at the expense of others. Thus at the and of December 1932 the Tobacco Co-operatives which had a capital of 45,534,409 and funds 26,239,495 leva, owed the Bank the colossal sum of 407,984,625, (at the end of 1934, this sum had increased to 476, million leva) which must be admitted was altogether out of proportion with their capital, all the more so, since this seems to have been altogether locked up; 101,516,990 leva figuring on their balance sheets as buildings and warehouses.

This exaggerated spending on buildings is noticed also in the balance sheet of the viticultural co-operatives which with a total capital of 8,833,354 leva and funds 3,431,316, have an entry of 23,732,780 leva under the

heading of buildings etc., obviously a part of the 21,384,478 leva advanced by the Agricultural Bank having been utilised in their construction. It was reported that they suffered a loss of five million leva during the year. On December 31, 1934 these co-operatives were reported as numbering 17 with a total capital of 8.6 millions and a membership of 2,108. They owed to the Agricultural Bank 21 millions and had a stock of 3.6 million litres of wine. The position of these co-operatives seems to have been rather critical for on June 1935 they were owing to private creditors 6,641,500 leva and the Agricultural Bank was forced to assume the payment of these debts taking over as security all the buildings of the viticultural co-operative societies.

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It would seem that the eventual recovery by the Agricultural Bank of its advances to these particular co-operatives is rather problematical. Apparently the 476 millions advanced to the Tobacco co-operatives include the 150 millions due by the "Asenova Krepost" Co-operation about which one read in the Agricultural Bank's Bulletin published in the summer of 1934 the following avowal: "A great share of responsibility for the catastrophe of this co-operative and of that of some others, likewise credited by the Agricultural Bank, devolves on the managing board of the bank between 1921 and 1925. This has been ascertained by a commission of inquiry which has shown that there was too much thoughtlessness in financing the co-operatives, and a lack of system in the policy they followed at the time. This was an attempt to screen some very disagreeable facts namely that there had been collusion between functionaries of the Agricultural Bank and of the above mentioned co-operatives to defraud the State by presenting and passing doctored accounts as Dr. Tsirpanliev showed in the Sobranye on April 15, 1926."

Another "bad egg" in the co-operative basket is

474 the „Vutsa" which according to the bulletin of July 1935 owes to the Agricultural Bank 538 million leva and to various other persons 272 millions, while its gross income is only 20 millions a year. Over 700 million leva have been engulfed in this enterprise which was planned to harness the waters of the Kritsim river, a few miles to the south of Plovdiv, and provide with cheap electric power the whole of South Bulgaria. Unfortunately the original estimate of the cost of this has been exceeded several times, and finally an auxiliary steam generating station had to be erected in order to satisfy the more pressing demands of the town of Plovdiv, and until such time as the water storage works and the hydro-electrical plant on the river Kritsim are completed. This non-realisation of the hopes placed in this enterprise has caused deep disappointment and has been a blow to the co-operative idea, but such mistakes occasionally happen as has been the case with the Shannon scheme in Ireland, which was estimated to supply the entire Free State with its power and lighting requirements at a cost of £5,260,000, and though twice as much has been spent, and another two or three million sterling is to be spent on it, it has now been realised that the supply is insufficient and that an auxiliary scheme must be provided. On the whole it may be said, that the employ by the co-operatives of the funds placed at their disposal by the State has not been as judicious as it might have been. Bulgarians are noted for their parsimoniousness and economy in their private affairs, but unfortunately, when it comes to handling public money they exaggerate in the opposite extreme. There have been complaints of lack of loyalty among co-operators for their readiness to transfer their patronage to private traders whenever the latter offer more profitable terms, but similar remonstrances have often been made also by the directors of the English Wholesale Society at their meetings, and obviously a

474 Bulgarian peasant co-operator can not be expected to set an example to his British colleagues on this head, but what should be expected of him however is that he should show greater consideration for the means which are placed at his disposal by the community as a whole, and that he should not proceed to dissipate them without regard for their consequences. The following excerpt from the "Artisans' Co-operative Movement", 2nd year, № 4, reveals the mentality prevailing among certain co-operative circles and the editors of the review should be congratulated at reading such salutary lectures to their subscribers:

"During 1932, fifty eight producers societies have shown a loss of 3,502,958 leva, or each co-operative a loss of 60,596 and each co-operator a loss of 3,849. Nevertheless certain co-operators and especially those belonging to the societies least well off, draw daily wages of 175 leva. It is not a question as to whether this is too much but when the money is being withdrawn out of the capital and the sums borrowed by the co-operative, this is a crime. It is strange indeed that these same co-operators when working on their own behalf should have lived within their means, but now they seem to have lost all sense of measure".

Similar abuses were extant among the timber and fishing co-operative societies according to a report the former Minister of Finance, M. Stefanov had communicated to the Ministerial Council and which was commented on by the newspaper *Zora* early in September 1933.

One may form a general view of the activities of some co-operative societies by examining the data for 1933 of the 64 Consumers'Distributive Co-operatives affiliated to the Central Co-operative Bank. These were grouped into two syndicates, 56 belonging to the "Napred" Syndicate, a Social-Democratic body, and the remaining 8, directly affiliated to the Central Co-operative Bank. The groups had memberships of 62,191, and 7688, share capital 13,369,567 and 3,503,911, reserve funds and loan capital of 16,472,194 and 2,291,416. Advances in goods and money

474 of 110,622,277 and 14,481,696 leva respectively. The sales for the year were estimated at 376,289,157 and 37,964,023, and the profit for the "Napred group" was 583,107 leva, showing a diminution of 294,138 on the previous year, while the remaining eight co-operatives had sustained a loss of 4,229,855 leva, this being an increase by 1,729,028 on the loss sustained in 1932. The loss however was not equally apportioned, two co-operatives having incurred a loss of 4,792,880 leva, and six having realised a profit of 752,025. The average purchases per member of the second group was about 4,935 leva or approximately £11·75, while its profit and loss account figured at 5,862,346 and 10,083,209 respectively, disbursements on salaries accounting for 22%, interest for 12% loss on merchandise for 29% of this latter figure, while 97% of the former figure was ascribed to profit on the sale of merchandise.

474 456 The most remarkable success registered among co-operative societies is undoubtedly that of the "Functionaries' Insurance Association", and as M. T. G. Vlaikov pointed out, this result has been secured by its directors' rigorous abstention from politics, honest management and devotion to the aim of the association. Its growing importance may be gauged by the fact that of the total insurances on life in force during 1931, namely of a value of 3,601 million leva, policies to the value of 1424 millions had been issued by this association alone. Its success is well deserved for it has been most generous in dispensing grants to its sick members and it even maintains sickhouses and sanatoria for the construction of which it has spent several million leva.

474 In conclusion the following table may be given of the total number of co-operative societies functioning at the end of 1933 according to the official statistics.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

	Number of Associations	Members
Credit Co-operatives	1,940	367,345
Consumers'	142	81,033
Buildings & Dwellers' Co-op.	289	10,160
Mutual furnishing	359	73,740
Insurance Co-op. (mainly for insuring cattle)	1,135	182,835
Producers' Co-op.	289	76,163
Unions & Centrals Co-op.	42	16,198
Total	4,203	807,474

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Of these Societies 3,165 operated in rural districts and 1,038 in towns. 58% of the members belonged to societies established in urban districts and 41% to societies established in rural districts. This figure of 807,474 is certainly excessive, but is to be explained by the fact that the same individual may figure in several co-opetatives, and it is computed that there are only about 600,000 distinct members. The total capital and funds of these societies amounted to 4,347 million leva and deposits to 2,849 millions, their liabilities amounted to 4,456 millions, while their net profit for the year was reported to have reached 110,366,000 leva.

THE OBLIGATORY LABOUR SERVICE

Owing to Art. 65 of the Treaty of Neuilly abolishing military compulsory service in Bulgaria, those attaining military age are now being utilised to carry out various public works. A special law was voted rendering all men between the ages of 20 and 40 liable to serve during a term of eight continuous months in the labour corps, and subsequently they are liable to be called upon for temporary service for a term of 21 days every year within the communes in which they are domiciled. Exemption from service may be secured through the payment of a [728] 466

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665 Labor Party, are on the way to Socialism and endeavoring to reach it in a peaceful way. . . . I should like to tell our English friend that we too feel that it is quite possible in Bulgaria, granted the work and necessary preparations, to pass on to Socialism some day without dictatorship of the proletariat, on the basis of democracy and a parliamentary régime.

Now, however, the British Labor Party had become a horde of imperialist hyenas, lackeys of Wall Street. Now Socialism was to be attained in Bulgaria not in a peaceful parliamentary way but by force. To make sure that his audience would swallow this strong meat Dimitrov threw in the ominous warning that the program had been developed under the guidance of Stalin himself; he "personally" had helped with advice and explanations so that any "mistakes" which were made could be "corrected quickly."

The Dimitrov talk, though derided in Jugoslavia as postponing indefinitely the advent of Socialism, nevertheless gave notice that the proletarian revolution would now be pushed in Bulgaria by all means and at all costs. Applied to the agrarian problem, it meant that the class war was to begin in earnest in the villages. Collectivization had not proved any more popular with Bulgarian peasants than it had in other agricultural countries. Even at their face value, the official figures of progress in forming collectives (more delicately called "working agricultural enterprises") were not impressive. And one hesitates to accord them face value because of the ample opportunity and great temptation to juggle statistics. Changes are made frequently in the rules for membership, the presidents of village councils (soviets) are desperately anxious to make a good showing in their reports to Sofia, and the Minister of Agriculture himself hopes to save his skin by reporting progress to Moscow.

474 241 423 At the end of 1948, according to a published Soviet source, 73,000 Bulgarian peasant households owning 300,000 hectares of land were joined in 1,000 agricultural coöperatives (collectives); and by August 1, 1949, the figures had become 146,583 households, owning 538,458 hectares, in 1,594 coöperatives.[3] Writing in the official Cominform journal in November 1949, T. Chernokolev, a member of the

[3] N. Vorobyev, *New Times*, Moscow, September 7, 1949.

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Bulgarian Politburo, reported that the number of peasant households had recently reached 147,000 (13.3 percent of all households), the amount of land involved was now 540,000 hectares (11.2 percent of all cultivated land), and the total of coöperatives was 1,600.[4] Soon after Vulko Chervenkov became Prime Minister [5] he revealed that at the end of the first quarter of 1950 the number of coöperative organizations had increased by only 33 over the figure given previously, and that the number of peasant families involved had grown by only about 28,000.[6]

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This unsatisfactory organizational progress was matched by production failures. The government organ, *Otechestven Front*, complained on March 27, 1949, that spring sowing quotas which should already have been completed were fulfilled only 56 percent for wheat, 45 percent for rye, 55 percent for barley and 51 percent for oats. It called these figures "extremely disquieting."[7] The results were noticed in the failure of the peasants to meet their wheat and rye requisition quotas in the autumn. Quotas were fulfilled or overfilled in districts bordering the Black Sea or Rumania, *i.e.* where Soviet pressure was most direct, but in districts towards Jugoslavia they were fulfilled only from 20 to 27 percent and in the three districts of Bulgarian Macedonia 59, 54 and 20 percent respectively. The correspondent of *The Economist* (London, November 5, 1949) who reported these figures remarked that "clearly, the 'Tito influence' does exist in Bulgaria, and especially in Bulgarian Macedonia." In the spring of 1950 the same pattern was repeated. Gaston Coblentz gave quotations from *Rabotnichesko Delo* and other Sofia newspapers calling attention to "disastrous" failures in agricultural production, "disgraceful episodes" where village councils showed "open opposition" to the mechanization of agriculture (an indirect way of saying that they opposed the collective farms), and so on. The spring plowing, supposed to be completed by March 8, was

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[4] *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*, Bucharest, November 18, 1949.

[5] On February 1, 1950, Chervenkov succeeded Vasil Kolarov, who had died January 23. Chervenkov, who was Dimitrov's brother-in-law, had spent many years in Moscow.

[6] Harry Schwartz, *The New York Times*, May 18, 1950.

[7] Quoted by Michael Padev, *Manchester Guardian*, August 16, 1949.

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completed only 15 percent on time, and the spring sowing 10 percent.[8]

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The amount of compulsory self-criticism ensuing on such events, and the number of purges and trials of officials and arrests and trials of *kulaks*, bourgeois "saboteurs" and other criminals, can be imagined. In the article already quoted, Mr. Chernokolev admitted that there had been "serious mistakes" even in administering the comparatively moderate Bulgarian collectivization program, with the result that many "injustices" had occurred. Party organizations had failed to gauge correctly what was technically possible, people who owned land without actually working it had been admitted to collectives, even *kulaks* had been taken in, and so on. When lands were exchanged so that practicable coöperative farms might be organized, peasant rights often were "grossly violated." *Kulak* elements "took advantage of this and in a number of cases tried hard to win to their side the disgruntled poor and medium peasants and endeavored to turn them against the coöperatives and the people's power." They not only tried, apparently, but succeeded, for in some villages, the writer records, they fomented "strife between coöperative members and individual peasants," which "created a certain danger for the alliance between the working class and the poor and medium peasants."

Since the Cominform journal is designed for an international audience these comments were more moderate than those made on the spot. In a speech before the Central Committee of the Party in June 1949, Kolarov spoke of "clearly unreasonable and unfair" measures taken against the peasants; of many peasants being forced to join collectives against their will; and of peasants being indifferent to whether crops were big or small, the quota to be sold to the state at a fixed price being much too high—in some cases even comprising the total harvest.[9]

Kolarov put the blame for all that had gone wrong in the countryside on Kostov. So did Chervenkov. So did the Bulgarian press. So did the Committee which investigated Kostov's activities for the Grand National Assembly. It reported that besides the crimes de-

[8] *New York Herald Tribune*, April 16, 1950.
[9] Quoted in *The Economist*, London, July 16, 1949.

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scribed in the preceding chapter he had "carried out a policy leading to the estrangement of the overwhelming mass of medium peasants and of a great part of the small peasants from the Fatherland Front and putting them under the influence of *kulaks* and the reaction, thus destroying the union between workers and peasants."[10] This was very convenient. At one stroke Kostov was linked with the crisis in the countryside, and an excuse was provided for the existence of the crisis. It was not a very good excuse, for the same difficulties with the peasants continued after Kostov had been eliminated from any share in the country's economic life. As for the expectation that the trial would sober nationalist elements in the Party, that did not seem to work out to Moscow's satisfaction either. One count of top-level Communist officials purged in the six months beginning October 1949 showed a tally of nearly 50.

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Class war in the villages, presaged by Dimitrov in December 1948, did not materialize at once. The expectation may have been that the simple threat would overcome peasant resistance, but when it did not a new model statute for collective farms was brought up "for discussion," *i.e.* to prepare the peasants for what the Party had decided would now be imposed by force. Peasants who had come into the collective system and those who had stayed out would both be hit. A member's share in the profits of a coöperative (if there were profits: another story) was henceforth going to be figured 30 percent on the amount of land he had put in and 70 percent on the number of "work days" he contributed, instead of being compensated, as formerly, in direct proportion to the amount of land and the number of "work days." In other words, he was becoming one-third a landowner and two-thirds a state agricultural worker. If he knew about what had happened to the Russian peasants in the final step of the Soviet agrarian "reform" in 1937 he could foresee what would become of the remaining one-third of Bulgarian land values. Actually, of course, the distinction between "rent" for land and "pay" for labor often was theoretical anyway. The product of a collective is turned in to the state in amounts fixed in advance and in return for payment at rates which in practice are confiscatory. A

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[10] Report by the Bulgarian radio, Sofia, July 20, 1949, of the proceedings on that date in the Bulgarian Grand National Assembly.

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474 surplus may or may not remain to be divided among the peasants. Often, as Kolarov admitted, there is none. The rate at which it
423 would have been divided if it had existed is then only of theoretical
661 interest. There is no space here to indicate the punishments awaiting the peasants who infringe the new statute.[11] Even negligence is defined as "treason to the common good" and punished as—treason. But I must add one item contributed by a Bulgarian friend of mine, for it reveals clearly one of the important intentions of present Communist policy in Bulgaria. In this man's native village the coöperative contains both industrial and agricultural workers. The first group is scrupulously allotted the same number of ration cards as the second. Nothing could be fairer, except that the first group contains 14 persons and the latter about 500. "Recipe for horse and rabbit stew: one horse, one rabbit."

Membership in collectives is "voluntary," but the meaning of this is shown by Prime Minister Chervenkov's description of what is to happen to peasants who do not join. "All tractors and agricultural machines belonging to peasants outside the coöperative farms should be confiscated," he has warned, and in future "only peasants belonging to coöperative farms can use tractors and machines." After this gloss on the 1950 model statute there is no need to go into further details. Peasants who do not have the use of farm machinery cannot fulfill their government quotas, let alone have anything left over to feed themselves and their families. They will "volunteer" or starve.

177 We have seen repeatedly that Bulgaria is the satellite where ex-
648 treme Soviet measures are given their tryout. She was the first to suppress religious freedom and the first to introduce the system of local government by soviets. She was also the first, as already mentioned, to become officially a one-party state, and Dimitrov was the first satellite leader to proclaim the advent of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Russia's reasons for pushing ahead in Bulgaria seem to be two. It is the country where, with the exception of Rumania, her physical domination comes closest to being absolute. But whereas Russians are contemptuous of Rumanians, and are hated in return, they feel close to Bulgarians in race and language and suppose that they will repay past favors by swinging naturally into their allotted

[11] Details are given in *The Economist*, London, May 27, 1950.

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[For information pertaining to cooperative farms and collectivization, see 5: Free Europe Committee, El Europe, category 116, pp. 61, 64-65, 67--Analyst.]

631 663 no government had ever decided to apply such a programme of retrenchment voluntarily and deprive itself of the privilege which the dispensation of posts brought to it. For it must not be forgotten that the politicians held the electorate by the hope of office and the civil service by fear of dismissal from their posts.

645 663 Another administrative reform was a decrease in the number of Ministries. That of railways, posts and telegraphs, has been merged with that of Public Works into a Ministry of Communications, while those of Agriculture, and of Commerce and Industry have been fused into the Ministry of National Economy. This change will not only effect an economy in the personnel, but will obviate the necessity of duplicating similar work and services and generally simplify and expedite the work of the institutes. While the placing of the Ministries of Industry and Agriculture under the same management will greatly facilitate the work of reconciling rival and often contradictory policies, which hitherto prevented the adoption of a rational general plan. Cuts and economies were effected in all branches of the administrations, the Ministers themselves setting the example by reducing their salaries by 50 %, an example which was followed by managers of both State and private banks and other institutions.

663 475 316 On July 12, 1934 less, than two months from his assuming power, M. Kimon Gheorghiev announced in a public speech that his government had licensed 6220 public functionaries and effected economies in the budget amounting to a minimum of 385 million leva. The efficiency with which the work of overhauling the functioning of the administration was carried out may be gauged by the report on the management of the Pernik coal mine, which is an autonomous institution under State control. The new directors found that the former Agrarian Minister Ghitsev, under whose province came the supervising of

NEW BROOMS SWEEP CLEAN

the mine, had nominated 75 partisans as supernumeraries at a daily wage varying between 120 and 150 leva and that these busybodies never presented themselves at the mine even to receive their salaries, but that they had their emoluments regularly remitted to them at their domiciles. Another 170 persons had likewise been appointed in order to receive stipends but without doing any work. The new administration dismissed all redundant functionaries and by the beginning of 1935 the staff had been reduced from 5750 early in 1934, to 5100. The cost of extraction nad been diminisued from an average of 217 leva per ton in 1933, to 193 leva in 1934, and the quantity of coal extracted per day of 8 working hours per miner had increased from 753 kg. to 839 kg. The total output of the mine for 1934 reached the record figure of 1,266,000 tons. A saving of some 30 millions had been realised in the working of the mine, in spite of a decrease of 20% in the price of the coal delivered to the State railways and of 10% to 16% in that furnished to other consumers, which reductions could be estimated as amounting to some 55 millions. The new management likewise attempted to improve the social amenities of the working people and was reported to have provided free meals for the children of the miners attending school, to have opened crèches, and replaced 500 miners, who possessed sufficient incomes to live independently, by others who had no resources whatever, a fact which shows that the colleagues of M. Gheorghiev were decided not only to effect economies, but also to deal out as large a measure of social justice as possible.

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Another noteworthy measure passed by the Government was the law relative to the alleviation of debts, which radically solved a problem which was hanging fire for years. Owing to a drop of about 65% in the prices of agricultural produce between 1920 and 1933, the peasantry

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the shoulder. In late July harvesters came from other villages to help 243
at least one-third of the families (the others harvested their own grain) to cut the grain with sickles and place the stalks in little piles. An old man, expert through years of practice, then made up the sheaves by tying together a bundle of stalks with the longest stalks taken from a previous sheaf. He used a round, pointed stick about fourteen inches long to make the grain compact and to tie the knot ingeniously.

Most of the grain was threshed by the hoofs of animals, usually 231
horses, on the packed, earthen threshing floors near the house. The 243
Karakachani, a band of Wallachians from the village of Yakoruda in the Rhodope Mountains, brought about fifty horses to the village at threshingtime. A peasant paid the equivalent of a dollar a day for the service of a team. The grain was placed in the center of the floor, near a pole to which the animals were hitched. Around and around the pole the horses walked until the rope's length was used up, whereupon they reversed their direction. Much grain was threshed [407]
by the machine owned by some of the wealthier men of the village, which was beginning to supplant the old-fashioned threshing floors. Some of the families still winnowed the grain by tossing it in the face of a stiff breeze, but many others had access to a separating machine in the neighborhood.

But this *smes*, or wheat and rye mixture, was not the only crop 241
raised. Quite a few of the homes had garden patches, either in the yard or on the edge of the village, where peppers, mealy potatoes, cabbages, and tomatoes were grown. The white beans from Dragalevtsy were said to be the best in this part of Bulgaria.

Some families grew sunflowers in order to sell the seeds for oil. Pumpkins from the cornfields were prized for use in a soggy pumpkin pie called *banitsa*. Fruit raising was decidedly underdeveloped, but the trees that were properly cared for produced very well. Straw for the animals was frequently borrowed or purchased from the wealthier peasants who had a surplus from the threshing.

The crop second in importance to *smes*, however, was corn. 462
Of considerable interest were the groups of women who hoed the 241
cornfield first in one direction, and a week later in a different direc- 476
tion. Varying in number from three to fifteen, these groups did 576

462 more than merely chop weeds and loosen the soil; they also afforded
241 an opportunity for visiting and conversation. A day or two ahead
● 476 of time the woman needing help broached the matter to those whose
576 assistance she wanted in her cornfield. She was careful to include only those women who would work in a congenial manner, shunning those known to be gossipy or quarrelsome. At four in the morning on the day of the hoeing the hostess had to go to the home of each guest.

"Anka, Anka," she called above the barking of the menacing dogs. Anka came to the door to greet her walking alarm clock with a cheery "*Dobro utro*" ("Good morning"). Since Anka owed the visitor two days of work for having helped with her cornfield, she readily accepted, hurried about her household tasks, and was ready to leave for the fields by six o'clock. Young women received many invitations because they could better withstand the summer heat. Occasionally, young men, upon hearing that their sweethearts were to be invited, asked the hostess the night before to call them along with the others in the morning. In the field all day long they had a wonderful opportunity to hoe next to the girls of their choice and "to tell secret things and to speak what they shouldn't."

461 Each woman brought her heavy, semicircular hoe and her own
436 bread, but the hostess provided the vegetables and other food. Some-
576 times the people were paid in cash for their work, but more often the work was repaid in kind. The oldest maiden was "at the post." She apportioned the number of rows and kept the workers from getting in each other's way. She set the pace as the workers moved in a line, side by side, across the field. Her word was supreme, and even the hostess kept quiet, although she might think the girl was giving poor directions. The hostess watched the time and told the group when to stop working for the three meals she served. The girl "at the post" gave the signal to resume work, but she did not urge others to work until she saw that the group sentiment favored it. If one woman was not ready to start, the others began anyway. But the niceties of etiquette were always observed: the hostess, who was profiting from the work, invited the group to stop to eat; a guest, who was directing the group, rather than the hostess, suggested that they take up work once more.

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"The cornhoeing groups . . . also afforded an opportunity for visiting and conversation." *See page 46.*

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"The patriarchal system . . . won out" (a father and three married sons living together in a one-room house). *See page 62.*

[Facing p. 49]

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came together without an invitation. If it was a workday, a few women of the neighborhood gathered in one of the yards to spin, sew, or knit. If it was a holiday, they simply talked. The village women spoke of it as getting together "to laugh, to be merry." The women gathered in twos, threes, or more, almost entirely on a neighborhood basis. If relatives were in the neighborhood, they were included, but because they were neighbors, not relatives. Seldom did relatives from other sections of the village attend. Among some women it was the practice to go only when invited, however informally. As one woman said:

"We take our work along. If there is anything to eat, we eat. Age makes no difference. It is seldom that an unmarried girl participates in a group with married women, because the married women talk about things which a girl should not be permitted to hear. A girl would be allowed to stay with the women only if the discussion is not of a kind bad for her." She went on to add that the young and old people customarily did not mix in conversation. "The old have little to say which interests the young, then they begin to give advice and the young people run away."

I met five women varying in age from thirty-three to sixty-six talking one Sunday on the street corner. Some of the women had taken off their shoes and were standing in the brook beside the road. This group had a decided neighborhood basis. When I asked how these five women happened to get together, this was the explanation:

"Slavina came to ask Geny about a sick neighbor across the street. Maria saw them talking and came over to hear what the news was. Stenna, who lives up the street, also came, and after her the other Maria."

They had been talking there for almost an hour before I came and were still talking an hour after I left, as I saw on my return to the College. Since it was Sunday they were doing no handwork, but said that often during the week they gathered to help one another spin, hoe corn, and harvest. One said to me, "We live together." Even in the wintertime they went around to visit, to inquire if the friends had enough wood to see them through the winter, if the cow was still sick, how much the taxes had been. Of all the women Geny

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did the most talking. The women found it difficult to say which one helped the others most, because "this depends so much upon one's special knowledge of cooking, caring for the sick, and sewing." Each woman was expert in a different line, but all were willing to help in any way. [476] 571 521

The distinction between age groups broke down when the group was hard at work, as the work was then more important than the flow of gossip. In general, the gossiping groups got together more frequently in the summertime and on Sundays. Women found their chief recreation with women, and men with men, though the men said they needed the stimulation of tavern society. [517]

This willingness of the men to spend money for recreation and to limit their wives to the questionable joys of gossip illustrated the common saying, "Bulgaria is a man's country." A Dragalevtsy peasant saw nothing strange in the sight of a man riding a donkey while his wife trudged along behind carrying their purchases home from market. Or if a man returned alone from market, having ridden all the way in his wagon, his wife, tired from a day in the field, went out to carry in his things, saying, "He's weary and needs my help." She was always careful to make no queries about the day's activities, although she might be bursting with curiosity to know what had happened at market. She went about her work and waited until he was comfortably fed and settled, knowing full well that then she would have a complete report. Usually her husband made himself out to be the hero of each little episode, but "men are like that," she would say. 562 181 593

The well trained wife always deferred to her husband. If ever I asked a question in the presence of both, the woman turned her eyes to see what response her husband made. If he made a gesture as though to say, "You go ahead and answer," then she began to talk, becoming silent whenever her husband wished to interject any comments.

What was even more conclusive proof that Bulgaria was a man's country, and certainly that Dragalevtsy was a man's village, was the obedience of women to their husband's command. I asked thirty wives in the course of my family interviews:

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441 596 [178] In Dragalevtsy, therefore, familism had yielded some ground to commerce. People did make occasional purchases in the village and in Sofia. They talked more and thought more about money. They even valued it more highly than a generation ago, but the basis of their economic life remained self-subsistent, with an emphasis upon goods, not cash.

●476 596 Co-operatives had also come to Dragalevtsy. In a very real sense village life itself was a co-operative enterprise, although it did not possess the specific characteristics of an economic co-operative. The large joint family, which has been widely prevalent throughout the world, also had many elements of the co-operative which have been maintained, at least in the sentiments of the people, even though the family group has become individualized and smaller.

Self-subsistent peasant farmers are accustomed to working together when something needs to be done. Theirs is, after all, a co-operative way of life. They also know that their own hard work and their own planning are responsible for whatever success they achieve. They are suspicious of outsiders who seek to organize them, and are fearful that any tie-up with the business interests outside the village means loss rather than gain. They are not accustomed to using money to make more money, although they know well enough what it means to pay interest on borrowed money.

[369] [423] Agricultural co-operatives often gain adherents more quickly when there is a feeling of distinction or distrust between city and the country people. This is because co-operatives have been identified in such places with the agrarianism which unites the peasants. The profit motive of capitalism is linked, in the minds of many villagers, with the urban businessman, in spite of the fact that the villager who owns his land is also a capitalist. Perhaps it is this idea which Americans find hardest to grasp in their evaluation of peasant Europe. Land is not something to be bought and unfeelingly sold for money. It is rather a means of livelihood, an extension of oneself and one's family.

476 As the merchant groups in the villages are few and insecure, the co-operatives do not have the opposition of vested interests which they face in a more highly developed economy. I realized from the beginning that co-operatives had made much less headway in Dragalevtsy

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than in many other Bulgarian communities. The secretary of the General Union of Bulgarian Agricultural Cooperatives explained: "The farmers live near the city and prefer to market their goods themselves rather than through the medium of co-operatives. They find that they get higher prices in the Sofia bazaar than they would receive from co-operatives." 476●

Nevertheless, the three co-operatives represented in Dragalevtsy gave me some insight into the reasons for success and failure of those which did get off to a start. The co-operative which had made most progress in Dragalevtsy was a purely local affair which arose to meet a definite need. In some respects it was more like a corporation than a co-operative, but it was a "combining together" to get something done.

One of the richer families in the village used to spend twenty-five days threshing its grain with horses. As a result, the family began to think of using a machine to do the work. The idea incubated until Trayko Danev decided to take the initial plunge and persuaded his relatives to plunge with him. Two other men joined them in the purchase of a threshing machine in 1930. Their purpose was to thresh their own wheat and, if possible, thresh the wheat of others for a fair return. The first years of the ring's existence, when the price of wheat was high, were the best years. Between 1935 and 1937 the prices were so low that the group just managed to cover its expenses. However, because of their 400,000 leva ($4,878 at 1937 exchange rate) investment, the men did not think of giving up the ring. 476 243

The structure of this group was simple. Annually, a president, a treasurer, and a manager were elected to control the operations of the ring. The manager, who had technical training, received a salary. Two workers and a machinist were employed from outside and were paid a percentage of the wheat threshed. In 1935 they threshed the wheat of fifty-five farms, including that of the original ten partners. A written agreement existed among all members, who paid in wheat, which was sold for a sum to be divided among the members.

The familistic background of this group was interesting. The originators were all members or cousins of the Danev family except two rich landowners living in the center of the village, who were close friends of the Danevi. After four of the original partners died, 596 476 243

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596 their sons or sons-in-law succeeded to the control of their shares. The
476 five Danevi outnumbered the others, forming a unit around which
243 clustered three other members. There was some friction whenever meetings were held, but the minority was easily suppressed by the majority.

Most of the group considered membership an honor, symbolizing wealth and importance. Generally the village approved its existence, as shown by the increasing number of families who sought its services at threshing time.

476 Twenty-one Dragalevtsy men also belonged to the Animal Hus-
234 bandry-Dairy Cooperative, with headquarters in Sofia. This group had a twofold aim: (1) to enable members to get animal feed on credit and more cheaply; (2) to develop a milk distributing center. Though Dragalevtsy members did not have regular meetings in the village, most of them attended the annual meeting held in Sofia at which the reports of the officers of the co-operative were read. Before this annual meeting the Dragalevtsy men got together in the village and agreed on common action at the Sofia meeting. Dragalevtsy had one representative on the Executive Committee and one on the Control Committee. These men kept the villagers informed as to the condition of the co-operative. Two or three Dragalevtsy people had resigned, recently saying that "there were hidden matters." Most of the men who still belonged said that their membership entitled them to cheaper feed for their animals. I asked ten of the members why they belonged to the co-operative:

"I get cheaper feed through the co-operative."

"I joined in order to work collectively; to have a central depot for milk."

"The co-operative gives credit for food at a lower price."

The agricultural crisis through which Bulgaria had been passing reflected itself in the life of this co-operative. With the hard times, peasants said they did not have enough ready cash for their dues, and so dropped out. However, one could not consider this a true village organization because its physical basis was Sofia, and there was no formal organization operating in Dragalevtsy as a local.

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In 1934 the Association for the Insurance of Horses and Cows was organized in the village with the help of the veterinary doctor stationed there at that time. He was acting under the guidance of the Bulgarian National Cooperative Bank. The idea back of the association was to make it possible for peasants to obtain additional credit, since no credit could be extended by the bank on uninsured animals. Insured animals were considered better collateral than land and were allowed a greater percentage of money in proportion to value. When the organization was first founded, the fifteen or sixteen charter members entered because they were in favor of insurance. The seventeen members who joined later did so because they needed to insure their animals to get a loan, regardless of their attitude toward insurance.

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In the normal life of this organization almost no difficulties were encountered. The members used the schoolhouse for the annual meeting, which was open to all outsiders. There was an executive council, a control committee, and a committee for the evaluation of animals. A president was elected every year and a treasurer every three years. Some of the committee members were changed each year. If a farmer wished to join the association, the proper committee appraised his animals and insurance was assessed at the rate of 4 per cent of the total value of the animal.

The conservatism of the peasants prevented any rapid growth of such an organization. As one peasant, not a member, explained: "I haven't joined because I feel that here we have good air, good food, and good water for our animals, and therefore they aren't as subject to diseases as are the animals nearer Sofia. God is kind."

A few years ago a private insurance association was organized which ended unfortunately for the investors. This failure was cited by some people as an additional reason why they should not join the present association, though it was backed by the Co-operative Bank.

In order to get a better idea of the relationships among the members and between the members and the officers of the Insurance Association, I interviewed fifteen of the thirty people registered and found that:

1. Friendship played little part in determining who should become members.

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2. The reasons for joining were varied:

a. "I have six cows. Need help in case a cow dies."

b. "I wanted to get money from the bank."

c. "The veterinary doctor enrolled me when he organized the association."

3. All members were satisfied with the officers who represented them.

4. The relations with the Co-operative Bank in Sofia had been cordial. Once a year the bank sent out a commission to see that everything in the village was in order; a commission also came out in case of the death of an animal.

The Insurance Association illustrated the way many village organizations arose in Bulgarian villages. The idea of the organization originated in Sofia, was put into effect by a State employee, and members were recruited from those who thought that their interests would be served by belonging. A glance at the list of members, ranging in age from twenty-four to sixty, showed that they were among the most enterprising in the village. The organization would doubtless have been only half as large had it not been for the ruling of the bank which required insurance on any animals put up as collateral. Since the association did not attempt to teach the peasants how to feed or stable the animals, it was missing a real opportunity for further service.

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The traditional economy of Dragalevtsy had therefore been subjected not only to the incursion of commerce with its emphasis upon money, but also to the formation of co-operatives to meet some specific needs of a group of interested persons. In addition there was a concerted effort throughout Bulgaria by the national government to raise the peasants' plane of living. Some of this activity found expression in Dragalevtsy, largely through the initiative of the county agent or *agronom* who was concerned with the improvement of agriculture and livestock. Since he had to care for almost a score of other villages, his visits to Dragalevtsy were few and far between, so the peasants were quite correct in saying that little was being done for the improvement of agriculture in the village. While the county *agronom*

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gave lectures at intervals during the year and consulted with some farmers regarding their work, he could not initiate and carry through a thorough program without the help of a local *agronom*. 476 657 178

As far as livestock was concerned, there were two boars and one village bull for breeding purposes. The law required that each *Obshtina* take charge of its own breeding animals. There was supposed to be a local breeding association, but the mayor was the only member. A fund was being collected for a village barn. Meanwhile, the animals were boarded out to various peasants who received a fixed sum. Improvement of livestock was more easily managed through the control of male animals, which were inspected each spring. Those of bad quality were castrated (the veterinary's fees for this work being the following: pig, 10 leva; donkey, 20 leva; horse, 40 leva). If the animal died, the State paid for the loss. I happened to visit the village at the time the veterinary doctor was making his inspection of horses. Before he could begin his thorough examination, the representative of the *Obshtina* looked over the bills of sale to be sure each man had his own horses. This bill of sale cost 3 per cent of the amount exchanged. If the horses had been foaled at the home of the present owners, the men presented certificates of ownership which they had previously obtained from the mayor for fifteen leva. If the doctor found that a horse was ill, a second examination was made two weeks later. If the animal was still sick, State officials bought the horse for a small sum and killed it. A fine ranging from two hundred to five hundred leva was charged if the horses were not brought for the examination. While a national program for home demonstration work had been prepared, Dragalevtsy so far had received few benefits. 232 476

Recreation, like economic life, had been subjected to efforts at organization. The people of Dragalevtsy customarily associated liquor with holidays and leisure time. In the earlier days there was little organized opposition to the use of alcohol, but by 1922 considerable public opinion had been aroused against the *kruchmi*. On January 1, 1922, all the taverns of the village were closed by order of the Village Council, which thought that the drink shops were a social evil. The village was very much stirred up, most of the men siding with the tavern keepers and the women with the Village Council. The tavern 273 733

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taxes or to attend some social function, the villagers say, "Oh, he's from the *mahala*." In this sense, therefore, they are thinking not at all of any family relationship between the people of that settlement. 621

NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS: THE *Susedstvo*. For a clearer picture of social interaction we must turn to a smaller unit than the *mahala*: namely, the *susedstvo*[4] which is a complex of houses whose yards adjoin or face each other across a narrow street. The peasants say, "Without neighbors life is impossible," or "God help those who have bad neighbors" and they are thinking of next-door neighbors. Bulgarian writers especially in reminiscing about their childhood tell of the free interchange of goods between neighbors. In any time of need, whether it be of food, garments, or work, the neighbors were always called upon to render aid. That is still true today, though there are two tendencies setting in: first, many villagers prefer to go to relatives living elsewhere in the village for aid rather than to go to a next-door neighbor; second, nowadays neighbors when they lend live more in expectation of financial remuneration. In other words, the commercialistic spirit is pervading even neighborhood contacts. Some villagers feel this more keenly than others. 621 571 [476]

The *susedstvo* therefore, like the *mahala*, is a geographical unit which is the scene of intense social interaction, though this interaction takes place through ordinary individuals and groups rather than through the *susedstvo* itself, thought of in terms of a psychical entity. It is an interesting fact that personal friendships and preferences sometimes carry women outside of the neighborhood for even the ordinary needs of life. For example, Anna may live next to Gorka but may prefer the companionship of Mara who lives four or five houses down the street. Sometimes this friendship goes to such an extent that Anna will draw water from a more distant fountain in order to meet there with Mara.

However, no number of exceptions can do away with the fact that women who are neighbors depend greatly upon one another. Not only in times of crisis such as birth, death, or marriage are the neighbors' services invaluable, but are especially useful in varying the tedium of everyday life. If a woman has half an hour to spare, she is apt to pick up her knitting or spinning and go to a neighbor's house for a chat while doing her handwork. After a while, visits of such a sort become so habitual that a woman would find it difficult to get along without them. It must be remembered that the Bulgarian woman has no magazines and no radio to entertain her at home. Her only source of entertainment is to share some other neighbor's company. [517]

Newcomers to a neighborhood (and these are usually women) have to go through a period of assimilation. Not only must they bear the embarrassing

[4] Many of the peasants still use for neighbor the word *komshia*, a Bulgarized form of the Turkish *komi*.

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APPENDIX VI

SOCIOMETRIC WORK WITH A BULGARIAN WOODCUTTING GROUP[1]

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In the late autumn, when all other farm work has been completed, the villagers of Dragalevtsy[2] turn their attention to the gathering of the winter's supply of wood. The scene of their activity is a wooded section of the mountainside, three or four miles from the village, determined in advance by a forester's decree. Most of them toil gladly, since all winter long they must continually feed the wood into the ever-devouring gullet of the sheet-iron stove standing in the center of the living room. No twig is too small to find its way there.

It would be wrong to imagine that the villagers were doing any lumbering, even on the simplest scale. Most of their activity centers around the task of cutting down brush as high as a man's head, or of felling trees so small that a pair of hands could include the trunk in its grasp.

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I. MEMBERSHIP OF GROUP. There are ten wood-gathering groups in the village. Before 1931 individual families went to the section of the forest opened up for the people of Dragalevtsy and took all the wood they could get in the time allowed. This system had two chief faults, according to Yurdan Chalukov, the assistant mayor at the time: in the first place, the members of the political party supporting the mayor learned beforehand at what time the forest would be opened to the villagers and stole the march on the others by going there on the day assigned, although the other villagers did not learn about the opening until two or three days later, by which time the best wood had been collected.

The second chief fault with this system was that families with more able-bodied workers gathered the most wood, although they paid perhaps less taxes than those who got less. In order to eliminate these evils, a new system which is peculiar to Dragalevtsy alone was inaugurated. The near-by villages, for instance, still use the older method of permitting each family to "grab while

[1] This article appeared in *Sociometry: A Journal of Interpersonal Relations*, II, October, 1939, pp. 58-68. Reprinted by permission.

[2] Dragalevtsy, a village of 1,669 inhabitants, located four miles from the outskirts of Sofia, Bulgaria's capital city. The peasants of that region are generally regarded as very conservative by educated Bulgarians.

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the grabbing is good." Now, the *Obshtina*[1] divides the village into ten groups; the part of the forest made available to the villagers is likewise divided into ten sections; each group thus has a limited section in which to work. The *Obshtina* usually divides the village according to neighborhoods, though sometimes one family from a larger neighborhood is assigned to the group of a smaller neighborhood in order to make the number of families average about thirty for each group. The only case of this kind in Group X, which we are studying, is that of Krustan Arnaudski, who lives across the river from the others. 313 476 596

The *Obshtina* lists the names of the family heads in making out its divisions; theoretically these family heads are supposed to go collectively to get the wood for their households. In other words, they are supposed to constitute the group. However, variations occur. Some of the family heads are too old or too busy or too lazy to go. In that case they do one of three things: (1) they send their married sons who live with them, these sons performing the work more capably than the older men could; (2) they hire village youths from other neighborhoods to go and gather the wood for them; or, (3) they send weaker members of their own family, such as younger boys, the older girls, wives, or—in the case of one lazy man—a mother. 313 476 571 596

Thus, in reality, the group of wood-gatherers varies from day to day as regards the actual personnel of those working in the forest. We might say that most of those working there are family heads or able-bodied married sons, though mixed with them are women, girls, and younger boys. Before sending a substitute the family head is supposed to get permission from the group leaders. The failure to do this results in many quarrels and, as one leader says, "makes a man quarrel with his best friend."

The reason why the presence of women and children is frowned upon lies not so much in the objection to women and children working, as it does to the fact that women and children cannot do as much work in a day as a man. Since all the cut wood is piled into thirty different piles, one for each family, and the piles later distributed by lot, those who work hard each day get no more wood than those who do less work or who send weaker substitutes.

The question arises as to the classification of this type of group. On the basis of admission to membership, we can conclude that it is chiefly involuntary since the family heads are assigned by the *Obshtina* and since the family head can order members of his family to replace him in case he does not care to go. Only in the case of outsiders gathering wood for pay does the group seem voluntary. The group is secondary as far as function is concerned, but partakes of certain primary group characteristics when we notice that the *Obshtina* 313 476 571

[1] *Obshtina*—used here in the sense of the local governmental unit under the direction of a mayor appointed from Sofia.

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313 usually divides the village up according to neighborhoods. Thus we have many
● 476 persons accustomed to associate as neighbors interacting along economic rather
571 than social lines.

II. Duration of Group. The group is temporary, since the *Obshtina* lists have varied from year to year. However, for thirty days the wood-gathering continues, halted in bad weather but energetically pursued in good weather, even on Sundays. During this period there is constant interaction between the members of the group, who get to know the working qualities of the others in an intimate way. The most exciting day of all is the day when the wood has been piled up, the piles numbered, and the family heads take their turn drawing lots for the piles. It is then that the whole family comes in the ox-cart to haul the wood home. There is joy as though a harvest were being gathered. Each family usually takes home from four to five ox-carts full of wood, most of which consists of branches or scrub-growth. After the wood is stacked in the yard, the group is ended; its existence is terminated by the completion of the job it set out to do.

313 III. Structure of Group (Relationship). With thirty individuals,
476 unequally divided as to ability or inclination to work, there must be some sort
571 of leadership to keep the group functioning effectively. The nominal leaders
157 are two men appointed by the *Obshtina*, one as superintendent and the other as his assistant. Leaders appointed by the *Obshtina* usually serve even though they profess an unwillingness to do so. Some members of Group X point out that those who do the most talking against the way the present leaders discharge their functions are themselves loath to accept the responsibility if it is offered to them. The leaders of Group X this year were Stoyanche Chalukov and his god-son (almost his equal in years) Yurdan Chalukov.

The leaders of all ten groups gather on an appointed day to visit the forest with the forest policeman, who shows them how the forest has been divided into ten sections. The leaders then draw lots to see which section will fall to their particular groups. On the day of the visit this fall neither leader of Group X went because each one thought, or at least hoped, that the other leader would go. It so happened that Group X got what its members considered the worst part of the forest, though the leaders maintain that their absence had nothing to do with the section allotted. Upon seeing the state of things, the leaders of Group X went to the mayor and asked that some re-distribution be made on the grounds that the forest had not been equally divided. As such re-distribution seemed out of the question, the mayor suggested: "You go ahead and cut down the wood in your section, and the priest and I will come and visit the forest and see whether people in other sections have bigger piles

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than you. If they do, we'll re-distribute them." But the mayor and the priest never made this visit with the result that the members of Group X have nothing but complaints as consolation.

The duties of the leaders are burdensome. They must decide whether the weather permits work in the forest or not; they must accept or reject some family head's proposal for substitution; they must argue with those who do not work well; they must direct the making of the piles and the equal distribution of the wood among these piles; furthermore, they must keep a record of those who come to work and those who do not. The only authority vested in them is the right to report to the mayor the name of any man who they think should not be given any wood for failure to do his share of the work. However, no such instance occurred this past year.

Quite often a group has a formal structure in addition to the actual structure. This formal or theoretical structure corresponds to the plan of a house; the actual structure corresponding to the shape, relationship of the parts, etc., which may be quite different from the original plan in even so definite a field as architecture.

The woodcutting or wood-gathering Group X has two leaders appointed by the *Obshtina*, under whom the family heads are supposed to work. This is the plan, but we notice that there are variations since many family heads send substitutes. Our first problem is to see whether the appointed leaders are the actual leaders: that is, to see if the plan of the group corresponds with the structure as we discover it.

In order to accomplish this I followed Moreno's method as explained in his book, *Who Shall Survive?* namely, to ask each member of the group which five men he preferred and which five he would eliminate if he were choosing a group of his own with direct reference to one activity—the gathering of wood, and with no interest at all in the question of the friendship involved.

Each of the family heads on the *Obshtina* list furnished us with the information desired. Where some family heads had sent substitutes, we interviewed the substitutes instead. A few people, neither full-time substitutes nor family heads, who worked in the forest from time to time in the place of someone who stayed away were interviewed if they were mentioned twice by others. The only exceptions were numbers 19 and 30, both of whose fathers we interviewed. Some family heads who did not go to the forest were mentioned either as desirable or undesirable, and their names were included on the list which formed the basis for the diagrams.

There was no way of cross-checking to see whether the answers were correct; nor was there any reward to hold up to them in order to identify their emotions with their answers. In this respect, one might consider the method open to question. However, each man was told: "There will be no reward for you in answering these questions, nor will any harm come to you as a

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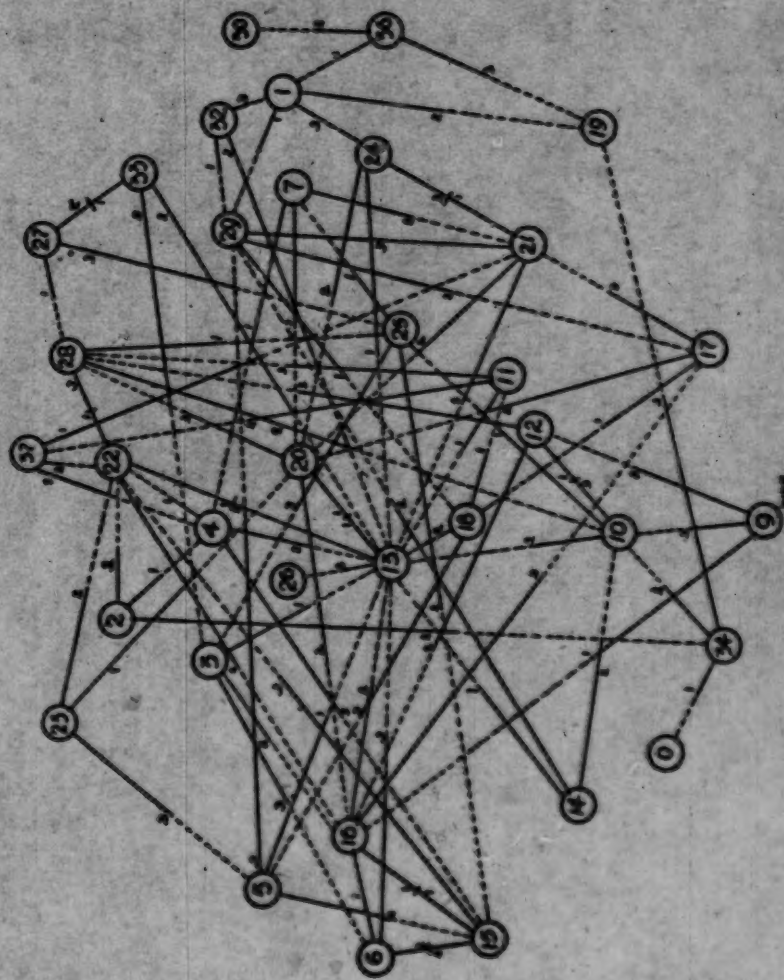

SOCIOGRAM I. Woodcutting Group, Dragalevtsy, Bulgaria—34 men, first three choices

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result. If you answer, it will be simply out of kindness and because of your desire to help me." Such an approach met with a splendid response, since practically all of the villagers knew that a "book" was being written about their village and were eager to help in its preparation. I am inclined to believe that in most cases this desire to help on the part of those interviewed has an emotional content, though it is something hard to measure or estimate.

While these interviews took place over a two-day period during the Christmas holiday recess, I visited the village several times when the wood-gathering was taking place to make family interviews and received considerable incidental material about wood-gathering which seemed to be on everybody's mind. Group X was selected by chance. Since the groups were all equal in size there was no reason to choose any one more than another for the study of the group *per se*. (See Sociogram I.)

An analysis of Sociogram I, which is based on the first three choices of each man, shows us how weak is the leadership of the two men appointed by the *Obshtina*—namely, numbers 4 and 7. At no time do they come out as important leaders but this may be due to conflict situations which arose between them and group members during the course of the wood-gathering. The predominant choice is 13, a hard-working retired railroad man, who is close-mouthed and has the reputation of "minding his own business." He was mentioned 15 times: 6 firsts, 6 seconds, and 3 thirds. This sociogram shows that when the mayor appointed the leaders he did not consider the same qualities which the peasants themselves thought essential. He appointed men who had been former political figures on the assumption that they could also lead capably in the task of woodcutting.

The other leader individuals besides 13 are 10, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 28. An interesting concentration of leadership is shown by the reciprocal bonds existing between some of these eight leader individuals: namely, 15-16, 13-20, 13-22, 22-28. (Notice again the strong position of 13.) The leaders also have the following reciprocal bonds with non-leader individuals: 10-12, 15-6, 21-24. That is to say, every leader individual has at least one reciprocal bond, while three of them have two reciprocal bonds—the majority of these being with other leader individuals. *Furthermore, there is only one other reciprocal bond in the whole group in which a leader does not figure*—namely, 27-33.

Perhaps the quadrilateral 13-20-28-22-13 sums up the concentration of leadership best of all. The only gap is the failure of 28 to reciprocate the choice of 20. But both 28 and 20 are joined by reciprocal bonds to 22 and 13 respectively, who in turn are connected reciprocally. This, it seems to me, demonstrates the value of a sociogram in an analysis of group leadership, for in no other satisfactory way could this quadrilateral be illustrated and its implications manifested.

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WORK-SHEET FOR SOCIOGRAM I

Individual Number	Choice	First	Second	Third
1	–	29	19	24
2	–	4	34	22
3	–	13	16	6
4	–	22	13	15
5	–	13	15	29
6	–	16	15	13
7	–	4	21	20
8	Did not go.	Sent Number 4 instead		
9	–	16	12	10
10	–	25	13	12
11	–	12	37	28
12	–	10	28	16
13	–	20	22	26
14	–	15	10	29
15	–	16	6	22
16	–	15	13	17
17	–	18	20	21
18	–	11	13	5
19	Did not go.			
20	–	13	16	28
21	–	24	20	13
22	–	28	16	13
23	–	29	22	5
24	–	13	20	21
25	–	7	15	3
26	Did not go.	His brother, 33, went instead		
27	–	28	33	25
28	–	25	10	22
29	–	18	17	21
30 and 31	Did not go.			
32	–	29	13	1
33	–	27	13	3
34	–	outsider	10	19
35	Did not go.	No. 3 went for him		
36	–	1	30	19
37	–	21	22	4

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IV. Effect of Kinship on Choices. Twenty-seven of the thirty-four individuals comprising this group are related to some other individual in the group.[1] Therefore, the question naturally arises as to the influence of such relationship upon the choices that the men made. Sociogram II, on the following page, shows seven clusters, each cluster made up of related individuals bearing the same family name. Of course, some of the individuals within a cluster are only distantly related because the joint-family names in Dragalevtsy have a place connotation in addition to the one of relationship. But just the same, the village usually thinks of the Pachevi or the Chalukovi as a definite group in the community bound together by kinship as well as geographical proximity. The sociogram also shows the choices made by each individual for other individuals in the same cluster. A few in-law relationships are not shown in this sociogram, but an examination of the data showed them to be relatively unimportant in this woodcutting group.[2]

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I was interested in my analysis of the group to see what effect a feeling of insecurity on the part of an individual might have upon his choice of a relative. The best measure of this feeling of insecurity seemed to be the failure to receive favorable votes. It does seem significant that every individual[2] shown on Sociogram II who received only one or else no favorable votes from the group at large selected some relative, with whom he naturally felt on more intimate terms. When an individual received as many as two votes from the group at large, then the chances were about fifty per cent that he would name a relative among his first three choices. Of course, the unwanted individual does not know definitely the opinion, expressed on the questionnaire, which the general public has for him, but in a face-to-face society like Dragalevtsy every individual has a rather clear picture of his social status. This was illustrated forcibly when 23, who received the largest number of negative votes, refused to name any individuals which he would reject from a woodcutting group of his own formation. He co-operated in naming those he would like (two of the first three being relatives), but lacked the hypocrisy necessary to name any others as being undesirable; he knew where he stood in the opinion of the community.

Not only was I interested in the position of the person choosing relatives but also in the position of the relatives chosen. I wondered, for instance, if relatives out of kindness or a sense of loyalty would list some kinsman whom the group at large might reject. This did not prove to be the case because only one person named by a kinsman was not listed by someone outside the

[1] The *svatovshtenie*, or in-law relationship, is very important in Bulgarian villages—so much so that two brothers cannot marry two sisters, since the second brother by marrying a sister-in-law would be marrying a relative, something taboo.

[2] The Voynishki (Numbers 36 and 37) are exceptions here, but since they are not on speaking terms one would not expect them to choose each other.

[1] [This refers to a woodcutting group studied by the author, - See pp. 250-256, category 116 - - Analyst]

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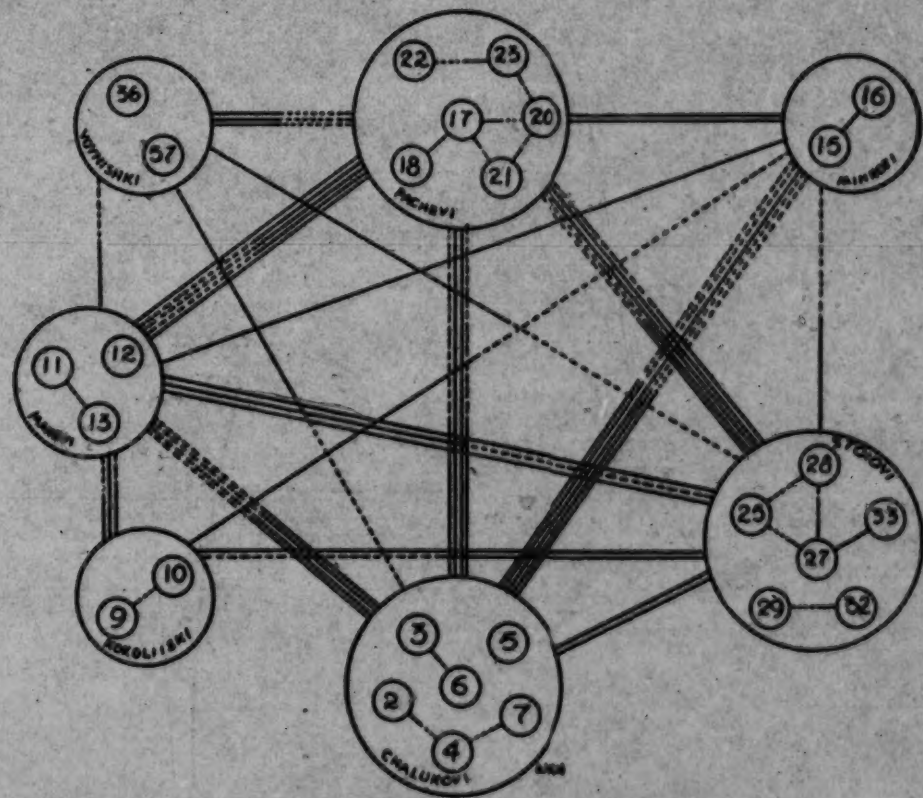

SOCIOGRAM II—EFFECTS OF KINSHIP ON CHOICES. Each cluster is made up of related individuals bearing the same family name. Lines between clusters show the number of times members of one cluster mentioned those in another cluster (first three choices).

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

kinship group. That is, individuals who chose relatives chose those upon whom the group at large likewise placed approval. 476

Sociogram II likewise shows us the status of the different kinship clusters as far as the woodcutting activity is concerned. The Pachevi, Stoiovi, and Chalukovi, each consisting of six members, are comparable in size but received 16, 9, and 6 votes respectively. The other clusters, made up of two or three members, are similarly comparable but vary considerably: Voynishki, 1; Kokoliiski, 3; Minkovi, 10; Manevi, 15. The size of the cluster has little to do with the number of votes received; it is rather the popularity of certain individuals within the cluster which determines the voting. 571 554 602 157

My conclusions regarding the effect of kinship as far as this one group is concerned are: (1) the choices of unwanted individuals included a relative with whom they felt some security; (2) the persons chosen were usually those upon whom the group as a whole set its stamp of approval; and (3) family clusters can be said to have a status in the same sense that individuals do, and are rejected or mentioned favorably through the medium of the individuals comprising those clusters.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

178 181 Instead of concentrating on the improvement of home-making and the encouragement of hygienic practices, which were their primary aims, they were also trying to change the women's meeting habits, or their ways of getting together. They insisted that the women leave their homes and come to the school for an artificially assembled meeting of a stiff, formal sort where they would be on the "receiving end," without the give-and-take of informal conversation to which they were accustomed.

As I sensed this difficulty I became convinced that the folkways already provided an avenue to the village women: namely, the *sedenka,* or "sitting," which is the name the villagers have given to the women's working groups.

574 476 THE SEDENKA.[1] Allegedly, the main purpose of the *sedenka* is to help some woman card her fluffy, newly-washed wool or to help her spin some of the wool into thread. Actually, it is recreational as well, for the women thoroughly enjoy sharing the gossip, the songs, and the food which accompany such get-togethers. Although these *sedenki* (pl.) seem at times to be hit-or-miss affairs, certain unwritten rules govern their activity. If a woman, for example, wants to have the help of her neighbors in carding her wool there are procedures she must follow.

1. She will select the guests quite carefully, inviting those who owe her work in kind or those to whose houses she wants to be invited when they card their wool. She rejects from the number those who cause ill-feeling, who stir up trouble, or who are at odds with each other. Similarly she rejects those whose houses she does not want to visit in a "return engagement" either because their food is poorly prepared or because they are dirty and slovenly in their housekeeping. At times she is prevailed upon by a close friend or a relative to invite some individual who is not popular enough to receive many invitations but who is anxious for the social intercourse that these occasions provide.

2. She will issue the invitations in the time-honored way. Although she may have seen two friends the evening before at the fountain and learned from them that they definitely plan to attend, she nevertheless goes to their homes before daybreak to call out in the crisp autumn air, "Anka, Anka." The dogs set up a terrific roar, and Anka finally appears at the door. "I'm having a *sedenka* today and I hope you can come." Anka accepts most graciously, while the walking alarm clock moves on to issue the next invitation.

3. She will prepare quantities of special food. There are certain dishes that are *sedenka* favorites. In the fall, one of these is *banitsa,* a soggy pumpkin pie two feet in diameter. A stew of beans or one of meat and vegetables is often popular.

4. She will see that the activities at the *sedenka* flow along normally. There must be enough of the comb-like affairs, long spikes set in a small

[1] [For additional material, see pp. 74-77, category 116--Analyst]

574 476 wooden frame, through which the wool is drawn. The women in all parts of the room must be kept supplied with wool. Mealtimes must come at the prescribed intervals, and the good conversationalists must be urged to repeat some of the latest news, while those who consider themselves singers must be encouraged to start a song. And so the day passes. The women have arrived in the morning as soon as they completed their morning tasks, and they stay until midafternoon. At other times, however, a smaller group assembles in the evening for four or five hours of enjoyment and spinning.

521 Needless to say, these *sedenka* groups[1] are powerful agencies in the dissemination of news and in the formation of village opinion. After a day spent in one of these sessions a woman has a supply of "small talk" sufficient to last her for two or three days in conversations with those who did not attend this particular gathering.

000 GOOD EXTENSION PRINCIPLES AND THE SEDENKA. The specialist who uses a *sedenka,* whether especially arranged for her or not, would be following good educational and sociological practice.

1. *She would be bringing people together in a familiar environment:* that is, one of the village homes. There would not be the strangeness of the schoolroom nor the distractions of completely new surroundings. Instead of having to adjust to a new place and a new person (the speaker) the women would play the role of hostesses and expect the speaker to adjust to them.

2. *The people would already be accustomed to meeting with each other.* Any newly-formed group needs an exploratory period in which the bolder individuals try various things on the group to see what meets with favor and what with stony indifference or frank disapproval. In a *sedenka* group, people already know how their remarks and their questions will be received, which is a matter of much importance in a learning situation. Among people who do not know each other well an ill-advised laugh at a sincere question can kill the chances of a lively, helpful, wholehearted discussion. The congeniality of the group is further assured by the fact that the hostess is able to use a selective technique which weeds out the incompatibles. Fortunately, these "incompatibles" are usually compatible in other groups where they have much in common with their associates in these groups. Therefore, every village woman could be reached in some *sedenka* grouping.

3. *The demonstration agent could use the artifacts of the village home to good advantage.* As far as possible the demonstration should be built around what the women already have, for that is what they must use if they follow the speaker's suggestions. The average village home would not spend more than four or five dollars a year on furnishings, utensils, and the like, nor could one expect them to spend more than this out of the meager budget

[1] [cf pp 74-77, p. 261, category 116 -- Analyst]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

TABLE 12

FREQUENCY OF TRIPS TO SOFIA, MALE AND FEMALE FAMILY HEADS, DRAGALEVTSY, 1934 CENSUS*

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FREQUENCY	NUMBER		PER CENT	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Daily:	37	1	13.9	0.4
Weekly:				
4 times	7	1	2.6	0.4
3 times	9	2	3.4	0.7
2 times	17	4	6.4	1.5
1 time	113	99	42.5	37.5
Monthly:				
3 times	8	9	3.0	3.4
2 times	14	26	5.3	9.9
1 time	35	58	13.2	22.0
Yearly:				
4 times	7	16	2.6	6.1
3 times	1	3	0.4	1.1
2 times	3	2	1.1	0.7
1 time	0	4	0.0	1.5
No times	15	39	5.6	14.8
Total	266	264	100.0	100.0

*Unreported: 3 male, 3 female.

The above table, based on the trips of the family heads, reveals the frequency of trips to Sofia: 484

The table* shows that thirty-three male heads go to Sofia oftener than once a week. The great exodus comes on Friday, the market day. The peasants' childlike anticipation of market-day is best symbolized by the wagons which stand already loaded in front of the gates on Thursday evening. All that is necessary in the dim light on Friday morning is the yoking of the sleepy oxen, before the families start on their way to Sofia. I went with the villagers on these expeditions and saw their "ports of call," each visited via back streets and not by any handsome boulevards. 369 512

* At the time of the government census in December, 1934, I received permission to add to the regular census blanks a questionnaire of my own dealing chiefly with social contacts. Every family head was required to appear before one of the local clerks and answer all questions on the blanks, the writing being done by the clerk. Many of my statistics in this article are based on these questionnaires which, in the person of family heads, represented 97 per cent of the population. 125

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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Cattle market: The cattle market and the sheep market, located not far away, lie on the other side of Sofia from Dragalevtsy, back of the railroad station toward the municipal cemetery. It is there a peasant goes if he wishes to dispose of, or purchase, an animal. At this market a nice young bull costs $25-$30, a fresh buffalo cow, $50-$60; ordinary milch cows, $35-$45; horses, $12-$60; donkeys, $12-$18. In the sheep market a pair of sheep sell for $3.60. The cattle market is a colorful place. There is much excitement in the horse section where gypsies ride their not-so-fiery steeds up and down to show how sound they are. But the peasant does little visiting with others in the market; he is not the kind to strike up an acquaintance with just anyone. He does deal with the nimble-witted cattle-buyers whose crafty ways stand for city ways in the peasant's undiscerning judgment. In other words, the peasant's contact with "the outside world" in the cattle market helps build up a psychological barrier against the city since the peasant seldom leaves feeling that he has made a good bargain, unless he has concluded a trade with another peasant more rustic than himself.

The mill: A second place the peasant is likely to visit is the mill, not far away from the general curb market. In spite of the fact that there are many mills in Sofia the people of Dragalevtsy have chosen this as their favorite one, with another ranking as second choice. If they are tired out after their trip to the mill, the villagers lie down on sacks of grain until their turns come; if not sleepy, the peasants form talkative groups near their unyoked animals in the mill courtyard. But here again we find peasant talking with peasant, much of the conversation condemning the modern times, some government policy, or the sad effects of the World War. A talk with a conservative peasant from another village merely heightens the conservatism in the Dragalevtsy peasant.

[462]

Curb market: After finishing at the mill the peasant will perhaps go to the General Curb Market where his wife, squatted on the sidewalk, has been crying her wares for hours in the hope of selling a few bunches of vegetables or several "pairs" of eggs. She has seen many enticing objects in the vendors' pushcarts, observed the styles* worn by city housewives accompanied by peasant servant girls, the strut of the military, the bizarre appearance of a foreign tourist in knickers taking pictures of the scene. She must also have talked to other peasant women who, like herself, return to a favorite spot week after week. But the question arises: Do all the men usually take their wives along? Is it usually a family affair, this trip to market? The answer is that between fifty and sixty per cent of the female heads go to Sofia on a typical market day; fifteen per cent never go at all.

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*The chief tailor in Dragalevtsy says that styles in dress reach the peasants from other villages. The women, for instance, imitate what a peasant from another village wears, but not what a city woman wears.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Flower bazaar and tavern: It is around the fourth destination on Fridays that fondest memories cling, because this is the spot near the Sofia flower bazaar where young people from surrounding villages go upon completing their morning duties in town. It is here that romance blossoms and young men from one village are introduced to girls from another. While the younger people are amusing themselves here the older people, especially the men, gather at the tavern called *Dulgata Mehana,* the particular establishment to which Dragalevtsy peasants are loyal.[7] They lunch and drink here, they rest here, and here they swap their stories. Nor is it without pride that they tell how Fiodor Chaliapin, the celebrated opera singer, in 1934 spent a very merry evening in this *Dulgata Mehana,* enjoying its drink and atmosphere. Seldom, however, does the peasant get to converse with the Sofia citizenry in this tavern. Here again he is in a peasant world; if he were not, he would feel decidedly uncomfortable. Should he decide to see a movie, in the afternoon he would go to a cheap theater on a side street and guffaw with his fellow peasants.[8]

2. To Serve His Country. The *trudova* system, or that of compulsory labor for the young men of Bulgaria, has received much attention in the West. It served a magnificent purpose, taking as it did young men from villages throughout the land, mixing them up in labor camps, and providing them with picks and shovels for the construction of highways, bridges, and other public works. But now the young Bulgarian citizen is given military training instead. This is not in keeping with the Treaty of Neuilly, which limited Bulgaria's armed forces to 33,000, but what nation in Europe, the Bulgarians ask, has been abiding by the treaties? The trend from *trudova* to military service is shown by the fact that in 1935 not a single youth was called from Dragalevtsy to do *trudova* service, but sixteen went to be trained as soldiers.

The effect of life in a labor camp or a military barracks upon the young men is apparent upon their return to the village. They have gone out from a family system where each member works unquestioningly as a part of the whole; they return, in spite of military discipline, often very conscious of their own individuality, and have to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought again close in about them. However, before the returning young men are reabsorbed by the community, reverberations of struggle are felt throughout parts of the social structure. There are some who never again fall completely into line and who naturally

[7] Every village over a period of years has tended to select one tavern where peasants from that village spend their leisure time while in Sofia.

[8] Fifty-five per cent of the villagers (babies, children, and adults) have never seen a cinema. Out of 265 families reporting, *all* members of 73 families had seen a cinema; *no* members of 78 families had done so.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

156 turn to Sofia for employment and sympathy. But the significant fact is that
702 most young people do submit to the process of resocialization and as they grow older adopt the conservatism of their elders. In other words, no attempt is made in the army experience to teach them new farming methods, bee-keeping, animal breeding, or anything else which they might apply in a useful way upon their return to the village.

554 3. For the Good of His Soul. When asked "Why do you go on pil-
788 grimages to various Bulgarian monasteries?" the peasants often answer: "We go for the good of our souls." No mention is made of the enhanced social
● 484 status that is theirs as a result of such a trip or the excitement of being sped on their way at the edge of the village by the priest and a flock of relatives or welcomed back far outside the village by the same relatives two or three days later. The most popular place to visit is Rila Monastery, the historic, magnificent establishment in the heart of the Rila Mountains to which thousands come at Easter time. The Dragalevtsy peasants (only thirty-five from the village went in 1934) mix with the assembled multitudes at Rila, attend the services, buy sacred objects, and snatch what sleep they can before starting on the return journey. If they are walking, the pilgrimage requires five or six days; if they go by automobile from Sofia, they spend one day en route each way. In olden days pilgrimages played a great part in creating social contacts between the villages and the outside world. Now we can safely conclude that as other means of making social contact increase, the importance of making pilgrimages decreases.

484 4. To Visit Socially. Once a year a Bulgarian village has an "At Home
574 Day." This event always falls on the name day of the saint, angel, or member of the Trinity for whom the local church is named and is commemorated by the preparation of immense quantities of stews for the few hundred guests from outside. Many of these guests are old residents returning with their families for a visit. There is a special service at which bread and boiled corn is blessed, the priest in return receiving a portion of the food. At the meal afterwards, to which all guests are invited, pledges are made for the upkeep of the local church. Many guests would rather go to the homes of friends and relatives than partake of the common meal; this makes more intimate visitation possible. These "At Homes" of neighboring villages are the chief attractions drawing the peasants from Dragalevtsy to other villages. Table 13 on the following page shows us how often Dragalevtsy family heads visit other villages (for the "At Home" as well as other purposes).

484 Combining the data in this table with other information obtained we can make the following conclusions regarding the social visits of Dragalevtsy people to other villages:

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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TABLE 13

FREQUENCY OF TRIPS TO VILLAGES, MALE AND FEMALE FAMILY HEADS, DRAGALEVTSY, 1934*

FREQUENCY	NUMBER		PER CENT	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Monthly:				
6 times	2	0	0.8	0.0
5 times	0	2	0.0	0.8
4 times	2	4	0.8	1.6
3 times	3	2	1.2	0.8
2 times	8	9	3.1	3.5
1 time	68	52	26.4	20.3
Yearly:				
6 times	4	8	1.5	3.1
5 times	2	3	0.8	1.2
4 times	14	8	5.4	3.1
3 times	21	17	8.1	6.7
2 times	13	19	5.0	7.4
1 time	8	8	3.1	3.1
No times	113	124	43.8	48.4
Total	258	256	100.0	100.0

*Unreported: 11 males, 11 females.

Roughly speaking, about half of the family heads (men and women) do not go to other villages in the course of a year. For those who go, the greatest frequency of visitation is once a month.

Men born in Dragalevtsy visit the other villages more than do their fellow-villagers not born in Dragalevtsy; however, women born in Dragalevtsy visit less than those born outside.*

Children seldom go with their parents to other villages, though certain young men make numerous visits to parties during the year.

There are other contacts which the peasant makes with the outside world 691
away from the village, but these are not important enough for separate consideration. There is, for instance, "the iron grip of the law." Since the mores of Dragalevtsy are still strictly observed, no criminals were led off to prison from the jail-less village during the three-year period in which I studied Dragalevtsy. Annually there are four or five lawsuits, involving about thirty people and taking on an average ten days' time for each person. For those

*Eighty-three per cent of the male family heads but only 55 per cent of the female heads were born in Dragalevtsy. The 45 per cent of non-native wives come from villages ranging in distance from two to ten miles.

11: Logic S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

of Razlog on the upper reaches of the river Mesta may 133
serve as a convenient centre for excusions in this maze of mountains mostly clad with pine and fir forests. The three beautiful mountain lakes dominated by the majestic summit of the El-Tepe, the highest peak of the Pirrin range, reaching an altitude of 2684 metres, may be easily reached from the townlet of Bansko, a few kilometres to the south of Razlog. Tourist huts have been erected at [485] •
several points, and recently excellent roads have been constructed, so that the more adventurous type of tourist, intent on roaming off the beaten track, can indulge in protracted and most enjoyable rambles in what is certainly a *terra incognita*, even to most Bulgarians.

It is astonishing that the Bulgarian Government has 529
done nothing to popularise Sofia as a tourist centre, and yet few towns in Eastern Europe can rival it as such. It is at a convenient driving distance from the Balkan mountains which offer a veritable kaleidoscope of enchanting views. Century old oak and beech forests cover generally the rolling undulating mountain valleys, their shaded glens offering the most delectable relaxation after the heat of the plain. Another attractive forest resort is Tcham-Koria lying on the heavily wooded slopes of the Rila, amid enchanting mountain scenery, at a distance of 69 klm. to the south east of Sofia. The greatest attraction of 312
Sofia is of course its mineral and thermal springs. In the 529
centre of the town is a modern bathing establishment, built on the site ot the ancient Roman thermal baths, and endowed with an electro-therapeutic section. In close proximity to Sofia are a number of other thermal springs most of which are endowed with excellent bathing accomodation and easily accessible from Sofia by either tram, train, or motor bus. Such are the thermal establishments of Bankia, one of the finest in Bulgaria, that of Gorna-Bania, Ovtcha-Kupel, and of Kniajevo. Bulgaria is

133 High mountains like Vitosha, Rila, Pirin and the Rhodo-
487 pe, with peaks as high as 9597 feet (Moussala, being the highest mountain peak in the Balkans), are the source of Balkan's most important rivers flowing in all directions (Fig. 2). They are Isker, Maritza, Mesta, Struma and the main affluents of the Vardar and Morava rivers, totaling about 1450 miles in
487 length. These mountains do not only point the way the rivers should flow, but they determine also the direction of Balkan roads. In spite of its consideratble elevation, this mountainous

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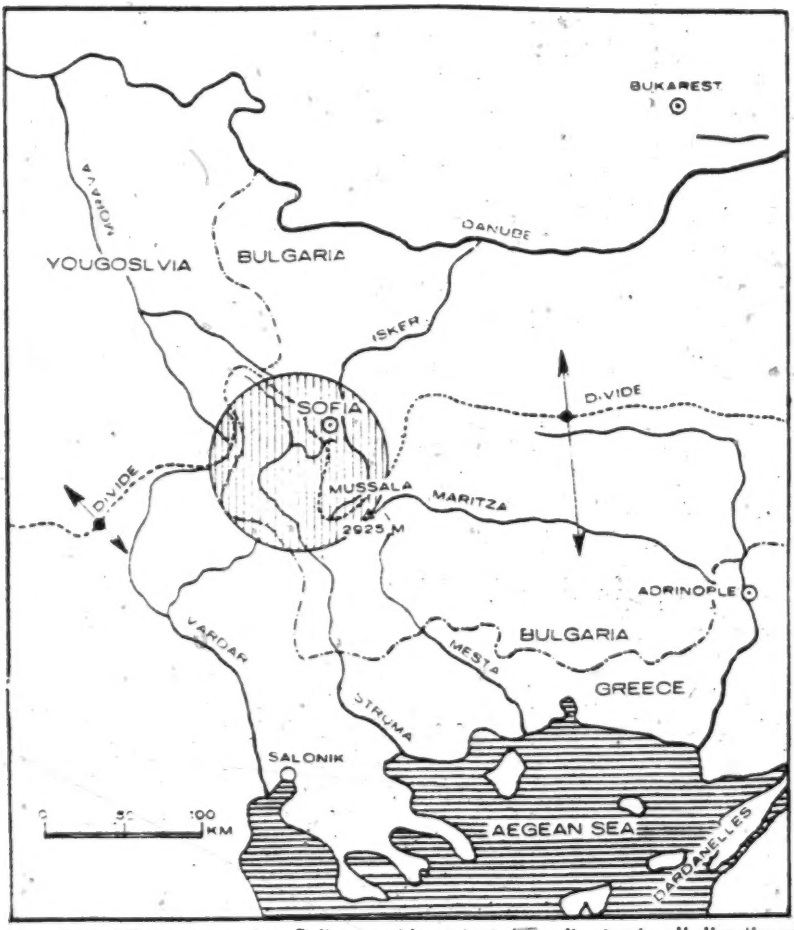

Fig. 2. The sources of the Balkan most important rivers flowing in all directions: the watershed between the Danube and the Aegean Sea; 43% of Bulgaria's territory is an Aegean Country.

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

region, called by analogy „The Roof of the Balkans", is endowed with an amazing accessibility which makes it a cross-road of paramount importance (Fig. 3). Sofia is the turntable of Balkan traffic and, because of its possibilifies and location, it has always been a very important centre of communication. It had the same significance in Roman times when Bulgaria was the Roman province of Lower Moesia. Figure 4 indicates the routes of those times. These are the most important roads known to ancient authors.[1]) The great importance of the Bulgarian lands in Roman times is evident from the fact that the roads to Byzantium, Asia and the Danube passed through them. This was the cause for the establishment and the rise of many thriving and important „Roman" cities like Marcianopolis, the capital of the province of Lower Moesia (Moesia Inferior); Oescus or Esco, the seat of a Roman legion and a fortified bridgehead against the troublesome Dacians pushing their way from Transylvania to the River Danube; Nikopolis ad Istrum, which was a lavishly embelished military city and a fortified post, guarding the Balkan passes; Serdica, i. e. Sofia, was at that time an important communication centre in charge of the roads leading to the Danube, to Upper Moesia, to the Adriatic and Aegean Seas, to Constantinople (Byzantium) and to Asia. The marked density of the road network in Dobroudia around the estuary of the Danube is also significant.

5. Bulgaria — an Aegean Country. Many people are accustomed to consider Bulgaria as a Danube country or rather as a Black Sea country. This is because Bulgaria, unfortunately, has always been forcibly kept without an outlet to the Aegean Sea. This is a wrong attitude both geographically and politically. 43% of the territorial waters of Bulgaria empty in the Aegean Sea, 42% flow into the Danube and only 15% in the Black Sea. Consequently, Bulgaria is an Aegean country. This point should be emphasized particularly, and should be observed by all who seek to understand Balkan politics. Although the Greeks have possession of this sea at present, the Bulgarians lived with it for centuries past. They planted their culture in all the lands around the sea, inhabited by the Slavs.

[1]) K. Miller, Itineraria Romana, Römische Reisewege; 1916, Stuttgart.

St. Bojnoff K-4,5 (no date) 1040 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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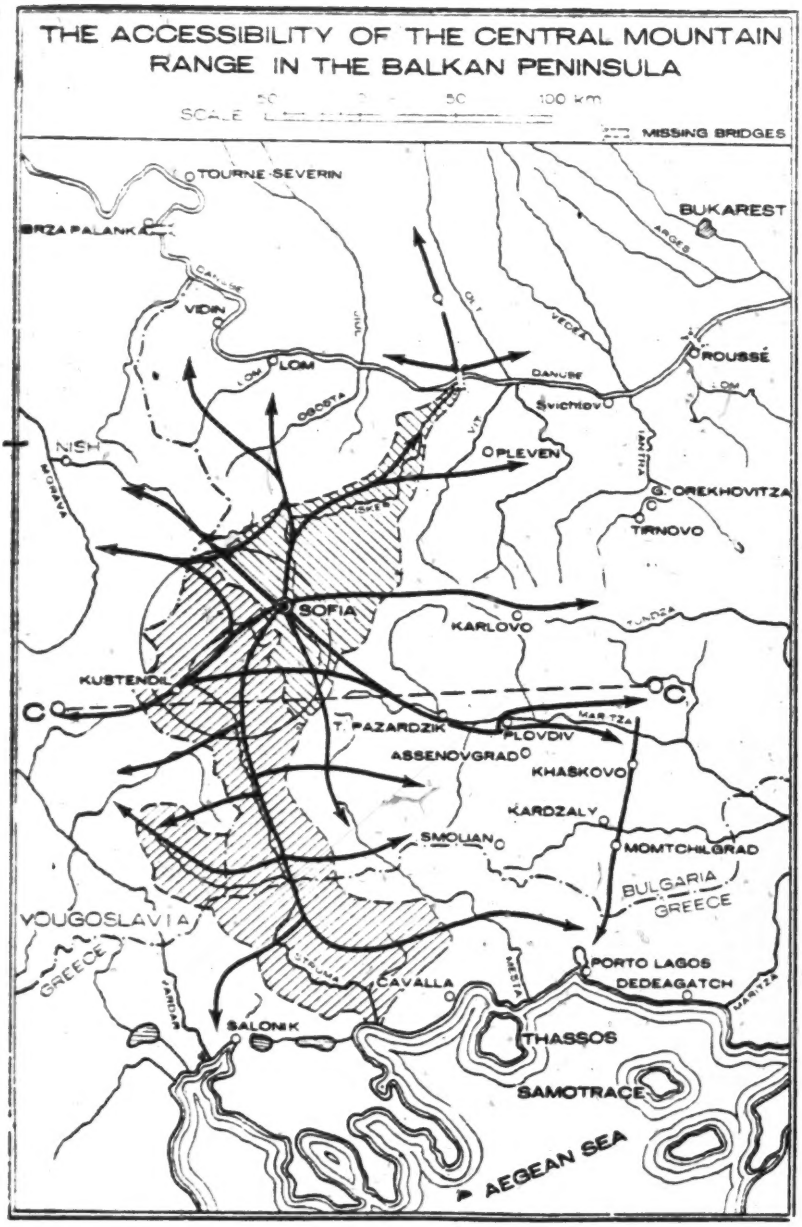

Fig. 3.

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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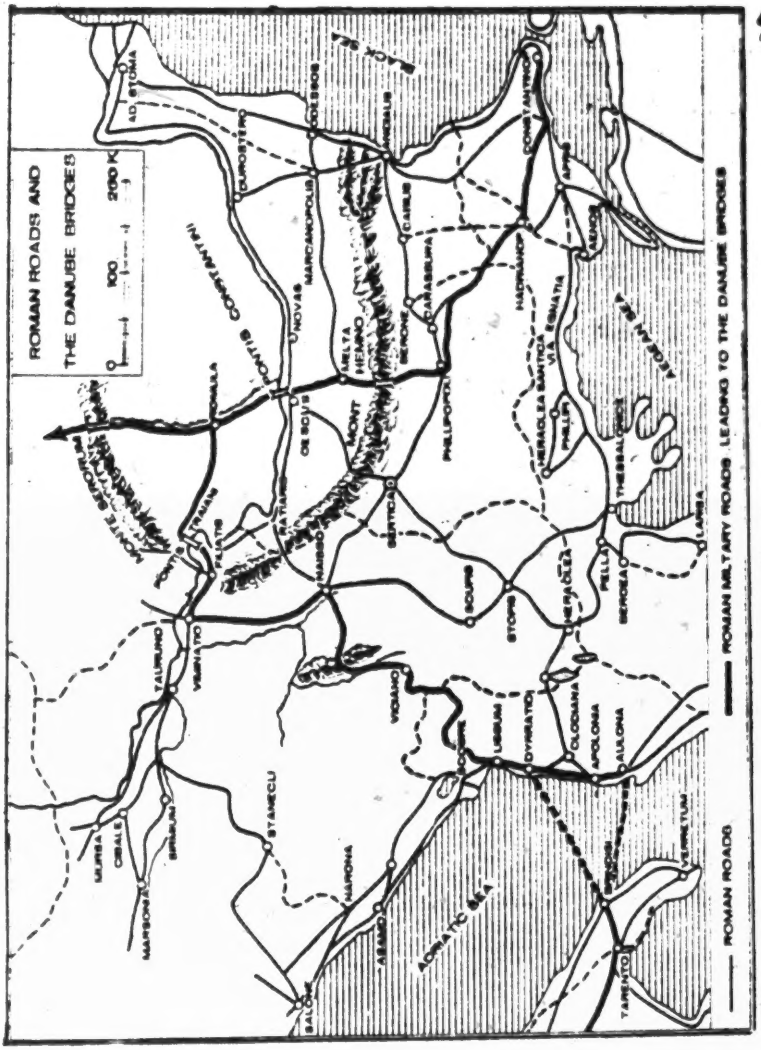

Fig. 4.

7. Sketch of Bulgarian History. We present in appendixes I, A-E,[1] a graphic synopsis of the history of Bulgaria. Although in a very concise form, this is a practical way of comparing the different historical epochs. 175

The Bulgarian State, established in the Balkan Peninsula in 679, precedes the formation of the United Kingdom of the

1 [See pp 105(A)-109(B)--Analyst]

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States:	Population in millions	Private mail in thousands of letters	Letters per each inhabitant annually
Bulgaria	6.29	192,460	30.55
Greece	7.11	134,516	17.55
Romania	19.85	462,327	23.30
Yugoslavia	15.70	392,006	25.—

We should remember, with regard to the last two countries, the acquisition of the Austro-Hungarian territory in 1918 with a population much higher in culture than the culture of the native inhabitants. Bulgaria has one Post-Office for each group of 1930 persons, and Greece has one for each group of 4,000.

56. An Important Balkan Problem of Communications.[1]) Bulgaria is the bridge land between two important water routes: The Danube and the Aegean Sea. (Fig. 1 to 5). A huge traffic is liable to rise from the natural hinterland of the Aegean Sea, had this hinterland, extending north of the Danube as far as the Baltic Sea, had a natural outlet southwards to the Aegean. The whole mass of this traffic moves down to the south and stops at the Bulgarian-Greek frontier which, at one point, is only twenty one kilometers from the sea. The major railway starting at Roussé, the extension of which was planned when Bulgaria had dominion of the Aegean coast (1913 — 1918), runs through Stara-Zagora and stops at Momchilgrad at a distance of 64 kilometers from the sea after a course of 415 kilometers.

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The Rhodope mountains are divided in two parts and a small part is left on Greek territory. The other huge part, with a mountainous population, is separated from the sea coast and the planes of Western Thrace which were the markets of this population and the winter pasture of the numerous cattle and sheep. The Rhodope population were the artisans of this district: masons, tailors and even fishermen. The Inter-Allied Comission, which administered under Governor-General Charpy (1918—1920) Western Thrace, taken from Bulgaria, until its transfer by virtue of the Peace Treaty of Sèvres (August 10, 1920), established that the inhabitants of Aegean Thrace were pre-

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[1]) Cf. i. Boshkoff, Quelques Notes sur les Communications dans les Balkans. Sofia, 1945.

[See category 116, pp. 9, 10, 12, 13, 38 -- Analyst]

491 **55. Other Means of Communication.** The development of road construction is in no way less interesting. After the war of 1877/78 Bulgaria inherited from the Ottoman empire 3,727 km. of delapidated roads. She has to-day 33.000 km. of roads, completed or in process of completion, which makes a ninefold increase. Bulgaria had no regular automobile lines until 1920. Now she owns 18.000 km. of such lines or 16.4 km. per 100 sq. km. of territory, over which 10.000.000 passengers are carried annually. If we keep in mind, that the annual passenger traffic over the Bulgarian railroads is about 16.000.000 passenger, we would appreciate the significance of these authomobile lines for the country and the development that might be anticipated for the Bulgarian road system both in size and in quality. The advance estimate for 1970 is that Bulgaria may have 60.000 km. of roads which will probably be the point of saturation.

496 Bulgaria has to take long strides in the development of her communications system. Such effort would be beyond her possibilities in size and resources, but she can not afford to lag behind the general European standard. The student, prompted by good will in seeing and comprehending things according to their proper light, will not fail to realize the laudable endeavors and exertions of our poor, industrious and patient people. The railroads in Bulgaria are built and managed by the State and, consequently, their exploitation goes only to benefit the entire national economy. While financial soundness of the railways is not overlooked, the benefit that they will bring to the national economy is foremost in the mind of the legislator. Bulgaria owes her advancement and her reputation for such advancement to her railroads. The same scruples and views the Government has in regard to the exploitation of automobile roads also. Despite the fact that this exploitations is fostered at the present time on the basis of private concessions, the tendency for the state is to take over entirely their exploitation, because of the constantly growing public interest in them.

205 As another mark of the advanced instruction and enlightenment of our people, we will take as a practical example the movement of mail for 1939 and compare it to the other neighbouring countries in the Balkan peninsula.

000 dominantly Bulgarian and that the Greek population in 1920 was only 20,5% of the total population of this region. Despite the forcible expatriation of the Slavic element at that time and the settlement of Greeks of Asia Minor (Fig. 10), this province was on the decline, its economy was extensive and the main ports Cavalla and Dede-Agatch (Alexandrople) anemic and of purely local significance. The mountain population, which was severed from the region that were the sources of its nourishment and life, sank into misery and destitution. It was condemned to starvation, tuberculosis and enormous child mortality. Here we have the tragedy of the Rodope region.

In spite of the favorable conditions for an intensive traffic on the Thracian Sea Coast, which is the natural outlet for the lands around and beyond the Danube, this coast is separated from its natural hinterland and is in a failing condition; in so far as traffic and economic soundness are concerned. Let us give some characteristic comparative idea about communications in Thrace and in Bulgaria. The density of road and railroad network in Aegean Thrace was for 1930 about 10.9 km. per 100 sq. km. of territory, while in Bulgaria it was 34.1 km., or 3.13 times larger. If we consider in Thrace only the normal lines of the Compagnie Orientale (a private company), we will obtain the following comparative results:

[491] 497

Train movement, i. e. average number of trains in both directions passing through one point daily, we have for CO 3.81 trains, which does not make even two couples of trains daily, while for the Bulgarian State Railways we have 11.25 trains, or 3.03 times larger than for the CO;

Intensity of general movement, i. e. the number of axle-km. per one killometer operating lines: for the B. St. Rws 3.58 times larger:

Intensity of passenger traffic, i. e. passenger — km. per one kilometer operating lines: for the B. St. Rws 6.7 times larger;

Intensity of freight traffic, i. e. ton—km. per one kilometer operating lines: for the B. St. Rws 8.44 times larger than for the CO Rws.

And generaly the intensity of all the Greek lines is considerably smaller than the intensity of the Bulg: St. Rws. The movement on the lines of CO tends to decrease. There was a general fall in the CO lines of 11.8% from 1927 to

Il: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EEl Bulgaria EEl

366

KARLOVO: THE MARKET PLACE ON A SUNDAY

491

KARLOVO: A REPAIRED ROMAN BRIDGE

[facing p. 225]

499 which has shown more consideraton to Bulgarian requirements and has agreed to join up its railways at two
648 other points besides Tsaribrod, namely at Vidin and at Giushevo, the present terminus of the Sofia-Kustendil line which will be prolonged to Kumanovo. When the construction of this line will be achieved, the present railway journey Sofia — Salonica will be shortened by a third of its present duration by the avoidance of the long way round through Nisch.

Roads

•491 The total length of semi-permanent or macadamised
652 roads in Bulgaria in 1934, was of 17071 klm. and there were another 7,125 klm. in construction. Of the existing milage, 8,397 klm. were reported to be in good condition, 4,991 klm. in medium condition, and 4,103 as in a bad condition. The new Government planned to construct another 4000 klm. of roads and contemplates spending a sum of two milliard leva on this project, completing every year some 400 klm. of new roads. It has created new taxes in order to provide the necessary funds, among which is a special road tax of 140 leva a year to be levied on all males between the ages of 20 and 55. Owners of motor cars will also contribute to the maintenance of the roads by paying increased sums for their driving licences. It is expected that some 300 million leva will be raised annually by these special taxes, $^2/_3$ of which are proposed to be spent on the building of the new roads and $^1/_3$ for the upkeep of those already existing.

499 It is proposed to construct at once an arterial road of 300 klm. between Sofia and Orhanie, trying different systems and materials in order to find out which is the most suitable for local conditions. It is aimed to have the new roads laid out properly, in order that they may not need repairing for the first ten years. The compulsory

Il: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EEl Bulgaria EEl

133
491

IN THE RHODOPES, SOUTH OF BATAK

[facing p. 321]

extends from the Rumanian border south to the towns of Karnobat and Burgas. 131

Location and Types of Settlement. The presence of water is an important factor in the location of the settlements. Villages tend to be located along the Marica, Topolnica Strema and Tundža rivers. In the Tundža Mountains settlements are on the slopes of hills. Isolated hills in the Marica valley are preferred spots. Settlements rarely descend into the fertile river plain, most of them being located at its edge (Gellert, 1937: 142-43). In the Sub-Balkan regions, settlements are rarely at the bottom of steep valleys or on steep slopes, a gentler terrain being preferred (Gellert, 1937: 143). 361 133 [312]

Due to the irregular terrain and deep valleys in the Topolnica and Ihtimanska Sredna Gora regions, the settlements are in the form of hamlets (mahala, kolibi) of 2-10 farmsteads, scattered over the spurs overlooking a valley in which is located the main village (Gellert, 1937: 168). In eastern Bulgaria the villages show no regular plan. In the plains the villages are large and the buildings less crowded, the roads being often exaggeratedly wide. In mountainous terrain the roads are narrow and crooked, often unsuitable for carts (Gellert, 1937: 164). [491]

House Types. In eastern Bulgaria the building materials are boards, wicker, mud and unfired brick. Usually a framework of wood is filled with wicker, which may or may not be plastered. Compact walls are often made of mud, unfired brick or stones, strengthened with horizontal bond timbers. These may form the foundation on which the upper story of timber-framing is built. The hipped roof is of straw, reeds or brushwood. On the longer side of the house the eaves extend over a veranda that is raised about 10 centimeters from the ground. The walls are generally whitewashed, and each room has an exit to the veranda. Chimneys are of woven brushwood or of fieldstones and are plastered with mud. Bulgarians often build one half of the house first and plan to add more rooms later; when one side of the roof is not hipped it means that the house is not finished (Gellert, 1934: 8). 342

A two to three room house is common. Often the veranda is between the protruding side rooms (fig. 56e). The central room is generally windowless and serves as a winter kitchen. Frequently many farm units are included in the main house. One of the side rooms may be transformed into a stable with a separate entrance from the outside (fig. 56c) (Gellert, 1934: 8-9).

Two-story buildings are in the majority (fig. 56a, 56b). In the ground floor are the stable and cellar. Often annexes are built on the sides (fig. 56e) and the back, and the roof is extended over them. Here, too, the veranda is enclosed by the two side rooms. The stairway leading up to the veranda may be a simple one of wood or a massive one of unfired brick (Gellert, 1934: 10-11). While

474 With a population of 6.25 millions we have 275 inhabitants per cooperative society, or 1 out of 6.5 inhabitants is a member of a cooperative society. The members of cooperatives make 15.5% of the total population.

745 **53. Public Insurance.** The income from public insurance for 1938 is 281.4 millions leva. The disbursements for accident, sickness, maternity cases, invalidity, old age and unemployment amount to 155.967.000 leva.

496 **54. Bulgarian Railroads.** (Appendix II) At the time of her liberation (1878) Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia (South Bulgaria) received from the Ottoman Empire 542 km. = 336 miles of privately owned railroads. With a territory of 103.000 sq. km. = 39.400 sq. miles and a population of 2.8 millions inhabitants at that time, Bulgaria obtained 5.26 km. railroads per 1000 sq. km. territory and 193 km. per 1 million inhabitants. The average railroad intensity of Europe at that time was respectively 24.5 and 600 km. so that Bulgaria was 4.65 resp. 3.1 times less favorable than Europe in that respect. Bulgaria possesses to day (Dec. 31, 1944) 3,760 km. = 740 miles of railroad lines; this makes 33.6 km. per 1000 sq. km. of territory and 522 km. per 1 million inhabitants.[1]) Consequently Bulgaria, having increased her railroad network 6.95 times, has increased her network intensity 7.1 times in relation to this territory and 2.7 times in relation to her population (the growth of the population is very rapid). Bulgaria is well nigh to catch up with Europe so far as the average density of the railroad network is concerned. We should not fail to underline this fact, because between 1878 and 1945 the growth of Bulgaria's railroad network for the duration of this 67 years has been at the rate 48 km. of railroads per year. At an average cost of 6.4 millions leva per kilometer for railroads, rolling stock, inventory and other equipment, according to prices of 1941, this would represent an expenditure of about 310 millions leva a year, which is quite a significant amount for the limited financial resources of Bulgaria.

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131 [1]) 1945 Bulgaria has a territory of 110.842 sq. km. = 42.800 sq.
161 miles and a population of 6.9 millions. In Fig. 12 read 110.842 instead of 110.342 sq miles.

7 [See pp. 110(A)-110(B) -- Analyst]

496 Of course, the railroad situation in Bulgaria leaves much to be desired and one of the most important and most expensive railroads waits the realization of its construction. A comparison elaborated in 1926 will give a good idea of the eagerness of this small country for railroads. The increase in the number of passengers and the passenger-kilometers covered in travel for a period of 15 years (1911-1926) was 165% for the first and 158% for the second, having at the same time an increase in the length of the railroad network. Suppose we had eliminated this last fact and took into consideration the covered passenger-kilometers per 1 kilometer of opperated railroad, then we would obtain an increase in the intensity of passenger traffic reaching up to 104%, or doubled. This figure is both significant and interesting, because we do not find in the other European railroad administration. Obviously, this situation shows that Bulgaria has not reached a point of saturation in railroad activity.

497 Let us give a comparative idea in regard to passenger traffic:

States	*Number of passenger in millions*			*Passenger-km covered in millions*		
	1913	*1926*	*Increase in %*	*1913*	*1926*	*Increase in %*
France	583	784	34.4	20,637	28,194	36.6
Germany	1,743	1,819	4.35	40,474	42,922	6.1
Belgium	203	225	10.8	4,878	6,184	26.7
Italy	94	115	22.3	—	—	—
Danemark	34	43	26.5	969	1,098	11.7
Bulgaria	3,5 (1911)	9.2	19.2	234 (1911)	605.7	158

Note. Under Bulgaria, the comparison is for 1911 and 1926/7, because if we take the very weak traffic in 1913, the comparison would appear most favorable for her.

The same remarkable increase we observe in the freight traffic also and the comparison for it is as follows:

	Freight in million tons			*Freight covered in million tons — km*		
	1913	*1926*	*Increase + Decrease — in %*	*1913*	*1926*	*Increase + Decrease — in %*
France	243	293.6	+20.8	28,973	41,7[illegible]4	+44.3
Germany	450	376.0	—16.4	60,479	58,421	— 3.38
Belgium	61.5	83.0	+30.0	5,290	8,273	+56.4
Italy	41.4	65.2	+57.6	—	—	—
Denmark	9.3	9,4	—	601	633	+ 5.3
Bulgaria	2.04	3,15	+54.5	270.4	497.8	+84.4

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

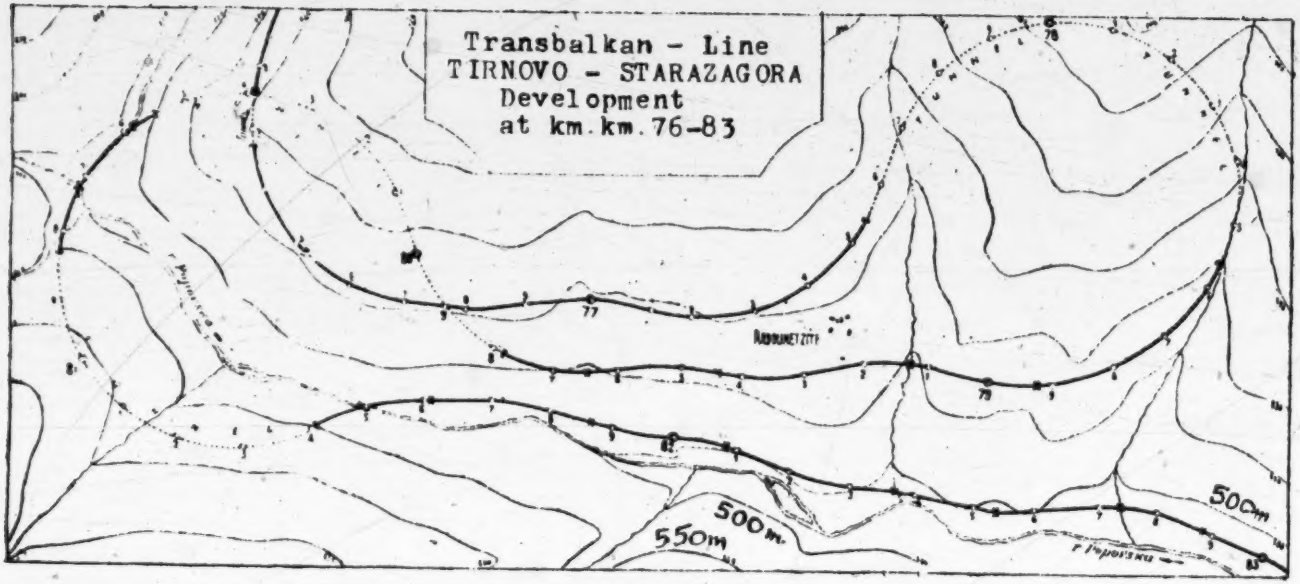

Fig. 28.

496 ●

89

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

496 [499] The technical skill of Bulgaria in railroad construction stands at a very high level. It does justice and honor to the country's efforts. The railroads are studied and built by Bulgarian railroad engineers and railroad building companies or by the State. As interesting examples of railroad construction, we might point the Trans-Balkan railroad (Fig. 28), as well as the outstanding interesting development of the Rhodope railroad, which runs from the Maritsa valley to the valley of Mesta and the Southern Bulgarian border (Fig. 29).

Unfortunately, Bulgarian railway lines stop short of the Aegean coast at a very close distance to it (Appendix II). The major line from Roussé on the Danube to south of Momchilgrad, which is 414 kilometers long, stopped 30 kilometers short of the Greek frontier and 30 kilometers from there to the Aegean Sea.

How do Bulgarian railways stand as compared to the railways in her neighbouring countries?

States	*Years*	*Railroads kilometers*	*Territory sq. km.*	*Railways per 1000. km. of territory km.*
Bulgaria	1937	3.105	103	34.—
Greece	1935/6	2.650	130	20.4
Yougoslavia	1935	9.471	248	38.2
Romania	1936	11.216	295	38.2

Romania had 4.357 kilometers of railways until 1918. Then she added the Austro-Hungarian railways to make them 11.678 kilometers. In this way, she increased the density of her railway network and acquired the advantage of a modern system of communications. Similarly, Yugosla.ia acquired the biggest part of her railroads as a result of the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Serbia had only 1.600 kilometers of railroads for a territory of 48.303 sq. km., or 43 km. of railroads per a 1000 sq. km. of territory until 1914. It is evident, therefore, that, compared to the other Balkan countries, Bulgaria has relied on her own efforts and has exerted herself most of all of them for the development of her railway communications.

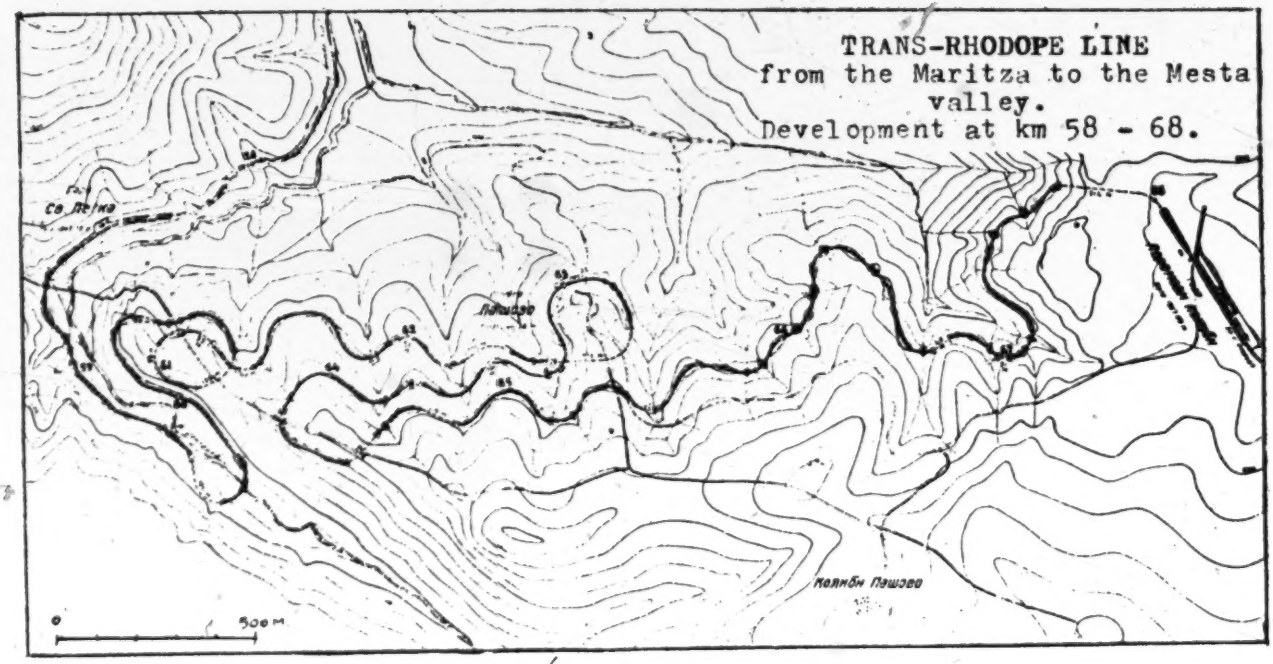
TRANS-RHODOPE LINE
from the Maritza to the Mesta
valley.
Development at km 58 - 68.
Св. Петка
Пашово
Колибн Пашово
0
500 m

Fig. 29.

496

491 **55. Other Means of Communication.** The development of road construction is in no way less interesting. After the war of 1877/78 Bulgaria inherited from the Ottoman empire 3,727 km. of delapidated roads. She has to-day 33.000 km. of roads, completed or in process of completion, which makes a ninefold increase. Bulgaria had no regular automobile lines until 1920. Now she owns 18.000 km. of such lines or 16.4 km. per 100 sq. km. of territory, over which 10.000.000 passengers are carried annually. If we keep in mind, that the annual passenger traffic over the Bulgarian railroads is about 16.000.000 passenger, we would appreciate the significance of these authomobile lines for the country and the development that might be anticipated for the Bulgarian road system both in size and in quality. The advance estimate for 1970 is that Bulgaria may have 60.000 km. of roads which will probably be the point of saturation.

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205 As another mark of the advanced instruction and enlightenment of our people, we will take as a practical example the movement of mail for 1939 and compare it to the other neighbouring countries in the Balkan peninsula.

205

States:	Population in millions	Private mail in thousands of letters	Letters per each inhabitant annually
Bulgaria	6.29	192,460	30.55
Greece	7.11	134,516	17.55
Romania	19.85	462,327	23.30
Yugoslavia	15.70	392,006	25.—

We should remember, with regard to the last two countries, the acquisition of the Austro-Hungarian territory in 1918 with a population much higher in culture than the culture of the native inhabitants. Bulgaria has one Post-Office for each group of 1930 persons, and Greece has one for each group of 4,000.

56. An Important Balkan Problem of Communications.[1]) Bulgaria is the bridge land between two important water routes: The Danube and the Aegean Sea. (Fig. 1 to 5). A huge traffic is liable to rise from the natural hinterland of the Aegean Sea, had this hinterland, extending north of the Danube as far as the Baltic Sea, had a natural outlet southwards to the Aegean. The whole mass of this traffic moves down to the south and stops at the Bulgarian-Greek frontier which, at one point, is only twenty one kilometers from the sea. The major railway starting at Roussé, the extension of which was planned when Bulgaria had dominion of the Aegean coast (1913 — 1918), runs through Stara-Zagora and stops at Momchilgrad at a distance of 64 kilometers from the sea after a course of 415 kilometers.

487

496

The Rhodope mountains are divided in two parts and a small part is left on Greek territory. The other huge part, with a mountainous population, is separated from the sea coast and the planes of Western Thrace which were the markets of this population and the winter pasture of the numerous cattle and sheep. The Rhodope population were the artisans of this district: masons, tailors and even fishermen. The Inter-Allied Comission, which administered under Governor-General Charpy (1918 — 1920) Western Thrace, taken from Bulgaria, until its transfer by virtue of the Peace Treaty of Sèvres (August 10, 1920), established that the inhabitants of Aegean Thrace were pre-

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[1]) Cf. i. Boshkoff, Quelques Notes sur les Communications dans les Balkans. Sofia, 1945.

[See category 116, pp. 9, 10, 12, 13, 38 -- Analyst]

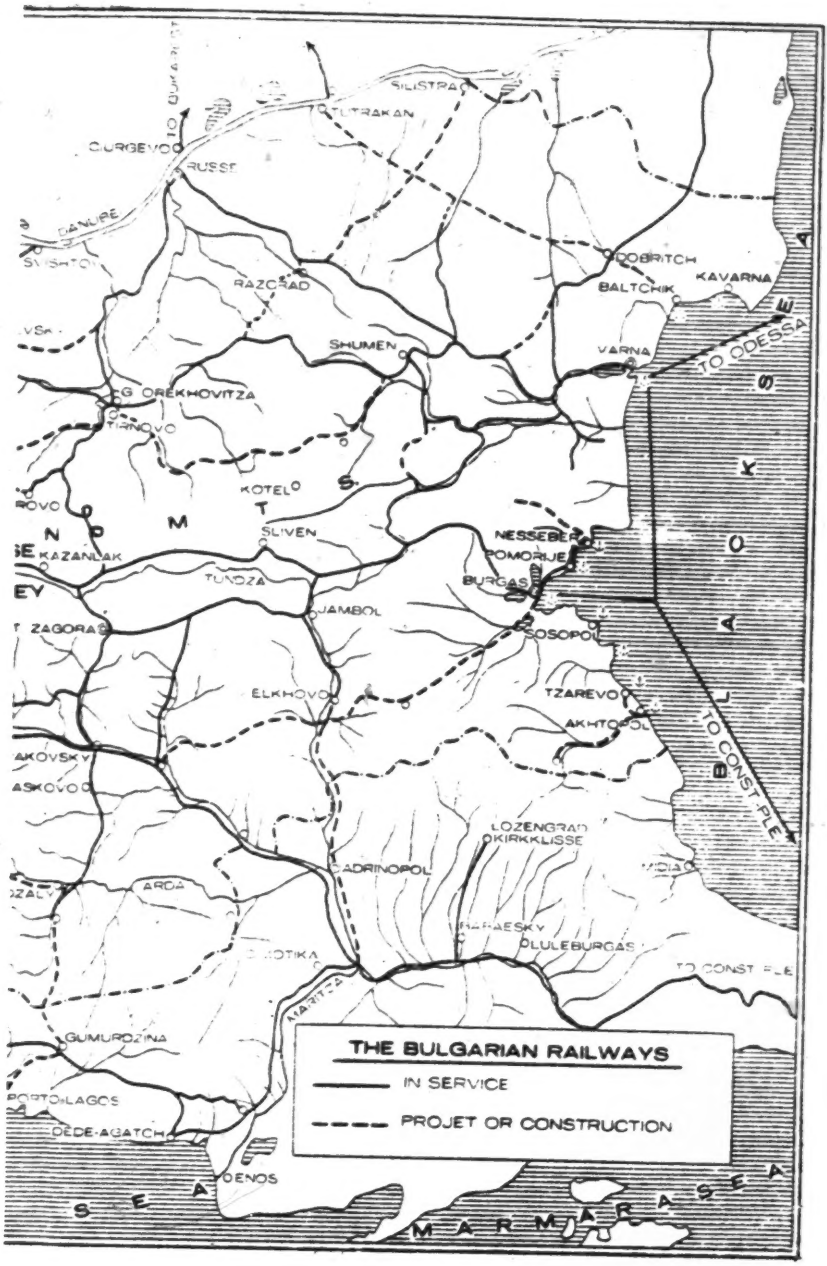
APPENDIX II. — Scale in kilometers.

496

110(A)
[Left-hand side]

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

496



110(B)
[Right-hand side]

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

439 deepening economic crisis, and though she remains the best purveyor and client of Bulgaria, such commerce as is carried on is mainly in the form of barter and is yearly becoming more difficult. So long as England seems disinclined to lend a helping hand to Bulgaria and the other Danubian countries in order to facilitate the marketing of their produce on the British market, the only alternative which would bring relief to these hard-pressed communities, is the restoration of prosperity to Germany, which alone seems capable and willing to interchange its products with those of the Danubian countries, for the mutual advantage of all the parties concerned. As prosperity seems to have taken leave of Germany, and England shows little desire to assume the role of a good European, prospects for recovery in Bulgaria and the neighbouring countries can not be said to be bright.

COMMUNICATIONS

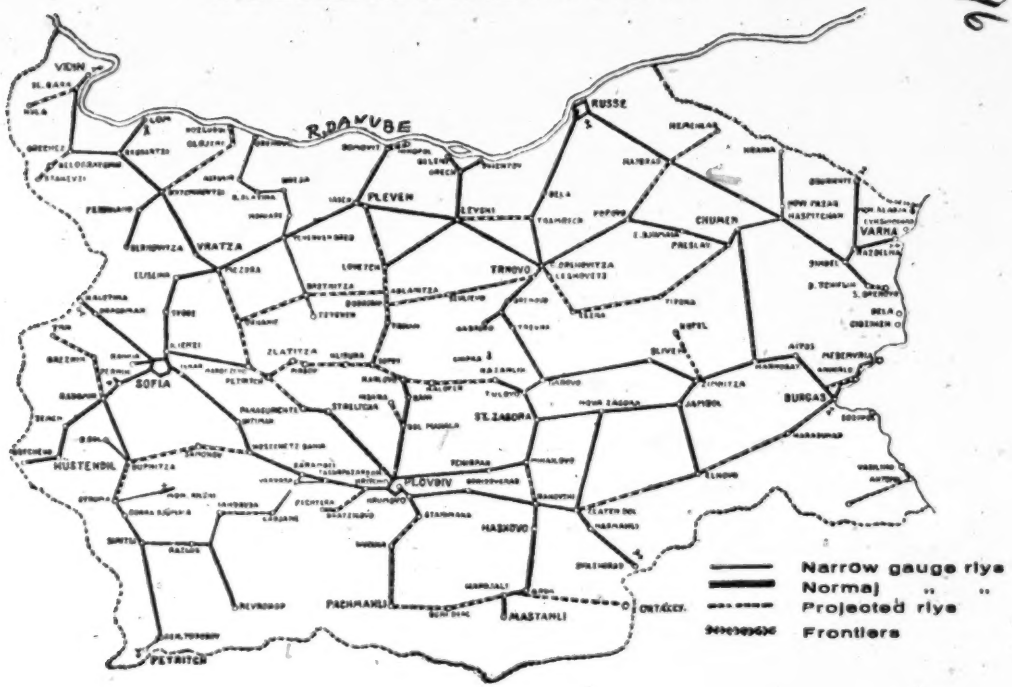
Railways

•496 655 The Bulgarian State railway system at the end of 1933 consisted of 2,800 klm. of single track normal gauge railway lines, including the section Plovdiv-Panagurishte, 70·88 klm. in length opened to traffic in December 1933, 162 klm. of narrow 76 cm. gauge, and 250 klm. of 60 cm. gauge. According to a statistical report issued during the financial year 1932-3, the capital invested in the railway system amounted to 13,514,847,000 leva (or, 450,494,900 gold francs) and was made up of the following items:

Railway lines (all gauges)	3,085 klm.	value 350,375,520 gold francs
Locomotives	597	" 100,119,380 "
Passenger cars	621	
Tenders	205	
Postal cars	43	
Goods trucks	10,901	

496

THE BULGARIAN RAILWAY SYSTEM



COMMUNICATIONS

Of all East European States, Albania excepted, Bulgaria has the smallest milage of all, 2·2 klm. of railway track per 100 sq. klm. of territory. The ratio being 2·5 for Greece, 3·7 for Yugoslavia, 4 for Rumania, while the proportion for Austria, Hungary and Switzerland, are respectively 8, 10·2, and 14. In spite of this evident inferiority, construction since 1918 has been very restricted, averaging a bare 44·3 klm. a year, owing to the depressed State of the country's finances. The railway administration is an autonomous institution and since 1929 has had its own distinct budget. The railway department had the great advantage of having for a number of years a most energetic, progressive and honourable engineer at its head, M. Morfov, who was subsequently nominated to the post of Bulgarian Minister in Paris, it also had in recent years the good fortune to possess as titulary chiefs, in the person of the Ministry of Railways, such active and honest men as MM. Kimon Gheorghiev and Stoyan Kosturkov, all of whom did their best to avoid the mistakes committed by their predecessors, a few examples of which are narrated further on. 496 655

The table on page 212 will give an idea of the intensity of the traffic and of the rentability of the system during the last few years. 497

The intensity of the traffic in comparison with Western European countries is very light, as may be seen by comparing the relative data for the year 1931 relative to Belgium and Bulgaria:

	Average milage	Number of passengers carried	Passengers per klm.	Goods carried	Tons per klm.
Belgium .	4800 klm.	221,303,000	1,209,000	79,535,000	1,433,000
Bulgaria .	2600 klm.	7,680,000	204,000	3,480,000	250,000

From the above table it will be seen that the traffic in Belgium is on an average 6 times as intense as in

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000 dominantly Bulgarian and that the Greek population in 1920 was only 20,5% of the total population of this region. Despite the forcible expatriation of the Slavic element at that time and the settlement of Greeks of Asia Minor (Fig. 10), this province was on the decline, its economy was extensive and the main ports Cavalla and Dede-Agatch (Alexandrople) anemic and of purely local significance. The mountain population, which was severed from the region that were the sources of its nourishment and life, sank into misery and destitution. It was condemned to starvation, tuberculosis and enormous child mortality. Here we have the tragedy of the Rodope region.

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8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

1930, while on the B. St. Lines for the same period we have 497
an increase of 20.5%.

The Greek Railways had an increase of only 255 kilometers or 9.6% for the period 1914 to 1940, while Bulgaria increased its railway network with 1.025 kilometers or 48.7% after the two national catastrophies (1913 and 1918). Since 000
1920, for a period of 25 years, Greece has played with the pet idea of building the railroad extension Drama—Kavala, 31 kilometers long, in order to link this sea port with the railroad network. This good intention did not grow up to maturity and the work on this line is left undone until to-day.

Greece suffers of marine hypertrophy. The Greeks control an enormous sea coast line, which they are in no position to make the best use off. Here is how the relation be- 133
tween the sea coast line of the countries and their entire frontier line stands: 80.7% of the entire frontier line of Greece is sea coast line, for Albania the relation is 38.8%, for Yugoslavia — 34.1% and for Bulgaria — 17.5%.

For 1 km. of sea coast we have

Territory: For Greece 22, for Albania 62.2, for Yugoslavia 155 and for Bulgaria 277.5 sq. km.;

Population: for Greece 1060, for Albania 2340, for [161]
Yugoslavia 9900 and for Bulgaria 15.000 inhabitants.

57. Construction Work. It is hard to give a satisfactory pic- 000
ture in this brief study about Bulgaria's accomplishement during the last period of her present free existence. Whatever her achievements might be, they would hardly impress a sophisticated reader, who would wish to measure her with the standards of his advanced country, whose present generation probably owes its spiritual and material progress to the advantages of free life and activity of preceding generations. Our picture, however, would not be complete if we said nothing about the technical developments of Bulgaria or about the work of Bulgarian engineers and architects.

Notwithstanding its limited means, the country spared 653
nothing for its public works. About the beginning of the Second World War, Bulgaria was spending on the average about one billion leva annually for government and municipal building operations. This expenditure grew constantly: in 1936 — 457.600.000, in 1937 — 505.600.000, in 1938 — 534.100.000,

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Year	Normal Gauge Milage	Train klm. per year	Receipts in leva from Passengers	Parcels and baggages	Goods	Various
1929—30	2438	9,893,375	450,710,177	29,269,236	784,330,428	1,186,024
1930 - 31	2582	10,018,327	404,119,328	16,127,156	751,281,848	5,874,70[illegible]
1931—32	2656	10,366,382	387,282,126	12,129,671	728,877,237	21,241,717
1932—33	2664	10,426,764	372,950,000	10,240,000	750,903,000	9,717,000

Year	Expenditure in leva: Salaries	Expenditure in leva: Various	Excess of receipts over expenditure in leva
1929—30	421,515,136	473,459,617	370,221,112
1930—31	512,574,702	544,330,600	124,489,737
1931—32	510,000,000	450,000,000	189,510,651
1932—33	530,000,000	435,000,000	168,000,000

COMMUNICATIONS

Of all East European States, Albania excepted, Bulgaria has the smallest milage of all, 2·2 klm. of railway track per 100 sq. klm. of territory. The ratio being 2·5 for Greece, 3·7 for Yugoslavia, 4 for Rumania, while the proportion for Austria, Hungary and Switzerland, are respectively 8, 10·2, and 14. In spite of this evident inferiority, construction since 1918 has been very restricted, averaging a bare 44·3 klm. a year, owing to the depressed State of the country's finances. The railway administration is an autonomous institution and since 1929 has had its own distinct budget. The railway department had the great advantage of having for a number of years a most energetic, progressive and honourable engineer at its head, M. Morfov, who was subsequently nominated to the post of Bulgarian Minister in Paris, it also had in recent years the good fortune to possess as titulary chiefs, in the person of the Ministry of Railways, such active and honest men as MM. Kimon Gheorghiev and Stoyan Kosturkov, all of whom did their best to avoid the mistakes committed by their predecessors, a few examples of which are narrated further on. 496 655

The table on page 212 will give an idea of the intensity ot the traffic and of the rentability of the system during the last few years. 497.

The intensity of the traffic in comparison with Western European countries is very light, as may be seen by comparing the relative data for the year 1931 relative to Belgium and Bulgaria:

	Average milage	Number of passengers carried	Passengers per klm.	Goods carried	Tons per klm.
Belgium .	4800 klm.	221,303,000	1,209,000	79,535,000	1,433,000
Bulgaria .	2600 klm.	7,680.000	204,000	3,480,000	250,000

From the above table it will be seen that the traffic in Belgium is on an average 6 times as intense as in

11: Logic S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

•497 Bulgaria, the capital outlay however in Belgium per klm. of railway is about 15 million leva, while in Bulgaria it is only 4 millions, and this permits the Bulgarian railways to be operated more economically than those of all other continental States, the ratio of the cost of running them to gross receipts being 71.05 % in Bulgaria as against 101.49 % in Yugoslavia, 102.2 in Germany and 106.8 % in Belgium (1932).[1]

The Bulgarian railways are most economically run, thus the outlay on salaries amounts to only 53 % of the total expenditure, as compared to 57.4 % in Yugoslavia, 68.60 % in Greece, and 70.7 % in Germany. The railway rates are the cheapest in Europe as may be seen from the following comparative table. A journey of 50 klm. costs:

	Ist class	2nd class	3rd class	
In Bulgaria	103	75	52	leva
„ Yugoslavia	122·5	105	70	„
„ Rumania	232·5	178·5	116·45	„
„ Czechoslovakia . . .	285 6	158·76	105·84	„
„ Austria	231·8	166.15	92·75	„

Better financial results could have been obtained if some limitation were put to the excessive number of people travelling on the railways at reduced fares, a large proportion of them doing so out of favouritism. Important rebates too are allowed on the transport of most products of local industries as may be gauged by a statement of M. Kosturkov in the Sobranye on June 14, 1932: "Last year some 8,121,953 passengers were carried, 25% of whom benefitted of reductions varying between 50 % and 75 %. Half of the goods carried were transported at rates 10 % to 35 % below

[1] The railway administration, having assumed to repay gradually to the State the total cost of the railway lines, as well as to set aside annually a certain amount for depreciation has been closing its yearly balances since 1930 with deficits. Namely 30,926,000 leva in 1930, 119,508,000 in 1931, 108,178,000 in 1932, 100,070,000 in 1933. In 1929 it showed a surplus of 122,190,000 leva.

those of the ordinary tariff." Dr. B Yantsulov some time ago estimated the loss which these reductions entailed to the revenue to as much as 109 million leva a year and apportioned the loss as follows: 497.

Free tickets	20	million leva
Free transport of mails	19	" "
Rebates on goods to and from sugar refineries	19	" "
" " " " " " flour-mills	10	" "
" " " of local industries	41	" "
Total	109	" "

The contraction in the receipts due to the rather excessive granting of bonuses which have hitherto been granted on too generous a scale is now likely to cease, for one of the decisions of the new government installed on May 19th 1934 was that both the free issue of tickets was to cease and that most of the products of local factories would be transported at the usual rates and would no longer benefit of rebates.

Tho total tonnage of goods carried during the financial year 1932-3 was 3,317,692 tons, of which 340,947 tons were cereals, 134,778 flour, 149,176 sugar-beet, 22,102 sugar and 809.520 coal. The transport of the bulk of these goods is of a seasonable character, being mainly transported in the late summer and early autumn months, and this explains the shortage of trucks during this period of the year. The total number of functionaries, including the central administrative staff was 16,563. According to M. A. Yaranov's view as expressed in his book "Bulgaria to-day and to-morrow" this was en excessive number, for according to him in 1912 when the milage was only 1948 klm. with 125 stations, the total number of functionaries was 4878, By 1927-8 the milage had increased to 2231 klm, normal, and 416 klm. narrow gauge with 225 stations, while the number of the staff had reached 16,164 and this tremendous increase in the personnel was obviously

497 not justified. By the year 1931-2 the number of stations had increased by 30%, plus another 195 small stations, or halting places and though the milage had also augmented, nevertheless the staff numbered 16,602, so that M. Yaranov's criticism seems to have been well-founded so far as the year 1927-8 is concerned, this may be said also of his remarks about the stopping places being too numerous and involving a tremendous waste of energy to the trains having to pull up and start at very brief intervals.

499 653 Owing to the lack of funds, special measures had to be devised in order to provide the requisite means for the construction of the new railway lines. Thus a special tax was imposed on the inhabitants of communes through which new railway lines were laid and municipalities had to expropriate land and provide labour at their own cost. The compulsory labour service was utilised, and it may be said that without the help of this institution little of what was done would have been accomplished.

An idea of the cost of the new lines and of the repartition of the expenses may be formed by studying the data relative to the Plovdiv-Panagurishte line of 70·880 klm. in length, which cost a total of 117,458,474 leva, or 1,640,010 leva per klm. Eventually it is proposed to join up this line with the projected trunk line Sofia-Pirdop-Kazanlik-Sliven-Burgaz, parts of which have already been built.

20,937,003	leva	Work furnished by temporary labour conscripts (defrayed by communes)
14,668,896	„	Work furnished by regular labour conscripts (defrayed by the State)
2,120,985	„	Land and building expropriated by the communes
1,543,525	„	Sum provided by the State budget
556,910	„	„ „ „ „ „ extra-ordinary budget.
39,123,615	„	Sum provided from the Railway special construction Fund (Amounting to 408 millions in 1932.
10,000,000	„	Sum provided from the Railway special Fund for embelishments and Station installations (Amounting to 221 millions in 1932)

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

496 [499] The technical skill of Bulgaria in railroad construction stands at a very high level. It does justice and honor to the country's efforts. The railroads are studied and built by Bulgarian railroad engineers and railroad building companies or by the State. As interesting examples of railroad construction, we might point the Trans-Balkan railroad (Fig. 28), as well as the outstanding interesting development of the Rhodope railroad, which runs from the Maritsa valley to the valley of Mesta and the Southern Bulgarian border (Fig. 29).

Unfortunately, Bulgarian railway lines stop short of the Aegean coast at a very close distance to it (Appendix II). The major line from Roussé on the Danube to south of Momchilgrad, which is 414 kilometers long, stopped 30 kilometers short of the Greek frontier and 30 kilometers from there to the Aegean Sea.

How do Bulgarian railways stand as compared to the railways in her neighbouring countries?

States	*Years*	*Railroads kilometers*	*Territory sq. km.*	*Railways per 1000. km. of territory km.*
Bulgaria	1937	3.105	103	34.—
Greece	1935/6	2.650	130	20.4
Yougoslavia	1935	9.471	248	38.2
Romania	1936	11.216	295	38.2

Romania had 4.357 kilometers of railways until 1918. Then she added the Austro-Hungarian railways to make them 11.678 kilometers. In this way, she increased the density of her railway network and acquired the advantage of a modern system of communications. Similarly, Yugosla.ia acquired the biggest part of her railroads as a result of the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Serbia had only 1.600 kilometers of railroads for a territory of 48.303 sq. km., or 43 km. of railroads per a 1000 sq. km. of territory until 1914. It is evident, therefore, that, compared to the other Balkan countries, Bulgaria has relied on her own efforts and has exerted herself most of all of them for the development of her railway communications.

the remotest corners of the land at a very cheap rate, ranging from 0.5 to 1.0 leva per kilowatt hour. This plan is being revised now and it is anticipated that the enlarged project would absorb an expenditure of 20 billion leva. The consumption of electric energy then would be distributed as follows: 377

For inhabited localities	28.3 %
For agriculture, including irrigation but without azotic fertilizers	13.—%
For transportation	8.9 %
For industries	45.4 %
and for other purposes	4.3 %
	100.—%

What has been said before about motor-car communications and roads may be supplemented by the following figures; for the 10 year period from 1932 to 1941 Bulgaria has built 4.568 km. of new roads, 15.736 km of levelling and new road bedding, 17.565 km. of new bridges and drainage works. This meant a total expenditure of 4,150,540,490 leva or about 550,000,000 leva per year. For the same period we have 615 km. of new railway lines at an expenditure of 1,620,000,000 leva. 653 499

We will not dwell on the question of dams and irrigation, but will only mention the completed big dam on the river Iskar in the Rila Mountain, with a capacity of 15.000.000 cubic meters of water which is 50 meters high and will note that Bulgaria has spent, during the most trying period of life (1939 — 1941). for: 312

drainage works	42.750.490.—	leva
stream corrections	22.521.837.—	leva
irrigation	9 469.815.—	leva or a
total of	74.742.142.—	leva.

This was not the end of Bulgaria's efforts. Bulgaria was anxious to take care of the countries which were provisionally under her administration during the last war. Here is some information taken from a controversy on the subject.

A Greek paper discussing the subject of homes and other buildings built by the Bulgarian authorities in the Aegean Coast Region, writes among other things the following: 653

„If we overlook the public bath at Xanthi built by them for the pleasure and enjoyment of their brothers the Germans,

497 not justified. By the year 1931-2 the number of stations had increased by 30%, plus another 195 small stations, or halting places and though the milage had also augmented, nevertheless the staff numbered 16,602, so that M. Yaranov's criticism seems to have been well-founded so far as the year 1927-8 is concerned, this may be said also of his remarks about the stopping places being too numerous and involving a tremendous waste of energy to the trains having to pull up and start at very brief intervals.

• 499 653 Owing to the lack of funds, special measures had to be devised in order to provide the requisite means for the construction of the new railway lines. Thus a special tax was imposed on the inhabitants of communes through which new railway lines were laid and municipalities had to expropriate land and provide labour at their own cost. The compulsory labour service was utilised, and it may be said that without the help of this institution little of what was done would have been accomplished.

An idea of the cost of the new lines and of the repartition of the expenses may be formed by studying the data relative to the Plovdiv-Panagurishte line of 70·880 klm. in length, which cost a total of 117,458,474 leva, or 1,640,010 leva per klm. Eventually it is proposed to join up this line with the projected trunk line Sofia-Pirdop-Kazanlik-Sliven-Burgaz, parts of which have already been built.

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556,910	„	„ „ „ „ „ extra-ordinary budget.
39,123,615	„	Sum provided from the Railway special construction Fund (Amounting to 408 millions in 1932.
10,000,000	„	Sum provided from the Railway special Fund for embelishments and Station installations (Amounting to 221 millions in 1932)

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20,820,000 leva value of materials furnished by the State Railways
7,687,550 „ Various

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The average cost seems to range between $1^1/_2$ and 2 million leva per klm. Thus the line Plovdiv-Karlovo, 77·530 klm. in length cost 152 millions or slightly under 2 million leva per klm., while the line Levski-Lovets cost only $1^1/_2$ millions per klm. It may be added that it took 12 years to complete the building of the line Plovdiv-Panagurishte and this tardiness is due to the fact that instead of concentrating all efforts on one or two lines, some 21 lines were being constructed simultaneously. This was anything but a sensible plan, in view of the utterly inadequate means at the disposal of the railway administration. In many instances earthworks which had been completed were washed away and had to be constructed anew before the ballast, sleepers and rails could be laid.

The general plan of construction of railways was set forth in a Bill passed by the Sobranye on May 9, 1925 and provided for the construction of the following lines:

Normal gauge

1. Rakovski—Haskovo—Mastanli
2. Radomir—Gorna-Djuma—Simitli
3. Yambol—Elhovo
4. Lovets—Levski
5. Dabovo—Sliven
6. Plovdiv—Karlovo (with branch to Hissar)
7. G. Orehovitsa—Elena
8. Sofia, circular
9. Kritsim—Pestera
10. Sofia—D. Kamartsi—Pirdop
11. Plovdiv—Panagurishte,

Narrow 76 cm. gauge

12. Tatar Pazardjik,—Ledjene—Nevrokop
13. Bela Slatina - Orehovo
14. Preslav—Verbitsa
15. Tserven Breg—Lukovit—Teteven
16. Burgaz—Anhiallo.

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On the completion of these lines, the bill provided for a further plan of construction which comprised the laying of lines between:

17. Simitli—Petrich
18. Rakovski—Mihailovo
19. Shumen—Smedovo—Karnobat
20. D. Kamartsi—Orhanie—Yablanitsa—Sevlievo—Tirnovo · Osman-Pazar—Eski Djuma
21. Orhanie—Mezdra
22. Levski—Trembesh
23. Kostenetz Bania—Samokov—Dubnitsa- Bobov Dol
24. Stanimaka -Tsepelare—Pashmakli
25. Popovo—Razgad—Kemanlar
26. Batanovtsi—Breznik—Tren
27. Boitsinovtsi—Glozene—Kozlodyi
28. Vidin—Kula
29. Pirdop—Karlovo—Kazanlik
30. Zimnitsa—Kotel
31. Somovit—Nikopol
32. Pleven—Lovets
33. Lovets—Trojan (eventually to be prolonged southwards to Karlovo
34. Kirdjali—Ortakey
35. Drenovets—Belogradchik · Stakevski
36. Dolen Tsiflik—Staro Orehovo
37. Zlaten Dol—Kavakli—Elhovo—Burgaz.

Narrow 76 cm. gauge

38. Anhialo Mesembria
39. Malko Tirnovo—Vasiliko
40. Razlog · Simitli.

Of the above programme, lines, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 13, 16, have been completed, while work on lines 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 19, 25, 29, 21, 33, and 36 has been started and is being continued but at a very slow pace. Owing to the extremely difficult position of the Exchequer only 17,050,000 leva were provided in the 1934 budget for railway construction, and it had been decided that work should be concentrated on the completion of the Radomir-Dupnitza-G. Djuma, Mihailovo-Rakovski, Sofia circular line,

and the 76 cm, narrow gauge railway Tatar-Pazardjik-Yakoruda-Nevrokop. The Mihailovo-Rakovski line is likely to prove of some importance for international traffic, as it is proposed to organise a service of through trains running from Poland by way of Rumania via Rustchuk-Tirnovo-St.-Zagora to Constantinople, which will necessarily borrow this connecting link, shortening, very perceptibly the distance St.-Zagora-Constantinople by avoiding the long loop round Plovdiv. 499 • 653

The technical committee of the railways has made certain alterations in the original construction plan of 1925 and these modifications have been set forth in a protocol dated January 1929. Thus line № 20 is to be deflected in its eastward part more to the south, avoiding Osman Pazar and Eski-Djuma, in order to pass through Zlataritsa — Elena — Titsa and join the line № 14 Verbitsa-Preslav, which will be constructed as a normal gauge line instead of as a 76 cm, narrow gauge line, as originally projected. It is surprising that this scheme has not been a little further modified so that Sevlievo might be joined to Gabrovo and the already existing railway line Gabrovo—Drenovo—Tirnovo utilised, instead of leaving Gabrovo as a terminus of a blind-alley railway line despite the industrial importance of this town. Another decision taken was that of modifying line 38, (Anhiallo — Messembria) to a normal gauge, though the construction of this particular line seems utterly purposeless, there being no traffic to justify such expenditure, besides the fact that both termini are ports and that communications between them are always available by boat or by road vehicles.

There are about 19 lines of an approximate legth of 790 klm. on which work has been started; they are estimated to cost about 1,450 millions, there being some 9.750 klm. of tunnels to be bored. But in order to complete the programme which has been set forth some 210

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klm more have to be constructed, necessitating a further outlay of 1684 millions, for in this section the length of tunnels is estimated at 20.900 klm. These 30.650 klm. of tunnels will require some 1150 millions for their completion. The money can not be provided out of local resources, and since the new lines which are now being constructed can only be exploited sectionally and therefore uneconomically, so long as the whole programme of construction is not completed it would be judicious to seek outside help instead of exploiting for a series of years various unconnected branch lines at a clear loss. With the existing competition of motor vehicles it seems now senseless to run trains on small branch lines of 30 or 40 klm in length; which will eventually be joined up to form a big trunk line. So long as they are worked in sections they cannot attract much traffic and are unable to cover expenses, while if they were to be joined up, they could be exploited more rationally and made to pay, besides contributing to the development of the region they traverse. As an instance, lines 10 and 29 may be cited. They are planned to link up and be joined to the existing branch line Kazanlik—Tulovo which has been connected with the newly constructed branch line № 5 (Dubovo—Sliven) already extended to Zimnitsa, a station on the railway line St. Zagora—Burgas On this proposed trunk line between Sofia and Burgas there are already three sections which are being axploited, namely the ones between Sofia and Makotsevo,[1] Kazanlik and Tulovo, and Dubovo and Sliven. Several complete trains are being daily run on them, apparently at a loss, for most often the passengers using them may be counted on one's fingers, For on such short distances trains are always at a disadvantage as compared with motor vehicles, which,

[1] The unfinished section Makotsevo—Kazanlik is estimated to cost about 800 million leva.

as everywhere else are proving formidable rivals to the railways. The line Kazanlik - Tulovo is hardly utilised by passengers proceeding or returning to and from Kazanlik—St. Zagora. They prefer to drive by motor car, the journey by road vehicle being more rapid and cheaper. Most of these short branch lines can serve no useful purpose and they will always be a financial burden to the railway system If so many short branch lines figure in the proposed programme of construction this should be attributed to the influences exerted by certain politicians, who always wish to gain popularity in a certain district by securing the construction of a railway line through it, without regard as to whether its construction will be profitable or not to the State. It would be by far more rational not to undertake the construction of such lines as Nos 9, 22, 26, 27,28, 30, 34, 35, 36, 38 and 39 and instead build good roads, it would be equally sensible too to suspend the running of complete trains on such short distances as Kazanlik—Tulovo, Sofia—Bankia, Lovets—Levski etc,, and replace them by light steam-driven units, or motor rail-cars which are practically omnibuses mounted on railway wheels[1]. It would thus be possible to have both a frequent and a speedy service, advantages now possessed by the road vehicles which are competing the railways most successfully on all short distance lines.

The railway system according to M. Ivan Dorossiev's "Financial Studies on the Bulgarian State railways," seems to suffer from another serious disability, that of being very carelessly constructed. In order to reduce the initial outlay, all technical work which could be dispensed with was avoided, with the result that there are too many gradients,

[1] Four such railcars have been ordered on a compensation basis, and ten more will be provided for in the 1935 budget. The railway administration considers that it needs at least thirty more.

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499 653 rendering the working of the line more costly than it need have been. According to the data furnished by this author, of the 2,205 km. existing in 1919, 26.30 % were level, 46 % with gradients varying between 1 and 10 per % and 27.6 % with gradients over 10 per %. The existence of so many steep gradients of more than 10 % in the net work is surprising, for even in Switzerland, the most mountainous country in Europe, the percentage of such gradients was only 20.4 % as compared with 27.6 % in Bulgaria, while in Rumania the percentage is only 7.2 %. The part of the network which has mainly contributed to increase this disadvantage is the section Tirnovo-St. Zagora which traverses the Balkans and which if it had been more carefully built could have proved of great value to the country since it could then have been utilised as an international trunk line, a function which in its present state it can not fulfil economically, as regards goods traffic, but can only compete for the carriage of passengers, and for the lighter and more valuable class of goods [1]

499 661 The history of this line is worth repeating as it illustrates to what extent politicians made light of their country's welfare and to what subterfuges and trickery they would have recourse to in order to further their own interests. The technical staff of the railway administration was utterly opposed to the construction of this trans-Balkan line in its present form. Their plan was to lay the line further east along the Haim Bogaz Pass, and this view was championed by the then Minister of Communications, M. Gatev, who was the only honest man in a cabinet composed of crooks, and presided over by an, arch-cynic Prime Minister, the late D. Petkov. The latter

[1] Deputy D. Neikov stated on June 28, 1928 in the Sobranye: „This line was constructed against the advice of the most competent technicians, it has gradients of 30%, and its upkeep and utilisation cause an excessive outlay to the railway administration".

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and some of his supporters, among whom Minister Ghenadiev and deputy St. Popov of Trevna, being interested in some coal mine concessions in the Trevna district, wished that the intended railway should be deflected from the projected course which the technical staff had recommended so as to traverse the region where the mines were located, thus enabling them to dispose very advantageously of their concessions. As the change in the original plan would have impaired the carrying capacity of the line, and would have increased considerably the cost of construction, M. Gatev resolutely opposed the idea, and refused to yield on the point. In order to overcome his obstruction, Petkov hit on the expedient of sending him on a mission abroad and temporarily took charge of the Ministry of Railways. No sooner had M. Gatev departed, than Petkov submitted a Bill for the construction of the railway, with the desired modification and had the Bill carried post-haste by his subservient supporters or „boys" as they were familiarly termed by him. M. Gatev, as was to be expected of him, resigned as soon as he became acquainted with the trick which had been played on him, but Petkov remained nonplussed by the public disavowal inflicted on him by his colleague. He was wont to meet such happenings with such cynical outbursts: „I am so full of blots that a fresh stain will not show".

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At any rate he was not the only Minister to line his pockets out of the railways. His immediate successors in 1909 seem to have done remarkably well out of them. Dr. Sakarov, who until lately was the manager of the Agricultural Bank, wrote in a booklet in which he criticised the doings of the Democratic party, that while one of their leaders declared in the Sobranye on December, 15, 1908, that the railway net exploited by the Oriental Railway Company in Southern Bulgaria was not worth more than 19,135,923 gold francs; this party which was

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499 661 again in power in 1909 paid as much as 42 millions for them, and that the person who supported this measure with the greatest warmth was Liaptchev. It would seem that his advocacy brought him a net gain o two millions, according to the testimony of M. Sakarov, who cites Minister Pechev's „Memoirs" in support. Obviously there was a margin of some 22 millions between the real value of the lines and what was paid tor them, and there must have been others who shared M. Liaptchev's good fortune. That the price paid was outrageously high is self-evident since in 1898 the company had agreed to cede the whole network for 24,850,863 gold francs, but the transaction fell through owing to the inability of the then Government to conclude a loan. This was not the only occasion on which the railways provided for the staging of shady affairs.

The Finance Minister in the Stoilov Cabinet (1894—1899) thought it would be a clever expedient to construct parallel lines to those exploited by the Oriental Railway Company, and thereby force it to sell out at a low price. Apparently this financial genius was not at all perturbed by the expenditure which the construction of the parallel lines would entail, for the scheme was to serve as a pretence to enrich his political friends. Judging from the discussions which followed in the Sobranye at the time, it would appear that several partisans of the Government had bought up land along the proposed lines and expected to make a very substantial profit by ceding it to the State. The proposal was carried through in spite of the protests of one of the Ministers, M. C. Velitchkov, who resigned. A legacy of this ill-considered policy is the line running north of the Maritsa, from Plovdiv to Tsirpan and Nova Zagora. Fortunately the section Plovdiv—Tatar Pazardjik was not built, but if this wild cat scheme was not proceeded with further, it is not their politicians the Bulgarian people have to thank but rather the foreign capitalists who would not

499 661 furnish the means wherewith it could be carried out. Which shows that all financiers will not play the part of Mephistopheles to the Bulgarian Faust by tempting him with endless loans, as has happened quite recently and as holders of League of Nations' Loans have learnt to their loss. This whimsical scheme caused the fall of the Stoilov Cabinet in 1899 and was mainly brought about by the intervention of Ferdinand who overtly accused his Finance Minister of realising seven million leva out of these dubious transactions. It must not be thought that Ferdinand was prompted in this act by a desire to safeguard from dilapidation the public purse. He must have certainly been coaxed on by the avidity of the Minister in question who probably wished to keep most of these seven millions for himself.

499 678 With regard to inter-Balkan communications, it may be said that all the palaver of the Balkan conferences has not led to any practical decision. The Bulgarian proposal for the construction of a bridge across the Danube at Rustchuk, to link up the Bulgarian and Rumanian railway system, has been repeatedly rejected by the Rumanians and it was only at the end of 1934 that they made a slight concession by acquiescing to the plying of a ferryboat between Rustchuk and Giurgiu. As navigation on the Danube is suspended during the winter and the level of the river varies very considerably when in spate, the utilisation of the ferry boat will only be possible for a few months in the year, and the advantages to be derived proportionately restricted. The Greeks too have not responded to the Bulgarian suggestion of linking up their railways through the valley of the Struma, though the Bulgarians are pushing on with the construction of a broad gauge railway which will shortly reach Gorna Djuma. The extension of this line to the Greek frontier is estimated as likely to cost 328.7 million leva. It is only the Yugoslav Government

499 648 which has shown more consideraton to Bulgarian requirements and has agreed to join up its railways at two other points besides Tsaribrod, namely at Vidin and at Giushevo, the present terminus of the Sofia-Kustendil line which will be prolonged to Kumanovo. When the construction of this line will be achieved, the present railway journey Sofia — Salonica will be shortened by a third of its present duration by the avoidance of the long way round through Nisch.

Roads

491 652 The total length of semi-permanent or macadamised roads in Bulgaria in 1934, was of 17071 klm. and there were another 7,125 klm. in construction. Of the existing milage, 8,397 klm. were reported to be in good condition, 4,991 klm. in medium condition, and 4,103 as in a bad condition. The new Government planned to construct another 4000 klm. of roads and contemplates spending a sum of two milliard leva on this project, completing every year some 400 klm. of new roads. It has created new taxes in order to provide the necessary funds, among which is a special road tax of 140 leva a year to be levied on all males between the ages of 20 and 55. Owners of motor cars will also contribute to the maintenance of the roads by paying increased sums for their driving licences, It is expected that some 300 million leva will be raised annually by these special taxes, $^{2}/_{3}$ of which are proposed to be spent on the building of the new roads and $^{1}/_{3}$ for the upkeep of those already existing.

499 It is proposed to construct at once an arterial road of 300 klm. between Sofia and Orhanie, trying different systems and materials in order to find out which is the most suitable for local conditions. It is aimed to have the new roads laid out properly, in order that they may not need repairing for the first ten years. The compulsory

labour service will be utilised in the building of the new roads all of which will be 9, 8, or 7 m. wide, according to their importance, and with trees planted along their entire course. 499

The road milage was reported to be 17,238 klm. by deputy I, Vultchev in the Sobranye on June 7, 1932, and he added that it would be necessary to construct some 70,000 klm. of roads in order to connect all villages with one another. The average expenditure for the upkeep of roads was about eighty million leva a year and this was inadequate. He estimated the cost of construction at one million leva per kilometre in mountainous country and at 600,000 in level country. This does not seem to be an excessive estimate since M. At. Yaranov in his book "Bulgaria to-day and to-morrow", assesses the cost per kilometre of a good road fit for motor traffic at 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 leva and that of an ordinary one at 1.000,000 leva per kilometre which is about as much as the cost of a railway line in Bulgaria. It would appear from the figures cited that the Government contemplates halving the cost of the roads it proposes to construct by utilising largely the compulary labour service.

296 formation as to wash days: "We wash twice a week: on Monday and Wednesday, or on Wednesday and Saturday."

351 Many of the yards still had the threshing floor, reminiscent of Old Testament days. This could be located by a forlorn post which seemed to be serving no useful purpose. In the fall great quantities of drying wool hung from the clotheslines; and a little later the family piled in the yard the winter supply of wood from the forest.

342 The eaves of the house, deep as they were, sheltered such things as strings of drying peppers and ears of corn; milk utensils hung beneath them practically the year round; even the scythes and wooden hayforks found frequent lodging there. Storks nested in the trees and chimneys. With the coming of the warmer weather the sheep left their folds in the yards for the pastures, and the shepherd took with him his wattled shelter, which he moved on sleds across the grassy meadows.

[789] In many yards a heavy, large-wheeled wagon stood near the
351 primitive sheds for the animals and the ever-present strawstack. If the peasants were unusually superstitious, there would be dabs of blue paint on the wagon to keep the Evil Eye away. When the weather
231 was nice there were usually children at play in the yard. Upon seeing
609 a visitor they added their lusty shouts to the ominous barking of the dogs. They chased the dogs away from the gate by throwing sticks and stones at them, and at the same time warned the visitor to be on the alert. Far too often the dogs sneaked up behind to nip an ankle of the unsuspecting visitor.

247 The yards had few flowers, because chickens of a nondescript
351 variety pecked freely throughout the premises. One or two scraggly trees, from which the children shook most of the fruit before it had
735 time to ripen, stood in a corner wistfully seeking to give a touch of
511 beauty to the scene. In the spring the blossoms of such trees made the village bright, but when the fruit and leaves were gone the bare, black skeletons of the trees fitted in only too well with the poverty and sternness of village life. Poor land, inefficiently tilled, contributed to this poverty. Although the peasants worked hard in their fields, they had little cash on hand after selling their crops and paying their debts. Home improvements were postponed from year to year, but the hard work kept on just the same.

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An intelligent woman once summed up for me the peasant's attitude toward labor and money in this terse fashion:

"Most people work because they want money. Everyone looks for money."

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Although the peasant considered money of greater importance than formerly because he was becoming more and more a part of a money economy, he really handled very little in the course of a year. The annual income for a family of four or five was less than two hundred dollars, an amount that came into the family coffer in driblets and was paid out as slowly as possible. After the autumn market or the sale of a cow, the peasant was flush with money, but when he had bought the necessities which he could not produce for himself (kerosene, shoes and other articles of clothing, rice, salt, and some hardware) he was little better off financially. If a member of the family worked outside the home, his wages were a considerable help, especially when some of the many taxes were due.

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I asked nine young men, picked at random, about the money they earned. Their monthly income varied from the meager equivalent of $6 a month earned by a twenty-five-year-old servant and an eighteen-year-old shepherd to $66 earned by a twenty-year-old milkman. There was only one who kept more than half of his earnings for himself. He explained apologetically that the reason he did not turn these over to his father was that he had to pay board and rent in Sofia, where he worked.

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Very few Dragalevtsy people accumulated savings in the bank. They preferred, like people all over Bulgaria, to invest money in real estate. The city people did it because of the security of investment, whereas the peasants, especially in Dragalevtsy, were more interested in possessing land for its own sake.

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The great majority of the peasants were in debt, though many debtors were also creditors. Those specializing in field crops preferred long-term loans, usually for fifteen or twenty years, with land as security, while sheep owners usually sought short-term loans of three or four months. One village merchant, to whom many peasants came for advice, estimated that 70 per cent of the loans were taken from banks and 30 per cent from individuals. The government had done much in the past through periodic moratoria to reduce the amount of indebtedness. [652]

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Visitors suddenly confronted with the familistic way of life for the first time are often shocked at the low level of living which they observe: animals sharing the same dwelling; monotonous diet and low health standards; waste of time and energy with inefficient tools and methods. Before the peasant is condemned as unambitious, indolent, or stupid, there are a few things the outsider must bear in mind. In agricultural villages throughout the world the land base has been shrinking while the population has been expanding. This has meant decreased economic opportunity. Farms which were once adequate are now divided up strip by strip and handed over to many descendants, with the results that the term "eking out a living" has come to have real meaning for the peasant. The outsider often forgets that the rise in the level of living in the cities through the techniques of mass production and mass distribution has been relatively recent and phenomenally rapid. The villager is not really so far behind the times if one compares his life with that of many cities a few decades ago, or with the blighted areas of these same cities today. But one cannot deny that quite a few peasants seem to take pride in resisting social change; they are slow to experiment with new methods, and they assume that what was good enough for their fathers is good enough for them. This resistance is based, to a great degree, upon the realization that accepting too much from outside will seriously affect the social organization of their community. Urban society is not nearly so close-knit and can allow for contradictions and inconsistencies on a much broader scale than can the village, where life is still intimate and face-to-face. Dragalevtsy people, for example, in 1937 were conscious of the far-reaching changes brought about by the abandonment of sheep raising in favor of dairying. Sometime ago, a number of the peasants actively resisted this economic trend. In the opinion of many, these conservatives were stupid; at the same time they were bright enough to figure out that changes would result in the economy to which they were accustomed. Because they were accustomed to it, they wanted to preserve it.

In a familistic society religion has usually become rigidly institutionalized and is closely allied with the family. All family events call for the blessing of the religious intermediary; there are usually household shrines; there is considerable emphasis upon observing the

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648 "We would have starved," he said, "if America had not sent that ship of food to Varna on the Black Sea." Truly such an accomplishment by one ship would necessitate a cargo legendary in size, but nevertheless symbolized to Bai Milush and others of his generation the humanitarian America, the land of plenty, opportunity, and democracy. And then he told me of the work that Dominic Murphy, an American State Department representative in Bulgaria, had done in the wake of the last war to meet the relief needs of the people. And even Bai Milush knew that a street in Sofia bore Murphy's name transliterated into the Cyrillic alphabet.

000 Bai Milush's wife, his helpmate through the years, had survived the war too. She proffered food and drink and seemed relieved when I suggested that instead of eating then I would like to take a little of the cheese away with me to use in rounding out my meager hotel breakfasts in Sofia. Later, when I was photographing her outside, I realized that she was unsteady on her feet because she had taken too much *rakiya* as a medicine for a racking cough. *Rakiya* remained the cure-all for every ailment as well as the solace to every sorrow.

178 362 511 Wherever I turned, whether to look at the new houses Bai Milush had erected, or to talk with the peasants about the past few years, I was impressed by the prosperity that the war had brought. Since I had last seen Dragalevtsy, almost one hundred new houses had made their appearance, constituting a decided boom for a village which had boasted only three hundred earlier. Some of these houses had been built as villas by people from Sofia because the city law prohibited any new construction there. The various bombardments had caused so much destruction in the city that nothing but repairs were allowed. Nevertheless, the peasants of Dragalevtsy themselves were replacing old homes with new ones simply because they could afford it now.

178 465 511 I had already learned that during the war the peasants had been the favored element of the Bulgarian population; they had been paid good prices as incentives to increased production; earlier in the war they could use that money to buy articles which they had always wanted but had not been able to afford. For example, the number of radios in the village rose from three or four in 1937 to more than a hundred in 1944.

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565 105 work outdoors with the men means an abundant labor supply but also requires close co-operation, planning, and division of labor.[10]

511 105 Peasant economy is based on a self-subsistence principle in which a satisfactory balance between plant and animal life is maintained.[11] Since cash income is low the plane of living is low.[12] That is, the peasant cannot buy from the outside world much in the way of clothing, machinery, conveniences, or recreation. On the other hand, he does eat well according to his own standards. Furthermore, he maintains his self-respect. There is security in land which nothing else affords unless it be a family large enough to work the land one owns. No matter how much one discounts that sort of economy, history has shown it to be the most enduring man has yet devised.

The picture is different in the South.[13] Although our farms average 71 acres they are operated by tenants in 54 per cent of the cases,[14] usually on a cash crop basis.[15] Only in the Appalachian-Ozark area, which by the way is most like the Bulgarian, do we find subsistence-farming as the prevailing principle.[16] There, however, it is blighted by isolation and lacks the co-operative features found in most agricultural villages: a swineherd caring during the day for all pigs in the village, communal pastures, or neighborhood cornhoeing groups. To be sure, there is mutual aid and co-operation in the highlands but these tend to be confined to periods of crisis rather than to the performance of ordinary daily tasks.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 14: "In fact, excessive ruralism has caused an unusual amount of labor to fall to the lot of women in this region of chivalry [the South]."

[11] Oxen, water-buffalo and horses, in the order of importance, are the work animals in Bulgaria. The government is trying to persuade peasants to replace oxen with dual-purpose cows as an economy move.

[12] Ian C. Mollov and H. K. Kondov, *Dohodnostuta Na 57 Zemedelski Stopanstva Vv Bulgaria* (1932-33). (The Incomes of 57 Bulgarian Farms for 1932-33.) This study gives some indication of the level of living possible.

[13] Standards of living are low in the South. See C. C. Taylor, H. W. Wheeler, E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture*, Washington, 1938. Good bibliographies on pp. 8 and 9; description of the Old South, pp. 115-119.

[14] *Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, 1937*, p. 35. Figures cited here are for sixteen South Atlantic and South Central States and the District of Columbia. The percentage would be even higher for Southeastern States alone.

[15] Odum, *op. cit.*, p. 391. On pages 489-491 Odum quotes Rupert B. Vance: "Until recently in this country no critical theory of tenancy has been developed which takes into consideration the fact that while the United States is drifting into tenancy, certain European countries with semi-feudal backgrounds, notably Denmark, Ireland, and France, have made the transitions to peasant proprietorship."

[16] Couch, *op. cit.*, p. 25. "This section [Appalachian-Ozark] is responsible for the fact that the South has a larger number of practically self-sufficing farms than any other important section in the United States." C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson, *Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties*, Washington, 1938.

241 is practically no prospect of their ever being met. The
651 following figures are self-explanatory:
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Cases	Area of farmsteads	Arrears of taxes 1925—6 to 1932—3	Tax for 1933—4	Fines	Total mount of taxes owing
		(forx each category of farmsteads)			
144	up to 1 hectare	79,943 leva	12,016 leva	10,200 leva	102,150 leva
79	1 to 2 „	97,282 „	20,368 „	20,661 „	138,311 „
75	2 to 3 „	132,317 „	31,883 „	29,498 „	193,698 „
83	3 to 5 „	236,560 „	53,260 „	54,575 „	334,495 „
65	5 to 10 „	229,741 „	75,310 „	49,575 „	354,626 „
33	10 to 20 „	132,250 „	73,650 „	55,799 „	261,699 „
8	over 20 „	241,675 „	32,683 „	126,358 „	400,716 „

The amount of individual indebtedness has also been inquired into, and this has been computed as follows.

Farmsteads of	To Agricultural bank	To Co-operative bank	To the State (taxes mainly arrears)	To Municipality	To Private persons	Total
up to 2 hectares	7,360[1]	1,710	970	170	12,050	22,260
of 2 to 5 „	3,820	600	530	60	4,410	9,420
„ 5 to 10 „	2,930	580	360	50	2,370	6,290
„ 10 to 15 „	2,950	440	220	—	1,600	5,210
„ over 15 „	2,800	290	400	40	1,190	4,720

From the above data it will be evident that the smaller farmers are hopelessly insolvent since the actual value of arable land is between 5,000 to 8,000 leva per hectare.

241 With regard to the production of cereals Prof. Tso-
●511 lakov calculates that the average deficit of farmsteads

[1] According to a statement made in the Sobranye on Feb. 26 1932, peasant indebtedness to the Agricultural Bank amounted to 4,096,043,000 leva at the end of 1931. Farmsteads of 10 hectares owed it 3360 per hectare, and those of 10 hectares and over, 2170 leva per hectare. The total value of the 4,469,987 hectares under cultivation was estimated in 1927 at 83,933,620,000 leva, rural buildings at 34,845 millions, the live stock at 19,927,205,000 leva and agricultural inventory at 4,760,149,000 leva. By 1932 values had fallen by 60%, so that the value of farm property was estimated at only 50,000 millions and the debts of the farmers then amounted at only 12,000 millions. The total revenue from agriculture, had dwindled from 23,347 millions in 1929 to under 13,000 millions in 1930, as the Minister of Agriculture affirmed in the Sobranye on March 6. 1932.

having an area of up to 2 hectares, is 2,510 kg., that of 2 to 5 hectares 1,570 kg., and that of 5 to 10 hectares 149 kg., and he estimates that at the present state of development of agriculture, farmsteads of less than 2 hectares in area can hardly absorb the labour of two persons, those of 2 to 5 hectares of 3 persons, those of 5 to 9 hectares of 4 persons, those of 10 to 30 hectares of 5 persons, and those of over 30 hectares, of 6 persons and over. Consequently there are 1,214,766 persons too many on the land, and it is indispensable to transform agricultural methods to absorb profitably their labour. This could be done by developing orchard and vegetable growing, dairy farming, cattle raising, as well as by the cultivation of industrial and oleaginous plants. Prof. Tsolakov's figures are in no way biassed; deputy Dr. Assen Tsanov, affirmed in the Sobranye on May 18 1933, that farmsteads having an area of 5 hectares and under, could not support their owners, that there was a shortage of land, and that this forced the rural population to migrate to the towns where likewise no work could be found for it. In another speech, on March 8 1932, he explained that farmers owning 2 to 6 hectares could barely eke out a living and that they were utterly unable to pay their debts. Farmers and the Agrarian party have been most vociferous in stressing the necessity of bringing down the level of prices of industrial articles to that of the agricultural, for with the fall in price of the latter, the rural population had been precluded from buying even the most indispensable articles for lack of means. A most informative article in the guise of an open letter addressed by a farmer in south-west Bulgaria to the editor of the *Vetser* was published by the latter newspaper on Oct. I, 1933. The farmer after complaining that peasants had to exchange 2 kg. of grain for a box of matches, 4 kg. of grain for a kg. of salt, 40 kg. of grain for a pair of primitive boots, and that after satisfying

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their most essential needs there remained nothing over for the payment of taxes and interest on debts, he proceeded to give a detailed list of the expenditure and revenue of his farm, which had an area of 10 hectares and which he had bought for 200,000 leva in 1927. He had further acquired 2 oxen for 10,000 leva, 1 cow for 6,000 leva, 20 sheep for 10,000 leva, implements for 50,000 leva and had erected a cottage for 5000 leva, bringing up the total amount invested on the farm to 241,000 leva.

Revenue: 4 hectares sown to wheat=600 kg wheat at 1.50 leva		=9000 leva
1/2 " " " barley=500 " barley at 1 "		= 600 "
[1] 20 sheep, 600 litres milk at 3 "		=1800 "
1 cow 600 " " at 2 "		=1200 "
1/10 hectare planted with potatoes=300 kg at 1 "		= 300 "
1/10 " " " vegetables		= 300 "
3/10 " sown " sunflower & beet		=1800 "
1 " " hay		=1500 "
(4 hectares lying fallow)		
Net revenue		16,800 "
Expenditure. Food for family of 5, 1825 kg of grain at 1.50 leva		=2738 leva
Corn seed for 4 hectares 1000 kg. " " "		=1500 "
Threshing 6000 kg wheat		= 900 "
" 6000 " barley		= 60 "
Milling wheat for food		= 436 "
Clothing & boots		= 800 "
Light		= 400 "
Salt, sugar rice & wine		= 500 "
Soap, brushes etc.		= 200 "
Repairs to buildings & instruments		=1200 "
Medical assistance		= 200 "
School fees & extras		= 500 "
Fodder for oxen and cow, 1080 kg. of grain at 1.50 leva		=1620 "
" " 20 sheep 3240 kg. of hay at 1 leva		=3240 "
Insurance against hail		= 720 "
Total disbursements		=17,514 "

[1] The wool from the sheep was not accounted for as it probably served for making homespun cloth for the farmer and his family. It would have amounted to 46 kg at 40 leva =1840 leva The quantity would hardly suffice a household of five.

AGRICULTURE

Thus even a farmstead of 10 hectares, according to the above figures showed a deficiency, though it was exploited by its owner and family without any hired labour. And it must be noted that in the above figures no allowance is made either for payment of taxes, debts depreciation or remuneration for labour, and that further, the yield per hectare of wheat is calculated at well over the mean figure attained, this being 1157 kg. per hectare and not 1500 kg. as on this particular farm. No wonder that the land tax fell in arrears, and only yielded a fraction of the 350 million of revenue, which was the annual forecast in the budget. Thus in 1926—7 the yield from it was 187,755,000 leva, in 1927—8, 150 millions, in 1928—9, 32 millions, in 1930—1, 83 millions, until it was finally suppressed in 1932.

The inability of the smaller farmers to provide for their own maintenance was concretely affirmed by Prof. Dolinski, in one of his works published in 1931, when he also asserted that 38·40% of the farmers were only slightly affected by the drop in the prices of cereals. The following figures were given in support, as well as a table showing the distribution of the arable land among farmsteads cultivating cereals. The average monthly consumption of cereals was stated to be 20 kg. per person in the urban districts, and 30 kg. in rural areas. The average farmstead had 5·351 members, and its annual requirements in cereals was 2015·165 kg. The production of cereals per hectare during the quinquennial period 1925—9, averaged 1009 kg. If 153 kg. for seed per hectare were deducted, this left 856 kd., a quantity which was raised from 2.354 hectares. Therefore farmsteads of $2^1/_2$ to 3 hectares, produced just enough grain for their owners, and had no surplus wherewith to pay taxes and renovate their implements.

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

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Categories aud numbers of farmsteads		Area owned Hectares	Area devoted solely to cereals. Hectares	Percentage
Self-sufficing in cereals	41,297	1,125,443·7	818,798 9	3·64
Buying cereals	236,047	3,050,087·6	2,259,841·1	9·76
Having a surplus of cereals	439,235	28,845,318·9	20,064,752·3	86.70

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What has so far been advanced is, it is to be hoped, enough to show that on one hand the lesser farmsteads are scarcely self-supporting and that on the other hand the larger farms, owing to the fall in the price of cereals, are unable to meet their liabilities. If 80% of the population is therefore in such a state of indigence and unable to pay any taxes, one can easily surmise in what poverty the whole nation must be struggling since its entire economic structure is based on agriculture, which has ever been its mainstay. This most regrettable state of affairs is largely due to those who drafted the Peace Treaties. Obviously, it was nothing short of a crime to deprive Bulgaria of such land as was indispensable for her population, and which had been in her possession, or was mainly inhabited by a Bulgarian population, and transfer it to her neighbours, all of whom had received vast increases in territory, and were in no need of further land. This wilful pauperisation of a people which was not only despoiled of its most fertile provinces, but obliged to house and feed some 400,000 destitute refugees, driven away from the territories so thoughtlessly transferred to the neighbouring States, is undoubtedly one of the causes which led the American people to wash its hands off European affairs in disgust, and this may be easily understood, for the American delegation at the Peace Conference in its desire to secure a just and enduring settlement, most sturdily upheld the cause of Bulgaria. Nor can the politicians responsible for these obtuse arrangements of the Peace Treaties plead in extenuation that they were actuated in their drafting by the biblical

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The
[875] number of women teachers is larger than that of men teachers. There is one school to every 738 inhabitants
871 and this number is altogether inadequate To remedy this shortage of buildings, half of the pupils attend school in the morning from 8 to 12 a. m. and the other half in the afternoon, from 2 to 6 p. m. It was reported in the Sobranye on April 1, 1924, that only 39% of the school-buildings were fit to serve as such, and that some 220,000 children had to study in stuffy classrooms in which there was not sufficient air. Such adverse conditions naturally accounted for the abnormal spread of tuberculosis among school children. Deputy M. Stanev speaking in the Sobranye on June 11, 1932 stated that according to the inquiry
[1647] conducted by Dr. Rumenov, 60% of the children attending the first elementary class, were healthy and 40% tuberculous, but in the third elementary class, the percentage of the latter had increased to 62%, and in that of the first preparatory class to 73%. In the Stara-Zagora region, it was reported by the school authorities that 48% of all the children were tuberculous.

875 One of the probable reasons for the spread of tuberculosis were the teachers who were wretchedly under-
511 paid and were not able to keep fit on their paltry stipends. Half of the public teachers received a salary of about 1700 leva monthly, but this was not all, for a large percentage of them were obliged to pay commissions to various political intercessors in order to obtain their posts, and had to refund to their protectors part of their slender emoluments. The minimum cost of living for a family of four members, each requiring 3000 calories a day was according to a scientific analysis made in Dr. Djidrov's *Stopanski Arhive*, 2563 leva per month for food only, light and heat necessitated an expenditure of 587, shoes and clothing 1320, rent 1500, and other needs 1130. or a total per month of 7100 leva. The emoluments offered

by the State to the teachers were therefore utterly inadequate, even for those not having family charges, especially in view of the fact that the teaching profession necessitated the most strenuous exertions. There is little doubt that if these deserving public servants were remunerated decently, and if they felt secure in their posts and not threatened with losing them every time there was a change of Government, as had been the case under the party system until recently in force, no only they would have been better adapted to carry on their difficult task, but they would have less reasons to become advocates of communism. 875 511

At the summit of the educational system are eleven higher training establishments, The State University, the Free University of Political and Economic Sciences, the Institute of Higher Commercial Studies of Varna, the Fine Arts school, the Musical Academy, the Military School, the Co-operative School, the Agricultural Schools of Pleven and Tatar-Pazardjik, and the State Teachers schools at Shumen and Plovdiv. 874

The students attending the University during the year 1931-4 and the number of the teaching staff were distributed as follows according to the studies followed:

	Teachers	Students	Number of students who graduated during 1932-3
Medicine	95	674	43
Letters	50	2219	134
Sciences	60	658	88
Law	30	2081	192
Agriculture	45	473	89
Theology	14	234	16
Veterinary Science	21	333	27

The number of women students was 1908 and is included in the figures given above, while the number of women graduates in the year 1932-3 was 160 out of a total of 599. The budget of the University amounted to

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CHAPTER I

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR VILLAGE

000 WINTER had begun. The first snow of the year had fallen. It covered the muddy streets of the village, softening the nakedness of the fruit trees which stood lonely in the bare yards. The wind from Mount Vitosha came whistling down the empty lanes, sending both man and beast to seek protection and warmth. The animals huddled in their thatched folds and shelters; the women and children crowded on the little stools near the fireplace at home. The fall sowing of wheat was in. The fields, wind-swept and snow-laden, were deserted, seemingly forgotten by the men and women who had spent so much time with them during the past months.

512 231 One ordinary day followed another. Every morning the water buffalo had to be groomed until they shone; the oxen had to be cleaned after the night in the dirty stall; these, as well as the sheep, had to be fed. Usually the animals received their meager rations before ten [291] o'clock. Shortly thereafter the men, wearing their dirty-gray sheepskin coats, their brimless lambskin hats, and their pigskin sandals, congregated at the taverns to relieve the monotony of their daily routine. At noon they plodded home to a lunch of beans, looked after the cattle once more, and gave commands to their womenfolk. The rest of the day was spent at the taverns in drinking and talking, interspersed with long, easy silences. After the evening meal, the cattle were fed again. Then the men dropped off to sleep along with the rest of the household.

181 829 The winds and enforced idleness of winter were not alone responsible for the apparent sluggishness on every hand. Slow motion was characteristic of Dragalevtsy life in general, but especially of the bodily movements of the people. *Ima vreme* (there's ~~plenty~~ of time) was either a practical philosophical tenet which explained their lack of hurry or else it was an expression frequently used to rationalize their casual manner. I never saw a peasant with a watch.

Maintaining personal cleanliness was
very difficult indeed. Not only did the villagers have to contend with 515
the problem of carrying water but also with the lack of privacy in their crowded dwellings. One peasant said:

"We have no public bathhouse in our village, so only the wealthier people can take baths, because they are able to go to the nearby villages two or three times during the summer and make use of the mineral baths. In general, we do not bathe in fall, winter, or spring. If we bathe in the summer at home, we use a wooden tub and warm water. Sometimes when the weather is warm, men and women [of course, separately] bathe in the river. When the women are bathing there must be someone to guard against their being seen by others. Regularly at least once a week we wash our heads with soap and hot water, and also wash our faces and hands in the morning, but not necessarily with soap. No, we do not wash our hands before every meal, nor do we ever wash our teeth."

Throughout Bulgaria it was a common courtesy to say to a friend who had just emerged from a bath, *"Chestito banya"* or "Congratulations on your bath." However, if one dreamed of bathing, the villager [787]
would tell him that some trouble, perhaps death, was imminent.

I was surprised to find that some of the poorest homes had electricity. The occupants explained: 373

"Oh, we find electricity cheaper than petroleum lamps provided we use small electric bulbs. Those who do not have electricity in their homes know of this advantage but have never saved up enough money to put in the wires."

And there they sat on a winter's night: the older women doing 512
fine, closely stitched embroidery, the girls knitting, and the man per- 373
haps reading a newspaper. The only illumination in the whole room, except for the flicker of the fire in the sheet metal stove, was a fly-specked twenty-watt bulb swinging from the ceiling.

The two or three large kettles hanging over or resting on the 415
floor beside the stove, the knife and fork rack on the wall, and the 262
few pottery dishes stacked on the kneading trough called my attention to the peasant's food habits. This was the way the people described their diet:

CHAPTER III

LAND, LABOR, AND MONEY

[241] 512 461

A PEASANT'S life in spring and summer centered around the narrow strips of earth which surrounded the village. If the scene of labor was distant from the village, the tired workers who had been at their tasks since sunup often spent the night in the field rather than trudge the long way back home. In the middle of the morning, at noon, and again in midafternoon, the toilers stopped long enough for food, sometimes only bread and salt, and a little sleep. The burning noonday sun sifted through the leaves of the solitary tree beneath which the people sprawled. Fragile rays danced upon tired faces, old-fashioned costumes, a hand raised to brush away a fly, and oxen chewing lazily. Like animals the peasants worked, like animals they slept; but when harvest time brought an end to their toil they experienced the joyous satisfaction of work well done.

241 [134]

The average farm was about eighteen acres in size and was composed of sixteen separate and widely scattered strips. (See Table 10, Appendix I.) This land sold for a comparatively high figure because of its nearness to Sofia, but not because of any superior quality. In fact, most of the soil was sandy and gravelly, with a mixture of heavy clay.

[423] 231 241 [407]

In addition to a house in the village and his land, the peasant also owned a few animals and agricultural implements. The work animals numbered fewer than two for an eighteen-acre holding, and the plow was the only large implement found on every farm. More than any other joint operation, plowing had the flavor of an antique ritual. At dawn a slow procession moved from the village. The distant Balkan range loomed vaguely blue far across the Sofia plain, and the golden dome of Alexander Nevsky Cathedral in Sofia shone in the thin, clear light of morning. Behind the village, the slopes of

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

TABLE 12

FREQUENCY OF TRIPS TO SOFIA, MALE AND FEMALE FAMILY HEADS, DRAGALEVTSY, 1934 CENSUS*

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FREQUENCY	NUMBER		PER CENT	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Daily:	37	1	13.9	0.4
Weekly:				
4 times	7	1	2.6	0.4
3 times	9	2	3.4	0.7
2 times	17	4	6.4	1.5
1 time	113	99	42.5	37.5
Monthly:				
3 times	8	9	3.0	3.4
2 times	14	26	5.3	9.9
1 time	35	58	13.2	22.0
Yearly:				
4 times	7	16	2.6	6.1
3 times	1	3	0.4	1.1
2 times	3	2	1.1	0.7
1 time	0	4	0.0	1.5
No times	15	39	5.6	14.8
Total	266	264	100.0	100.0

*Unreported: 3 male, 3 female.

The above table, based on the trips of the family heads, reveals the frequency of trips to Sofia: 484

369

The table* shows that thirty-three male heads go to Sofia oftener than once a week. The great exodus comes on Friday, the market day. The peasants' childlike anticipation of market-day is best symbolized by the wagons which stand already loaded in front of the gates on Thursday evening. All that is necessary in the dim light on Friday morning is the yoking of the sleepy oxen, before the families start on their way to Sofia. I went with the villagers on these expeditions and saw their "ports of call," each visited via back streets and not by any handsome boulevards. 512

* At the time of the government census in December, 1934, I received permission to add to the regular census blanks a questionnaire of my own dealing chiefly with social contacts. Every family head was required to appear before one of the local clerks and answer all questions on the blanks, the writing being done by the clerk. Many of my statistics in this article are based on these questionnaires which, in the person of family heads, represented 97 per cent of the population. 125

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

484
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443
512

Cattle market: The cattle market and the sheep market, located not far away, lie on the other side of Sofia from Dragalevtsy, back of the railroad station toward the municipal cemetery. It is there a peasant goes if he wishes to dispose of, or purchase, an animal. At this market a nice young bull costs $25-$30, a fresh buffalo cow, $50-$60; ordinary milch cows, $35-$45; horses, $12-$60; donkeys, $12-$18. In the sheep market a pair of sheep sell for $3.60. The cattle market is a colorful place. There is much excitement in the horse section where gypsies ride their not-so-fiery steeds up and down to show how sound they are. But the peasant does little visiting with others in the market; he is not the kind to strike up an acquaintance with just anyone. He does deal with the nimble-witted cattle-buyers whose crafty ways stand for city ways in the peasant's undiscerning judgment. In other words, the peasant's contact with "the outside world" in the cattle market helps build up a psychological barrier against the city since the peasant seldom leaves feeling that he has made a good bargain, unless he has concluded a trade with another peasant more rustic than himself.

The mill: A second place the peasant is likely to visit is the mill, not far away from the general curb market. In spite of the fact that there are many mills in Sofia the people of Dragalevtsy have chosen this as their favorite one, with another ranking as second choice. If they are tired out after their trip to the mill, the villagers lie down on sacks of grain until their turns come; if not sleepy, the peasants form talkative groups near their unyoked animals in the mill courtyard. But here again we find peasant talking with peasant, much of the conversation condemning the modern times, some government policy, or the sad effects of the World War. A talk with a conservative peasant from another village merely heightens the conservatism in the Dragalevtsy peasant.

[462]

Curb market: After finishing at the mill the peasant will perhaps go to the General Curb Market where his wife, squatted on the sidewalk, has been crying her wares for hours in the hope of selling a few bunches of vegetables or several "pairs" of eggs. She has seen many enticing objects in the vendors' pushcarts, observed the styles* worn by city housewives accompanied by peasant servant girls, the strut of the military, the bizarre appearance of a foreign tourist in knickers taking pictures of the scene. She must also have talked to other peasant women who, like herself, return to a favorite spot week after week. But the question arises: Do all the men usually take their wives along? Is it usually a family affair, this trip to market? The answer is that between fifty and sixty per cent of the female heads go to Sofia on a typical market day; fifteen per cent never go at all.

[369]

*The chief tailor in Dragalevtsy says that styles in dress reach the peasants from other villages. The women, for instance, imitate what a peasant from another village wears, but not what a city woman wears.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Flower bazaar and tavern: It is around the fourth destination on Fridays that fondest memories cling, because this is the spot near the Sofia flower bazaar where young people from surrounding villages go upon completing their morning duties in town. It is here that romance blossoms and young men from one village are introduced to girls from another. While the younger people are amusing themselves here the older people, especially the men, gather at the tavern called *Dulgata Mehana*, the particular establishment to which Dragalevtsy peasants are loyal.[7] They lunch and drink here, they rest here, and here they swap their stories. Nor is it without pride that they tell how Fiodor Chaliapin, the celebrated opera singer, in 1934 spent a very merry evening in this *Dulgata Mehana*, enjoying its drink and atmosphere. Seldom, however, does the peasant get to converse with the Sofia citizenry in this tavern. Here again he is in a peasant world; if he were not, he would feel decidedly uncomfortable. Should he decide to see a movie, in the afternoon he would go to a cheap theater on a side street and guffaw with his fellow peasants.[8]

2. To Serve His Country. The *trudova* system, or that of compulsory labor for the young men of Bulgaria, has received much attention in the West. It served a magnificent purpose, taking as it did young men from villages throughout the land, mixing them up in labor camps, and providing them with picks and shovels for the construction of highways, bridges, and other public works. But now the young Bulgarian citizen is given military training instead. This is not in keeping with the Treaty of Neuilly, which limited Bulgaria's armed forces to 33,000, but what nation in Europe, the Bulgarians ask, has been abiding by the treaties? The trend from *trudova* to military service is shown by the fact that in 1935 not a single youth was called from Dragalevtsy to do *trudova* service, but sixteen went to be trained as soldiers.

The effect of life in a labor camp or a military barracks upon the young men is apparent upon their return to the village. They have gone out from a family system where each member works unquestioningly as a part of the whole; they return, in spite of military discipline, often very conscious of their own individuality, and have to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought again close in about them. However, before the returning young men are reabsorbed by the community, reverberations of struggle are felt throughout parts of the social structure. There are some who never again fall completely into line and who naturally

[7] Every village over a period of years has tended to select one tavern where peasants from that village spend their leisure time while in Sofia.

[8] Fifty-five per cent of the villagers (babies, children, and adults) have never seen a cinema. Out of 265 families reporting, *all* members of 73 families had seen a cinema; *no* members of 78 families had done so.

342 years ago, was giving shelter to a 40 members' family and which
[592] was especially built for this purpose (Plate XIII 6) It is an evolution
of the basic type of a house with two spaces (hyza and odaja). The
[513] cellars on the one side of the hyza are a subdivision of the third com-
partment into smaller spaces, and are used by the various couples
of the family only to sleep in. The hyza remains the central appart-
[252] ment and it includes the hearth, measuring 2 m. x 2 m. where the
bread is also baked in a special pot (srepnia, podnitsa). The cellars
and the oda open to a hyza without any communication between
them. The external architecture of this house presents the character-

Fig. 42 House in the village of Tiorekovtsi
(Zlatev, Bălg kăsta fig. 77)

istic lack of a prostoon, which, according to Zlatev (p. 91) is the permanent element of the Bulgarian house. The house (Zlatev fig. 78) of the village of Tiorekovtsi, built in 1870, presents the same composition, but with a different arrangement of spaces (See Plate XIII 7).

Another house of this latter village is built according to the second method (Zlatev, Fig. 76 and 77) presenting an apparent archi-
[351] tectural synthesis: «two independent bipartite houses, extending parallel to each other are united on one side by a covered portico thus forming a sort of central courtyard, surrounded on two sides by porticoes which, according to Zlatev, remind us of monasteries and

[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains]

In these two-storey houses as well, we distinguish in the upper-floor the two basic spaces just as in the Bulgarian house of the plains, namely the kăsta and the oda or soba with the so-called tsardak (or islak or soundourma) that is the open portico, in front of them. The lower storey is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the stabling of cattle and the storing of fruits, but very often it also includes a room with a hearth for the residence of the family during the winter. This is also called «kăsta» i.e. house, or even better, «lower house» and «small house» in contrast to the «upper», or «big house» that is the main room of the upper floor, where the family lives in the summer months.

B 342 B [231 251 354]

The second room, called soba, is also used as sleeping quarter for the family, and more seldom for the storing of food and other articles. For this last purpose, another additional space is also used and is called «killer»; the upper floor is thus divided into three spaces (Plate XV).

B [513 251 353]

This distribution is shown by the house of Sredna Gora (Messon Oros) which is very important as it exercised an influence upon the houses of Balkan, according to Zlatev (1). (See Fig. 43, 44 and Plate XV 1-2).

The portico in the upper floor is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the drying of fruit and as a living room of the family during the summer months. Parts of it are usually divided by light wooden or brick partitions, forming spaces called «ambar» (stores) for cereals, or even small rooms called «odaja» and «soba».

B [251 353]

Finally, in some more composite forms of houses there is a space between the two main rooms, used as an anti-room, having the floor higher by 0.15-0.20 m. and called prust (Greek «μικροῦστι»); and also some other smaller spaces, divided off and used as hiding-places or cellars. In the more developed forms, such as in the houses of the village

G [342 171] B [171]

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towns, even in their palaces. Slavs never used stone construction until the 10th cent., except for their Southern tribes who, having arrived in the Balkan peninsula and the Italian boundaries on the 6th cent., could see for themselves the models of Byzantine and Roman architecture». Stone construction was first used in the building of churches and of palaces by experts specially invited from abroad. Cf. **J. Cvijic'**, op. cit. pp. 228, 230, 241, **G. Megas**, Θρακ. Οἰκήσεις, p. 48.

SL 342 333

1) According to **Cvijic**, op. cit. p. 250, «the house of Srendnja Gora is the one that corresponds better to the desires of all Bulgarian farmers, because it has spread all over the country after the Turkish occupation».

attached plan of such a house of the village of Dolna Mitropolia in the Plevna District of the year 1895 (fig. 50). 342

This consists of two underground galleries. The first and main gallery has, after the entrance, three spaces, meant for the housing of the family and of the cattle. The first is the anteroom (prust), the second is the stable (zemnik) and the third is the room (breg). The second gallery which is perpendicular to the first, comprises the house (kăsta) with the hearth and the cellar (called zadnik = back side). [23·1]

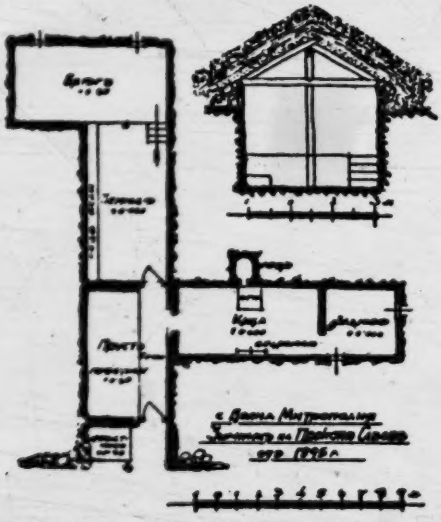

Fig. 50 Village Dolna Mitropolia. Trogle of Prokopi Savoff, 1895
(Zlatev, Bălg. Kăsta fig. 98)

The entrance, protected by the roof which is protruding, has, as a rule, an earthen plat-form (prastnik) where the inhabitants sit, or even sleep, in summer. [513]

After a slight slope of the ground, one goes through the entrance into the prust, which plays the role of an ante-room and which, in winter protects the inner spaces from the influence of the atmosphere and in summer, it is used for the habitation of the family, having for this purpose, an earthen sofa. Two doors open from the «prust» to the two main spaces of the house, the zemnik and the kăsta.

The zemnik is never less than 7 m. long and has mangers for the cattle on one side. After this room, one goes to the breg, that [231] [513] [354]

342 has a floor higher by 0.80–0.90 than the rest, and is used as a
[513] bedroom for the members of the family. No wall separates these two
[354] spaces from each other, neither is there any provision for heating.

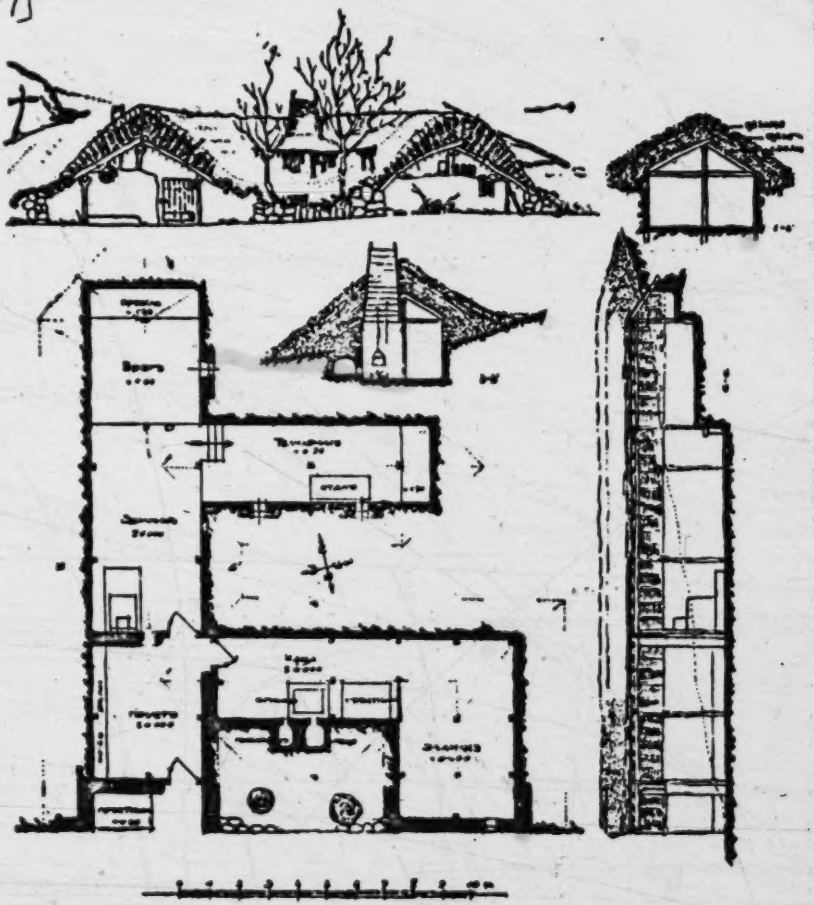

Fig. 51 Trogle of Pentso Tsoloff in the village Dolna Mitropolia, 1876
(Zlatev, Bŭlg. kŭshta, fig. 97)

[354] Instead of heating, the inhabitants keep warm by the heat omitted by
[231] the cattle in the zemnik. For this reason, the male and female buffalo

113
513

Yugoslavia EF1
Slovenes EF7
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For general information on sleeping quarters in the house, see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

be divided into something like natural diseases and supernatural ones. The latter are called *vila* diseases, 'treacherous' (*neverne*) diseases, and diseases 'put on' (*nametnute*) by magic or the evil eye.

If one goes outside at night in an evil hour, or makes water at night in an unclean place (he should as a safeguard spit first three times) and after he fall ill, he is said to have come upon evil (*uradisal*). The cure at Libjahovo is to wash him with unbroken water and throw the water outside the house saying: 'From the dung heap you came, to the dunghill return, gentle and honied ones.' Or else let the unfortunate man take a cake smeared with honey and put it on the place where he thinks that he caught the disease to *appease the 'urama'*.[1] Such offerings are to be made should one urinate under an old rose bush or any other tree, and afterwards be troubled by pains in the back and head and legs. In the Nišava district for this kind of disease (*ogradisanje*), the woman doctor (*bajalica*) sprinkles the place with sherbet on a sprig of hyssop, and at the same time beseeches those who have sent the illness to remove it *in return for this rich gift*.[2] Honey or honey water is the usual libation, and honey is one of the traditional offerings to the *vile*.

Namera is used rather in the same sense, as well as to signify an ill-wished misfortune or an evil eye. Diagnosis of these diseases can be made from the clothes worn by the patient when he caught it, or by bringing certain things—flowers, nails, horseshoes, a glass of wine, water, salt, and food—either to the spot in question or to trees commonly associated with spirits, such as roses, blackthorns, willows, etc. A prayer is generally addressed to the spirits or to the tree. It is common to leave the offerings over night, and if the next day they have been in any way disturbed, a leaf fallen into the wine or what not, it is clear that the man has been enchanted. The offerings can serve afterwards as a medicine.

Distinguished from ill-wishing and spell casting in the

[1] Cf. S.E.Z. XIII, p. 445; Sb.N.U. (1926), p. 162; Gl.Z.M. p. 587.
[2] V. M. Nikolić, *Iz Lužnice i Nišave* (1910), p. 278.

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535 to the prescribed two or three, tiring themselves out to the plaudits of
527 those close by.

To the old-timers, however, the modern version of the traditional dance was a sad commentary on the state of things. They thought the young people too soft. After I had been watching the *horo* for some time an old man hobbled up to me. I had seen him shaking his head and muttering to himself, so I asked him, "What do you think of it, *dedo*?" He grunted, "It's all right for the young people to have a little fun, but they aren't as strong as I used to be when I was young. I used to hoe corn, harvest wheat, and come back to dance all evening. The young people can't do that now. And I wasn't as healthy as my father used to be."

535 The village registrar, Bai Angel, told me why there had been a declining interest in the *hora*, especially those which used to occur around the neighborhood fountains. About seven o'clock the people used to go to the pasture to get their animals. If the animals were slow in coming, then the people danced the *horo* there in the fields. When the animals had been taken home, and after the girls had finished up their housework, they went with jugs to one of the three fountains in the village and there danced again until eleven o'clock. In 1924 more fountains were installed in the village, thus tending to break up the larger groups which gathered around the three original fountains. The girls preferred to carry water from the fountains nearest their homes, and no longer attended the evening *horo*.

● 517 Tavern life was another, less colorful way of passing the bleak
521 winter days. In the four ill-ventilated *kruchmi* the men gathered to
275 discuss the harvest and to argue over the news read aloud from yester-
203 day's newspaper. Some man sought his godfather, or the godfather of a recently christened son or daughter, and invited him to have a drink of *rakiya* (plum brandy) or wine. Sometimes men who had completed a business deal drank to clinch it. Men who had been in the army together told the same tall tales of adventure over and over again, re-creating those experiences which lifted them for a while out of their limited village environment. There were seldom any fights, because the frequenters put an end to disagreements before they got

out of hand. The fact that not all patrons of the tavern drank liquor was shown by the comment of one of the villagers: 517 521.

"I come to the tavern chiefly for the newspaper. I have a strong will, drink little, and know when to stop. The young men when starting the temperance association asked me to be president but I couldn't give up coming here for the newspaper. The small coffee house across the square has only room enough for five or six people and there's no point in going there. Many blame me for going to the tavern, but they have no interest in finding out what is going on in the world." 275 203

One advantage of visiting the tavern included the announcements that the town crier always made there as well as out in the square.

The tavern keepers, however, had no illusions about their standing in the public estimation. All of them were of the same peasant stock as their patrons, but had sold some of their land in order to set themselves up in business. 554 463

"If the people of the village took a vote, the majority would favor shutting up all the taverns. The people don't like us," was the tart comment of one tavern keeper. This dislike sprang from the indebtedness of so many people to the tavern keepers, as well as from the strong feeling many have toward the social consequences of excessive alcoholism.

There were, however, a number of men who had to miss the morning session at the Dragalevtsy *kruchmi*. They were the milkmen. Each morning while it was still dark eight tiny donkeys left their yards, pattered down the slope just outside the village, and followed the straight gravel road five miles to Sofia. They were accompanied by their prodding masters who kept an eye on the two or three large cans of milk which had been strapped onto the wooden saddles. These donkeys long ago learned to swallow any pride they might have had, for each morning, with monotonous regularity, they were overtaken by the high two-wheeled horse-drawn milk carts used by the remaining thirty Dragalevtsy milkmen. Once in Sofia, the majority of the milkmen covered their routes, knocking at the doors of the regular customers and waiting patiently for a container into which to pour a quart or so of milk from the large cans. The round completed, most of the milkmen began at once to retrace the long uphill journey from the city's outskirts to the village. 463 [231]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

travelers, dressed in their brightest, newest garments, were speeded on their way. The friends and relatives loaded them with money and presents of clothing, food, and wool, which the pilgrims were to donate to the great and holy monastery. The whole ceremony of leave-taking was made a part of the bright landscape by the flowers everywhere—on the dress of the pilgrims, fastened to the gifts, and carried in huge bunches. Upon their return a few days later the dusty pilgrims were met at the outskirts of the village and escorted home through the blue twilight by those eager to hear of every adventure during the days and nights in the great mountains, whose jagged walls have protected Rila Monastery for hundreds of years. 788 181

Formal piety, as shown in pilgrimages, was only one of the major characteristics which these Bulgarian villagers possessed. The Dragalevtsy people, especially the men, were predominantly literate. Bulgaria, despite what seems a forbidding Cyrillic alphabet, has the highest rate of literacy of all Balkan countries, a fact which can be attributed to the tendency to regard education as a panacea for individual and social ills. While only 44 per cent of the women over fifteen years of age could read and write, 92 per cent of the men were literate. Of course, I often came upon groups of peasants crowded around a friend slowly spelling out a newspaper article aloud, but these little clusters of attentive listeners originated because of the scarcity of newspaper subscribers, not necessarily because of illiteracy. 212

The Dragalevtsy people were also law-abiding. During the first three years I knew the village, and informants said that the record went much farther back than that, no Dragalevtsy peasant had been taken to Sofia for imprisonment. There was no local jail, nor any need for one. This was not a sign of the inefficiency of local police, but rather an indication of the peaceable and honest traits of the people. 181 697

In many other characteristics the villagers shared what have come to be known as the universal "rural virtues," for theirs was an agrarian way of life. More than three-fourths of the family heads were peasant proprietors. In addition to these, there were two other occupational groups: the intellectuals and the artisans. Despite their small number, the intelligentsia, as they were called by the peasants, were the most influential group in the community. Whenever the [181] 463 565 524 361 517

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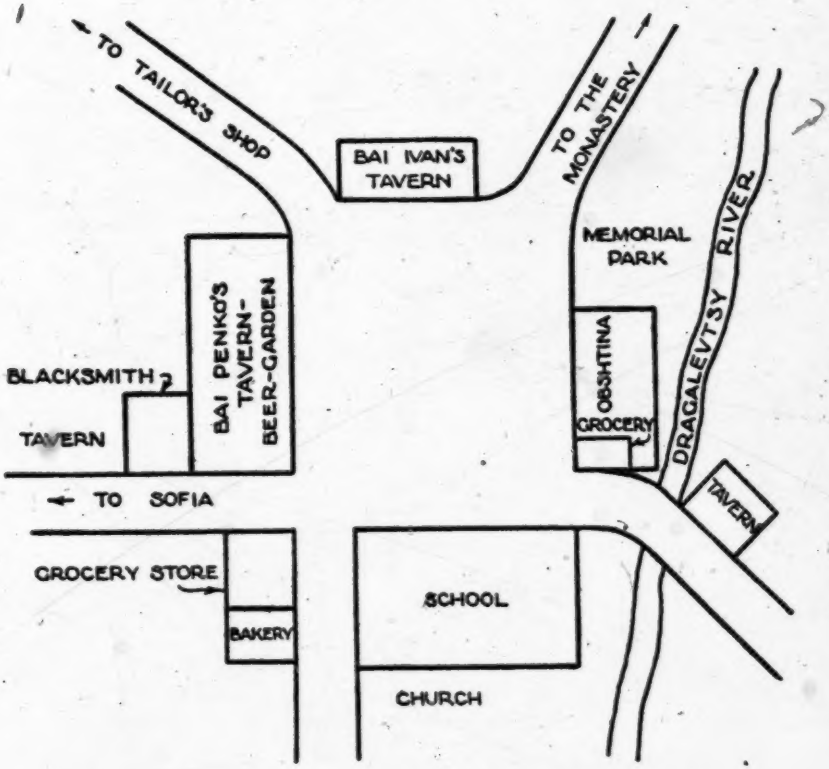

Renaissance Square, the focal point of Dragalevtsy's communal life

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weather was agreeable I was sure to find several of them playing cards in front of Bai Penko's tavern on the northern side of Renaissance Square, where the winter *horo* was held. Even though they sat engrossed in their game, they could still keep an eye on what was happening in the village, since this square was the focal point of community life. The mayor, for instance, could watch the Obshtina, or municipal building, across the square, as well as all traffic that entered this rocky plot of ground on its way to the city of Sofia below or to the monastery higher up Mount Vitosha. The priest could look past the modern school building, flanking the western side of the square, to the church just beyond. The village doctor's husband was near in

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case his wife needed him, although he invariably grumbled in his native Russian upon being called away from the game. A fourth hand during the summer was a reserve army officer whose intense love for German efficiency and ideology and whose contempt for the "ignorant, unreliable peasant" became bywords in the community. Peasants sitting on the porch of Bai Ivan's tavern on the eastern side of the square could observe with seeming indifference the intelligentsia at play, distracted though they were at times by the fervent temperance lectures delivered by the tavern keeper's daughter-in-law whenever she placed a glass of *rakiya* in front of a customer.

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These intelligentsia proved to be interesting people. The mayor had a good education, completed by the study of law in Russia. His father had been a priest in Boyana, a village just four miles to the west, so the mayor, himself a *Shop*, knew the workings of the peasant mind. When he was sent to the village as mayor back in 1934, after the *coup d'état* of that year abolished all elections and deprived many local officials of their jobs, he issued a flowery proclamation which contained such thoughts as these:

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> Therefore, as I take up my duties, desiring greatly to use the small abilities that I possess for the economic and cultural uplift of the villages included in the commune entrusted to my care, I wish to express my good feelings of loyalty and friendliness and attachment to the population and to certify that I am ready to work for the uplift of our commune and to be the loyal conveyor of its economic and cultural interests and needs.
>
> Imbued with the idea that we are all members of the same family, sons of mother Bulgaria, let us forget the recent past of shameful partisan struggles and begin to live as genuine brothers—Bulgarians filled with mutual love, patience, harmony, respect, and good will.
>
> Let us do our duty to these beautifully situated villages, perched on the slope of Mount Vitosha, and make them attractive gardens, with culture, and places of merriment and songs.

The people soon learned that the mayor when excited talked so rapidly that he failed to enunciate clearly, and they always enjoyed mimicking this mannerism. They did not particularly resent his management of their affairs, despite the fact that he had been sent by the central government which gave local communes no choice in

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Usually after midnight, the singing at the *sedenka* began to decrease in volume, conversation became dull, and the boys sensed that it was time to go. After their departure the hostess often served refreshments such as a soggy cheese pie *(banitsa)*, and the girls might or might not spend the night. The courting aspect of the gathering was emphasized by the fact that none of the married people of the household, except the mother of the girl acting as hostess, could be present. Even she was absent much of the time in some of the homes. 584 574 883

It was at these *sedenki*, that I collected a number of village proverbs, which were a real conversational aid to young people somewhat tongue-tied in mixed company. 538

"A kind word opens an iron gate."

"God gives but does not drive into the stall."

"A wet person is not afraid of rain."

"Listen much, speak little."

"Short are the legs of a lie."

"Stretch out your feet according to your quilt."

"I am telling your daughter so that daughter-in-law may hear [speaking i[illegible]ctly]."

"After the r[illegible] raincape."

"Every pear has a stem."

"Give advice freely but not money."

"The thirsty carry water."

"A dog that barks much puts a wolf in the stall."

Within recent years the *vecherinki* provided young people other means of getting acquainted. The purpose of a *vecherinka*, or evening entertainment in the schoolhouse, was not to get any work done, but to raise money for some worthy cause. The villagers bought tickets to a program of music or drama, provided by both imported and local talent. Auctions and lotteries were features of most *vecherinki*. After the program was over the people joined in dancing: first, for an hour or so, they danced the native *hora*, to be followed, when the old folks 584 517 883 [525] [535]

[A "sedenka" is a spinning party" – The Bulgarian [illegible] part of an American pioneer husking and quilting bee – Analyst]

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went home, by village versions of western dances. It was a strange sensation on these occasions to see fifty young people trying to do the fox trot, when it was obvious that not more than five couples were experienced at it. But those who knew were patient with the novices. The excited faces were flushed not with the interest in learning a new step but rather with the daring of the dance's embrace. I asked quite a few of my acquaintances how they felt about these dances. Most of the older people who had seen the modern dances and many of the younger people considered them very immoral. In the words of one of these conservatives, "The boys especially are eager to learn a modern dance so that they can do very immoral things, which are very sweet for the young."

Although these evening entertainments had less importance in the social life of the people than the *sedenki* or the promenade, the villagers were proud of them as a formal medium of recreation in imitation of what one would find in a city. It was a new experience for many men to buy a ticket and be shown a seat; and such new experiences were dear to a peasant heart if they did not take him too far away from the ordinary world in which he moved. The first *vecherinka* was given in 1925. The teachers after that tried to give one or two more, but no one attended, so the practice was discontinued. In 1930, however, the *Chitalishte* (Reading Room Association) started them again, with the result that in the following years four or five were held during a winter.

Another innovation which played an important part in Dragalevtsy courtship was the Sunday afternoon promenade, which had displaced the traditional Sunday *horo*. The promenade course extended from Renaissance Square up a rocky street which bends to the left for a quarter of a mile. Here the young people in their Sunday best turned about and retraced their steps to the Square. One reason for the popularity of the promenade was its modernity; another was the absence of a church ban against it during Lent in contrast to the traditional interruption of *hora* during that seven-week period.

Even in the promenade there was no pairing off except in the case of some engaged couple. Indeed, walking in a twosome was tantamount to announcing an engagement. So village boys in twos,

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threes, and fours passed village girls locked arm in arm; appropriate (and inappropriate) comments were made as they passed. Up and down they went, greeting each other again and again, joking, blushing, laughing heartily, each wondering at the impression made upon some favorite member of the opposite sex. 584 517 883

These modern ways contrasted sharply with the laconic statements of those villagers who had married many years ago.

"When we grew older we began to know each other more intimately and went together for two or three years."

"We were neighbors before marriage. We met every holiday at the *horo* and in the evenings at the fountain. Our wedding festivities lasted three days."

"My wife and I knew one another as children. Outsiders urged both of us to marry, so I stole her. She would not agree to marry me until after I had stolen her."

Often the relatives of the couple involved kept saying that it would be a good thing to have the two persons married, and thus brought about a match they considered advantageous. [581]

In Dragalevtsy human nature asserted itself in universal forms; for example, a village Lothario boasted:

"I had had thirty-five girls, and had gone 'hand-in-hand' with one for two years. But I fell in love with my wife because she was modest and had not talked to boys."

I might add here that the parents of the girl objected to the match, but only because she was taller than her suitor.

Two-fifths of the Dragalevtsy-born men, in their search for a wife, preferred the novelty that other villages afforded. More often than not a Bulgarian youth would all of a sudden get a fixed idea in his mind, "I've got to get a wife." The search was then under way. In such a state of mind the young man was not apt to wander far. The villages in their order of popularity were Boyana, Simeonovo, and Bistritsa. Only two other villages had more than four representatives among the married women. These likewise were not far away. It was significant that no man born in Dragalevtsy and currently living there had a wife born in Sofia. This meant that if a Sofia- 581

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CHAPTER VI

MARRIAGE

585 517 THE BULGARIAN groom settled down naturally into the role of the married man as the embarrassment of the first few days of good-natured joshing wore away. He took less and less interest in the Sunday afternoon promenade, preferring to sit in front of the tavern with the other married men where he liked to be complimented on the woman he had chosen in the same way that he would appreciate compliments on a cow just bought. However, as marriage progressed he began to respect his wife as a person rather than as a possession.

593 851 It was when the first child arrived, in a year or so, that the husband suddenly felt a sense of tremendous importance. He was no longer just a married man; he was a father. Though the beginning of married life had little effect upon his behavior, the fact of parenthood changed even his facial expression, his earnestness in his work, and his whole attitude toward the future. I sensed this often in the requests that people made for photographs. Few young men came to ask for pictures of their brides; but many wanted pictures of their infants, especially of the sons. In the case of the first child they would hold him up squarely in front of the camera so that he would fill up the whole picture if possible. But as children continued to arrive year after year, the fathers often asked, "Could we get our new oxen into the picture too?"

581 Most of the men accepted marriage as they did the weather: inevitable, sometimes balmy and sometimes disagreeable, but utterly essential. They did not go out of their way particularly to adjust themselves to marriage, and spoke little of marriage. They patiently waited for parenthood, which was revolutionary in its effect upon them.

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did the most talking. The women found it difficult to say which one helped the others most, because "this depends so much upon one's special knowledge of cooking, caring for the sick, and sewing." Each woman was expert in a different line, but all were willing to help in any way. [476] 571 521

The distinction between age groups broke down when the group was hard at work, as the work was then more important than the flow of gossip. In general, the gossiping groups got together more frequently in the summertime and on Sundays. Women found their chief recreation with women, and men with men, though the men said they needed the stimulation of tavern society. [517]

This willingness of the men to spend money for recreation and to limit their wives to the questionable joys of gossip illustrated the common saying, "Bulgaria is a man's country." A Dragalevtsy peasant saw nothing strange in the sight of a man riding a donkey while his wife trudged along behind carrying their purchases home from market. Or if a man returned alone from market, having ridden all the way in his wagon, his wife, tired from a day in the field, went out to carry in his things, saying, "He's weary and needs my help." She was always careful to make no queries about the day's activities, although she might be bursting with curiosity to know what had happened at market. She went about her work and waited until he was comfortably fed and settled, knowing full well that then she would have a complete report. Usually her husband made himself out to be the hero of each little episode, but "men are like that," she would say. 562 181 593

The well trained wife always deferred to her husband. If ever I asked a question in the presence of both, the woman turned her eyes to see what response her husband made. If he made a gesture as though to say, "You go ahead and answer," then she began to talk, becoming silent whenever her husband wished to interject any comments.

What was even more conclusive proof that Bulgaria was a man's country, and certainly that Dragalevtsy was a man's village, was the obedience of women to their husband's command. I asked thirty wives in the course of my family interviews:

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Kosharki (Sheep folds). This was a game which had been played extensively a generation ago, but its use was dying out in the village. The children would build miniature sheep folds, houses, and fences out of rocks. This game corresponded after a fashion to our building with blocks. 857 524

The outstanding characteristic of all these games was that they required little equipment and few participants. At home, the play groups were inevitably restricted to the family and nearest neighbors, often relatives. At school, children could choose relatives and other children in the same grade. Play groups in the fields were formed on the basis of family ownership of land and common pasture. These latter groups often gathered in the village and went to the fields together, the youngsters carrying loaves of bread, baked peppers, and fresh tomatoes. Even in play, the family was important, for every type of play group almost automatically included relatives. As was previously pointed out, there was less quarreling among the children who were related. I often heard: "You shouldn't hit him; he's your relative."

The new types of play were still limited. The radio, comic papers, and movies were almost unknown to the village child, just as they were to the average adult. Only twenty-five newspapers reached the village daily, and these had few comic strips. Magazines and books were a rarity. Sofia bookshops had some exquisite children's books, but I never saw one in the village. Sometimes when I came into a village home on a winter evening, I would see an unforgettable picture. Near the fire the father sat quietly, elbows on knees, the mother was spinning near the one dim electric bulb, and in the center, crouched at the low table, a boy, nine or ten years old, was laboriously reading some fragment of a periodical to his parents. Their pride and pleasure was unspoken but obvious. [214] [593]

There was one radio in the village, and the children were of course conscious of it as it blared incessantly in Renaissance Square, but it was not a part of their life, any more than the movies or trains. Only 45 per cent of the total population, including babies, had ever attended a movie, and less than 40 per cent had ever been on a train. [207] [517] 369

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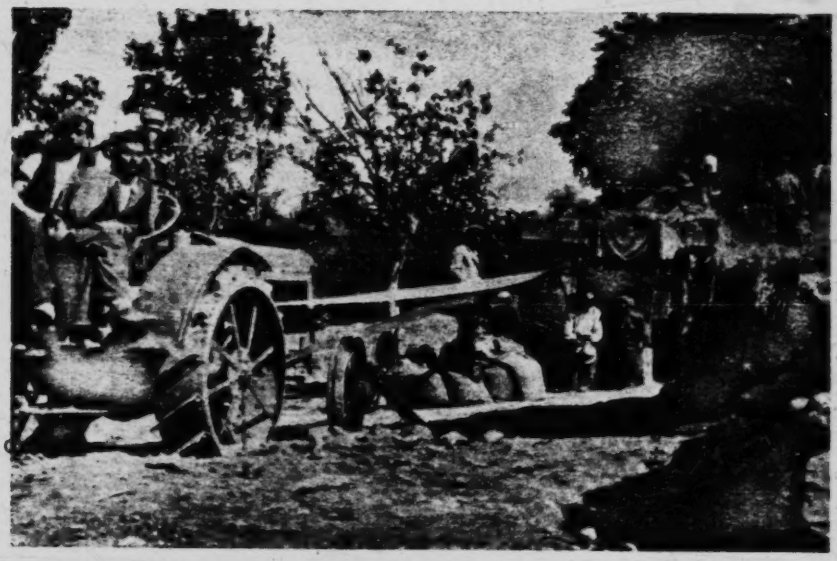

". . . they threshed the wheat of fifty-five farms . . ." *See page 151.*

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"The people . . . customarily associated liquor with holidays and leisure times." *See page 155.*

[Facing p. 145]

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181 829 596 forms of the religion; and usually the prevailing religion has a monopoly in its field. Where there once existed two or three competing religions, the peasants now have a syncretistic set of beliefs that almost all of the people accept.

[168] The population in a familistic society tends to be stable. The folk legends and religious beliefs stress the importance of remaining at home. Permanence becomes a virtue, for travel outside introduces too much novelty. Separation places a strain upon the family relationships, which must be kept at full vigor in the interest of community self-preservation.

[517] Recreation is personalized instead of being commercialized. Peasants, as far as possible, spend their leisure hours in the company of others, to say nothing of the many hours women spend working with each other within a family or neighborhood circle. Just as the villagers have ceremonial ways of doing many things, they also have formal ways, or proverbs, of saying many things. This we saw earlier in the description of the *Sedenki.* Proverbs reinforce those beliefs that help maintain the familistic society, and serve as convenient means of self-expression. At the same time they are standards of behavior.

[212] Because recreation and economic life are personal, the familistic society has little need for much reading and writing. The priest, the middlemen, the taxgatherers, and a few others who early associated themselves with the village economy needed to "figure," but the rest of the people had little concern with that.

In most family-dominated societies, life is man-centered. In some areas this arrangement is related to religious beliefs; in others, it is related to the economic organization of the family in which somebody has to give orders necessary to the carrying out of the daily activities. A recognized head, conscious of his own importance, acts authoritatively in directing his family group.

The local government is traditionally managed by elders, who represent families rather than political parties or individuals. The village elders make their decisions from the standpoint of what is good for the village as a whole in the light of precedents rather than from a narrow legalism. The religious writings or sacred legends are conveniently cited to justify the actions they take. Such govern-

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taxes or to attend some social function, the villagers say, "Oh, he's from the *mahala*." In this sense, therefore, they are thinking not at all of any family relationship between the people of that settlement. 621

NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS: THE *Susedstvo*. For a clearer picture of social interaction we must turn to a smaller unit than the *mahala*: namely, the *susedstvo*[6] which is a complex of houses whose yards adjoin or face each other across a narrow street. The peasants say, "Without neighbors life is impossible," or "God help those who have bad neighbors" and they are thinking of next-door neighbors. Bulgarian writers especially in reminiscing about their childhood tell of the free interchange of goods between neighbors. In any time of need, whether it be of food, garments, or work, the neighbors were always called upon to render aid. That is still true today, though there are two tendencies setting in: first, many villagers prefer to go to relatives living elsewhere in the village for aid rather than to go to a next-door neighbor; second, nowadays neighbors when they lend live more in expectation of financial remuneration. In other words, the commercialistic spirit is pervading even neighborhood contacts. Some villagers feel this more keenly than others. 621 571 [476]

The *susedstvo* therefore, like the *mahala*, is a geographical unit which is the scene of intense social interaction, though this interaction takes place through ordinary individuals and groups rather than through the *susedstvo* itself, thought of in terms of a psychical entity. It is an interesting fact that personal friendships and preferences sometimes carry women outside of the neighborhood for even the ordinary needs of life. For example, Anna may live next to Gorka but may prefer the companionship of Mara who lives four or five houses down the street. Sometimes this friendship goes to such an extent that Anna will draw water from a more distant fountain in order to meet there with Mara.

However, no number of exceptions can do away with the fact that women who are neighbors depend greatly upon one another. Not only in times of crisis such as birth, death, or marriage are the neighbors' services invaluable, but are especially useful in varying the tedium of everyday life. If a woman has half an hour to spare, she is apt to pick up her knitting or spinning and go to a neighbor's house for a chat while doing her handwork. After a while, visits of such a sort become so habitual that a woman would find it difficult to get along without them. It must be remembered that the Bulgarian woman has no magazines and no radio to entertain her at home. Her only source of entertainment is to share some other neighbor's company. [517]

Newcomers to a neighborhood (and these are usually women) have to go through a period of assimilation. Not only must they bear the embarrassing

[6] Many of the peasants still use for neighbor the word *komshia*, a Bulgarized form of the Turkish *koms*.

538 One of the most characteristic features of modern
517 Bulgarian literature is its militant assertion of its life and it expresses this assertion by an unceasing struggle for social and political ideals and by a constant pursuit of an artistic perfection in which the esthetic ideal is absorbed and transfigured in order to pass over the line of demarcation between art and reality.

A democrat by nature, the Bulgarian cannot tolerate much of aristocracy. He wishes cultural values to be made accessible for all, so that all can derive profit from
000 them. Thus in the tenth century when darkness still covered Western Europe, a Bulgarian ecclesiastical writer, the Presbyter Kozma, exclaims in anger: "Thou, rich man, who hast in abundance all the books of the Old and New Testaments and other books filled with instructive words and who knowest all of them, hast thou not understood that thou must lay down thy soul for thy neighbors? Why dost thou bar the road for the salvation of mankind by hiding the Word of God from thy brothers? Those books which thou hast stored away were written that through them all men might be saved, and not that they might be devoured by worms and mildew. Therefore, thou man, do not shut thyself up in thy library and do not hide the Word of God from those who

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hero has an immortal place and the sympathy of all 538
those who are interested in literary types.

* * * * *

Aleko Konstantinov ends the series of authors of the 517
period between 1880 and 1900 in whose works the social 538
elements predominate over the purely aesthetic and who use artistic effects merely to proclaim social ideas and to realize patriotic or universal spiritual ideals.

After the death of Aleko Konstantinov who was killed in a political brawl in 1899, we no longer meet authors who aim to express characteristic features of the national life. The political life of the country was becoming more settled. Bulgaria was growing stronger, with confidence in its future and its political independence and the old problems ceased to be of all absorbing interest. New problems appeared,— chiefly of a cultural nature. The epoch of spiritual development was commencing, in which the artists played a role not of social workers but of leaders bidden to satisfy the immaterial needs of their compatriots. In the new epoch the Bulgarian writers turned their attentions to the emptiness which they beheld in the cultural life of their country, and they began to construct channels into which the spiritual life of the land could flow. They came to the conviction that they could best serve their country by leaving to the statesmen the necessary ordering of its material well-being and striving themselves as artists to enrich its spiritual treasury with values of esthetic importance, which were now more vital than the purely material interests.

It is not surprising that with such a transfer of the centre of interest the new writers should start a reaction

538 against the old and against those authors who had based
517 their art on the desire to give practical help to Bulgaria. The new art could not fail to take a position directly opposite to that of the older school, the dean of which was Ivan Vazov.

As we might expect, the three authors who at the beginning of the twentieth century directed the new movement for the invigoration of Bulgarian literature, Pencho Slaveykov, P. K. Yavorov, and P. Yu. Todorov, declared an open struggle against the influence of Vazov. Today we see that this struggle, which for a while seemed to be between representatives of irreconcilable schools, was unnecessary, that there was no yawning gulf between Vazov and the three younger men, that both sides had much in common, that they were both competent, had a serious idea of their poetical functions which they understood as a real mission to help their neighbors, and did not lose themselves in a struggle over abstract principles. Today we see the influence which his opponents exerted on Vazov and the aid which his ability gave them for the struggle against him. Since Slaveykov, Yavorov and Todorov introduced a new element into Bulgarian literature, their struggle with Vazov can be explained as the obvious development of a new and really independent group.

538 At the head of this group is Pencho Slaveykov (1866-
517 1912), son of the old Petko Slaveykov, whom we have
177 mentioned above. Pencho Slaveykov drew his new ideas from Germany where he lived for a while and where he felt the Hellenic influence of Goethe, the lyric and heroic humor of Heine and the philosophy of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. These influences, combined with

those of Russian literature, led Pencho Slaveykov to break through the limitations of his lyric talents and to create works which have significance for world literature as well as for Bulgaria. The success of Pencho Slaveykov can be judged by the fact that in 1910, when an attempt was made to win the Nobel Prize in Literature for a Bulgarian poet, Pencho Slaveykov was put forward as a candidate, and had it not been for his premature death in 1912 at the age of 46, he would probably have received it. His poetic work which is really inferior to that of Vazov in substance and direct inspiration is superior to it in depth of thought and in its richness in universal problems, which the poet seeks to solve with artistic perfection. Slaveykov is the first conscious esthete among Bulgarian writers and he has also a deeply philosophical intellect. His ripe thought, tinged with pessimism and tempered with stoicism, enlightens and permeates the heavy, golden-sweet honey of his works—his splendid "Epic Songs", his tender lyric collection "Dream of Happiness", his original anthology "On the Islands of the Blessed". In this the poet under the pretence of translating from various foreign poets prints his own poems and he reveals various aspects of his creative personality in a series of clever biographical notes. His thought stands out and gives power to the "Song of Blood", an epic in which Slaveykov describes the uprising of 1876 and in which he tries to emphasize the salient characteristics of the Bulgarians, to explain the objects of their struggles and the nature of their oppression by the Turks, and by drawing a broad panorama of Bulgarian social life before the liberation, to predict the future of his country. It is further remarkable that

538 Slaveykov, although he based his poetic work on phil-
517 osophical and esthetic principles which he adopted from
177 Western Europe, yet remained loyal to the fundamental characteristic of all Bulgarian writers; he did not spurn reality, did not lose himself in impossible intellectual speculations, did not give up his love for his native land, but everywhere in his work he aimed to do good service to his fatherland. Because of this Pencho Slaveykov succeeded in creating works which were thoroughly intelligible to people who knew nothing of Bulgaria and which were yet as Bulgarian in substance as were those of his father Petko Slaveykov or Ivan Vazov. Such recognition is a mark of the high praise which Bulgarians accord his works.

538 Many consider the close friend and companion of Pencho Slaveykov, Peyu Yavorov (1878-1914), to be more gifted and significant than he, and without doubt, although he did not have the philosophical nature of Slaveykov, he was a more inspired and skilful artist. Yavorov enriched Bulgarian literature with nuances which had previously been unknown. He acquainted it with a great number of problems which perplex the modern man, as he is torn between a materialistic view of life and idealistic aspirations.

This struggle between faith and unbelief, between the need to devote himself unreservedly to a cause and the attempt to prove to his consciousness that such a sacrifice is superfluous, between an intuitive acceptance of all truths and a lack of confidence in human reason, between a deep and almost religious reverence for woman and an aversion to her, is the subject of his writings and is also the distinguishing mark of the life of Yavorov.

648 garia to St Petersburgh, others wanted her chained to London, another party preferred Vienna, while a certain section had preferences for Berlin, and yet another group insisted that Bulgaria's foreign policy should be conducted from Constantinople. Unhappy land, her leaders endeavoured to tie her simultaneously to several mutually antagonistic protectors, and thus unwittingly acted against the interests of their country. Bulgaria suffered not so much from the treason of her neighbours, as from the shortsightedness and lack of scruples of those directing our foreign policy, in association with foreign consuls, whose protégés they were". (Kosta Arseniev, pp. 35-6.).

177 What moral forces remained, having survived Bulgaria's Europeanization, a process which was tantamount to the elimination of the patriarcal traditions of the Bulgarians, and their replacement by what was nothing but a thin veneer of civilization — were wholly absorbed in their confict with Tsar Ferdinand, that great factor of evil in their country.

661 He, in a true Machiavellian spirit, spread corruption broadcast, and vitiated the intelligentsia, in order to render 517 all opposition to him impracticable and impossible. The diabolical refinements with which that process was pursued were set forth by Stoyan Mihailovsky, in his „Book for the Bulgarian people", published in 1897. The ease with which the intelligentsia succumbed to the malign influences which surrounded it, is chiefly due to its extreme poverty. Having sundered all connection with the peasant, artisan or trading class, from which he sprang, the intellectual scorned the idea of obtaining his livelihood by any other means than that of state employ. This desire to get employment under the Government, which is almost a passion among the Bulgarians, could not be satisfied in respect of every claimant owing to the limited number of public posts, and led to the formation of a legion of

661 hungry office-seekers, ready to offer their support to any
517 politician, who would hold out to them a promise of a State or municipal office. It is from this class, reckoned to number some 300,000 strong, that every party entrusted by the Crown with the task of government, recruited its staff, dangerously depleted during the lean years the party had passed in Opposition, and replaced all organs of authority, in order to influence and doctor the will of the electorate. A Cabinet would seldom owe its appointment to office to any other consideration than royal favour, for rarely indeed could it prove that it enjoyed the confidence of the people, since such a majority as it secured in the new Chamber was obtained by methods which were a negation of parliamentarism, and a clear violation of the national will.

[642] Party government in Bulgaria was always a disguised
661 dictatorship, which imposed itself by artifices that barely permitted it to save the outward forms of parliamentarism. Except on three occasions; in 1879, 1901 and 1931, there was never a free expression of the national will. The Chamber was maintained merely to save appearances, and in order to give to the people the illusion that it participated in the government of the country. The chief aim of a party, when in power, was the enrichment of its partisans and the constitution of some reserves for the lean years it had to remain in opposition. The more the rapacious instincts of partisans were satisfied, the more would a party prosper and grow powerful. An attempt to restrain the greed of its adherents would inevitably have led to its disruption. Corruption, therefore, was the basis of party life. Such an atmosphere paralysed every spiritual activity, and thwarted every noble initiative. Idealism, in fact, became an obstacle to the progress of a party, and law-breaking and peculation the main springs of its success. Before abandoning office, almost every government would vote

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and to work for its welfare, its success, its honour and glory, by the same motives which prompt him to desire and to work for his own welfare and success and honour... In this way, that is by extension to the group, the egoistic impulses are transmuted, sublimated and deprived of their individualistic selfish character and effects and are turned to public service".

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M. I. P. Kepov, a noted Bulgarian educationalist in his very informative book „Our actuality", not only sets out to lecture the intellectuals for their shortcomings pointing out to them several of their defects and the unfortunate concequences they have hitherto produced, but also dwells on their envy, their vindictivenecs, intolerance of others, their lack of idealism and attachment to traditions, their self-sufficiency and extreme materialism, and their contempt of the peasant class out of which they have all sprung. He has arraigned a formidable indictement against them, and he shares the view prevalent among the peasantry who ascribe to the intellectuals the main cause of their country's disasters. The book draws a very black picture of the social life of the Bulgarian, and unfortunately it can not be said that the author exaggerates. Such poverty in emotional life, mistrustfulness, and self-centredness cannot but be devastating to the soul, and some device must be found to blow up the Chinese walls with which every Bulgarian seems to have encased himself. By participating more largely in social life, he might be made to share the satisfactions and enjoyments accruing to every participant in active group life, for nobody will dispute Wm. Mc. Dougall's (op. cit. p. 68.) statement that:

„The consciousness of the group and of oneself as a member of it brings a sense of power and security, an assurance of sympathy and co-operation, a normal and physical support without which man can hardly face the world".

It is sad to record that the political institutions borrowed from the West, the extreme centralisation of the administration have been altogether uncongenial to the

A PSYCHOLOGICAL ESSAY

Bulgarian and have stifled what public spirit existed among them at their liberation. The Turk was not the hard task-master he was reported to be, on the contrary he was tolerant enough to permit the Bulgarians to conduct their communal life on the lines they thought best. This communal semi-independence fostered the growth of a group spirit that readily manifested itself during the early years of the country's independence, examples of which have been often noted. M. Kepov also alludes to the kindly and well-meant efforts of the teaching profession in those years, to the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice they showed in their attempts to spread education amongst their countrymen, but the blight of politics soon froze this budding sociability. The politician in his endeavour to become omnipotent persecuted the teachers as likely to work up public opinion against him, and any manifestations of independent thought on their part was punished by dismissal. Thus the teaching profession was alienated and turned for consolation to socialism. Instead of working for the spread of views likely to strengthen the prestige of the State, they started spreading subversive notions utterly foreign to the traditional conceptions of the community they lived in and which the peasantry could not assimilate. Thus those who ought to have guided the people in their upward path completely estranged themselves both from those in authority and from the popular masses. The peasantry, as was to be expected, could not at all appreciate the Marxian gospel and began to view very suspiciously these missionaries in their midst, especially when they attempted to undermine the national religion and customs, by the weapon of ridicule. The rest of the intellectuals looked upon the peasant masses with the same contempt and lack of interest. They took no notice of them until elections were drawing near when politicians would start visiting the

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517 565 village and start inundating them in a spate of demagogic rhetoric. The orators of each political group would start vituperating and abusing their rivals, thus undermining completely the prestige of the intellectuals until the peasantry came to look on all with undisguised hatred and contempt. There has not been an example of such a deep cleavage within a people in recent times except in Tsarist Russia, with the well-known consequences, and if something is not done to assure the peasantry that the State will henceforth uphold and protect their interests, and instil in them the conviction that the abuses of the past are definitely over, we may well be anxious as to the future, for however self-sacrificing and patriotic the rulers of Bulgaria may be, the task they have shouldered is a stupendous one and the organs they must depend on for carrying it out are not as reliable as could be wished. And yet it is through the efforts of this „intelligentsia" that the country will have to work its way upwards, for the salvation of countries, the evolution of which has been retarded, depends on the predominance of urban civilisation over rural backwardness.

181 641 It is of undoubted interest to record the views of one of the leaders of the sole political party which was actuated by a true conception of democratic principles and which persistently upheld them, but which failed to rally round it sufficient supporters to impose them because the Bulgarian elector expected to get some direct advantages in exchange for his vote, a practice the Bulgarian Radicals always denounced and fought against.

Thus M. Kosturkov speaking in the Sobranye on December 21, 1926 said among other things:

„We are with servile souls. A nation impregnated with a sense of freedom and having a sense of self-respect does not allow the authorities to usurp its liberty and its rights. It is always ready to place its rulers in their due place. I am not indignant at the servi-

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A GROUP OF PEASANT WOMEN

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From left to right: D-r T. Yankov, M. Ilia Gheorgov, and the author

[facing p. 257]

535 to the prescribed two or three, tiring themselves out to the plaudits of
527 those close by.

To the old-timers, however, the modern version of the traditional dance was a sad commentary on the state of things. They thought the young people too soft. After I had been watching the *horo* for some time an old man hobbled up to me. I had seen him shaking his head and muttering to himself, so I asked him, "What do you think of it, *dedo?*" He grunted, "It's all right for the young people to have a little fun, but they aren't as strong as I used to be when I was young. I used to hoe corn, harvest wheat, and come back to dance all evening. The young people can't do that now. And I wasn't as healthy as my father used to be."

535 The village registrar, Bai Angel, told me why there had been a declining interest in the *hora,* especially those which used to occur around the neighborhood fountains. About seven o'clock the people used to go to the pasture to get their animals. If the animals were slow in coming, then the people danced the *horo* there in the fields. When the animals had been taken home, and after the girls had finished up their housework, they went with jugs to one of the three fountains in the village and there danced again until eleven o'clock. In 1924 more fountains were installed in the village, thus tending to break up the larger groups which gathered around the three original fountains. The girls preferred to carry water from the fountains nearest their homes, and no longer attended the evening *horo.*

517 Tavern life was another, less colorful way of passing the bleak
● 521 winter days. In the four ill-ventilated *kruchmi* the men gathered to
275 discuss the harvest and to argue over the news read aloud from yester-
203 day's newspaper. Some man sought his godfather, or the godfather of a recently christened son or daughter, and invited him to have a drink of *rakiya* (plum brandy) or wine. Sometimes men who had completed a business deal drank to clinch it. Men who had been in the army together told the same tall tales of adventure over and over again, re-creating those experiences which lifted them for a while out of their limited village environment. There were seldom any fights, because the frequenters put an end to disagreements before they got

out of hand. The fact that not all patrons of the tavern drank liquor was shown by the comment of one of the villagers: 517 521

"I come to the tavern chiefly for the newspaper. I have a strong will, drink little, and know when to stop. The young men when starting the temperance association asked me to be president but I couldn't give up coming here for the newspaper. The small coffee house across the square has only room enough for five or six people and there's no point in going there. Many blame me for going to the tavern, but they have no interest in finding out what is going on in the world." 275 203

One advantage of visiting the tavern included the announcements that the town crier always made there as well as out in the square.

The tavern keepers, however, had no illusions about their standing in the public estimation. All of them were of the same peasant stock as their patrons, but had sold some of their land in order to set themselves up in business. 554 463

"If the people of the village took a vote, the majority would favor shutting up all the taverns. The people don't like us," was the tart comment of one tavern keeper. This dislike sprang from the indebtedness of so many people to the tavern keepers, as well as from the strong feeling many have toward the social consequences of excessive alcoholism.

There were, however, a number of men who had to miss the morning session at the Dragalevtsy *kruchmi*. They were the milkmen. Each morning while it was still dark eight tiny donkeys left their yards, pattered down the slope just outside the village, and followed the straight gravel road five miles to Sofia. They were accompanied by their prodding masters who kept an eye on the two or three large cans of milk which had been strapped onto the wooden saddles. These donkeys long ago learned to swallow any pride they might have had, for each morning, with monotonous regularity, they were overtaken by the high two-wheeled horse-drawn milk carts used by the remaining thirty Dragalevtsy milkmen. Once in Sofia, the majority of the milkmen covered their routes, knocking at the doors of the regular customers and waiting patiently for a container into which to pour a quart or so of milk from the large cans. The round completed, most of the milkmen began at once to retrace the long uphill journey from the city's outskirts to the village. 463 [231]

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With women it was quite different, since marriage for them called for major adjustments. Not only did the wife have to become accustomed to the demands and habits of her husband, but she also had to fit into the routine of her husband's parental home. In some cases she had to subordinate herself to other daughters-in-law in the household. Should she and her husband live in a separate dwelling near the husband's childhood homestead, she still was so subject to the scrutiny of the in-laws that she found it expedient to conform to their ways of doing things. 581 562 606 591

The woman, much more than the man, had to give up the companionship of her former friends to move in the group of the married women of the neighborhood. In these groups she was initiated into much of the folklore about anatomy, conception, childbirth, and child care. The frank discussion by various women of their personal experiences was enough to make any squeamish girl terrified at the very thought of becoming a mother. Continued discussion, however, made the experience eventually seem less of an ordeal; in fact, it was often a source of comfort and encouragement when her time arrived. 521 571

These neighborhood gossiping groups did much more than shock the girl into some of the realities of married life; they also informed her of the personal peculiarities of her in-laws and neighbors; they let her know what she should and should not do. And if she was one of the first of her circle of friends to marry, she could look forward to the day when one or two of them would become brides in the vicinity and could join her in the company of these older married women.

The role of these women's groups in the village was interesting and far more important than the surface informality would indicate. Recreation for the older women was generally tied up with work. Distinctions, however, should be made between the women's work groups, such as those for spinning and carding, and women's gossiping groups, in spite of the fact that the membership was the same in both groups and that gossiping was the chief recreation in both instances. In the work groups, the women were invited formally by the hostess, were fed, and were expected to stay most of the day, definitely to work. Gossiping groups, however, were much more informal, since people

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571 521 came together without an invitation. If it was a workday, a few women of the neighborhood gathered in one of the yards to spin, sew, or knit. If it was a holiday, they simply talked. The village women spoke of it as getting together "to laugh, to be merry." The women gathered in twos, threes, or more, almost entirely on a neighborhood basis. If relatives were in the neighborhood, they were included, but because they were neighbors, not relatives. Seldom did relatives from other sections of the village attend. Among some women it was the practice to go only when invited, however informally. As one woman said:

"We take our work along. If there is anything to eat, we eat. Age makes no difference. It is seldom that an unmarried girl participates in a group with married women, because the married women talk about things which a girl should not be permitted to hear. A girl would be allowed to stay with the women only if the discussion is not of a kind bad for her." She went on to add that the young and old people customarily did not mix in conversation. "The old have little to say which interests the young, so then they begin to give advice and the young people run away."

I met five women varying in age from thirty-three to sixty-six talking one Sunday on the street corner. Some of the women had taken off their shoes and were standing in the brook beside the road. This group had a decided neighborhood basis. When I asked how these five women happened to get together, this was the explanation:

"Slavina came to ask Geny about a sick neighbor across the street. Maria saw them talking and came over to hear what the news was. Stenna, who lives up the street, also came, and after her the other Maria."

They had been talking there for almost an hour before I came and were still talking an hour after I left, as I saw on my return [476] to the College. Since it was Sunday they were doing no handwork, but said that often during the week they gathered to help one another spin, hoe corn, and harvest. One said to me, "We live together." Even in the wintertime they went around to visit, to inquire if the friends had enough wood to see them through the winter, if the cow was still sick, how much the taxes had been. Of all the women Geny

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did the most talking. The women found it difficult to say which one helped the others most, because "this depends so much upon one's special knowledge of cooking, caring for the sick, and sewing." Each woman was expert in a different line, but all were willing to help in any way.

The distinction between age groups broke down when the group was hard at work, as the work was then more important than the flow of gossip. In general, the gossiping groups got together more frequently in the summertime and on Sundays. Women found their chief recreation with women, and men with men, though the men said they needed the stimulation of tavern society.

This willingness of the men to spend money for recreation and to limit their wives to the questionable joys of gossip illustrated the common saying, "Bulgaria is a man's country." A Dragalevtsy peasant saw nothing strange in the sight of a man riding a donkey while his wife trudged along behind carrying their purchases home from market. Or if a man returned alone from market, having ridden all the way in his wagon, his wife, tired from a day in the field, went out to carry in his things, saying, "He's weary and needs my help." She was always careful to make no queries about the day's activities, although she might be bursting with curiosity to know what had happened at market. She went about her work and waited until he was comfortably fed and settled, knowing full well that then she would have a complete report. Usually her husband made himself out to be the hero of each little episode, but "men are like that," she would say.

The well trained wife always deferred to her husband. If ever I asked a question in the presence of both, the woman turned her eyes to see what response her husband made. If he made a gesture as though to say, "You go ahead and answer," then she began to talk, becoming silent whenever her husband wished to interject any comments.

What was even more conclusive proof that Bulgaria was a man's country, and certainly that Dragalevtsy was a man's village, was the obedience of women to their husband's command. I asked thirty wives in the course of my family interviews:

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574 wooden frame, through which the wool is drawn. The women in all parts of the room must be kept supplied with wool. Mealtimes must come at the
476 prescribed intervals, and the good conversationalists must be urged to repeat some of the latest news, while those who consider themselves singers must be encouraged to start a song. And so the day passes. The women have arrived in the morning as soon as they completed their morning tasks, and they stay until midafternoon. At other times, however, a smaller group assembles in the evening for four or five hours of enjoyment and spinning.

● 521 Needless to say, these *sedenka* groups[2] are powerful agencies in the dissemination of news and in the formation of village opinion. After a day spent in one of these sessions a woman has a supply of "small talk" sufficient to last her for two or three days in conversations with those who did not attend this particular gathering.

000 GOOD EXTENSION PRINCIPLES AND THE SEDENKA. The specialist who uses a *sedenka,* whether especially arranged for her or not, would be following good educational and sociological practice.

1. *She would be bringing people together in a familiar environment:* that is, one of the village homes. There would not be the strangeness of the schoolroom nor the distractions of completely new surroundings. Instead of having to adjust to a new place and a new person (the speaker) the women would play the role of hostesses and expect the speaker to adjust to them.

2. *The people would already be accustomed to meeting with each other.* Any newly-formed group needs an exploratory period in which the bolder individuals try various things on the group to see what meets with favor and what with stony indifference or frank disapproval. In a *sedenka* group, people already know how their remarks and their questions will be received, which is a matter of much importance in a learning situation. Among people who do not know each other well an ill-advised laugh at a sincere question can kill the chances of a lively, helpful, wholehearted discussion. The congeniality of the group is further assured by the fact that the hostess is able to use a selective technique which weeds out the incompatibles. Fortunately, these "incompatibles" are usually compatible in other groups where they have much in common with their associates in these groups. Therefore, every village woman could be reached in some *sedenka* grouping.

3. *The demonstration agent could use the artifacts of the village home to good advantage.* As far as possible the demonstration should be built around what the women already have, for that is what they must use if they follow the speaker's suggestions. The average village home would not spend more than four or five dollars a year on furnishings, utensils, and the like, nor could one expect them to spend more than this out of the meager budget

[2] [cf pp 74-77, p. 261, category 116 -- Analyst]

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travelers, dressed in their brightest, newest garments, were speeded on their way. The friends and relatives loaded them with money and presents of clothing, food, and wool, which the pilgrims were to donate to the great and holy monastery. The whole ceremony of leave-taking was made a part of the bright landscape by the flowers everywhere—on the dress of the pilgrims, fastened to the gifts, and carried in huge bunches. Upon their return a few days later the dusty pilgrims were met at the outskirts of the village and escorted home through the blue twilight by those eager to hear of every adventure during the days and nights in the great mountains, whose jagged walls have protected Rila Monastery for hundreds of years.

Formal piety, as shown in pilgrimages, was only one of the major characteristics which these Bulgarian villagers possessed. The Dragalevtsy people, especially the men, were predominantly literate. Bulgaria, despite what seems a forbidding Cyrillic alphabet, has the highest rate of literacy of all Balkan countries, a fact which can be attributed to the tendency to regard education as a panacea for individual and social ills. While only 44 per cent of the women over fifteen years of age could read and write, 92 per cent of the men were literate. Of course, I often came upon groups of peasants crowded around a friend slowly spelling out a newspaper article aloud, but these little clusters of attentive listeners originated because of the scarcity of newspaper subscribers, not necessarily because of illiteracy.

The Dragalevtsy people were also law-abiding. During the first three years I knew the village, and informants said that the record went much farther back than that, no Dragalevtsy peasant had been taken to Sofia for imprisonment. There was no local jail, nor any need for one. This was not a sign of the inefficiency of local police, but rather an indication of the peaceable and honest traits of the people.

In many other characteristics the villagers shared what have come to be known as the universal "rural virtues," for theirs was an agrarian way of life. More than three-fourths of the family heads were peasant proprietors. In addition to these, there were two other occupational groups: the intellectuals and the artisans. Despite their small number, the intelligentsia, as they were called by the peasants, were the most influential group in the community. Whenever the

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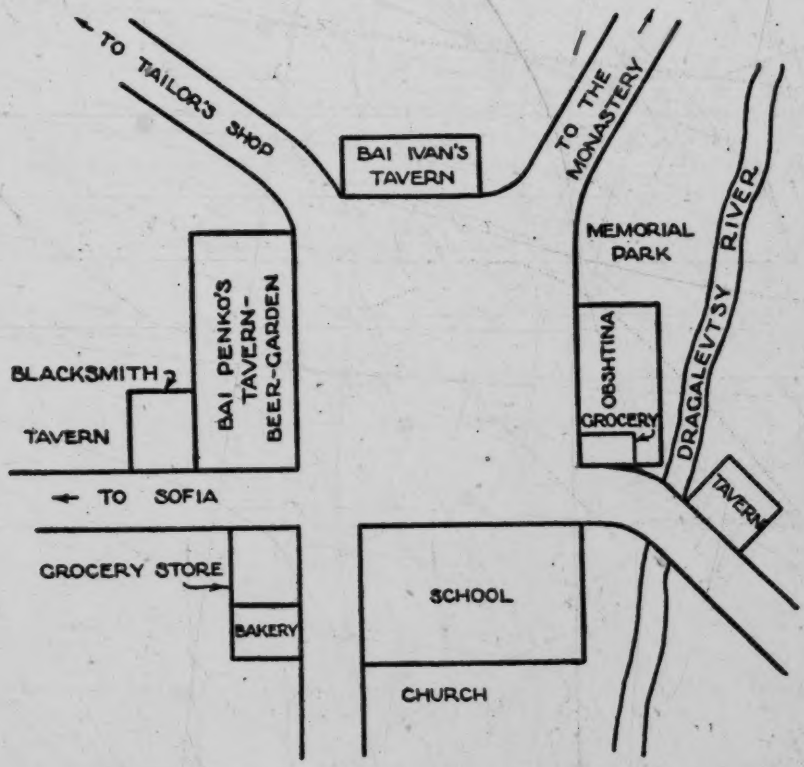

Renaissance Square, the focal point of Dragalevtsy's communal life

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weather was agreeable I was sure to find several of them playing cards in front of Bai Penko's tavern on the northern side of Renaissance Square, where the winter *horo* was held. Even though they sat engrossed in their game, they could still keep an eye on what was happening in the village, since this square was the focal point of community life. The mayor, for instance, could watch the Obshtina, or municipal building, across the square, as well as all traffic that entered this rocky plot of ground on its way to the city of Sofia below or to the monastery higher up Mount Vitosha. The priest could look past the modern school building, flanking the western side of the square, to the church just beyond. The village doctor's husband was near in

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case his wife needed him, although he invariably grumbled in his native Russian upon being called away from the game. A fourth hand during the summer was a reserve army officer whose intense love for German efficiency and ideology and whose contempt for the "ignorant, unreliable peasant" became bywords in the community. Peasants sitting on the porch of Bai Ivan's tavern on the eastern side of the square could observe with seeming indifference the intelligentsia at play, distracted though they were at times by the fervent temperance lectures delivered by the tavern keeper's daughter-in-law whenever she placed a glass of *rakiya* in front of a customer.

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These intelligentsia proved to be interesting people. The mayor had a good education, completed by the study of law in Russia. His father had been a priest in Boyana, a village just four miles to the west, so the mayor, himself a *Shop,* knew the workings of the peasant mind. When he was sent to the village as mayor back in 1934, after the *coup d'état* of that year abolished all elections and deprived many local officials of their jobs, he issued a flowery proclamation which contained such thoughts as these:

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> Therefore, as I take up my duties, desiring greatly to use the small abilities that I possess for the economic and cultural uplift of the villages included in the commune entrusted to my care, I wish to express my good feelings of loyalty and friendliness and attachment to the population and to certify that I am ready to work for the uplift of our commune and to be the loyal conveyor of its economic and cultural interests and needs.
>
> Imbued with the idea that we are all members of the same family, sons of mother Bulgaria, let us forget the recent past of shameful partisan struggles and begin to live as genuine brothers—Bulgarians filled with mutual love, patience, harmony, respect, and good will.
>
> Let us do our duty to these beautifully situated villages, perched on the slope of Mount Vitosha, and make them attractive gardens, with culture, and places of merriment and songs.

The people soon learned that the mayor when excited talked so rapidly that he failed to enunciate clearly, and they always enjoyed mimicking this mannerism. They did not particularly resent his management of their affairs, despite the fact that he had been sent by the central government which gave local communes no choice in

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(secondary school) education, found no work in Sofia, and came back to farm his land. The fact that he could survey his fields, keep his accounts, and do various other things more quickly and efficiently than his unschooled neighbors, had made him a living example of the benefits of education, as far as the Dragalevtsy farmers were concerned.

I had often heard both Bulgarians and foreigners say that children in Bulgarian villages did not know how to play. Though such a statement accurately describes the past, it was certainly becoming less true because of the growing influence of the school. Nevertheless, with the exception of certain games played in the pastures, children's group games were new to the village.

The older people said that fifty years ago there were almost no games; even these few were played only by men and boys while the women and girls always carried their knitting needles or distaffs with them. "The women sang while they worked and that was their game. The lonely shepherd boy had his *kaval* [flute]." Most of the old people had absolutely no recollection of games they played when young, which probably accounted for their unfriendly attitude toward children's games. One laconic old *baba* snapped: "The children throw stones at one another for a game."

There was much difference of opinion among the adults as to just what the children did in their playtime and with whom they played. A young man told me that children played together even if the families were unfriendly, but an older woman insisted that parents completely controlled their children's choice of playmates. The simplest way of getting at the truth was to talk to the children themselves. The children were used to seeing me and were uniformly friendly, often running to meet me as I came up the lane from the meadows. I had photographed many of them and knew their parents, so it was easy to get them to talk.

One solemn little group of five girls told me they were playing, which I took to mean that they were at leisure for the moment, for they were simply sitting on the ground by the stream trickling down the village street.

"What do you play?"

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"Oh, we play 'woman's work' and talk about the cattle, school, and such things."

"Don't you ever play with dolls?" I ventured, for only one of the group was as old as thirteen. Five pairs of black eyes looked at me seriously.

"Some of us have never had dolls, and now we are much too old."

Shocked exclamations greeted my last question, when I asked if they ever quarreled.

"Never, for we are neighbors, and share our bread, and play together every day."

Borislav, Ivan, and Boris (one thirteen-year-old and two eleven-year-olds) were an entertaining triumvirate. The father of Borislav was a streetcar conductor in Sofia and often took his son to the city. On one of these trips, the boy had seen Sofia children rolling hoops. When Borislav got back to the village, he showed his cronies how to make and play with hoops. The boys said they shared food as well as toys, and helped one another with work. Ivan had to work a great deal, which curtailed their games considerably. When I asked this group if there was any fighting, the boys grinned.

"We fight with the other boys because they make fun of us when we don't know our lessons."

"What about fighting among you three?" I persisted.

"Well," said Borislav frankly, "we have to beat Ivan once in a while because when we fight for fun to see who is strongest and Ivan wins, he boasts, and then we have to fight him seriously." (Boris told me later in private that he didn't like Ivan very much, but "I take him as a friend so as not to be without any one.")

While I was sitting on the curbing near the fountain with the three boys, a tiny, six-year-old girl wandered up. I asked her if she ever played with boys. The thin little braids bobbed vigorously up and down for the Bulgarian "no," as she gave the universal reason, "My mother doesn't let me."

All the children to whom I talked agreed that it was more fun for boys and girls to play separately. (Seven-year-old Mara did play with Peter, but only, she assured me earnestly, because she had no one

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else in the neighborhood.) It was also better to play with relatives because "one doesn't quarrel so much." The boys in general liked to play in the schoolyard "because one meets one's friends from outside the neighborhood there." One brown-skinned imp in ragged hand-me-downs said that "Lots of us play near the school because our parents cannot see us and call us to work." Both boys and girls said that the teachers showed them many games which they still played in the summer.

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The children of Dragalevtsy seldom acted out stories or dramas which they had seen portrayed in books or in a *vecherinka* (entertainment). The boys did almost no tree-climbing because there were few trees in the village large enough. All the climbing that was done was "for work," to get nuts or fruit. Games with balls or marbles were brought to the village by students going daily into Sofia to one of the higher schools. The group games of a formal nature requiring ten or fifteen children were learned in the village school and were usually played in the schoolyard. Some of the most popular children's games were the following:

Na svinkya (Playing swine). Several boys hit a wooden ball into holes with the use of clubs knotted at the end. There was a boy guarding each hole and one in the center. The idea was to get the ball into the hole. This was a peasant form of golf and was one of the oldest games played by Bulgarian villagers. It was the special favorite of boys who were keeping the animals in the pastures.

Sus kukla (With a doll). Some people estimated that one out of every six little girls had a doll, while others maintained that the number was nearer three out of six. There were no statistics on this subject, but playing with dolls was uncommon enough to make it a source of great joy to children who did so. Some of the dolls were very crude and ugly, though many parents were buying western dolls in the market to bring home.

Na Tsiganeta (Playing gypsies). Since every boy caring for animals carried a stick, it was natural that a game using this stick originated. The game called for the contestants to bounce their stick from one end to the other in rapid succession, much as one would "skip" a rock on the surface of water. The stick might jump five or

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six times before falling motionless. The least skillful contestant received a beating from the others.

Na machuklin (In New England called "Peggy"). Consisted chiefly of tapping the end of a small stick so that it would rise into the air to be hit again before it fell to the ground.

Na Kokumish. This was a form of tag played by children sitting around in a circle.

Na gonenitsa (Form of running tag). The one to be "it" *(gogan)* was chosen by "counting out" with the use of the following poem, which corresponded to "eeny, meeny, miney, mo":

[539]

Ala bala nitsa,
Turska panitsa,
E, gidi Dancho,
Nash kapitancho.

Ala bala nitsa,
A Turkish plate,
Hey, you Dancho,
Our leader.

The children when counting out spit on their fingers. The *gogan* would run and try to touch the others.

Na zhmish (Hide and seek). The one who was "it" said the following poem while the others hid:

[539]

Dve vrabcheta
Se skaraka
Na Popovota vrata.
Pop izleza i im kazva
Ish, pish, tish, stesh, mish.

Two sparrows
Quarreled
At the Priest's gate.
The Priest came out and told them
Ish, pish, tish, stesh, mish.

After he said this he went to hunt the others. Wherever he found anyone he spit in the place where he was. The others tried to run to the homebase and spit there before he did.

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Kosharki (Sheep folds). This was a game which had been played extensively a generation ago, but its use was dying out in the village. The children would build miniature sheep folds, houses, and fences out of rocks. This game corresponded after a fashion to our building with blocks. 857 524

The outstanding characteristic of all these games was that they required little equipment and few participants. At home, the play groups were inevitably restricted to the family and nearest neighbors, often relatives. At school, children could choose relatives and other children in the same grade. Play groups in the fields were formed on the basis of family ownership of land and common pasture. These latter groups often gathered in the village and went to the fields together, the youngsters carrying loaves of bread, baked peppers, and fresh tomatoes. Even in play, the family was important, for every type of play group almost automatically included relatives. As was previously pointed out, there was less quarreling among the children who were related. I often heard: "You shouldn't hit him; he's your relative."

The new types of play were still limited. The radio, comic papers, and movies were almost unknown to the village child, just as they were to the average adult. Only twenty-five newspapers reached the village daily, and these had few comic strips. Magazines and books were a rarity. Sofia bookshops had some exquisite children's books, but I never saw one in the village. Sometimes when I came into a village home on a winter evening, I would see an unforgettable picture. Near the fire the father sat quietly, elbows on knees, the mother was spinning near the one dim electric bulb, and in the center, crouched at the low table, a boy, nine or ten years old, was laboriously reading some fragment of a periodical to his parents. Their pride and pleasure was unspoken but obvious. [214] [593]

There was one radio in the village, and the children were of course conscious of it as it blared incessantly in Renaissance Square, but it was not a part of their life, any more than the movies or trains. Only 45 per cent of the total population, including babies, had ever attended a movie, and less than 40 per cent had ever been on a train. [207] [517] 369

Usually after midnight, the singing at the *sedenka* began to decrease in volume, conversation became dull, and the boys sensed that it was time to go. After their departure the hostess often served refreshments such as a soggy cheese pie *(banitsa)*, and the girls might or might not spend the night. The courting aspect of the gathering was emphasized by the fact that none of the married people of the household, except the mother of the girl acting as hostess, could be present. Even she was absent much of the time in some of the homes. 584 574 883

It was at these *sedenki*, that I collected a number of village proverbs, which were a real conversational aid to young people somewhat tongue-tied in mixed company. 538

"A kind word opens an iron gate."

"God gives but does not drive into the stall."

"A wet person is not afraid of rain."

"Listen much, speak little."

"Short are the legs of a lie."

"Stretch out your feet according to your quilt."

"I am telling your daughter so that daughter-in-law may hear [speaking indirectly]."

"After the rain, a raincape."

"Every pear has a stem."

"Give advice freely but not money."

"The thirsty carry water."

"A dog that barks much puts a wolf in the stall."

Within recent years the *vecherinki* provided young people other means of getting acquainted. The purpose of a *vecherinka*, or evening entertainment in the schoolhouse, was not to get any work done, but to raise money for some worthy cause. The villagers bought tickets to a program of music or drama, provided by both imported and local talent. Auctions and lotteries were features of most *vecherinki*. After the program was over the people joined in dancing: first, for an hour or so, they danced the native *hora*, to be followed, when the old folks 584 517 883 [525] [535]

[A "sedenka" is a spinning party — The Bulgarian part of an American pioneer bee, husking and quilting the 2... Analyst]

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unless stooped by age. Hands seldom gloved in winter are rough 142
and dirty and calloused. I often thought that one of the strangest things about death was the way it quieted the hands of these simple folk, who, although reserved in demeanor, constantly gestured when they spoke.

I grew accustomed to the mannerisms of the people as well as 527
to the flavor of village life by slow degrees. At first I was attracted 535
most by the gala occasions, or the spectacular. There was the annual Christmas *horo* (folk dance) which provided the first break in the monotony of winter. On a comfortably mild Christmas Day old women and little children, the first to arrive in the main village square, sat in twos and threes waiting for the dancing to begin. Girls in their [301]
Sunday best, with necklaces of gold coins flashing in the sunlight, passed through the square and sang as they walked. They were bareheaded, [292]
since they could not yet wear the married women's head kerchief. As they drew closer, the blotches of rouge, the tremendous earrings, belts laden with clinking silver pieces, and heavy bracelets showed that the girls considered this no ordinary holiday. They formed a line, side by side, and began the dance after persuading the gypsy musicians to strike up a tune; one by one the boys who had come out of the taverns joined the moving line: one step to the right, one step to the left, then three steps to the right, kicking high as they stepped. As the dancing progressed, many married women participated, while the married men looked on with condescending interest. The little children, dressed like miniature adults, gathered on the fringes of the crowd to imitate the dancers. Gossiping groups formed, buzzed, and then dissolved to form anew.

A commotion arose in the center of the square as two young men fought over the cane which was carried by the leader of the *horo*. The leader was supposed to pay the musicians for the dances he led, in exchange for which he could direct the dancers in a serpentine movement, always in step with the music, so that they wound in and out with a "crack-the-whip" at every major bend of the line. To the peasant, the boisterous physical activity gives an exhilaration little else can induce. In fact, some of the "young blades" at this *horo* were so carried away with animal spirits that they performed six or seven steps

535 to the prescribed two or three, tiring themselves out to the plaudits of
527 those close by.

To the old-timers, however, the modern version of the traditional dance was a sad commentary on the state of things. They thought the young people too soft. After I had been watching the *horo* for some time an old man hobbled up to me. I had seen him shaking his head and muttering to himself, so I asked him, "What do you think of it, *dedo*?" He grunted, "It's all right for the young people to have a little fun, but they aren't as strong as I used to be when I was young. I used to hoe corn, harvest wheat, and come back to dance all evening. The young people can't do that now. And I wasn't as healthy as my father used to be."

535 The village registrar, Bai Angel, told me why there had been a declining interest in the *hora*, especially those which used to occur around the neighborhood fountains. About seven o'clock the people used to go to the pasture to get their animals. If the animals were slow in coming, then the people danced the *horo* there in the fields. When the animals had been taken home, and after the girls had finished up their housework, they went with jugs to one of the three fountains in the village and there danced again until eleven o'clock. In 1924 more fountains were installed in the village, thus tending to break up the larger groups which gathered around the three original fountains. The girls preferred to carry water from the fountains nearest their homes, and no longer attended the evening *horo*.

517 Tavern life was another, less colorful way of passing the bleak
521 winter days. In the four ill-ventilated *kruchmi* the men gathered to
275 discuss the harvest and to argue over the news read aloud from yester-
203 day's newspaper. Some man sought his godfather, or the godfather of a recently christened son or daughter, and invited him to have a drink of *rakiya* (plum brandy) or wine. Sometimes men who had completed a business deal drank to clinch it. Men who had been in the army together told the same tall tales of adventure over and over again, re-creating those experiences which lifted them for a while out of their limited village environment. There were seldom any fights, because the frequenters put an end to disagreements before they got

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875 were turned over to Greece and Yugoslavia, respectively, after the first World War; while Dimiter was from the section of Thrace which Bulgaria was forced to surrender. Since the teachers had such backgrounds it was no wonder that adorning one of the classrooms was a sign, "NEMA MIR DOKATO NEUILLY" or "There will be no peace as long as the Treaty of Neuilly is in force."

The director of the school was a vigorous woman with splendid preparation for her task. She told me on several occasions how disappointed she was that her teachers took so little interest in helping the peasants improve their way of life. They were supposed to spend Sunday afternoons visiting the homes of their pupils in an effort to advise parents in matters of child care and standards of hygiene. Actually, the teachers, being all too human, preferred to spend the week end in Sofia rather than reform the unenthusiastic adults.

[565] 527 659 The intelligentsia were usually seen in their glory at some great occasion such as the celebration of an important holiday. The event which caused most excitement during my six years of residence in Bulgaria was the birth of Prince Simeon, heir apparent to the throne of his father, King Boris. The exercises which were held in Dragalevtsy four days after the royal birth in 1937 showed how the intellectuals worked hand in hand, since the school, the church, and the state were so closely allied.

[796] The crowd had to wait at least forty-five minutes for the priests from the monastery who were to help Father Sava with the liturgy of the *vodosvet,* or consecration of the holy water, whose sprinkling gave official religious recognition to the closing of the school year. Then the mayor began to speak the high-sounding phrases which the villagers loved to hear. He told them how significant for Bulgaria was the birth of Prince Simeon.

> June Sixteenth [he said] will be written in golden letters in the history of Bulgaria. June Sixteenth marks the day when an heir was born to the throne of Bulgaria. Our school house has no name, so I recommend that we petition for the right to call our school "Prince Simeon II." The first Simeon who reigned a thousand years ago was called Simeon the Great. I feel sure that Simeon the Second will likewise go down in history as Simeon the Great.
>
> [871] In honor of this great occasion, the Government has decreed that the marks of every student will be raised, so that no one will fail in any subject. [Hurrah!

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Hurrah!] That's right; nobody will fail. No pupil will repeat the class next year! [Hurrah! Hurrah!] All deportment marks likewise will be raised and anyone who has been expelled from school will be accepted back on probation. The government is cancelling over a billion leva in unpaid taxes and is freeing thousands of prisoners . . . . [871]

Before he finished he led the children, and such adults as would join, in further cheers for Prince Simeon, for King Boris, and for Queen Iovanna. After the school choir had sung the national anthem and the "Hymn to the King," all filed inside for the official graduation exercises. There were more patriotic songs and at least twenty declamations with such titles as "Three Days at the Battle of Shipka," "To our Teachers," "A Prayer to God," "I Like the Priest," "I am a Temperance Girl," and "Nature." Displays of the children's handwork, as well as these recitations, brought some recognition to the teachers who had worked behind the scenes. 527 659 871

The director in her remarks thanked the mayor and the priest profusely and the parents casually for the help they had rendered during the past year. When she was about to present the diplomas, such bedlam broke loose that few could hear the compliments she paid the brightest pupils, who had received as special awards from the mayor books on war and religion. The exercises concluded with the presentation of a large bouquet from the pupils to the school director, who politely accepted the flowers on behalf of all the teachers.

The intelligentsia just described had more importance than their village duties seemed to indicate. They were the channels through which the national state, the national church, and the national school system expressed themselves. No member of this select group was Dragalevtsy-born. Their high status rested not only upon the influence they wielded as representatives of powerful institutions, but also upon the fact that they were educated. Education, along with the patient accumulation of land and money, was one sound way of raising one's social position, and those who had persevered in its pursuit received due honor. As one father said to his son upon sending him to school: "If you don't study you will plow, sow, and work in the fields, and where will you get then?" 565 554 [555]

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Vitosha and snow-covered Cherni Vruh, its peak, looked raw and wild. Against this background a trio of woman, ox, and man was repeated over and over as the households fell into line. The woman came first, leading the moon-eyed oxen which drew the crude wagon with the wooden plow inside. Behind them walked the man who was to guide the plow. He carried a long staff to poke the oxen when they grew sluggish at their task. With the stately pace set by the animals, the peasants walked as gravely through the hush of early morning as though they were moving to some pagan altar rising in the dewy fields. Time slipped back for me countless centuries when I saw the first spring plowing, for small boys had hung the oxen with garlands as though these animals had been meant for sacrifice. 241 231 461

As the days passed, this picture had its variations. Black buffalo, with a cruel crocodile look on their faces, sometimes replaced the oxen; occasionally the woman was busy about something else and the man plowed alone. If the beasts got off the track, a flood of abusive language burst forth from the exasperated peasant. The sound of the language and the pitch of the voice were even more effective than the meaning. Not only in Dragalevtsy but all over Bulgaria, slowly and laboriously the heavy earth was broken with endless patience, for almost three-fourths of the plows had wooden shares, and oxen outnumbered horses four to one.

After the seed was in the ground the peasants left the responsibility mainly to God, but partly to the field policeman and his routine patrols. To ensure God's benevolence the village had a special day for a religious procession through the fields: the first Thursday after St. George's Day (May 6). Once the constant beating of the church bell coming from a strange direction attracted my attention to a spot about one mile east of the village. There was Father Sava, the priest, in his official regalia, accompanied by several boys carrying the church cross, the bell, a flag, and large icons. From forty to fifty villagers followed in a winding line. The procession stopped to pray for rain in several places where there had been insufficient rainfall. Later I learned that on one occasion the party had climbed almost to the top of Vitosha in order to fulfill to the letter their mission of encircling all of the fields owned by the Dragalevtsy people. 527 241

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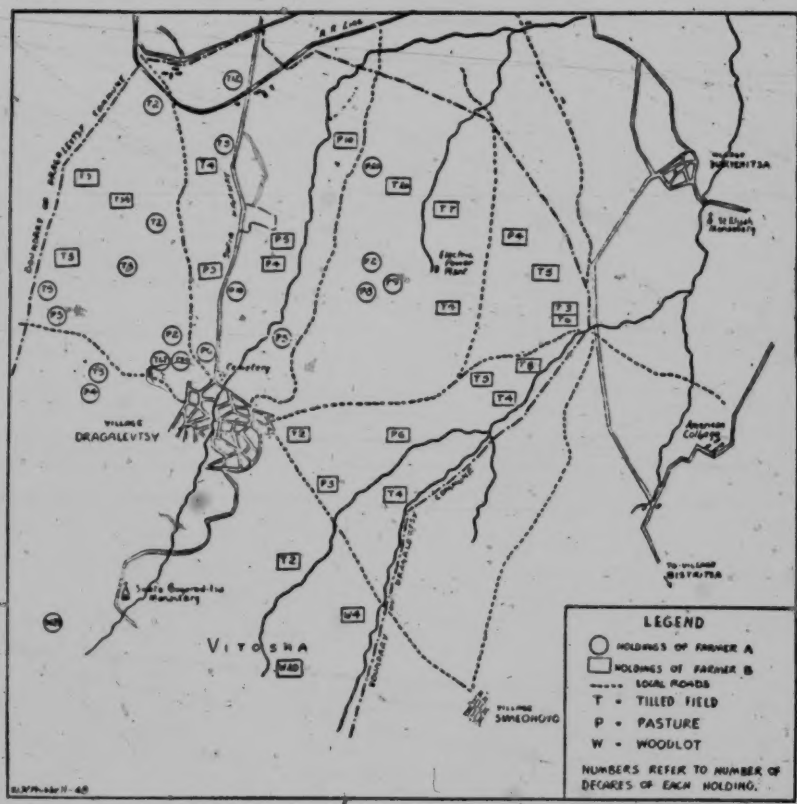

Map of holdings of two Dragalevtsy farmers

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Should drought be very severe, say in midsummer, the villagers asked for another procession and additional prayers to do more effectively what the May procession had failed to do. 1 The need for such ceremonies was explained to me one day by a tavern keeper: "While the people know in their minds that wind keeps the rain away from their fields, they believe in their hearts that the cause of drought, like that of sickness, is the sinfulness of the world today for which God is punishing the people."

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The chief bread-grain used in this region was called *smes*, a mixture of wheat and rye. It was sown by hand from a bag slung over

1 [i.e. ensure a good harvest -- Analyst]

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578 But day in and day out co-operation was much more common in the community than conflict. Conflict was more colorful, it varied the ordinary routine for participants and observers, and it brought to the surface many causes of minor irritation. The character of village life, however, called for continued interchange of labor, implements, and even work animals.

527 241 At breakfast one morning Bai Penko told me that I had better go down to the school meadows if I wanted to see something interesting. The dog days had come. The peasants would do no work of their own during three of these days because of their firmly rooted superstition that fire would later destroy whatever they did. If they should use these days for getting in their own hay, it would probably burn during the autumn. Some imaginative leader had taken advantage of this traditional idleness by proposing that every family send a member down to the school meadows to mow and stack the hay which was later to be sold for the benefit of the local school. The villagers obliged with the mental reservation that it was no concern of theirs if the school's hay burned before it could be sold to the commission merchants.

Even before I had finished my pale cocoa made of sheep's milk, some of the tavern faithful began to drift in. It was already hot outside, so hot that the men rejoiced because they did not have to go down to the meadow in the broiling sun. One patriarch had trouble persuading a daughter-in-law to represent the family, but she had agreed to go if he would buy her the pair of new shoes he had been promising her; another said his son wanted to go because he thought it would be more fun down there than hanging around the house. Such remarks as these spurred me on my way.

I had gone only a hundred yards before I caught up with a housewife headed for the meadow, a wooden pitchfork over her shoulder. She was not looking forward to the toil ahead of her, because she wanted to work in her vegetable garden, dog days or no dog days.

Even before I reached the group I saw them hard at work. Rows of men were wielding scythes, rhythmically and unhurriedly advancing together without leaving an erect blade of grass between them.

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Women, their kerchiefs loosely drawn over their heads, turned the swaths of hay that had been curing. The younger people, displaying an amazing amount of energy and enthusiasm in such sultry weather, collected the dried grass first in small piles, next in larger piles, and then several joined forces to scoot these heaps of hay across the field to the nearest stack. This scooting was the center of the day's hilarity, for it was always accompanied by shouts of triumph ("Look what a big pile we have"), and warning ("You'd better get out of our way; we're coming"). The scoot usually ended in several youngsters taking a terrific tumble, but they did not seem to mind falling in the sweet-smelling new-mown hay.

The large stacks conveniently placed around the forty-acre meadow were dressed without a wasted movement by men who remained on top and were lifted higher as the stack grew in size. By the end of the afternoon some of the stacks had grown so large that the men on top had to be helped down.

A little before lunch time the priest and the mayor came strolling across the fields swinging their canes like true intelligentsia. They exchanged friendly comments with all the people they passed. They continued on across the meadow to a tavern on the Sofia road, returning eventually with two jugs of *rakiya* and a bag of fruit for those who spurned brandy.

Lunch time was quiet except when some boy played a trick on a dozing neighbor and got an angry protest in exchange. The only shade was directly next to the stacks, so most of the people had to endure the sun even while they rested. Trees were a mile away. As the afternoon wore on, the desire to get a big patch finished overcame the natural fatigue setting in. The captains, appointed by the mayor to control the activities of the people from their respective neighborhoods, stirred up the spirit of competition, and the stacks grew larger and larger. At length all the cut hay had been piled and we began to leave the field as the sun was setting behind the mountain. The towering stacks stood motionless, symbolic of that co-operation which is the heart of communal life everywhere.

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369 443 back street. I do know that the inarticulate peasant woman who sat for hours crouched on the sidewalk wondered at the strange styles of women's clothing, and that the village man, in his wandering, coveted some glittering object in a shopwindow for his child. In the late afternoon as they went home, and during the days that followed, man and wife talked about this trip to market. For them it had been a shared adventure.

527 Other activities which the family members shared besides the tasks of home and field and the trip to market were the holidays. The traditional holidays were religious, while the ones most recently introduced were patriotic.

796 January sixth was *Malka Koleda,* or Little Christmas. Many Bulgarian villagers would tell you that Christ was really born on the day before Christmas, but his birth was not made known until the following day. For that reason, great emphasis was laid upon the celebration of Little Christmas, or Christmas Eve, with the meal on Christmas Eve as the most important part of the season's festivities.

[609] Each time I spent Christmas in a Bulgarian village home I was deeply impressed with the simplicity and beauty of its symbolism. I was a foreigner and a Protestant nonbeliever. Bai Milush and his family received me as though I were one of their own large family. Carefully and patiently they explained to me each bit of ceremony and tradition and symbolism. Often a ceremony was repeated so I could photograph it. There was not a single appurtenance of the Western Christmas in the household; even the date was different, but the Christmas spirit meant more there than anywhere else I had ever been.

To commemorate Christ's birth in a manger, straw was laid on the floor and covered with a blanket which served as the tablecloth for the evening's repast. The whole family gathered around this blanket after an incense urn had been carried as a good luck symbol from the iconostas to each room of the house and to all of the animal stalls. Because the meal was late in starting, three of the smallest children had gone to sleep, one in a crib and the other two on a wooden bed. In order to get the meal under way without further formalities, the women passed hot, fiery *rakiya* (plum brandy) to each person and stood patiently until the single glass had been emptied

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593 Although this insight into the relations between parents and their children, both adult and immature, has taken us beyond the period of childhood, it does show us why the children had to learn obedience and respect and why the village would soon show its dissatisfaction [857] with anyone who flouted the established rules. Children also learned to defer to an older brother or sister and assumed responsibility for those who were younger. In the main, a child's life was centered about the home and about those activities which he shared with members of his immediate family or the relatives in the neighborhood who were young enough to be his playmates.

● 527 574 Children became acquainted with their relatives in other villages on the annual *Subor* or "At Home Day" which each village observed. Dragalevtsy families had four village *Subori* which they could attend; on Pantaley Den (August 9) they could go to Boyana; on Spasov Den (the Monday of the eighth week after Easter) they could go to Durvenitsa; on Petkov Den (October 27) they could visit Bistritsa; and on Archangel Day (November 21) they could visit Simeonovo.

I once attended this Simeonovo *Subor* with the Dragalevtsy families. I was told gravely by the old women that on this day everyone must be especially good, for the Archangel Michael was the one who received the souls of the dead into heaven. On the day preceding, the Simeonovo women had gathered to make many loaves of bread from flour previously donated to the church by its loyal supporters. Early on the morning of the *Subor* the church sexton with some helpers killed four sheep for the big meat stews; later he gave terse commands regarding the flavoring of the stews: bean and mutton, cabbage and mutton, and rice and mutton—a somewhat monotonous menu, but one hallowed by tradition.

We started our four-mile walk at an early hour. The air was crisp and so clear that the great Balkan range, miles across the plain, stood out sharply in its rose and blue. By midmorning a large number of people, including the children, had come into the churchyard. Most of them entered the church and attended part of the service; the women carried bread and boiled corn to be blessed by the priest, who received a portion. At noon, the church service was concluded and the priest blessed the meal prepared under the auspices of the church. Then it

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was that a few hundred people—guests, villagers, and total strangers—partook of the common meal. This dinner was typical. There was wine in abundance, for, as a member of the financial committee told me, wine induced a generous spirit in the hearts of those making their annual pledges to the church. After the meal and the pledges, the crowd dispersed. Visitors went home with family groups for further eating and drinking. The village square became a kaleidoscope of colors when peasant boys and girls began to dance the stately *horo* to the music of the pipes and drums. 527 574

With the coming of evening the guests left the village. Simeonovo moved again through a period of quiet and almost unbroken monotony until Archangel Day next year. Of course Christmas and Easter brought celebrations, but not the dash and gaiety that the presence of several hundred outsiders invariably created.

In spite of these set occasions for visiting, a surprising number of Dragalevtsy people stayed put, at least as far as going to other villages was concerned. *(See Appendix V.)* They had business in Sofia, and could justify going there. But almost half of the *stopani* never went to another village, even though there were four villages within five miles of Dragalevtsy. The same held true for their wives, the *domakini.* But those that did take such trips usually let their children go along, at least on some of the visits. These proved to be gala events in the lives of the youngsters. 574

In addition to the commemoration of Christmas and Easter and the celebration of St. George's Day, described in the last chapter,[1] there were other holidays during the year which interested the children as much if not more than they did the adults. On the few summer holidays the villagers avoided any strenuous field work; since most of the special days came in the winter it was simple enough "to remember the holiday and take it easy." If the people found it necessary to do some important job on a holiday, they had a precedent set by no less a personage than St. Peter himself. On his own name day (July 12) he saw that the grain needed harvesting, so he took a piece of hearth cake in one hand and a sickle in the other and went to work reaping his wheat "so that the ripe grains wouldn't fall to the ground." 527 857

[1] [cf. pp 106-111, category 116--Analyst]

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● 527 This was the peasant version of the Sabbath being made for man, not
857 man for the Sabbath.

One holiday which children particularly enjoyed was New Year's Day, which, like Christmas, came two weeks later than our own because of the Old Style Calendar still in use by the church. Boys and girls were up at break of day to tap every passer-by with a gaily decorated branch of a cornel cherry tree. As they tapped they chanted:

[539]

Fresh, fresh New Year
Happiness to the end.
Let mother and father be healthy
Like the past year!

Striking with a cornel-twig higher than the cap;
Wishing you a houseful of corn,
Yellow as the gold,
To ripen early, early in
The fields during the summer.

Let wedding guests again pass by
With full wine casks
To present us with white kerchiefs
And embroidered belts.

Fresh, fresh New Year,
Let us get sister married! . . .

With this chant they wished good health. In return they expected
[777] a coin or something to eat. This tapping continued until nightfall. Most members of the family looked sleepy during the day because they had stayed up late the night before to gamble. Their success or failure on New Year's Eve was supposed to foretell what luck the new year had in store.

Early in the morning the older boys and girls told fortunes by gathering around a copper kettle in which each one had placed some identifying article, such as a ring or knife. The group sang a song, connected with some occupation, while one token was drawn from the pot. If a boy's token was drawn, the occupation described would be his; if a girl's token was drawn, then she would marry a man engaged in that occupation. After this they all danced the *horo*.

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Epiphany or Bogoyavlenie on January 19 commemorated the baptism of Christ. The Dragalevtsy boys and girls knew how the day was celebrated in other villages near the rivers or the sea. There the altar cross was thrown into the icy water. Naked youths dove in and struggled violently for it. The winner, carrying the cross, then collected money from the crowd. More important even than the money was the feeling that he would be fortunate during the coming year. But Epiphany did not pass unnoticed in Dragalevtsy, even though the river was nothing more than a racing mountain brook. The priest brought the cross out to sell at auction. The buyer, of course, returned it to the priest, but with his purchase received the assurance of God's blessing in the days to come. One year, a hiker happened to be passing through on his way up to the top of Vitosha. He saw the crowd gathered around the priest, bought the cross, went to the tavern for a free drink, returned the cross to the priest, and went on his way up the mountain. Peasants marveled for some time afterwards over the dispatch he showed in the whole affair.

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Formerly on this day, children were christened with cold instead of lukewarm water, and all brides of that year were bathed in the river. When I asked why such custom was no longer practiced, Bai Angel, the village registrar, shrugged: "Oh, then the people were stronger and could stand such treatment."

On the previous day the children had all awaited the priest's arrival to sprinkle holy water in every room of the house. As we have already seen, many families collected bottles of the water that had been especially blessed for Epiphany, in the belief that it would cure various illnesses later on.

[777]
[788]

Bulgarian boys and girls never celebrated their birthdays. Instead, they made much of their name days. Each child bore the name of some saint, with a special day on the church calendar. Each Ivan (John) celebrated on the day following Epiphany, January 20; each Grigor (Gregory) on February 7; each Iliya (Elijah) on August 2. And so it ran throughout the year. Those with names not appearing on the calendar generally chose the day of "The Forty Holy Martyrs." Whereas Americans would expect to receive gifts on their birthdays, Bulgarians, especially those who were married, expected to entertain

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●527 857 and provide food and drink for their friends on their name days. Children had to grow into the many practices surrounding holidays just as they had to grow into understanding of how to become a good farmer. It took some time to learn, for example, that on September 11, the Day of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, one should have nothing to do with objects colored red. That color symbolized blood and guilt. On the first of March, however, red was very much in evidence. In the cities the young people exchange *martenitsi*, equivalent to our Valentines. This day was popularly called *Baba Marta* or "Old Woman March," because the weather during March was changeable and whimsical.

Although the villagers themselves paid little attention to the patriotic holidays which had been started within the past few decades, children welcomed them, for they meant a variation in the school routine. Schoolteachers would never think of letting a patriotic holiday go by without some special exercises. Among such holidays were those commemorating the liberation of Bulgaria, the King's birthday, the King's name day, the King's ascension to the throne. A special holiday for students was also becoming firmly rooted. It was the one honoring the missionary brothers, St. Cyril and St. Methodius, who were the patron saints of learning.

[574] These holidays, both religious and patriotic, were often the occasion for relatives to come to the village. The buses, mysteriously held together in places by baling wire, chugged up the hill to the square to disgorge their load of people and grotesque bundles. Children crowded around to greet the newcomers and merrily skipped beside [166] them as they walked toward the house. However, one-third of the homes had *no* visitors from outside the village during the year. Many of the visitors were originally from Dragalevtsy. A record of one year's migrants, twenty-one in all, showed that six had married outsiders and settled elsewhere; four had gone as soldiers, four as students, two as laborers, and the rest as cabmen, watchmen, and a coffeehouse proprietor.

527 857 608 All these holidays meant much to the children: exciting food, observance of age-old customs, and the arrival of guests. A few holidays were of special importance to godparents and godchildren. On

Epiphany the godparent went to the home of his godchild, poured water on him or, in a rare case, pushed him into the river for the sake of his health during the coming year. On Cheese Sunday, however, the godchild went to his godparent's home with a gift and begged forgiveness for all sins committed during the year. On certain other holidays and special occasions the godchild was also supposed to pay his respects. 608 527 857

Some features of this bond between godparent and godchild were strange to one unfamiliar with the Orthodox Church. Behavior in the presence of godparents was highly formalized and correct. A person would not lie to his godparent; nor was he supposed ever to swear in his godparent's presence. These customs emphasized the mystical spiritual union which was supposed to exist between godparent and godchild. 608

Because the office of the godparent was hereditary, the same family provided godparents for the members of another family for generations. Consequently a feeling of strong relationship had come about. A godparent was considered one of the closest of relatives. "The godfather is closer than an uncle, and the godmother is closer than an aunt," the peasants used to say. Children of the two families could not marry even though madly in love, because, in the sight of the village, they were related. The taboo against marriage into the family of the mother's godparents further complicated matters. A woman, upon marriage, adopted the godparent of her husband, who assumed the same responsibility to the children of that couple as he did to the father. If a godparent was called upon to officiate at a wedding or a christening and was unable to attend, he could send one of his children to perform in his stead. [582]

We have already seen the part that the godparents *(kumove)* played in the wedding ceremony.[1] The rite of christening revealed even more of the relationship between godparent and his spiritual ward. He went with a friend or relative to the infant's home, some two or three Sundays after its birth, and took it to the church. He had previously discussed the child's name with the parents and usually followed their wishes, but had the right to give the child any name he thought proper. In the case of the first son he was apt to follow the 608 553 851

[1] [See p 89, category 116 -- Analyst]

[562] 178 593 were willing to grant that the changes introduced by the young people were a part of the times and might not be so bad after all. In talking to these older women I noted a touch of envy, which I would not have suspected ten years ago.

In contrast to these changes many phases of the family system remained the same. These included the attitude of intolerance towards a childless couple, the role of the mother-in-law in the caring for infants, the parents' preference for boys, the reserve between father and the children, the continued dwelling of many married sons with their fathers, and the importance attached to being an older brother or sister in the family. The godparent relationship and the attitude towards the *svatovstvo* (in-law relationships) were still of major importance.

[848] The moral standards remained relatively rigid, with continuing intolerance toward illegitimacy. The one such case within the past ten years[1] had caused a great amount of unfavorable comment. The mother resolved her predicament by leaving her child with relatives in the village and marrying in another place.

178 183 Many other traditional practices besides those related to the family still maintained their strong grip on the people. The Christmas Horo took place as always and the Sunday afternoon promenade had become more firmly established. The *babi* (older women) were called in whenever illness or childbirth occurred. The smaller families, of course, numbered fewer children these days, but the *babi* were kept just as busy since the state-employed midwife no longer worked for the Obshtina. The dead were buried much the same as formerly, although the priest forbade people to cry messages to the dead while the funeral procession paused at the crossroads on the way from the home to the church.

[527] The people still made much of the mice and wolf holidays. One day after St. Dimiter's Day (November 9) the peasants continued to fast to keep the mice from coming in and eating up not only stored food but even clothes and other prized possessions. Bai Yurdan, the tailor, told me in all seriousness, "When I was in Sofia I didn't observe such holidays but now that I am back in the village I must."

[1] [i.e. 1935 - 1945 -- Analyst]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

When I pressed him for his reasons, fully expecting him to say that he was yielding to the pressure of his wife or public opinion, he gravely replied: 527 178 183

"You see in Sofia I did not own any of my own cloth but now I have a great deal downstairs which I must protect from the mice." I might mention in passing that Bai Yurdan had become a faithful member of the Communist party.

The wolf holidays were still observed for three days following the Day of the Archangel Michael, which comes on November 21. During these days the peasants were careful to do no work and refused to cook or boil anything. Such rigid observances, they believed, protected their sheep from wolves, which were still numerous upon the mountain.

One event of overshadowing importance in the changes which had occurred in Dragalevtsy since 1937 had been its incorporation in Greater Sofia in 1939. Even though their village was close to Sofia, Dragalevtsy people had always considered themselves quite apart, and looked upon Sofia ways as alien ways. However, Sofia politicians managed to bring the village under the sway of the city's municipality. Most villagers considered this an evil day in the history of their community and could cite a number of disadvantages which had occurred as a result. One of the village officials, whom I had known previously, complained particularly about the following points: 369 178 186

1. The city municipality had taken over the forests.

2. It had taken over the meadows which the peasants owned in common. For instance, the villagers no longer did the haying in the meadows which used to belong to the school because all of the revenue from the sale of this hay went to the Sofia School Fund. This meant that the three Dog Days,[1] described in an earlier chapter, were once more days of idleness.

3. Formerly the Dragalevtsy Obshtina collected seven or eight million leva in taxes, but since incorporation with Sofia had only a budget of one million on which to operate. My informant failed to mention that much of this money came from the factory district down on the Sofia plain which had once, much to the dissatisfaction of the [651]

1 [Cf. p. 58, category III -- Analyst]

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young people connected with it, it had little reforming influence upon the older people. The government was trying to control the sale of liquor by limiting hours of sale and by excluding minors from taverns. For example, the taverns were closed during the time of Sunday morning service.

Here, then, we have three efforts on the part of villagers and authorities to promote abstinence or temperance. The first, in 1922, used the local governmental machinery but lacked the support of the men who were the only ones with the right to vote. The second was the voluntary association of strong-willed youths, who soon found that formal organizations had short lives in Dragalevtsy. The other method consisted of the mayor's arbitrary edicts, which he had power to make people obey. From time to time he overlooked infringements of his rules, being more interested in avoiding excessive drunkenness on the part of well-known sots than in decreasing the tavern keeper's revenues.

The chief objections raised to the use of liquor were economic rather than moral. Although recreation was not commercialized in our sense of the term, the tavern keepers did make an adequate income from catering to patrons with free time on their hands.

The only formally organized recreational group in the village was the *Yunak* organization. It began its career in the village in 1932. The local group was one of hundreds scattered throughout the whole of Bulgaria for the purpose of organizing the youth for sport and physical education. The activity of this organization was intense in the beginning. Since then, however, interest died down to the point that the young men gathered only two or three times a year for exercise in the schoolyard where there were rings and a horizontal bar, and once a year for election of officers. Many of the members felt that it was an honor to belong because it signified to the rest of the villagers that "you want to be healthy." The older people, however, thought that such an organization was unnecessary since, in their opinion, "if the young people did enough work in the fields and around the stables they would not need any organization for exercise." As is the case with many clubs of this sort, there were four or five people who really carried the load in an effort to keep the group alive. Because this organization was so utterly out of line with the familistic point

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529 575 of view, its members got little encouragement from the older people and had little lasting enthusiasm for its program.

575 829 The Reading Room Association *(Chitalishte)* was organized locally on February 10, 1921, upon the initiative of men who had been outside the village and had returned with the desire to raise the cultural level. From its founding, however, it concerned itself more with financial than with cultural problems. In the words of the constitution, the purposes of the organization were:

A. to influence the people of the village, especially the young to self-improvement.

B. to cause to grow among the people a feeling for public unity in life and for intelligent usage of the village domain.

C. to cultivate love towards the fatherland and towards the good and morally edifying elements of the national literature.

The *Chitalishte* planned to achieve its purpose by opening a public reading room free for all inhabitants and visitors and supplying the room with suitable books. The *Chitalishte* group also planned to organize evening lectures and other public performances and entertainments "in order to create a patriotic feeling and appreciation of the nation's past."

The first act of the newly organized society was to buy a large sign inscribed with the name of the organization. After that the officers spent money for chairs, lamps, benches, bookcases, stovepipes, and tables, while individuals donated inkstands, water jugs, a box for gathering money, and a picture of the Madonna. Unfortunately this left practically no money for any form of reading matter. The expense of having a share in the construction of the *Obshtina* building further drained the financial resources of the organization. It was also a factor in keeping away prospective members who preferred to wait until the building was paid for before they joined. In 1937 twenty-two people, most of them charter members, were looked upon as active supporters of the work of the *Chitalishte*.

Most of the members were critical of the present officers, and recognized that the organization's activities were at a standstill. When members were asked to tell how they would improve matters if elected

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stop to spend money in a generous manner. This is one reason that the peasants complain so bitterly of their dull, monotonous life and long to have their children counted among the white-collar class. 369

Recently Dragalevtsy has become a mountain summer resort. Twelve families have little villas in or near the village, while as many more live in the monastery. These seasonal guests buy most of their produce from the villagers, and patronize Bai Penko's tavern daily. Some, especially the twelve families with summer houses, are counted as real citizens of Dragalevtsy, though the peasants do not try to assimilate them into their informal groups. These summer guests are in a position to do much in the way of village improvement if they cared to seize their opportunities. 529

2. Family Guests. Another important influence from outside comes in the form of guests entertained by the family during the course of a year. The numbers of guests from Sofia, from other towns, and from villages are shown in Table 14 below: 574

TABLE 14

Guests in Dragalevtsy Homes During the Year 1934, Classified According to Domicile (Census of 1934)

Number of Guests	Number of Families Entertaining Guests			Total Number of Guests*		
	From City	From Town	From Village	From City	From Town	From Village
0	96	249	62	0	0	0
1-10	125	8	135	786	36	824
11-20	34	0	58	555	0	888
21-30	3	0	14	75	0	380
31-40	4	0	1	150	0	35
41-50	5	0	0	250	0	0
Over 50	1	0	1	100	0	65
Total	172	8	209	1,916	36	2,192

*Computed from actual figures and not from class midpoints.

Out of the 268 families that reported, 96 families do not have any guests from Sofia during the year. The guests visiting the 172 remaining families total 1,916 people. In other words, if all the people who come from Sofia to visit stayed in the village and did not return home, the village would little more than double its present population, ignoring the possible natural increase. Of course, the total of 1,916 does not necessarily include that many people, but certainly over 1,000. These visitors are relatives or friends, generally of peasant origin, who have gone to the big city and succeeded. As one stands in

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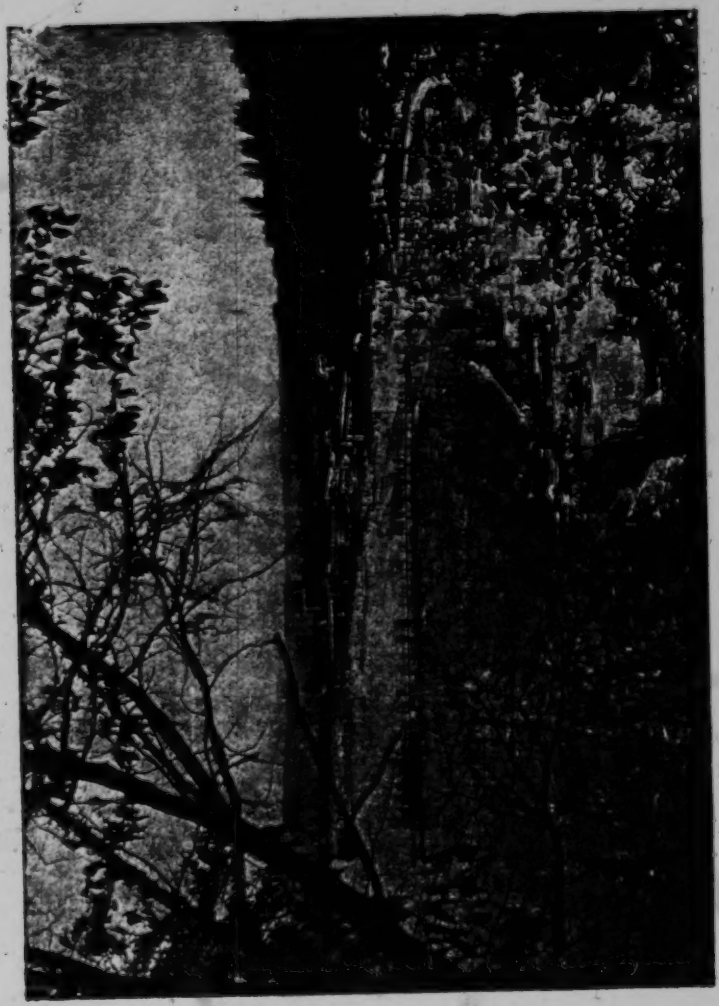

VARNA: A VIEW OF THE BEACH

[facing p. 16]

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

of Razlog on the upper reaches of the river Mesta may 133
serve as a convenient centre for excusions in this maze of mountains mostly clad with pine and fir forests. The three beautiful mountain lakes dominated by the majestic summit of the El-Tepe, the highest peak of the Pirrin range, reaching an altitude of 2684 metres, may be easily reached from the townlet of Bansko, a few kilometres to the south of Razlog. Tourist huts have been erected at [485]
several points, and recently excellent roads have been constructed, so that the more adventurous type of tourist, intent on roaming off the beaten track, can indulge in protracted and most enjoyable rambles in what is certainly a *terra incognita*, even to most Bulgarians.

It is astonishing that the Bulgarian Government has 529 •
done nothing to popularise Sofia as a tourist centre, and yet few towns in Eastern Europe can rival it as such. It is at a convenient driving distance from the Balkan mountains which offer a veritable kaleidoscope of enchanting views. Century old oak and beech forests cover generally the rolling undulating mountain valleys, their shaded glens offering the most delectable relaxation after the heat of the plain. Another attractive forest resort is Tcham-Koria lying on the heavily wooded slopes of the Rila, amid enchanting mountain scenery, at a distance of 69 klm. to the south east of Sofia. The greatest attraction of 312
Sofia is of course its mineral and thermal springs. In the 529
centre of the town is a modern bathing establishment, built on the site ot the ancient Roman thermal baths, and endowed with an electro-therapeutic section. In close proximity to Sofia are a number of other thermal springs most of which are endowed with excellent bathing accomodation and easily accessible from Sofia by either tram, train, or motor bus. Such are the thermal establishments of Bankia, one of the finest in Bulgaria, that of Gorna-Bania, Ovtcha-Kupel, and of Kniajevo. Bulgaria is

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

312 one of the richest countries in the world as regards
529 mineral and thermal springs of all kinds. Among the most noted mineral springs is that of Solu-Dervent, lying at about 72 klm. from Sofia, on the railway line to Plovdiv, it possesses a high radioactivity, 588_{10-10} Curies, and a temperature of 65° centigrade, and is specially recommended for cancer. Another most attractive watering place is that of Hissar, some 45 klm. north of Plovdiv. Within a radius of two kilometres there are twenty springs, all varying in their composition and their temperatures. The present baths are built on the site of the old Roman ones. Tne temperature of the water is 47° C. with a radioactivity of 114_{10-10} Curies; it is noted for its curatice properties for all diseases of the liver and kidneys. Hissar possesses another great attraction, that of its Roman walls, built in the form of a rectangle. It is supposed to be the old Roman town of Diocletianopolis which successfully resisted in 587 the siege of the Avars. The present walls were restored in the reign of Justinian I but there is a Roman inscription at the Momina Baths dating from 308 A. D. Its ruins would form a most interesting source of study to archeologists while taking the waters at this most agreeable Spa. It is surrounded by rose gardens and pos sesses delightful shaded walks rendering it a most agreeable residence during May and June, all the more so since it
•529 possesses excellent hotels and pensions. At that time of the year visitors at Hissar can easily visit the famous Valley of Roses without interrupting their treatment, for Karlovo, Kalofer and Kazanlik, the centres of the Attar of roses industry, are all within easy reach. as well as the famous Shipka Monastery. A railway line connects Hissar with Plovdiv, formerly known as Philippolis. This is a town with a most picturesque aspect, being built on five hills of syenite, two of which have been turned into parks. The thickly wooded Sehayat Tepe is unique in its kind, com-

manding a suberb view over the vast Thracian plain with 529 the Maritsa river winding its course through the fertile fields and the majestic mass of the Rhodopes looming large on the southern horizon. Another town which can hardly de beaten for its picturesque appearance, is Tirnovo, the ancient capital of the country, built on the steep banks of the river Yantra which meanders through the town. No visitor to Bulgaria should miss visiting these two towns, which for their quaintness and scenic beauty have few rivals in the Near East.

But from the point of view of the holiday maker, the greatest attraction is provided by Varna. A score of years ago it was a squalid, sordid hamlet, an open roadstead at which one could with difficulry land when the wind was blowing from the north or east. Now, it has been transformed into a modern town with wide boulevards and an excellent port. It possesses one of the most beautiful parks in Europe situated on the cliffs overhanging the Black Sea and commanding enchanting views along its littoral. Varna possesses a magnificent beach of fine sand and a most modern and elegant sea-bathing establishment. The town is provided with a casino and comfortable hotels, and actually the municipality is contemplating the construction of a big modern hotel, so as to avoid the shortage of accommodation which is usually felt during the summer months

The creation of this modern town of Varna, with all it amenities and with its unrivalled park, is the best standing testimonial of the Bulgarians' untiring and unrelenting energy. Varna having been despoiled of its hinterland after the transfer of the Dobrudja to Rumania declined in importance as a trading centre and its inhabitants lost their means of livelihood. They set themselves with unremitting toil and sacrifices to transform their town into what is now the premier watering-place on the Black

•529 Sea. Their success is all the more remarkable owing to their extreme poverty, which is still easily discernible, but their indomitable industry and unrivalled assiduity has overcome all obstacles. Of them it cannot be said that:

„Chill penury repressed their noble rage
And froze the genial current of the soul."

The Bulgarian is in fact an indefatigable and most perseverent worker with the constructive instinct highly developed, the only thing needed apparently is coordination of individual efforts, as they are usually mutually opposed, and this coordination nas been achieved at Varna with happy results for the town.

The advantages of Varna are becoming known in Central Europe and every summer Hungarians, Poles, Czechslovakians and Austrians flock in hundreds to this sea resort. The municipality has recently converted the monastery of St. Constantine, some nine kilometres to the north of Varna, into a comfortable hostelry. Situated as it is in the midst of an extensive park overlooking the sea, it forms an additionul attraction to visitors, while to the south of the town lie the extensive forests of the Longosa, as well as the estuary ef the river Kamtchia which provide other delightful outings and excursions. To the visitors from Central Europe the greatest attraction is the extremely low cost of living. For a short time they can imagine they have been transformed into American millionaires and indulge in what the Bulgarians consider riotous living. The latter have learnt to act as excellent hosts to their visitors and stop at no sacrifice at making them comfortable. Their honest, and kindly manners are simply disarming and largely compensate for the absence of such comforts as the Westerner has come to look upon as indipensable. The visitor from Central Europe has usually little money to spend, but in

comparison with Bulgarian standards he is still a Croesus. However, such income as is derived from visitors does not suffice to cover the outlay of the town. Taxation is extremely heavy, and the inhabitants complain that they can only make the two ends meet with the greatest difficulty. According to a report compiled by Prof. Tsolakov, and published by the Varna School of Higher Studies, the estimated revenue of the Varna municipality for the financial year 1932-3, from the tax on buildings and professions, was respectively 25, and 210 million leva, but the actual revenue was only 13,704,418 and 179,722,752, and other sources of revenue were even less promising. It would be well if the inhabitants of Varna did something to attract a more wealthy *clientèle* than the poverty stricken mid-Europeans. Judging from a series of articles which the French Academician, Louis Bertrand, published in the *Revue des deux Mondes* at the end of 1934, the Italians are developing Cyrenaica as a health resort and endowing it with big hotels in the hope of attracting the wealthy Greeks of Egypt, and they rely to allure them thither largely on the consideration that it was once a famous Greek colony.

„A Cyrene, on se propose d'attirer pour l'été l'opulente société Grecque d'Alexandrie et du Caire. Les Hellenes. . . trouveront ici plus de fraicheur que dans les petites stations éstivales de l'Eubée ou de l'Attique. . . Enfin les dirigeants italiens comptent sur le patriotisme exalté des Hellenes, qui voudront venir admirer et vénerer ici les vestiges d'une de leur plus ancienne colonie".

Varna may boast of the same privilege, it was anciently known as Odessus and was founded by the Milesians in the year 585 B. C. It was one of the few Greek towns which under Roman rule retained the right to strike coins and this testifies to its importance. It possesses a museum in which a vast number of Greek works of art have been collected and as most of the Bulgarian towns on the Black Sea coast littoral have likewise been founded

529 by Greek colonists, and one of them Mesembria, possesses some remarkable ruins of Byzantine churches, with a wealth of ornamentation and mosaics that have rightly won for it the appelation of "the Bulgarian Ravenna , it would be well if all these facts were utilised for propaganda purposes. Varna possesses a vast advantage over Cyrenaica not only owing to its climate, its luxuriant vegetation and charming surroundings but also in still possessing a small number of inhabitants of Greek origin who may be utilised as a focus for attracting Greek visitors. Nothing indeed will incite Hellenes to visit the Bulgarian Black sea board so much as the knowledge that they will be welcomed in their native tongue, that they will be able to attend divine service in one of their own churches, and have the possibility to ascertain that the spirit of their race survives in spite of the "silent artillery of time .

Surely the inhabitants of Varna can look on good humouredly on a few patriotic manifestations which are likely to follow when "Greek meets Greek , nothing but good will ensue for all the parties concerned from such outbursts, and it will constitute one more excellent proof of the liberalism and tolerance the Bulgarians have always manifested for all ethnic minorities living in their midst.

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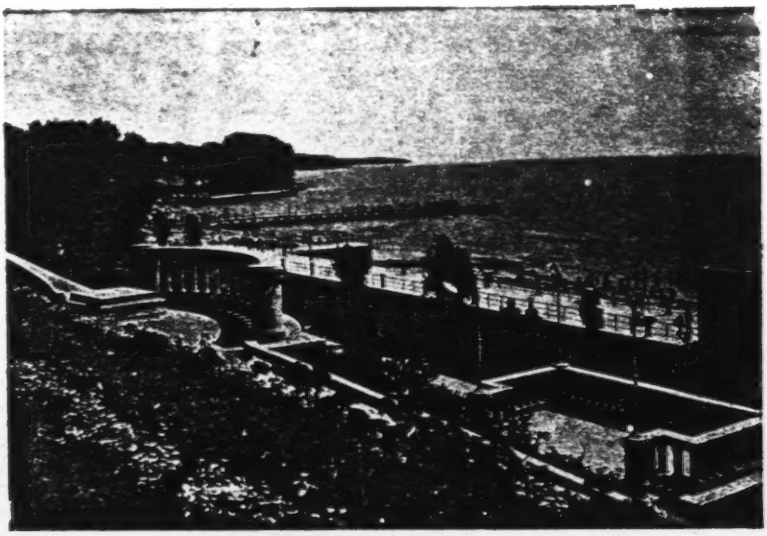

VARNA: A VIEW FROM THE PARK

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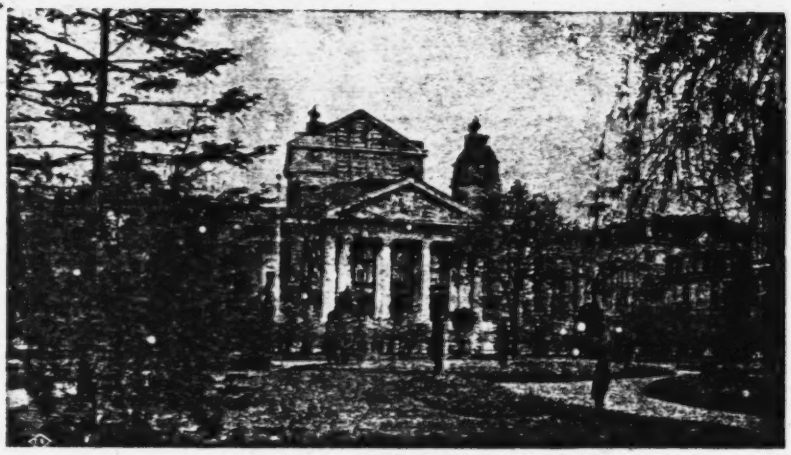

SOFIA: THE OPERA HOUSE

[Facing p. 65]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

which always seemed picturesque to me, a foreigner. It was Zdravka 000
who told me how the women made their garments.

"Women's clothing is made chiefly by hand and of homemade 294
cloth. In the homes we have very few sewing machines, which only the young girls know how to run. Most of the outer garments for men are made by the village tailor. All of us can do the traditional [531]
embroidery patterns which make our dresses so pretty, but we do not have as much embroidery now as formerly; the old women cannot see to do it and the young people want modern things."

Then Yurdan told what clothing the peasants bought:

"The women buy *zabradki* [pieces of cloth for the head]; every 291
once in a while they also buy some flannel or silken goods, and shoes. The old women wear *kozhusi* [sheepskin coats], for which they provide the hides or buy them ready-made. Men also have to buy these *kozhusi* in addition to headwear called *kalpatsi* [pointed brimless caps], or cheap cloth caps. Many men buy ready-made suits, especially if they are unmarried, for use on holidays. Even they, when working in the fields, go back to the more durable homemade garments which do not tear so easily. They also buy some shirts and sweaters, or *shubi* [short overcoats with fur inside], and shoes. In general the tendency of the younger people is toward city dress."

I asked them why everybody dressed so much alike. Both of 626
them chuckled and told me about the time the daughter-in-law from 291
the wealthiest peasant household, who had spent some time in Sofia, 178
tried to appear in a distinctive style at a Sunday promenade, only to find that the next Sunday many other girls were wearing the same innovation. Zdravka concluded from this incident:

"No, there is not much individuality in dress, for whenever someone gets something new the others copy it. Especially the young unmarried girls try to buy or to make something new so as to attract attention. But all the rest, as soon as they see it, won't take time to eat until they have made the same thing so that the one possessing it will not feel that she is in a higher position than others. It is this which makes the richer girls most angry."

This led to a discussion of how changes of style had come to the village. This is what Yurdan said:

1: Karutz--59 E-4 (no date) 1925 E1 Europe
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/88/ The Bulgarians

000 1. Hair dress of young women, with tresses decorated with silver. 2. and 3. Decorative pendants. 4. Head ornament of the brides, made of flowers and silver coins. 5. Woman wearing an embroidered blouse and a woven carpet apron. 6. Drawing well. 7. Neck ornament. 8. Hand mill for salt. 9. Threshing sled. 10. Cave dwelling on the Lon. 11. Fire saw. 12. Village street. 13. Shelter of the field herders. 14. Household altar. 15. Rattle board of wood, from a monastery. 16. Signalling horn of a country mailman. 17. Sawing frame.[1]

175 At the time of the Romans present-day Bulgaria was called
101 Moesia in its northern (Danube) region, Thracia in its southern section,
144 and it was inhabited by an Indo-European people of North European extraction, at the time when old Greek, and later Roman and Byzantine, immigrants moved there and intermingled with it. From the sixth century on, the Slavic wave moved closer, and from the seventh century onwards Finnish Turko-Tataric migrant herders and horse breeders repeatedly found their way into this country from the middle Volga.
463 From these the Bulgarians adopted and kept the herding system, by the side of which the Thracian and Slavic agriculture was maintained. The Ottoman Turks coming from the southeast provided the country
181 with its class of craftsmen and tradesmen. This mosaic of races and peoples developed a particularly powerful and healthy stock of people whose high life expectancy is well known, as well as a temperate,
531 industrious, and sober character. It mirrors a corresponding multiplicity
177 of cultures; thus we have in art types that range from the Scythian style and its predilection for phantastic animal forms to the Byzantine and ancient Oriental motifs; from the cellular stone inlays of the period of the Teutonic migrations (belt clasps) to the Tatar decorative pendants (Figures 2, 3, and 7),[2] and from the Slavic joy in ornamentation and
592 colors to the Turkish, recent Near Eastern household industries. The Slavic household community, which takes up every new generation into the fabric of the family, has as its consequence the form of settlement
342 by individual and separate farmsteads. Aside from occasional underground dwelling pits in the loess, of which only the pointed roof of rushes rises above the ground, there are one-story high, rectangular panel-work houses covered with loam, placed either on a level with the soil, or else on top of a wooden substructure for the working sheds.

1 [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a -- Analyst]
2 [See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 57a -- Analyst]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1

Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Contemporary Macedonians EE1

A Y 286 291 294

Other alien materials are small pieces of dyed cloth, silk ribbons, silver and gold braids and manufactured lace, often used on the sleeve edges of shirts. These materials were bought in the village shops and markets, and appear to be largely of Austrian and Italian origin; under Turkish rule they were sold in the villages by pedlars.

A Y 291 439

In the South and Albania, where Turkish influence is greater, there is a tendency, especially amongst the women of the towns, to wear garments made from more sumptuous materials so that, in addition to the hand-woven linens, extremely fine muslins of native make are used for shirts and aprons, and silken materials of beautiful quality for girdles, sleeves and the Moslem type of women's trousers. Fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy is also imported for the making of jeleks, giubbas and japangi, and some of the nets used for the large embroidered veils worn by many women, both Catholic and Moslem, are of foreign origin.

Materials used for Embroidery and other Decorative Purposes.

M S 291 294 531

These also fall into two classes, home-made and purchased.

The fine wools, used largely in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Macedonia, for the decorative embroidery of oshvitza, sleeves, woollen coats, aprons and the making of fringes are spun and dyed by the women themselves. Dark brown and black goat's hair is also used in the apron fringes. "Goat's hair was extensively used in the Balkans for weaving market bags, saddle-bags and floor mats in stripes. The goats, clipped in uneven ridges, looked very ridiculous." (M.E.D.).

Ribbons, gold and silver braid and strips of coloured cloth were purchased and used as appliqué on skirts, head dresses, aprons and caps. In older and finer examples of embroidery, silk was used, and was locally produced and dyed.

B A 291 531

In Albania and the south silk is the usual medium for embroidery, which decorates shirts, muslin aprons and japangi, although on some head scarves from Zadrima and the Bulgarian woman's costume from Monastir, which are decorated in the well known Turkey red, the material used is cotton or very tightly twisted wool almost like a fine cord. Both silk, woollen and cotton threads are of home production. Amongst the photographs given by Miss Durham is one of a Moslem man spinning silk on a roadside on the outskirts of Scutari (Skodar). Gold thread is much used, and strips of beaten silver and brass are worked into the headings of braids.

A 291 531 294 463

Braiding and cording are amongst the other important forms of decoration, narrow braids and ends of wool, silk and gold thread being hand-plaited and twisted. Coats of the sleeveless type, both for men and women, the short jelek, the three-quarter length giubba, and the men's full trousers (Plate V., "I") are often decorated with cords and braids sewn down in beautiful curved designs. The "elaborate embroideries on the japangi and the handsome braided designs are usually the work of men Albanian tailors". (M.E.D.).

A Y 294 386

Until in recent years foreign dyes, imported in small packets, were sold in the shops the women themselves dyed their materials. Most of the examples in this collection have been so coloured with vegetable dyes; black being obtained from ash bark (*Fraxinus excelsia*); green from flowering rush with the addition of copper sulphate which was got from the shops; yellow from sumach (*Rhus cotinus*); red

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PLATE IX.—A Bulgar woman's costume from Bitolj (late Monastir). A, The long shirt. B, The head-dress. C, The apron (Part shown).

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Contemporary Macedonians EF8
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The sleeves are just rectangular pieces of cloth of its full width, 19 inches, and are joined by a run and fell seam which is arranged just above the opening under the arm at the back. B 292 286 531

As will be seen from the illustration, the decoration is placed where the wear is greatest, so it has an economical as well as an ornamental purpose.

The work is executed in petit-point stitch, the pattern being worked in crimson and the background filled in with Turkey red or scarlet. As can be seen from the drawing, at the bottom of the front-opening where the pattern is not completed (probably because it came under the apron and so would not show) the design is first outlined in black in double-running stitch, so that both right and wrong sides are alike, and is then filled in with petit-point.

The edges of the sleeves are finished off by a ladder-stitch with a chain edge on either side, and the hem is neatened and strengthened by being closely oversewn with scarlet thread. The equal-armed Greek cross is used around the hem except at the seams, where a variety of palmette, similar again to Greek pattern, disguises the seam for about four inches.

The chief motive on the sleeve is an equal armed cross with re-entrant angles at the ends of the arms. Many of the small motives filling in the spaces are rayed. Occasionally small spots of the white background, with tiny crosses on them, break the surface of solid red stitchery, and between the panel and the sleeve borders is a raised row of closely worked chain-stitch. The embroidery is all done in strong, finely spun wool.

"The body over the shirt is girthed with a hempen cord, wound round and round, and with the end twisted up in front. It forms a stiff and cumbrous sort of corset. The women declared they could not stand up without it." (M.E.D.). A buckle such as that shown on Plate XV at "H" (No. 1939-1) was attached in front. C

Miss Durham says, in speaking of the relief work she was doing at the time, "When I was on relief work visiting large numbers of burnt villages where the inhabitants camped in holes in the ground and under rough hovels, one of my jobs was to deal out clothing material, as most people had only what they stood up in. We obtained a large quantity of shirt material. I cut it into lengths and dealt it out to the refugees who came to fetch it. After several weeks I visited a village expecting to see the women in new garments. Not a bit of it; they were in filthy rags as before. I asked what had become of the shirt stuff. It was, they said, such good stuff it would have to be for best clothes. They had got as far as outlining the embroidery patterns, and were beginning to fill it in. But I was assured it would be months before the things were done." B 731 292 747

No. 1935-65. This handsome head scarf, which is worn with its ends down the back, is made of the same material as the shirt, with the addition of some imported gold lace, gold thread and beads (Plate IXB). B 292 531

For the length of 50 inches (127 cm.) the scarf has a border of hexagons and triangles worked in petit-point in two shades of red, outlined and rayed in black (Fig. 6 "a"). A ladder-stitch with chain edges finishes off the hem, and is edged by a row of two black and two white beads used alternately.

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At either end of the strip of cloth a handsome panel, 9½ inches (24·1 cm.) deep, of tapestry weaving in the two shades of red and gold thread is attached. The design of large lozenges filled with smaller ones in gold thread matches the general scheme of the apron. One end panel is more elaborately finished than the other, and has a scalloped bead border in red, white and black beads, whereas the other only has a straight edge of black and white beads grouped in fours.

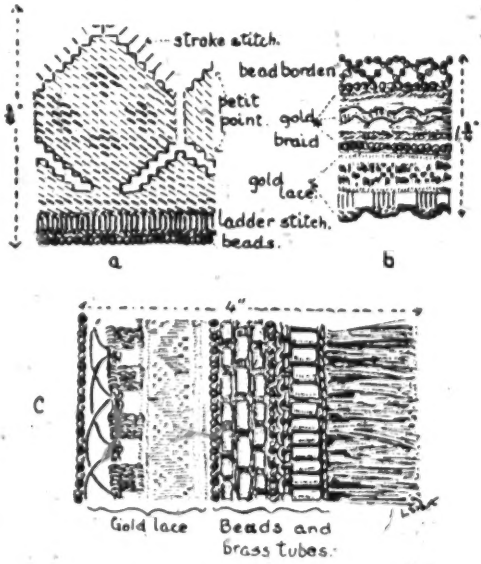

FIG. 6.—a, Detail of border on scarf. b, Border to panel on scarf. c, Border on apron.

Inside the bead edging (Fig. 6 "b") on the more elaborate end are a row of plaited gold braid, a row of wavy gold braid, another row of plaited gold, a row of black and white beads and then a gold braid with a lace edge in gold. Joined to the bottom edge of the panel is a fringe, 16 inches (40·6 cm.) in length, of tightly twisted cords in red and crimson, headed by white beads and little flattened tubes of brass similar to those on the sleeve from Monastir figured on Plate VIII at "b". On this end also brass sequins are used to make the centre of each lozenge.

No. 1935-64. The festival apron which goes with the shirt and head-dress is a very heavy, but most gorgeous affair in scarlet, crimson and gold, with touches of a rich dark brown (Plate IXc).

It is a fine example of tapestry weaving. The design is one of large lozenges, subdivided into smaller ones some of which are rayed, the pattern being in crimson on a scarlet background. Each small lozenge is centred by a cross in gold thread, and diagonal lines in gold thread also separate the smaller lozenges.

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An elaborate border surrounds the apron which is edged all round with a row of fringe, about an inch in width, in red and browns, but at the lower edge by two additional rows of short fringe in scarlet and crimson, and then a four inch fringe of scarlet backed with brown, having a handsome wrapped heading three-quarters of an inch deep.

The heading of the first narrow fringe is of strip brass made into flattened tubes round bunches of the threads, next to this comes a row of black and white beads, then three rows of brass tubes used like long beads, a three-quarter inch band of gold braid with an open lace edging of gold measuring another half inch. The whole border is finished off by another row of alternate black and white beads (Fig. 6 " c ").

At the lower edge of the apron as shown at " C " on Plate IX two more rows of the gold braid are added as well as the deeper fringe. All this heavy work at the lower edge of the apron is strengthened at the back by pieces of felt at the corners and a broad woven black and white braid above the top row of the fringe.

In addition to these garments the woman might wear a jelek and, for out-of-doors, a fairly long white woollen coat with more embroidery or braiding.

CHAPTER XII.

Some Garments from Zadrima.

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The group of specimens illustrated on Plate X are the more decorative parts of the attire of a peasant woman from Zadrima, a town near Scutari, on the River Drin. The colouring is predominantly Turkey red with touches of yellow, white (either as background or ornament), a little green and a little dark blue.

In addition to those articles shown there would be a shirt with decorated oshvitza, perhaps with the opening as a cross-over, and a full skirt of heavy material.

No. 1935-28. The jelek (Plate XA and B), which was worn over the shirt, has a foundation of a diagonally woven cotton cloth, like a twill, which from the irregularity of the weaving appears to be of home production. This is stiffened with parchment or some similar substance and lined with a fine imported, slightly glazed calico.

The garment is 12 inches (30·5 cm.) deep and 17 inches (43·2 cm.) wide, and has two added flaps of scarlet felt in the front which are decorated with half buttons of gilded brass.

It is bordered, and the back divided into panels by an inch wide band of plaited braids made up alternately of three square plaited red braids each having eight strands, and four variegated braids in red, yellow, white and black consisting of four red, two black, two red and two yellow strands. Eight of the threads in the latter are used as two groups of four for cores over which the other two are plaited, a new colour pair being taken from the core as required. Inside the plaited border round the neck and down the front a bright strip of gold and scarlet ribbon is applied, this is represented by the dotted band in Plate XA and B.

The two shaped panels in the front are ornamented by lines and an Ionic wave pattern made by sewing down side by side a scarlet and a yellow cord.

[Text continues on page 49]

536 The theatre too has its votaries, and not only many prominent men of letters have contributed dramas and plays. but there are even some like M. Kostov, who devoted themselves exclusively to playwriting. The latter has won a well-deserved reputation as a comedy writer, which has transcended the narrow limits of his country, for such has been the success of his plays, that they have been translated into Rumanian and Serbian, and successfully staged both in Bucharest and Belgrade.

545 It would not be amiss to mention that the Bulgarians have succeeded in creating an opera and a theatre which compare very favourably with those of any of the larger provincial towns in western Europe, and this with an annual subsidy from the State of barely 12 million leva which is a most noteworthy feat. For a modest fee of one shilling, one may secure a most comfortable seat, and enjoy an excellent rendering of Wagner's Lohengrin, Verdi's Aïda, or Gounod's Faust, etc. It is regrettable that the best Bulgarian singers are often attracted by the lure of higher pay and appear more often in the opera houses of Prague and Paris, than that of Sofia, but the rendering of the choruses is always admirable. and compensates to a certain extent for the occasional absence of the protagonists. The staging too is perfect, and most modern, and is far ahead of what the average London theatre can offer.

•532 In painting also, the Bulgarians have produced quite a number of really talented artists. The paintings of Mitov, Mirkvitska. etc were greatly admired at the Paris exhibition of 1900, and secured most flattering distinctions. It is to be deplored that few have kept to the real path of art and not gone astray allured by modern tendencies which have revolutionised artistic conceptions after the world war. Artists, like the portraitist Nicolaï Mihailov, who has not sacrificed his artistic convictions to these modern ideas has won a well-deserved international reputation

both in Europe and in America, those, however, who have set their sails to these withering winds have lost themselves in a maze of eccentricities which may be permissible on occasions to a genius, but which discredit the artist of average ability and expose him to be taken for an impostor and a charlatan. 532

Annual autumn shows are held in Sofia in which a picked review of total activity in painting is obtained, but except for a few gifted and devoted poets of colour and design, as well as for a few honest portraitists, exhibitors seem to excel in a sloppy diffuseness in still-life and landscape. Foreign visitors, who have no predilection for 'impressionism' or 'futurism', generally come away from these shows with the impression that they are rather exhibitions of misdirected energy, which for the very sake of the exhibitors themselves, a poverty-stricken community should not encourage.

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was directing the group, rather than the hostess, suggested that they take up work once more.

I spent many hours in the fields chatting with these women. There was a hypnotic rhythm of sound and color in their work as the line of black-clad bodies, and white headcloths, swayed forward together through the thin green blades. In the high altitude everything was sharply defined: the red-roofed village two miles away, the puffs of white cloud infinitely high in the blue, the strong harsh peasant voices close by. While the women worked they sang old folk songs about beautiful heroines and the brave Krali Marko, a legendary Balkan hero who carried out prodigious feats against the Turks, or of peasant girls knitting gay stockings for village boys. The songs were usually romantic and often were cheerful in theme; but now and then one was moved by a haunting sadness deeper even than that of the Negro work songs. Hour after hour I used to hear the unhappy music rise in its bizarre cadence; day after day for three weeks the corn was hoed in one field after another. Week after week the sun beat down on Vitosha and the Sofia plain, while summer burned itself away. The corn grew waist high, then shoulder high, and finally yielded the golden ears to the strong brown fists of some boy or girl at the autumn cornhusking *sedenki.*

Early July was the haying season. Each sunrise would find most of the villagers out in the fields. Some of the men with their sharp scythes cut the hay in even swaths, letting it lie as it fell, to dry in the parching sun. Others would load the cured hay onto the wagons fitted out with ladderlike sides. As the wagons rolled through the village streets they were greeted by the little children who had had to stay at home with their aged grandparents or great-grandparents. The haystacks, whether left in the field or dressed near the house, were weighted down by lines to which heavy stones had been attached.

One could not be with the peasants long at haying time, or indeed at any other time, without sensing their feeling of close dependence upon the weather. In fact, I soon found myself sharing this feeling, although I remained somewhat dubious of the infallibility of the signs by which they "read the weather." They believed, for example,

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The coming of the boys might or might not stop the work.[2] Quite often the girls were able to accomplish a great deal in spite of the boys, but usually the entertainment which began soon after the boys arrived distracted the girls from their task. There was much singing. Someone struck up an old ballad and others joined in. Then, after a few more ballads, someone ventured a popular song. I once asked a young woman whether she ever sang any modern songs (knowing well enough that she did). She replied:

584 574 883 533

"Yes, the Dragalevtsy girls know almost all the popular songs. They hear the boys singing them on the street or at *sedenki* and then ask some boy who is a relative to write down the words. If they see that the song is not appropriate, they will not sing it. They always learn the words of songs and never whistle or 'murmur' [hum]."

I wondered to what extent the patriotic songs in the school were replacing the folk songs. Here is what informants at one *sedenka* said:

"As soon as a girl leaves the school, she does not sing any of the songs learned in school, but starts singing again the old songs that she has learned from the old people. The boys, however, continue to sing the songs, chiefly military, learned in school."

No instrumental music was taught in the school, but the radio was beginning to have some effect on the peasants' choice of music. One man listened to the radio fifteen days, stopping almost all other activity, in order to get the words of a jazz song then popular. These he sang with great gusto to his admiring friends. Many of the young people were becoming ashamed of the old songs and told me that they were out of date. The new popular songs that they learned were contained in *Pesnopoiki* (songbooks) bought for a few cents on market days.

[535] 584 883

The singing of some particularly lively tune at the evening gatherings might lead to folk dancing in which both the boys and the girls took part. The very foundations of the house seemed to shake as the feet shuffled in time to the music. Parlor games of various sorts, quite similar to those played at a rural church social in America, were frequently played at these *sedenki*. This meant that the girls laid aside their spinning entirely and what started out as a work-bee became entirely a social gathering.

1 [-1 The "sedenka", or "spinning party". The Bulgarian part of an American pioneer cornhusking and quilting bee -- Analyst]
2 [-2 "sedenki" -- Analyst]

the contempt of the Turks and Greeks, they did not need 175
to be ashamed of their own traditions. In the past the 814
Bulgarians had had their own empire and had received tribute from the wise Greeks and they had had the most progressive tsars and patriarchs of all the Slavonic peoples and they had been among the first peoples to accept the Christian faith, which they had later handed on with a rich literature to the other Slavs.

With its poetic inspiration and its ardent love for his [186]
country, the History of Paisi appeared as a torch to kindle the lowly and undeveloped national consciousness of Bulgaria. It set it ablaze and thus caused the surprising advance of the Bulgarian people. In one century 7/n they turned from an amorphous mass to one of the strongest nationalities of the Balkans. They raised their level of culture, and developed their art, science and literature.

It goes without saying that the History of Paisi could 533
not have worked this miracle, if it had not found a fertile 814
soil in the souls of the Bulgarian people, and more than 186
that, if the soil had not been cultivated by a long series of enthusiastic imitators of Paisi. Between 1800 and 1850 these writers, without stopping, first in manuscripts and later in printed books, continued to arouse the national consciousness of the Bulgarians and to spread enlightenment in their native land. The aims of these men were purely practical. The definite object of Sofrony Vratchanski, of Neofit Bozveli, of Neofit Rilski in their works which are almost always of a didactic character, was to help their people, to educate them and to lead them on the path of proper development. Yet so strong and so inspired was the love that these men had for their

7/n [i.e, the eighteenth century--- Analyst]

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"The musicians [here a *gayda* or bagpipe player] began to play as soon as they saw the people coming from the church." *See page 90.*

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"A village bride . . . wearing cherished strings of thin gold coins handed down . . . from mother to daughter." *See page 88.*

[Facing p. 96]

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unless stooped by age. Hands seldom gloved in winter are rough 142
and dirty and calloused. I often thought that one of the strangest things about death was the way it quieted the hands of these simple folk, who, although reserved in demeanor, constantly gestured when they spoke.

I grew accustomed to the mannerisms of the people as well as 527
to the flavor of village life by slow degrees. At first I was attracted 535
most by the gala occasions, or the spectacular. There was the annual Christmas *horo* (folk dance) which provided the first break in the monotony of winter. On a comfortably mild Christmas Day old women and little children, the first to arrive in the main village square, sat in twos and threes waiting for the dancing to begin. Girls in their [361]
Sunday best, with necklaces of gold coins flashing in the sunlight, passed through the square and sang as they walked. They were bareheaded, [392]
since they could not yet wear the married women's head kerchief. As they drew closer, the blotches of rouge, the tremendous earrings, belts laden with clinking silver pieces, and heavy bracelets showed that the girls considered this no ordinary holiday. They formed a line, side by side, and began the dance after persuading the gypsy musicians to strike up a tune; one by one the boys who had come out of the taverns joined the moving line: one step to the right, one step to the left, then three steps to the right, kicking high as they stepped. As the dancing progressed, many married women participated, while the married men looked on with condescending interest. The little children, dressed like miniature adults, gathered on the fringes of the crowd to imitate the dancers. Gossiping groups formed, buzzed, and then dissolved to form anew.

A commotion arose in the center of the square as two young men fought over the cane which was carried by the leader of the *horo*. The leader was supposed to pay the musicians for the dances he led, in exchange for which he could direct the dancers in a serpentine movement, always in step with the music, so that they wound in and out with a "crack-the-whip" at every major bend of the line. To the peasant, the boisterous physical activity gives an exhilaration little else can induce. In fact, some of the "young blades" at this *horo* were so carried away with animal spirits that they performed six or seven steps

● 535 to the prescribed two or three, tiring themselves out to the plaudits of
527 those close by.

To the old-timers, however, the modern version of the traditional dance was a sad commentary on the state of things. They thought the young people too soft. After I had been watching the *horo* for some time an old man hobbled up to me. I had seen him shaking his head and muttering to himself, so I asked him, "What do you think of it, *dedo*?" He grunted, "It's all right for the young people to have a little fun, but they aren't as strong as I used to be when I was young. I used to hoe corn, harvest wheat, and come back to dance all evening. The young people can't do that now. And I wasn't as healthy as my father used to be."

535 The village registrar, Bai Angel, told me why there had been a declining interest in the *hora,* especially those which used to occur around the neighborhood fountains. About seven o'clock the people used to go to the pasture to get their animals. If the animals were slow in coming, then the people danced the *horo* there in the fields. When the animals had been taken home, and after the girls had finished up their housework, they went with jugs to one of the three fountains in the village and there danced again until eleven o'clock. In 1924 more fountains were installed in the village, thus tending to break up the larger groups which gathered around the three original fountains. The girls preferred to carry water from the fountains nearest their homes, and no longer attended the evening *horo.*

517 Tavern life was another, less colorful way of passing the bleak
521 winter days. In the four ill-ventilated *kruchmi* the men gathered to
275 discuss the harvest and to argue over the news read aloud from yester-
203 day's newspaper. Some man sought his godfather, or the godfather of a recently christened son or daughter, and invited him to have a drink of *rakiya* (plum brandy) or wine. Sometimes men who had completed a business deal drank to clinch it. Men who had been in the army together told the same tall tales of adventure over and over again, re-creating those experiences which lifted them for a while out of their limited village environment. There were seldom any fights, because the frequenters put an end to disagreements before they got

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584 often the girls were able to accomplish a great deal in spite of the
574 boys, but usually the entertainment which began soon after the boys
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I wondered to what extent the patriotic songs in the school were replacing the folk songs. Here is what informants at one *sedenka* said:

"As soon as a girl leaves the school, she does not sing any of the songs learned in school, but starts singing again the old songs that she has learned from the old people. The boys, however, continue to sing the songs, chiefly military, learned in school."

No instrumental music was taught in the school, but the radio was beginning to have some effect on the peasants' choice of music. One man listened to the radio fifteen days, stopping almost all other activity, in order to get the words of a jazz song then popular. These he sang with great gusto to his admiring friends. Many of the young people were becoming ashamed of the old songs and told me that they were out of date. The new popular songs that they learned were contained in *Pesnopoiki* (songbooks) bought for a few cents on market days.

● [535] The singing of some particularly lively tune at the evening gatherings[2] might lead to folk dancing in which both the boys and the
584 girls took part. The very foundations of the house seemed to shake
883 as the feet shuffled in time to the music. Parlor games of various sorts, quite similar to those played at a rural church social in America, were frequently played at these *sedenki*. This meant that the girls laid aside their spinning entirely and what started out as a work-bee became entirely a social gathering.

1 [-1 The "sedenka", or "spinning party". The Bulgarian part of an American pioneer cornhusking and quilting bee -- Analyst]
2 [-2 "sedenki" -- Analyst]

Usually after midnight, the singing at the *sedenka* began to decrease in volume, conversation became dull, and the boys sensed that it was time to go. After their departure the hostess often served refreshments such as a soggy cheese pie *(banitsa)*, and the girls might or might not spend the night. The courting aspect of the gathering was emphasized by the fact that none of the married people of the household, except the mother of the girl acting as hostess, could be present. Even she was absent much of the time in some of the homes. 584 574 883

It was at these *sedenki*[1] that I collected a number of village proverbs, which were a real conversational aid to young people somewhat tongue-tied in mixed company. 538

"A kind word opens an iron gate."

"God gives but does not drive into the stall."

"A wet person is not afraid of rain."

"Listen much, speak little."

"Short are the legs of a lie."

"Stretch out your feet according to your quilt."

"I am telling your daughter so that daughter-in-law may hear [speaking indirectly]."

"After the rain, a raincape."

"Every pear has a stem."

"Give advice freely but not money."

"The thirsty carry water."

"A dog that barks much puts a wolf in the stall."

Within recent years the *vecherinki* provided young people other means of getting acquainted. The purpose of a *vecherinka*, or evening entertainment in the schoolhouse, was not to get any work done, but to raise money for some worthy cause. The villagers bought tickets to a program of music or drama, provided by both imported and local talent. Auctions and lotteries were features of most *vecherinki*. After the program was over the people joined in dancing: first, for an hour or so, they danced the native *hora*, to be followed, when the old folks 584 517 883 [525] [535]

[1] [A "sedenka" is a "spinning party" – The Bulgarian counterpart of an American pioneer cornhusking and quilting bee... Analyst]

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went home, by village versions of western dances. It was a strange sensation on these occasions to see fifty young people trying to do the fox trot, when it was obvious that not more than five couples were experienced at it. But those who knew were patient with the novices. The excited faces were flushed not with the interest in learning a new step but rather with the daring of the dance's embrace. I asked quite a few of my acquaintances how they felt about these dances. Most of the older people who had seen the modern dances and many of the younger people considered them very immoral. In the words of one of these conservatives, "The boys especially are eager to learn a modern dance so that they can do very immoral things, which are very sweet for the young."

Although these evening entertainments had less importance in the social life of the people than the *sedenki* or the promenade, the villagers were proud of them as a formal medium of recreation in imitation of what one would find in a city. It was a new experience for many men to buy a ticket and be shown a seat; and such new experiences were dear to a peasant heart if they did not take him too far away from the ordinary world in which he moved. The first *vecherinka* was given in 1925. The teachers after that tried to give one or two more, but no one attended, so the practice was discontinued. In 1930, however, the *Chitalishte* (Reading Room Association) started them again, with the result that in the following years four or five were held during a winter.

Another innovation which played an important part in Dragalevtsy courtship was the Sunday afternoon promenade, which had displaced the traditional Sunday *horo*. The promenade course extended from Renaissance Square up a rocky street which bends to the left for a quarter of a mile. Here the young people in their Sunday best turned about and retraced their steps to the Square. One reason for the popularity of the promenade was its modernity; another was the absence of a church ban against it during Lent in contrast to the traditional interruption of *hora* during that seven-week period.

Even in the promenade there was no pairing off except in the case of some engaged couple. Indeed, walking in a twosome was tantamount to announcing an engagement. So village boys in twos,

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585 were busily preparing the big meal to be served after the church ceremony every now and then rushed out with something for me to taste, with the groom's father insisting that I sample some of the choice wine or brandy purchased just for the wedding.

● 535 585 [186] The dance I had come to see did not begin until afternoon. It lacked the enthusiasm which I had learned to anticipate, but was nevertheless colorful: the girls and women wore their most beautiful costumes; the men were neatly dressed, some in army uniforms; the leader of the *horo* carried the Bulgarian flag of white, green, and red, taking care that it did not catch in the overhanging branches. (In time of war the colors are reversed with the red bar on top.) This dance really was the prelude to the gay procession which headed for the church about two-thirty. First came the musicians with their battered instruments; then the principals of the wedding, followed by the guests. The flag was there, as well as Bulgarian tricolor sashes over the shoulders of the men.

585 292 Ordinarily the bride was a gay figure in the procession, her somber black overdress brightened with huge silver belt buckles and cherished strings of thin gold coins handed down for generations from mother to daughter. Hair and face shining with cleanliness, she moved in her wedding procession, happy, although considerably confused by her prominent position. But this particular bride had no ornaments—(Had her parents refused to send them?)—except a flower over her ear and the usual short, coarse white veil on her head. She did have on real leather shoes, instead of the customary pigskin sandals, but that was the only elaboration of her costume. It was hard to get her to smile for her picture; but when her new brother and sister each took an arm to encourage her, the broad, rather dull face suddenly lit up and a pair of beautiful dark eyes looked shyly at my camera.

585 All the village turned out to see the procession pass. Swarms of children came racing down the principal streets at the sound of the music. Once we had entered the churchyard I learned that they were there to scramble for the candy and coins which were thrown in the air along with rice to symbolize sweetness, wealth, and productivity. But this came at the end of the ceremony, and the children stood

536 The theatre too has its votaries, and not only many prominent men of letters have contributed dramas and plays. but there are even some like M. Kostov, who devoted themselves exclusively to playwriting. The latter has won a well-deserved reputation as a comedy writer, which has transcended the narrow limits of his country, for such has been the success of his plays, that they have been translated into Rumanian and Serbian, and successfully staged both in Bucharest and Belgrade.

545 It would not be amiss to mention that the Bulgarians have succeeded in creating an opera and a theatre which compare very favourably with those of any of the larger provincial towns in western Europe, and this with an annual subsidy from the State of barely 12 million leva which is a most noteworthy feat. For a modest fee of one shilling, one may secure a most comfortable seat, and enjoy an excellent rendering of Wagner's Lohengrin, Verdi's Aïda, or Gounod's Faust, etc. It is regrettable that the best Bulgarian singers are often attracted by the lure of higher pay and appear more often in the opera houses of Prague and Paris, than that of Sofia, but the rendering of the choruses is always admirable. and compensates to a certain extent for the occasional absence of the protagonists. The staging too is perfect, and most modern, and is far ahead of what the average London theatre can offer.

532 In painting also, the Bulgarians have produced quite a number of really talented artists. The paintings of Mitov, Mirkvitska. etc were greatly admired at the Paris exhibition of 1900, and secured most flattering distinctions. It is to be deplored that few have kept to the real path of art and not gone astray allured by modern tendencies which have revolutionised artistic conceptions after the world war. Artists, like the portraitist Nicolaï Mihailov, who has not sacrificed his artistic convictions to these modern ideas has won a well-deserved international reputation

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Thus the house became a home. Birth and death took their turn, so that every square foot of the small dwelling held its special memories. Over in that corner Ivanche was born; that stool by the bed was the one great-grandmother sat on many hours each day until her death at 102 years of age. She was the one who told the children the fascinating stories about dragons, who were "human beings like the rest of us but had wings in their armpits." She always enjoyed telling the legend about the lazy woman back in the days when people did not have to bring wood home from the forest in a wagon but simply tied the wood together in a bundle, whipped it, and sent it home by itself. It seems that the lazy woman was not content with this simple expedient, but after tying the pieces of wood together sat on top the bundle in the hope it would carry her home. God became so angry at this presumption that He forbade the wood to go home any longer under its own power. Henceforth it had to be taken home in a wagon.

Not far from the iconostas was a faded photograph, the only one in the room, of Peter and his bride Tsveta. Peter was the oldest son, and soon after his marriage in 1917 left for the army, never to return from the battlefield. Tsveta of course was married again, three months after his death, to a man from Bistritsa who needed an efficient housekeeper.

But not all of the life at the homestead took place indoors. The walled-in yard was also the scene of many family experiences. In fact, so many of the household processes went on outside in warm weather that the grass was completely worn away. I once asked a woman doing her washing out in the yard where she preferred to do that job. She replied:

"Clothes are washed with soap and hot water, and since we do not have special places for washing we do it in the living room in bad weather, or in the yard in good weather. Many times we carry the clothes to the river, but even there we heat water for rinsing. We pound the clothes with the *buhalka* [heavy wooden paddle] and wash not only our underclothes, but our outer garments as well, with the exception of the leather *kozhusi* [jackets]." She also volunteered in-

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Usually after midnight, the singing at the *sedenka* began to decrease in volume, conversation became dull, and the boys sensed that it was time to go. After their departure the hostess often served refreshments such as a soggy cheese pie *(banitsa)*, and the girls might or might not spend the night. The courting aspect of the gathering was emphasized by the fact that none of the married people of the household, except the mother of the girl acting as hostess, could be present. Even she was absent much of the time in some of the homes. 584 574 883

It was at these *sedenki* that I collected a number of village proverbs, which were a real conversational aid to young people somewhat tongue-tied in mixed company. 538

"A kind word opens an iron gate."

"God gives but does not drive into the stall."

"A wet person is not afraid of rain."

"Listen much, speak little."

"Short are the legs of a lie."

"Stretch out your feet according to your quilt."

"I am telling your daughter so that daughter-in-law may hear [speaking indirectly]."

"After the rain, a raincape."

"Every pear has a stem."

"Give advice freely but not money."

"The thirsty carry water."

"A dog that barks much puts a wolf in the stall."

Within recent years the *vecherinki* provided young people other means of getting acquainted. The purpose of a *vecherinka*, or evening entertainment in the schoolhouse, was not to get any work done, but to raise money for some worthy cause. The villagers bought tickets to a program of music or drama, provided by both imported and local talent. Auctions and lotteries were features of most *vecherinki*. After the program was over the people joined in dancing: first, for an hour or so, they danced the native *hora*, to be followed, when the old folks 584 517 883 [525] [535]

[A "sedenka" is a spinning party — The Bulgarian [illegible] part of an American pioneer husking and quilting [illegible] analyst]

175 Franks (678) and the English Kingdom (Kingdom of Essex—802 United Kingdom of England with King Egbert—828), while Rurik organized the Moscow principality even later, in 862.

After the unification of the Slavs in the initial stage of Bulgarian statehood, followed the period of united legislation (802—814) which amalgamated the invaders with the conquered local inhabitants. Then came the period of spiritual enlightenment (852—889), during which Christianity was accepted (866) and, in this manner, the complete assimilation
795 of the mixed population was attained. The Bulgarian church
175 was entirely independent from the very outset, both of Rome, and of any of the Eastern churches. This important fact has run like a red streak through the entire history of Bulgaria for 1080 years, from 865 up to 1945, and has helped the formation of the Bulgarian State and its resistance against all encroachments. The church movement has always been one of the paramount problems in the history of the Bulgarians and, in this respect, they differ from other Slavic nations. The Bulgarian church is closely connected with the experience and the life of the nation. It is entirely independent and its actions are determined only by the will of the Bulgarian people. This fact should be appreciated by those who seek to understand the history of Bulgaria.

538 **8. Literature and Cultural Achievements.** The conversion of the Bulgarians to Christianity (866) and their need for church instruction and prayer books gave rise to literary production, which is the beginning of literature for the whole Slavic world. The entire Bulgarian nation celebrates the day of its enlightenment on May 24. This is the holiday commemorating the life of the saintly brothers of Cyril and Methodius of Salonica who made our alphabeth and prepared our eclesiastical books. This is what the noted Russian historian and academician, N. Derjavin, said in 1914, when he was a professor in the Leningrad (Petrograd) university:[1])

In this way Bulgaria gave the Slavic people their language, upon which the present Slavic culture grew and developed. It was destined to be the first in giving life to the feeling of tribal self-consciousness among the Slavs and to serve,

[1]) N. Derjavin; The Bulgarian-Serb Relations and the Macedonian Question; Petrograd (i. e. Leningrad), 1914; (in Russian).

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not only as the language of their prayers, but as the means for uniting them in one cultural, national and, in some instances, political entity. But the great honor of the Bulgarian people is not because they gave the Slavs their language, it is due to the fact that Bulgaria, in spite of her trials and sufferings, was the cradle of Slavic culture and education. It was here, in Bulgaria, that at the end of the ninth century, after the death of St. Methodius, the pious Tzar Boris (852—889) of Bulgaria received his disciples and collaborators headed by St. Clement, Naum and others who were expelled from Moravia in a very cruel manner. This first enormous and variegated Slavic culture developed subsequently, during the illustrious reign of Tzar Simeon (893—927), the son of King Boris the First, owing to the immediate help and participation of the disciples and collaborators of the saintly brothers. This culture was the first to transfer on Slavic ground all the achievements of Byzantine civilization and served as the kernel, which later was taken over by the Serbs and the Russians as the foundation of their own national culture... This very rich cultural inheritance left by Bulgaria to her neighbours was enormous. But to-day we only have en approximate idea about it on information obtained indirectly from the comparatively few monuments preserved by Serbs and Russians outside of Bulgaria. The largest part of this literary treasure was burned in Bulgaria, because Bulgarian writings and anything that savoured of Bulgarian, in general, was subjected to an equal cruelty by Turks and Greeks as well..."

Another celebrated Slavist, a Croatian, professor Jagitch [1]) says: „The ancient Bulgarian writers, like bishop Constantine, presbyter Gregorii, Exarch Ioan, Blackfriar (Chernorizets) Khrabar, Theodore and prince Simeon [2]) himself, who sponsored all their spiritual activity, belonged to the young generation, whom the educators of the Bulgarian people directed to advance further on the road indicated by them. Owing to their efforts and writings, the old Bulgarian literary activity reached

[1]) V. Jagitch, History of Serbo-Croatian Literature, 1867, in Serbo-Croatian language; Russian translation, Kazan, 1871, p. 82; Jagitch was Professor at the Universities of Odessa, Berlin, St. Petersburg (Leningrad) and Vienna; he was member of the Austrian Senate.

[2]) Afterwards Tzar Simeon the Great, (893—927).

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538 such glorious development that, so far as the wealth of ecclesiastical literary production was concerned, it was able to compete bravely with the choicest Greek and Latin literatures of the time and to excel all other European literatures in that respect."

Prof. Ernest Denis[1]) states the following on the same subject: „The Bulgarian literature reached its golden age under the reign of Simeon and its historic importance was considerable. There was no other western literature in that distant period which contained such enormous quantity of biblical, liturgical and theological works borrowed from the Greeks. They translated the heroic and legendary narratives which were spread all over Europe in the Middle Ages... The Bulgarians were the first to use the old Slavic language and their works, distributed among all the orthodox Slavs, contributed to the establishment of national literature".

In the same work, St. Novakovitch and A Malet[2]) say: „Persecuted in all the countries dominated by Rome the learned Slavs, from 886 on, took refuge in Bulgarla which was the only country capable of protecting them. They formed there a veritable seminary of letters at the begining of the tenth century".

795 **9. Bogomilism.** In two hundred and fifty years (679 — 927), since the coming of the Bulgarians to the Balkan Peninsula, they had already become well nigh the real masters of the Peninsula. Simeon had acquired the title „Tzar of All Bulgarians and Greeks". After his death in 927, however, the Bulgarian State failed to retain the height of its power. The decline was due partly to the rise of the boyars, (nobility) feudal claims. But it was caused also by the appearance of Bogomilism and by the drawn and weary battles. The Bogomils maintained that the church, ikons, ecclesiastical hierarchy, kings, wars, wealth and even human flesh were the works of Satan. Many think that Bogomilism was a contribution by the Bulgarian Slavs to human civilizat on. A. N. Vsevolski[3]) says: „Through the influence of Bogomilism, the

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[1]) In Ernest Lavisse et Alfred Rambaud; Histoire générale du 4-ième siècle à nos jours; 1893. Vol. I, p. 733.

[2]) Ibid Vol. III. p. 903

[3]) Slavianskia Skazania, pp. 146—147; cf. D. Misheff, Rectifications of History, Sofia, 1922, p. 13.

538 One of the most characteristic features of modern
517 Bulgarian literature is its militant assertion of its life and it expresses this assertion by an unceasing struggle for social and political ideals and by a constant pursuit of an artistic perfection in which the esthetic ideal is absorbed and transfigured in order to pass over the line of demarcation between art and reality.

A democrat by nature, the Bulgarian cannot tolerate much of aristocracy. He wishes cultural values to be made accessible for all, so that all can derive profit from
000 them. Thus in the tenth century when darkness still covered Western Europe, a Bulgarian ecclesiastical writer, the Presbyter Kozma, exclaims in anger: "Thou, rich man, who hast in abundance all the books of the Old and New Testaments and other books filled with instructive words and who knowest all of them, hast thou not understood that thou must lay down thy soul for thy neighbors? Why dost thou bar the road for the salvation of mankind by hiding the Word of God from thy brothers? Those books which thou hast stored away were written that through them all men might be saved, and not that they might be devoured by worms and mildew. Therefore, thou man, do not shut thyself up in thy library and do not hide the Word of God from those who

the contempt of the Turks and Greeks, they did not need 175
to be ashamed of their own traditions. In the past the 814
Bulgarians had had their own empire and had received tribute from the wise Greeks and they had had the most progressive tsars and patriarchs of all the Slavonic peoples and they had been among the first peoples to accept the Christian faith, which they had later handed on with a rich literature to the other Slavs.

With its poetic inspiration and its ardent love for his [186]
country, the History of Paisi appeared as a torch to kindle the lowly and undeveloped national consciousness of Bulgaria. It set it ablaze and thus caused the surprising advance of the Bulgarian people. In one century[7] they turned from an amorphous mass to one of the strongest nationalities of the Balkans. They raised their level of culture, and developed their art, science and literature.

It goes without saying that the History of Paisi could 538
not have worked this miracle, if it had not found a fertile 814
soil in the souls of the Bulgarian people, and more than 186
that, if the soil had not been cultivated by a long series of enthusiastic imitators of Paisi. Between 1800 and 1850 these writers, without stopping, first in manuscripts and later in printed books, continued to arouse the national consciousness of the Bulgarians and to spread enlightenment in their native land. The aims of these men were purely practical. The definite object of Sofrony Vratchanski, of Neofit Bozveli, of Neofit Rilski in their works which are almost always of a didactic character, was to help their people, to educate them and to lead them on the path of proper development. Yet so strong and so inspired was the love that these men had for their

[7] [i.e., the eighteenth century --- Analyst]

538 people that without their endeavor, their works became
814 works of art and formed a stage in the development of
186 Bulgarian literature and the Bulgarian literary language. This gradually evolved under the guidance of the democratic spirit of the authors from the dead Church language which had predominated in the work of Paisi, until it approximated the Bulgarian colloquial dialects on which the modern language is based.

538 Not a little credit for the formation and crystalization
186 of the Bulgarian literary language and the development of modern Bulgarian literature must be given to the writers who walked in the steps of Paisi and his school and who were also public spirited men. This last circumstance explains the fact that the list of the most prominent authors includes the names of those Bulgarians who in the epoch preceding the political liberation of Bulgaria, the period between 1840 and 1875, took the leading and most self-sacrificing part in the cultural struggle for their country, for its spiritual awakening and its ecclesiastical independence, who fought in the revolting bands of various heroes, who worked inside the country in various revolutionary committees or with the Central Committee in Bucharest (Rumania was already free), and who thus tried in every way to secure the liberation of their country. Thus, whether we consider the men who appealed for aid in the struggles for ecclesiastical and national independence or list the writers or the leaders in any popular movement, we always come upon the names of Rakovski, Lyuben Karavelov, Drumev, and above all Khristo Botev.

The character of Sava Rakovski (1821-1867) is especially interesting and original in this group. He worked

between 1840 and 1847 and we can say without exag- 538
geration that he became a poet with the definite patriotic 186
aim of adding the power of the living word to the other means which he was employing in the service of his people. For participating in conspiracies within the Turkish Empire, Rakovski lay for three years in a prison in Constantinople and later he organized a revolting band with which he operated in the Balkans. At the same time he composed the poem "A Mountain-Wanderer", he published journalistic articles, and made studies in folklore, all with the one aim of arousing the Bulgarians to revolt against the Turkish yoke, of giving them faith in their own power, and of convincing them that they are one of the chosen peoples of the earth, who are assured of a glorious future. Like Paisi and his followers, Rakovski was so inspired by his love for his country that he became a true poet and towers among his people not only for his personal heroism but for his books which won hundreds of adherents for the idea of Bulgarian independence.

The same is true of Lyuben Karavelov (1837-1879), for between 1870 and 1875 he took a personal part in the revolutionary struggle of the Bulgarians and he had great political influence as one of the founders of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee. Yet he left a still greater reputation from his literary work which he treated as part of his patriotic mission. Like his contemporaries, he had a definitely practical aim—to arouse the spirit of the Bulgarians and urge them to struggle; amid the difficulties and tragedies of the time in which he worked, he kindled the souls of his people, became inspired himself and was turned into a true artist. Thus it was granted

538 186 to him to write such stories as the "Child of Mamin" and "Bulgarians of the Old Times." These have permanent value and are more and more highly regarded for their clever observation and understanding and the realistic manner in which they picture the life and manners of the people in the little Bulgarian cities at the middle of the nineteenth century, and they are still counted among the most happy productions of Bulgarian artistic prose.

Another man who was primarily interested in public work was Vasil Drumev (1841-1901), who in 1872, following the steps of the first Bulgarian theatrical writer Dobri Voynikov, wrote a historical drama "Ivanku" which is one of the best Bulgarian dramas. Unfortunately Drumev did not find in literature a satisfactory outlet for his patriotism and his desire to aid his people and therefore after finishing "Ivanku" he entered the priesthood and devoted himself exclusively to educational and political activity, a clear example of the way in which the Bulgarian writers of this period were led by patriotism to commence or to terminate literary and artistic work.

This same patriotic fervor developed and forged Petko Rachev Slaveykov (1827-1895), one of the greatest Bulgarian poets of the older epoch, a man who exerted great influence on later Bulgarian literature. Slaveykov became a poet quite accidentally, in furtherance of his patriotic aims. His first poem was a satire, which he wrote when he was barely 16 or 17 against Ilarion, Bishop of Tirnovo, a Greek by nationality and a well-known Bulgarophobe. This commenced his struggles against the Greek clergy and the Turkish government which filled his entire life. While Slaveykov was wandering as a teacher throughout the whole of Bulgaria,

unable to remain long in any one spot because of the persecutions of his enemies, he began to write lyric poems to take the place of the Greek love songs, which were then sung throughout Bulgaria and which were a powerful factor in the Hellenizing of the educated Bulgarians. To aid the Bulgarian national rebirth, Slaveykov became a journalist and edited a satirical journal and later a political paper. Then from patriotic motives, he commenced the enormous task of translating the Gospels with the support of the American Bible Society. But the social-literary activity of Slaveykov did not exhaust his powers; it merely inspired the poet in minutes of quiet reflection to write some of the most beautiful lyric productions of Bulgarian literature. In 1927 when the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Slaveykov was being celebrated— his poems, although they had been neglected by the younger generation, showed the sincerity, deep sensitiveness and warm feeling of their author and again won high regard.

Far above these writers of the pre-independence period, above Lyuben Karavelov, Drumev, and Petko Slaveykov, stands the dazzling and blinding Khristo Botev. Botev is the greatest Bulgarian poet and the most revered national hero. His short life created a mass of legends and these legends are even now repeated in Bulgaria from north to south and he wins all hearts by the clarity, beauty, and moral earnestness of his actions.

Khristo Botev (1848-1876) was born in the middle of the nineteenth century in Kalofer, a city in the Balkans not far from the celebrated Valley of Roses. His father was a good and enlightened teacher but he was loyal to

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the Turkish government. At home Khristo was trained to quiet and self-restraint but from his early years he felt in his veins the urging to a revolt against the Turkish oppressors and against the lamb-like toleration of his contempararies, especially their leaders (the Chorbadji), who looked upon every attempt to rouse the people against the Turks with even greater horror and consternation than did the Turks themselves. Who knows what would have happened to Botev in his little native city, where his patriotic revolutionary tendencies would have led him to ruin and destruction and where they could not have been guided and enlightened, had his father not sent him to Russia when he was 17? There in the land of Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky and Turgenev, Botev developed his character, thought over his career, and learned that he was to sacrifice himself for his people. But to sacrifice one's self in the best sense of the word, is to acquire unconquerable power— the power of a symbol, which cannot be separated from the conscience of the nation for which it serves as a noble example. His decision once made, Botev strove stubbornly and constantly to carry out his aims: to lay down his life for his country, without any other idea than that, as he puts it in one of his ballads, the people should some day say of him, "He died, poor man, for truth and freedom."

The last years of Botev's life were stormy. He remained in Russia until 1867; then for a short time he was a teacher in his native city, but later, instead of returning, as his father wished, to complete his education in Russia and become a physician, he emigrated to Rumania and began to prepare himself for active revolutionary work in Bulgaria. He became a member of

the Central Revolutionary Committee, edited the journals Budilnik (Alarm) and Zname (Banner), suffered poverty and maintained himself by writing and teaching. He finally wearied of emigré life and foreign conspiracies which revolted him by their uselessness and the atmosphere of intrigue with which they were surrounded. In 1876, when he was 28 years old, the revolts broke out in Bulgaria which gave the Turks the excuse for the reprisals characterized by Gladstone as the Bulgarian atrocities. Botev organized his own revolutionary band of about 200 men, seized an Austrian steamship, the "Radetski", crossed the Danube, landed on the Bulgarian coast and prepared to fight with his comrades for the liberation of his people. He failed to receive assistance from his compatriots and three days later he fell dead on the Vola, a barren Balkan height, and no one knows the location of his grave. 538 186

Thus the life of Botev is filled with the beauty of active self-sacrifice and with harmony between preaching and action. This beauty is increased by one remarkable fact; that it is dominated and permeated by the gleam of a poetical inspiration which surges in direct proportion to the revolutionary activity of Botev and is its direct expression. This inspiration he poured out in 22 poems, but among these are the most pieces of Bulgarian authorship; the ballad "Hadji Dimitar" and the lyric poems, "To my first love", "May", "On farewell", etc.

To analyze the poems of Botev without being able to cite them is sacrilegious for a Bulgarian and it is impossible to translate them. We can only say in characterization of them that they arose incidentally amid 538

538 the stormy life of Botev as sparks of molten gold which reflected his ardent soul. They speak the language of Botev; they are diverse in content and rhythm and dazzle by their imagery. Full of undoubted originality, they are sketched with an economy of means such as only world-poets use. The poems of Botev are short and yet they embrace much. Every element is powerful and harmonious and like an unexpected flash of lightning each directly affects the feeling of the reader, so that he understands easily and surely the aim and idea of Botev's life, love for his country, above which there is nothing in the world and for the liberation of which, if a man falls, "he does not die, but even the animals and nature mourn for him and the bards sing in his honor", as he says in one of his poems.

How true these thoughts of Botev were can be seen from the fact that after fifty years every Bulgarian mourns for him. His name is echoed in the defiles of the Balkan Mountains and the broad Thracian and Danubian plains and rings without ceasing in the souls of the Bulgarians as the expression of the finest man whom their country has brought forth.

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538 186 The gigantic shadow of Botev falls across the gulf which separates enslaved from free Bulgaria, for as is well known, the country was separated from Turkey as an autonomous principality as a result of the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-8. On the later side of the gulf stands the figure of another great poet, balancing the work of Botev. This man has a significance for Bulgarian culture and Bulgarian literature, if we estimate this by direct and evident influence, perhaps even greater than

has Botev. It is Ivan Vazov who first carried the fame 538 ●
of Bulgarian literature beyond the boundaries of his 186
native land and whose activity of 50 years from 1872 to 1921 witnessed the joys and hopes of young Bulgaria, its heroic struggles for national unification and the crushing failure of these hopes in 1918 and who was a sensitive echo of all the joys and sorrows of his country.

Ivan Vazov (1850-1921) is the first Bulgarian poet who gave expression to his patriotism not by direct public work— as did his predecessors— but exclusively by unceasing artistic production through which he strove to express all that he saw in his country: its nature, its people, and also the ideals towards which it should strive. Bulgaria in all its manifold aspects— that is the content of the literary work of Vazov, who sacrificed to his inspiration his personal life and all his other interests, so that he could offer it worthy service solemnly and convincingly.

The sacrifice which Vazov offered to his country was not in vain. There is no Bulgarian writer who so truly and accurately reflects his country as does Vazov. There is no Bulgarian writer like Vazov whose works demand the attention of every foreigner who would know Bulgaria.

For example, if a man is interested in the past of 175
Bulgaria, let him turn to the historical dramas of Vazov 538
on themes from the old Bulgarian Empire, or his "Leg- 186
ends of Tsarevets", which describe touchingly the struggles between Bulgaria and Byzantium. If he seeks the less distant past or the rebirth of Bulgaria, he has the splendid "Epic of the Heroes", in which he represents as in living marble the figures of Paisi, Rakovski,

538 Levski and the Brothers Milandinovi. If he wishes to
186 learn of the uprisings which were the indirect cause of
175 the liberation of Bulgaria and turned the attention of Western Europe to its fate, he can read the best novel of Vazov, "Under the Yoke" which has been translated into every culture-language and which describes with surprising artistry the life of a Balkan city before the liberation, the secret work of the group of rebels, the uprising which they prepare and which the Turks suppress with fire and sword. If he desires to understand the life of the newly liberated Bulgaria, he can find what he seeks in the novels of Vazov as "The New Land" and the "Empress Kazalar." If he would know how Bulgaria passed through the series of war which she waged, in which she conquered heroically without being able to reap any profit from her victories, he must turn again to Vazov and to his many collections of poetry, in which we find expression of all the pains of Bulgaria, all her hopes and disillusionments. Thus every one must turn to Vazov who wishes to know of Bulgaria with her landscape, her fields and mountains, the Balkans, Rilo and Rhodope, the Danube and the Black Sea.

538 It is superfluous to list the works of Vazov, for this would be merely the listing of all the inner and outer characteristics of Bulgaria in a perfect mirror. It is better to say that their significance is to be found not only in the fact that they focus as in a lens everything that is important in Bulgarian life but that this is done artistically, with the aid of a talent which is gifted for both poetry and prose, and which produces its effects with great music of phrase, vividness of imagery, a

wealth and freshness of poetic language, and an orig- 538
inality of poetic thought.

With such powers, Vazov— who had the additional [171]
merit of first acquainting Bulgarian literature with the tendencies of the Western literatures, especially French Romanticism— could not fail to exert an enormous influence on the social life of his day and even more on the literary life. Without his influence Bulgarian artistic literature would never have reached its present height, its poetry would not have been so enriched with rhythmic excellences, its prose would not have been inspired to discuss such complicated and interesting themes. The impulse exerted by Vazov on the literature of his country is one of the most glorious monuments to his talent and to the consciousness that he had as to his social mission. Conscious too of his duties as a national poet, Vazov, during the entire fifty years of his activity, never for a single moment laid down his pen and tried not to leave a single form of literature in which he had not experimented. He succeeded so well that he discovered new fields: he created new forms which his successors were to develop and he opened new paths from which not even the most advanced modernists have yet passed. A poet and a pioneer and in many fields still unsurpassed, that is what Vazov can say of himself.

One of the first to follow in the footsteps of Vazov was his friend, Konstantin Velichkov (1855-1907), who suffered much because of his enthusiastic love of art and his indifference to money. He had much to struggle against but he succeeded in leaving behind him three monuments, which will maintain his name in the roll of honor of Bulgarian culture. One monument is the

538 Academy of Art, which he founded in 1896, when he was Minister of Education. The two others were a magnificent translation of Dante's "Inferno" and a volume of "Letters from Rome" which can be compared with the finest examples of Western epistolary art. Not a few gems are also hidden in the poetry of Velichkov, especially in his lyrics.

Another writer who followed from the beginning in the steps of Vazov is Todor G. Vlaykov, who uses the pen-name Veselin (1865-). He was also an enthusiast for his country like Velichkov, and all his predecessors but unlike these— and this is a mark of the new period in Bulgarian literature which began at the end of the nineteenth century— he did not attempt to express so insistently his social and patriotic ideas in his writings. Vlaykov shows his love for his people by making careful sketches of the village life in a semi-realistic, semi-idealistic manner and he endeavors to express the positive qualities which hide in the soul of the Bulgarians and can be most clearly seen among the villagers: love of labor, stubborn pursuit of a definite goal, chastity in the relations between man and woman, and ardent love for the family. In the depiction of these positive qualities T. G. Vlaykov is unwearying. In this field he published the "Grandson of Grandsir Slachov" and two other stories at the age of 63 after a long pause caused by active political work, and he achieved success in them.

Near to Vazov's style of writing and his active feeling for Bulgarian reality stands Anton Strashimirov (1872-), a restless spirit, who during his entire literary activity which lasted almost 40 years, could not find time to train himself, to decide what he wished to become, a writer

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with social interests or a pure artist, and who in consequence never succeeded in creating anything with unity. Yet in some of the novels of Strashimirov and in one or two of his dramas, we feel the pulse of a real inspiration. This is revealed chiefly in the ability of the author in picturing the tragedy of the commonplace, the despotism of convention, and the injustice of class distinctions. 538

Strashimirov with his social bent, the tendencious character of his writing, his willingness to condemn, learned also from another author of this period, who in his desire to use his poetical gifts for the inculcation of ideas and opinions in the souls of his compatriots reminds us of the writers of the pre-liberation era. This author, Stoyan Mikhaylovski (1856-1927) developed satire in Bulgarian literature, first political and social satire and later satire of morals. Gifted with a keen insight into the imperfections of mankind, boiling with rage against them, cherishing a truly moral feeling and a developed philosophic mind, Mikhaylovski, with considerable artistic talent, might have played a primary role in the Bulgarian social movement and have left a deep impression on the literature of his country, if he had had that quality which every preacher, every prophet, every merciless scourge of the defects of humanity must possess— the capacity to love those whom he scolds, to pity those whom he chastizes. Mikhaylovski was cold and self-contained and therefore his satire, although it awakes admiration and is in general just, is not felt as such and it could not produce the favorable effect which it might have had, if we felt in it that the poet wrote with sorrow in his soul and with a desire to help

538 his victims and was not merely venting his own embitterment.

The work of another author of the nineties had this beneficial effect on Bulgarian social life. It was the work of a master of social and political satire like Mikhaylovski but much milder, more enlightened, more loving than he. This book which with Vazov's novel "Under the Yoke" is one of the most popular in Bulgaria, comes from the pen of Aleko Konstantinov (1863-1897) and is a cross between a chronicle and a novel; it consists of a series of loosely connected episodes from the life of one person Bay-Ganyu (the title of the book), who typifies the middle-class Bulgarian as he was in the first years after the liberation: clever, suspicious, but bold and self-reliant, not too cultured, not too able but yet rather clever in solving problems in which he seeks too much for subtlety, energetic, obstinately firm and in the depths of his soul not bitter, not spoiled, able to reform. [829] The value of the satire of Aleko Konstantinov, which is filled with humor, lies in the faith that Bay-Ganyu, the ordinary Bulgarian can change, that the evils from which he suffers are only temporary, that they are a result of the bad influences resulting from the Turkish yoke. These people deserve to be rebuked, but should be ridiculed rather than condemned irrevocably. Thus Aleko Konstantinov saves his victims, for his laughter is not cruel and does not slay completely. The book is salutary and gives a true picture of Bulgarian life in the epoch which it describes, much truer than the bitter satires of Mikhaylovski, and so Aleko Konstantinov, although he was not so serious a thinker as Mikhaylovski, yet holds a more important place in Bulgarian literature and his

hero has an immortal place and the sympathy of all 538 ● those who are interested in literary types.

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Aleko Konstantinov ends the series of authors of the 517 period between 1880 and 1900 in whose works the social 538 elements predominate over the purely aesthetic and who use artistic effects merely to proclaim social ideas and to realize patriotic or universal spiritual ideals.

After the death of Aleko Konstantinov who was killed in a political brawl in 1899, we no longer meet authors who aim to express characteristic features of the national life. The political life of the country was becoming more settled. Bulgaria was growing stronger, with confidence in its future and its political independence and the old problems ceased to be of all absorbing interest. New problems appeared,— chiefly of a cultural nature. The epoch of spiritual development was commencing, in which the artists played a role not of social workers but of leaders bidden to satisfy the immaterial needs of their compatriots. In the new epoch the Bulgarian writers turned their attentions to the emptiness which they beheld in the cultural life of their country, and they began to construct channels into which the spiritual life of the land could flow. They came to the conviction that they could best serve their country by leaving to the statesmen the necessary ordering of its material well-being and striving themselves as artists to enrich its spiritual treasury with values of esthetic importance, which were now more vital than the purely material interests.

It is not surprising that with such a transfer of the centre of interest the new writers should start a reaction

538 517 against the old and against those authors who had based their art on the desire to give practical help to Bulgaria. The new art could not fail to take a position directly opposite to that of the older school, the dean of which was Ivan Vazov.

As we might expect, the three authors who at the beginning of the twentieth century directed the new movement for the invigoration of Bulgarian literature, Pencho Slaveykov, P. K. Yavorov, and P. Yu. Todorov, declared an open struggle against the influence of Vazov. Today we see that this struggle, which for a while seemed to be between representatives of irreconcilable schools, was unnecessary, that there was no yawning gulf between Vazov and the three younger men, that both sides had much in common, that they were both competent, had a serious idea of their poetical functions which they understood as a real mission to help their neighbors, and did not lose themselves in a struggle over abstract principles. Today we see the influence which his opponents exerted on Vazov and the aid which his ability gave them for the struggle against him. Since Slaveykov, Yavorov and Todorov introduced a new element into Bulgarian literature, their struggle with Vazov can be explained as the obvious development of a new and really independent group.

538 517 177 At the head of this group is Pencho Slaveykov (1866-1912), son of the old Petko Slaveykov, whom we have mentioned above. Pencho Slaveykov drew his new ideas from Germany where he lived for a while and where he felt the Hellenic influence of Goethe, the lyric and heroic humor of Heine and the philosophy of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. These influences, combined with

those of Russian literature, led Pencho Slaveykov to break through the limitations of his lyric talents and to create works which have significance for world literature as well as for Bulgaria. The success of Pencho Slaveykov can be judged by the fact that in 1910, when an attempt was made to win the Nobel Prize in Literature for a Bulgarian poet, Pencho Slaveykov was put forward as a candidate, and had it not been for his premature death in 1912 at the age of 46, he would probably have received it. His poetic work which is really inferior to that of Vazov in substance and direct inspiration is superior to it in depth of thought and in its richness in universal problems, which the poet seeks to solve with artistic perfection. Slaveykov is the first conscious esthete among Bulgarian writers and he has also a deeply philosophical intellect. His ripe thought, tinged with pessimism and tempered with stoicism, enlightens and permeates the heavy, golden-sweet honey of his works—his splendid "Epic Songs", his tender lyric collection "Dream of Happiness", his original anthology "On the Islands of the Blessed". In this the poet under the pretence of translating from various foreign poets prints his own poems and he reveals various aspects of his creative personality in a series of clever biographical notes. His thought stands out and gives power to the "Song of Blood", an epic in which Slaveykov describes the uprising of 1876 and in which he tries to emphasize the salient characteristics of the Bulgarians, to explain the objects of their struggles and the nature of their oppression by the Turks, and by drawing a broad panorama of Bulgarian social life before the liberation, to predict the future of his country. It is further remarkable that

538 Slaveykov, although he based his poetic work on phil-
517 osophical and esthetic principles which he adopted from
177 Western Europe, yet remained loyal to the fundamental characteristic of all Bulgarian writers; he did not spurn reality, did not lose himself in impossible intellectual speculations, did not give up his love for his native land, but everywhere in his work he aimed to do good service to his fatherland. Because of this Pencho Slaveykov succeeded in creating works which were thoroughly intelligible to people who knew nothing of Bulgaria and which were yet as Bulgarian in substance as were those of his father Petko Slaveykov or Ivan Vazov. Such recognition is a mark of the high praise which Bulgarians accord his works.

538 Many consider the close friend and companion of Pencho Slaveykov, Peyu Yavorov (1878-1914), to be more gifted and significant than he, and without doubt, although he did not have the philosophical nature of Slaveykov, he was a more inspired and skilful artist. Yavorov enriched Bulgarian literature with nuances which had previously been unknown. He acquainted it with a great number of problems which perplex the modern man, as he is torn between a materialistic view of life and idealistic aspirations.

This struggle between faith and unbelief, between the need to devote himself unreservedly to a cause and the attempt to prove to his consciousness that such a sacrifice is superfluous, between an intuitive acceptance of all truths and a lack of confidence in human reason, between a deep and almost religious reverence for woman and an aversion to her, is the subject of his writings and is also the distinguishing mark of the life of Yavorov.

His life was one of suffering, an eternal ascending to the 538 heights and a constant falling to the depths, an eternal beating against the icy wall which separates man from absolute truth, a constant interchange of joy and disillusionment which leave a bloody trail on all the productions of his martyr life.

Although discord reigned in the soul of Yavorov, as he sought a real equilibrium, his poetry breathes only harmony. His language is unusually melodious, his rhythm is more diverse than that of any of his predecessors. The internal melody is more intensive than any which we find in the works of the preceding epoch. Here by his keen feeling for the melodic character of the verse, Yavorov continues the tradition of the old Bulgarian bards, the anonymous authors of the Bulgarian folk songs, all of whom were musicians, if we may judge by the sound of their productions. Yavorov also represents modern man as he tries to become intelligible to all the world and to be understood by strangers as well as by his neighbors. When his country calls him to make sacrifices, he is ready to lay down his life for it. He has a broad view of human sins and contradictions, the relations between man and woman, and he can portray a family tragedy, the mystery of which is only now being revealed.

All these contrasts in the soul of Yavorov, his struggles with himself and with the world are reflected in his works: the collection of poems, the "Shadows of the Clouds" which contain his most beautiful works and a wealth of motifs; his two dramas and the interesting memories of the years 1905-6, when he was struggling as an insurgent in Macedonia. For foreigners this work

538 has especial interest, since it compares Yavorov with his predecessors and it shows the union of purely Bulgarian features and universal aspirations, which are so typical of Yavorov who was both a Bulgarian and a member of the modern family of men with all of the contradictions involved.

To become a modern man and to be at the same time a Bulgarian and a Western European was the object of the third member of this group, Petko Yu. Todorov [177] (1879-1916). As a dramatist and an author of refined and elegant idyls, he introduced into his country the influence of Ibsen and he also strove to ennoble the Bulgarian folk songs and tales by using the material for original planned works, some of which have a symbolistic tendency. Todorov zealously strove to introduce into the Bulgarian palette those esthetic and philosophical principles, which seemed to him a logical outcome of literary and social development, and he did not realize at times that some of these principles were alien to the Bulgarian soul. As a result of this he did not find full freedom in the use of the folk lore material, which he might have used on a large scale. His best work are his idyls. These, the best in this form that Bulgaria has yet produced, were insufficiently valued when they appeared but now fifteen years after the death of the poet, they find conscious or unconscious imitation, especially in the works of the youngest writers with their slogan "Back to the native". We can see today that the dramas of Todorov, despite the contradictions between the symbolistic elements adopted from Ibsen and the tales and songs which are drawn from national sources, will also have a revival. The author's dramatic merits are great

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and many authors since his day have followed his path in drawing material from the folk beliefs and legends.

A contemporary of Pencho Slaveykov, Yavorov and Todorov, although he was not their friend but can now claim to share with them in the esteem in bringing Western influence into the native literature of his people is Kiril Khristov (1875-). He first attracted attention as a poet of passionate love and of fervent aspirations; later he created a large amount of lyric poetry in the folk style, but with the spiritual experiences of a highly developed man. He also created epics, dramas and novels, in which the most characteristic features are passion, a thirst for life, a stubborn movement toward distant horizons and a revolt against suffering and oppression in life, an element which gives Khristov a place not far from Vazov, Pencho Slaveykov and Todorov.

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The major part of the work of the poets of whom we have just spoken was done before 1912, before the Balkan Wars which mark a dividing line in both the political and cultural life of Bulgaria. The same period saw the rise of two other authors, who are still working, but whose spirit, interests and temperament belong to the past age, which they manifest by a calm, a wisdom, and a light scepticism which is lacking to the modern authors.

One of these writers is Dimitar Ivanov, known under the pen-name of Elin Pelin (1878-). He was born in a village not far from Sofia and in his two volumes of stories and his two novels he expresses all the outstanding features of the Bulgarian villager: sober realism, a

538 keen love for the land and the tools whereby this is worked, a feeling of close kinship with nature, a natural and unspiteful cleverness and humor. Although he is in his works a typical Bulgarian, Elin Pelin has under the influence of Vazov, Pencho Slaveykov and Yavorov and by his acquaintance with modern European literature, been permeated with the spirit of modern life, has deepened his observations and has been developed intellectually. Thanks to this he has elevated stories on strictly Bulgarian themes into tales that are accessible and interesting to the entire world. We can say with certainty that Elin Pelin is an excellent stylist and that next to Vazov he is the Bulgarian author whose works have been most translated into foreign languages and who is more popular at home than other writers who have perhaps deeper themes but less solid material, directness and naive artistry.

Another writer who like Elin Pelin did his chief work before 1912 is Georgi Stamatov (1869-), the most careful and serious psychologist and analyst among Bulgarian prose writers. His stories are so delicately and elaborately wrought that they arouse in the readers feelings of terror and delight. Stamatov (a good type of the completely modern man) busies himself especially with the relations of man and woman, marriage and all elements on which this is often based. For many years a judge, he deals also with the conflicts which take place in a humane man between his moral feeling, his virtues, and the need of protecting himself and society against all dangers. In discussing every theme, he shows his keen glance, his ability to dissect character, his sardonic smile, behind which there is not bitterness as is the case with

Mikhaylovski, but a tolerant and mild humaneness which 538
remains from the good pre-war times with their quiet and satisfaction.

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This humanity and this wisdom which we see in 538
Stamatov and the writers of his period, are a reflection 178
of the Slavonic elements in the Bulgarian people and were most clearly shown while Bulgaria lived a happy and free life. Since the war with its attendant sufferings and the revival of memories of the Turkish yoke, these qualities are disappearing, partially if not wholly, or are being eclipsed by other elements which are appearing in literature. The national catastrophes which Bulgaria suffered after the Balkan Wars and the World War, when she was forbidden union with Macedonia, the hardships inflicted by the unjust treaty of peace, and the material deprivations embittered all the Bulgarians and took from them their self-confidence and the internal peace with which they were rising to cultural perfection and social well-being. The people turned their attention inwards, to the problems of the soul, questions of life and death, social and class conflicts. They sought in their own past the causes and the explanations of the misfortunes which they had undergone and interested themselves in their national qualities and defects, in which lay the basis for their future success or failure.

As a result of this change in the Bulgarian character, 538
in political life there came a strengthening of partisan struggles, and sharp division into schools in the field of literature. Each of these sought to solve in its own way the problems resulting from the changes in the social and the psychological life of the people.

538 The most striking example of this new attitude is the appearance of mysticism, something which had not been hitherto observed in Bulgarian literature and which was really foreign to the sober spirit of the people. After the war this manifested itself first in the members of all kinds of sects which suddenly appeared and which were composed of people who were suffering directly or indirectly from the general catastrophe and who felt the need of some religious consolation which at the time could not be supplied by the national Church. This mysticism appeared in certain writers where it is not only a result of the war but is also a distant echo of that social-mystical movement, Bogomilism, which revolutionized the whole of Bulgaria during the 10th and 11th centuries and which was carried from there into Italy and France where it begot the sects of the Albigenses and became one of the causes of the Reformation.

Among the Bulgarian mystical writers the first place belongs to Ivan Grozev (1872-), a quiet and retiring poet, who eternally wanders into the world of legends which is populated with demons and angels, dragons and marvels supernatural but nevertheless real. He enthusiastically confines these creatures in poetry which is filled with the anxious aspiration for purity and redeeming sufferings and humble submission to unknown powers which guide us and can conduct us to a good land, if we will but follow. Grozev's most interesting works are his poems and some of his dramas in which his mystical feeling is strengthened by a philosophic idea which intuitively reaches into the very depths of existence.

Another mystic is Nikolay Raynov (1889-). His personality is too indistinct to be accurately definited, but it is

very broad and the author pursues various inner and outer 538 goals which he approaches by different paths. Thus some productions of Raynov are purely mystical; others are symbolistic; a third group are realistic and even naturalistic. All these works are nevertheless the work of one spirit in its eternal striving for the remote, the mysterious element of life; all are extremely ornate, stylistically refined, highly colored (in this we fell the influence of the fact that Raynov is a painter and a professor in the Academy of Art); all draw directly or indirectly on the wealth that is hidden in the mystical legends of the people, the old apocryphal religious tales and the philosophy of India. The most interesting and the most perfect are the fantastic tales of the old past of Bulgaria, his "Bogomil Legends", and also a novel which describes the life and works of Jesus Christ, in which he gives a surprisingly vivid picture of old Jerusalem and he brings out the figure of Christ with surprising distinctness.

There is a certain mystical coloring also in the works of the leading Bulgarian symbolist, Todor Trayanov (1882-), who for a long time seemed exceptional among the poets of his country for his abstractness, his remoteness from real life, a mistiness which is unnatural to a Bulgarian and which he acquired in Germany. The war forced Trayanov to descend from the clouds and to write the "Bulgarian Legends", his most beautiful works, full of the enthusiasm of a suddenly awakened love for his country and of definite sympathy with its sorrows. Trayanov tries to peer into the fate and future of his country and in his latest work "The Song of Songs", he has risen to splendid prophetic utterances.

538 Although Trayanov is the chief of the Bulgarian symbolists, the most gifted representative of the school is not he nor the uneven Lyudmil Stoyanov, the author of several collections of verse and some dramas, but Dimcho Debelyanov (1887-1916) who died an early but heroic death in the war in 1916. The entire work of this poet is included in one small volume with barely 50 poems. Quantity is not decisive. Botev wrote scarcely 20 poems and is accepted as the great master of Bulgarian verse. Debelyanov with his small volume is the master of the younger symbolists and perhaps the greatest poet of the modern period. No other of the younger men approaches him artistically in his melodious verse, his depth of feeling, his sincerity, his warmth, his acceptance of suffering which gives his poetry a heroic note. No other poet combines such simplicity and complication and depth in his feelings. No other poet can so take refuge from life in the most abstract images and symbols and no one else has his purity and his keen vision which are reflected in every strophe of his songs. The fundamental motif of Debelyanov is the yearning, the suffering of the homeless— and yet from this theme he does not derive a feeling of hopelessness but a quiet reverence before life, an assertion of existence.

The death of Debelyanov was an irreplaceable loss for Bulgarian literature. This was cruelly shown by the poems printed during his lifetime as well as by those found after his death in his notebook, in which he speaks of the war with such simple but deeply inspired thoughts and in which he gives such a true picture of it, that none of the authors of the hundreds of patriotic stories and

verses produced in Bulgaria between 1915 and 1918 can be compared with him. 538

The only poet who can console Bulgaria for allowing Debelyanov to die in battle, the only one who can be compared with him, is his comrade Nikolay Liliyev (1886-). Liliyev is perhaps a more delicate master than Debelyanov; his verse sounds more tender and more intangible; his themes which he chooses from the torments and yearnings for solitude, show a man of more sensitiveness and come from the mysterious depths of personality. But Liliyev is further from life than Debelyanov; his art is not so spontaneous; we do not feel the fervor of a soul which thrills in common with the whole of nature. So the significance of Liliyev lies in a different field from that of Debelyanov, in the field of purely artistic poetry, in which Liliyev is indisputably the master. His language is more melodious than is that of Yavorov, with a more delicate rhythm, greater variety in shadings, greater lightness of imagery. The great achievement of Liliyev can be seen in his influence on all later poets, who without exception owe to him the elegance which marks their verses and is one of the outstanding features of modern Bulgarian poetry.

Nikolay Liliyev, although he is counted a symbolist works not with this group (which centres around the journal Hyperion, edited by Trayanov) but with another centre which has been in existence for ten years and is composed of writers of various tendencies who desire to call attention to the external form of their works, the language and style, who strive to develop as far as possible the means of expression, as they try to broaden the internal content of their works. In other words they

538 are following in the footsteps of Pencho Slaveykov and Yavorov in raising Bulgarian literature to the same level as the literatures of other cultured poeples. Their organ is the journal Zlatorog (Golden Horn) which is edited by the critic Vladimir Vasilev and by Liliyev, and they strive in all their works for artistic perfection.

One of the best known members of the Zlatorog group is the master of the Bulgarian novel Yordan Yovkov (1884-). In his five volumes of stories and one novel Yovkov describes sympathetically the life of the villagers in the Dobrudja, his native province. Although is is a realist and his heroes are simple people, he never loses a sense of proportion and he never falls into roughness or into the improbabilities into which so many writers fall, when they seek to give an exact picture of life in a village and who apply the colors too thickly. For this reason Yovkov is not only an accurate observer and a good psychologist but he is also an excellent stylist with a live feeling of measure like a poet. He sees an aureole of beauty softening the rough places of life. He understands his heroes and he knows how to describe their humanity, their natural goodness and their noble feelings. This capacity for idealizing without distorting Yovkov has revealed in his two volumes of war stories, which include his masterpieces, and also in his other stories, especially "The Legends of Staroplanina" which he published later and which in language, in the liveliness of the descriptions, the clarity of his comparisons and in picturesqueness are one of the finest books in Bulgarian literature.

Among the other members of the Zlatorog group, we must mention one woman, E. Bagryana, who after several years of silence published in "Eternity and the

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Saint", a collection of deeply sensitive lyric poems, which have a high place in Bulgarian poetry, since they reveal an abstract estheticism in form, a quality very much admired in Bulgaria, and they are also formally perfect and sincere, since they are drawn from life and have passed through the heart and soul of the author as well as through her mind and reason.

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Another gifted poetess in the same group is Dora Gabe, the author of delicate and passionate feminine verses, and of some excellent stories from the life of the Dobrudja. She has a great influence on the development of literature for children and she is considered a master in this form of writing.

Georgi Raychev (1882-) also works in the Zlatorog group. He is a prominent novelist, the author of several well-constructed tales, with interesting and complicated psychological subjects based on the contradictions in the human soul, the hesitation between evil and good and the relations between man and woman. Raychev's story "Sin" is a well planned book and can be recommended as the best example of a Bulgarian psychological novel.

To the same group belongs one of the most promising of the younger writers, just 30 years of age, Angel Karaliychev (1902-), who in his first works won the admiration of all by his truly popular and yet naturally artistic language, his village themes, and the almost expressionistic fluidity of his stories. Karaliychev is developing well and is approaching the manner of Petko Todorov. He is apparently trying to walk in his footsteps, as we decide when we notice how he uses folk legends,

538 tales and songs with all their direct naivité and freshness for his elegant and originally constructed poetical works.

Among other members should be mentioned Vladimir Polyanov, a unique but not untalented novelist and Yordan Stubel, a poet of semitones and of unclear figures.

The Zlatorog once counted two other modern writers— the critic and essayist Konstantin Galabov and the most extreme of the modernists, Chavdar Mutafov. As a result of misunderstandings both men left their friends and formed their own group, the Strelets (Archer) which has almost the same aims but has a greater tendency to merge the native art with that of Western Europe, especially of Germany. (Both Galabov and Mutafov were educated in Germany.)

Among the members of the Strelets group, Chavdar Mutafov is the most interesting, for he after Geo Milev, a gifted but not definite poet— first tried to develop on Bulgarian soil the principles of expressionism as these were formulated in Germany by Franz Werfel, Kazimir Eischmid, Ehrenstein, etc. Although his experiment was somewhat artificial, since expressionism (the principles of which had taken root in Germany) was foreign to the ~~realistic~~ Bulgarian spirit— yet thanks to the fact that he was a talented writer with a keen sense for constructive style, excellent language, and much liveliness in beginning a story, he succeeded in producing valuable results, especially in some of his short stories and in his novel, the "Dilletante."

Another gifted young writer in the Strelets group is Atanas Dalchev, whose verses win attention by their

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original rhythms and their charm, although they are in rather inartistic form. 538

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The writers whom we have mentioned fall into three groups, Hyperion, Zlatorog, and Strelets, but there are some who stand alone and do not care to sacrifice their individuality or whose creative work is of more interest to them than the theoretical disputes between the groups, or they are not of an aggressive character and do not wish to have a tumult around them.

The first of them to be mentioned must be Dobri Nemirov, the best novelist of the present day, who continues the tradition of Vazov in his quiet realism and his fondness for purely Bulgarian themes. Steeped in this tradition, Nemirov, who has a really original style, a well-developed language and the ability to analyze characters and to portray spiritual conflicts, has written several well-received works of which we must name the story "Poor Luka" and the two novels "Case No. 9" and the "Brothers". The last is especially valuable, since it portrays the chief types of Bulgarians of the period before the liberation and throws light on several curious aspects of the Bulgarian soul with its present contradictions.

Another independent is Konstantin Konstantinov, who in his stories describes well and sympathetically the life of the small and dying provincial cities and gives his stories a social note and a resultant humane coloring.

We also find among the independents the two best Bulgarian dramatists of the past years: Stepan Kostov, several of whose comedies of manner with their humor

538 and keen observation have been produced by the theatres of Sofia and the provinces: and Ratcho Stoyanov, whose drama "The Masters" with its deeply felt poetry has had a great success.

Apart from the confusion of the groups there are working also Stiliyan Chilingirov, a poet of many years' standing who recently brought out a successful novel, Trifun Kunev, an author of excellent symbolistic poetry, Mara Belcheva, whose poetry is interesting because of its philosophic resignation, Nikolay Rakitin, whose songs are full of sunlight and color with their pantheistic descriptions of nature, and Vasil Petkanov who is a promising novelist well acquainted with the soul of the village.

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There are many other names which might be mentioned but it will be better not to list more names that will mean nothing to the foreign reader but to say a few words about Bulgarian literary criticism, which— whatever the writers may think about it— has been one of the chief causes for the flowering of Bulgarian literature.

Botev and Vazov, of course, owed nothing to criticism, but Pencho Slaveykov and his friends would not probably have reached their height if they had not been introduced to the public and supported by Dr. K. Khristich, a clever critic and essayist, whose writings are full of enthusiasm and of fervor with which he struggled for his beloved writers in the Misl (Thought), a journal which he founded and edited. The group of the Zlatorog, of which we have spoken, could not have trained and developed so many talented writers, had it not been for Vladimir Vasilev, a temperamental editor, and more than

that, his friend Boyan Penev, Professor of Slavonic 538
Literature and an essayist, whose influence on a long series of modern Bulgarian writers has been enormous. Another critic and essayist of a militant disposition is Professor A Galabov, thanks to whom grew up the Strelets group. To Bozhan Angelov, the literary historian and Ivan Radoslavov, the unwearied admirer of Todor Trayanov, the critic, we must credit the flowering of symbolism in Bulgaria, especially the symbolism of the Hyperion group. To still other critics and literary chroniclers as Vasil Pundev, Yordan Badev, Anna Kamenova, who is well acquainted with English and American literature, Malcho Nikolov and others, we owe the awakening of that interest in elegant literature, which is seen everywhere in Bulgaria and which is one of the most joyful signs of the cultural development of the country.

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With these brief characterizations of the leading Bul- 000
garian critics we will close our lecture. The author of these pages could scarcely have dared to compress the history of modern Bulgarian literature in a few pages, if he had not thought that some profit might be derived from it: that he might show to those who know little of Bulgaria, the name of which is scarcely met with in the political history of Europe, which has suffered so severely from the wars and the earthquake of 1928, that this country had won its right to stand amid the family of civilized nations and to receive the same rights and privileges as they. In less than one century, despite all the obstacles and misfortunes which it had met, it had brought itself to the level of those nations that had been progressing for two or three hundred years and it de-

itself, but also on account of the good that humanity might ultimately derive from the flowering of such genius as may arise from its midst. Many will retort that the above mentioned men though talented can in no way be considered as geniuses, but this assertion is obviously refutable, for one in forming a true appreciation of their value should first of all take into consideration the environment in which these men were nurtured. If in spite of the stunting influences which they encountered in the midst of which they have developed, they nevertheless attained such an indisputable preeminence, it cannot be denied that these men must have possessed exceptional mental attainments.

LITERATURE AND ART

There are few peoples who in such a brief space of time have equalled the achievements of the Bulgarians in the domain of literature. Without any literary or artistic traditions, except perhaps for the writings of the poet-revolutionary, Christo Botev, without even a literary language, the Bulgarians within the half century of their independent existence as a State, have attained to a level of development in the realm of letters of which many older nations would have justly been proud, and which, more than the remarkable material progress accomplished by them, marks them out as a higly endowed people worthy of our admiration and esteem.

Several decades ago, the translation into English of Ivan Vazov's novel "Under the Yoke", proved a revelation and evoked the unstinted applause of all critics. No less a person that Edmund Gosse wrote a most eulogious preface to the book. Yet this was one of Vazov's early works, written at a time he had not yet attained maturity,

538 nor the perfection which distinguish some of his later productions, Vazov excels in those short stories of his in which he depicts nature and the lives of the common people His sincerity, outspokeness. vividness of delineation and absence of all pretentiousness, render his writings delightfully refreshing, and in full harmony with the simple, unadorned subjects on which he loves to dwell. It is impossible to resist the charm of his narrative, or the enchanting flow of his verse. Of course, one must not seek in his works any high flight or flow of ideas, but for simplicity, naivety, and a genuine portraiture of nature, he may be considered as a master, and as such he will ever retain his due place not only in Bulgarian, but also in international literature.

He was devotedly attached to his country, and the whole of his poetry has a living backround of Bulgaria. He never tired of singing his country's sorrows and woes, nor ever wavered in defending its cause. When during the world war, Bulgaria was stigmatised for entering the field against Russia, he vindicated his country's honour in a poem that will ever be remembered by his countrymen. and which ended with the following stanza:

„Wicked in her madness, guilty«
Rings the verdict far and wide:
But I see thee pure and holy
As the Saviour crucified.

Many of his short stories have been translated into several languages, even into Japanese. The following example of his poetry, translated in a masterly fashion by the late American missionary, Dr E. Haskell, the much regretted founder of the Pordim Folk School, will permit readers to appreciate the stirring, vibrating harmony, and simplicity of Vazov's verse.

„Do they ask me where the dawning
Glinted first upon mine eyes?

538

Do they ask me where's the country
That of all on earth I prize?

There, I'll answer, where the Danube
Rolls along its shining way;
Where the Black Sea to the eastward
Tosses up its gleaming spray:

Where, with head uplifted proudly,
Towereth Balkan's lordly chain;
Where Maritsa floweth softly
Through the level Thracian plain:

Where twixt flowery banks the Vardar
Doth its cool flood ever pour;
Where old Rila's summit shineth,
Where Lake Ochrid's blue waves roar.

There to-day injustice reigneth
O'er a race in bondage flung:
There they weep, and pray for freedom
In our common Bulgar tongue.

O Bulgaria, land beloved,
Land with every good replete,
Land that nursed me, my devotion
Lay I gladly at thy feet.

How I love thy mighty mountains!
Love thy forests and thy streams,
Love thy smiling dales and meadows
Where the Lord's abundance teems.

Love I thee in loss and anguish,
Cherishing thy past renown,
Hoping that a brighter future
May thy glorious mem'ries crown.

Wheresoever I may wander
Thoughts of thee within me burn:
As a free man in my birth-land
May my dust to thine return".

In striking contrast with Vazov is the poet Pentso Slaveikov. He has remained to this day unappreciated by his countrymen, owing to his extreme intellectualism and

538 his disparagement of the school of literature founded by Vazov. His poetical, and artistic conceptions were too far in advance of his time. He attempted to transpose German poetical conceptions in Bulgaria, and to raise the level of the native literature by creating a poetry of epics based on folklore, and popular songs. He succeeded in this latter object and his "Song of the blood" will remain a standing master piece, though both this, and his several volumes of lyrical poems, entitled "Songs", and "Dreams" make intolerable demands upon the reader's intellect and aestheticism .

He was "discovered" by that erudite scholar, Dr E. J. Dillon, when on a visit to Bulgaria in 1903, in company with Henry Bernard who were so impressed by Slaveikov's poetical talents that they translated a large section of the Bulgarian folksongs collected by him into English, and published them some thirty years ago in a now almost forgotten book entitled "Shade of the Balkans". Both these authors higly appreciated Slaveikov's talent and deplored the poverty of the environment in which he moved, a matter which obviously was an obstacle to the full flowering of his poetical genius. Such sentences as "curiously pathetic to see P. Slaveikov chained to the smallness of Sofia", or "the caged lion of Sofia" express the opinion they formed of him, which is likewise shared by a leading contemporary Serbian poet, Jovan Ducić, who states: "Slaveikov is the man of the future, a poet for future generations".

The outstanding personality in the world of Bulgarian letters remains the poet philosopher, Stoyan Mihailovski. Of him Prof N. C. Derjavine wrote in the Year book of the Leningrad Academy of Science (1932): "By the originality of his satyrical talent, by the sharpness of his writings and his thought, by his broad knowledge and interest in present day problems, Stoyan Mihailovski takes

up in Bulgarian literature an exclusive and particular position". 538

Mihailovski was an intellectual giant, a man of untiring energy, who spent his life in unstinted efforts to purify public life. He was as fearless as he was scathing in his attacks on the corrupt practices ex-Tsar Ferdinand was fostering in Bulgaria, and most of his works, especially the one entitled "Book for the Bulgarian people", is an impetuous denunciation of a system which was undermining public morality. He possessed a profound knowledge of French literature, and of French political and social thought which he deftly made use of to educate his countrymen.

The impression his articles in the press (mainly the *Napred*), and his public lectures made, will ever remain memorable in Bulgaria. In a public lecture delivered before the Balkan wars he roundly denounced Ferdinand as an agent of Austria-Hungary. He trounced mercilessly politicians, journalists, intellectuals, and all and sundry, who showed signs of pandering to the wishes of the Crown, and for this reason he did not enjoy popularity among the leading official circles. Mihailovski was too engrossed in his self-imposed task of lecturing his misbehaving countrymen and chastising with his piercing satires the worst miscreants, and for this reason his literary creations are not as numerous as one would have expected and wished from such a powerful individuality. He has nevertheless left several admirable novels, as well as a drama which was staged at the Sofia National Theatre. Among his poems there are some which may be compared in profundity of thought with those of a Tennyson, or a de Vigny. Some of them are veritable gems, namely, "The incompleted temple" and "Onward". The latter has a certain resemblance with Longfellow's "Psalm of Life", and in it Mihailovski expresses in forceful rhyme the cult for labour which is a common Bulgarian trait.

•538 The following verses written by him in French, depict the deep religious inspiration which urged him on in his thankless task of a moralist, and which may rank on a level with de Vigny's „Moïse".

PRIERE

Ta main s'est abattue, O Seigneur, sur ma vie
Et tout ce qui fut beau rêve et jeunesse — en moi,
Tout s'écroula soudain! Frappe encore, chatie
Mon orgueil, Dieu puissant, mais donne-moi la foi.

Car tout me manque, espoir et courage, à cette heure,
Car je sens comme un vide immense dans mon coeur,
Car la haine, parfois m'obsède, et ma demeure,
Sombre prison, a pour geôlier la douleur.

Ah, donne-moi la foi, Seigneur, la foi profonde,
Fais que je m'agenouille, humble, devant ta croix,
Afin que, sans abris, sans appui, seul au monde,
Je dise, triomphant: Je suis fort, car je crois!

Another work which has won a lasting place in the world of letters is that of Aleko Constantinov's "Baï Ganio". It is the Balkan counterpart of Cervantes "Don Quixote", and together with the latter has attained immortality. It is a satire on the national defects of the Bulgarians, and was written with the purpose of correcting these shortcomings by exposing them to ridicule. The book abounds with descriptions of local customs, humorous incidents deftly and cleverly portrayed provoke readers to laughter. The part depicting the political activities of the hero is unique in its kind as it opens up an inexhaustible mine of local wit. There are excellent French and German translations, and even Greek and Serbian, the work in fact being the most popular Balkan literary production. "Baï Ganio" has a certain resemblance also with Alphonse Daudet's masterpiece, "Tartarin de Tarascon", but while the latter occasionally verges on buffoonery, "Baï Ganio"

538 does not transcend the limits of what is comic and humourous, and remains from beginning to end thoroughly realistic.

Another distinguished prose writer is Eline Peline. His stories descriptive of rural life reveal not only his powerful narrative qualities, but also his ability to sketch in a few sentenses lasting portraits of the characters he depicts. He makes us live and share with the peasantry, their humour, their sentiments, and their preoccupations. Although Eline Peline paints nature as a poet, he does not idealise the peasantry. His portraiture of them is as realistic and true as it is vivid. He helps us to discover the ever-changing diversity of rural life and admire the sterling qualities of the Bulgarian peasantry, their devotion to duty and to work, though he doet not gloss over some of their defects which he delineates with an exquisite sense of humour. It is regrettable that none of his works has been translated into English, though several of his short stories equal in rank and resemble in style some of those of Alphonse Daudet.

Iordan Iovkov is another talented painter of rural life and scenes, which he describes with a true poetic sense and artistic sensibility that render them pregnant with reality.

Another group of writers has specialised in the portraiture of urban life. G. P. Stamatov is their most noteworthy representative. He has been likened to Guy de Maupassant, but he, unlike his French prototype, occasionally indulges in overt criticism of some of the ugly aspects of town life, which he sketches in a most realistic and attractive fashion. Tsilinghirov and Vlaikov are two other notable novelists who are, however, better known by their more serious contributions to Bulgarian letters.

Quite a number of men of letters, like D. Shishmanov, P. Djidrov, Strashimirov, and Dr T. Yankov, have

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538 distinguished themselves by portraying the political life, and morals of the country under the guise of historical novels. In this they fully succeeded, especially the latter, who was the only prominent supporter of Radoslavov to side openly for the Entente, and who was in the secret of all the Palace's and cabinet's intrigues. His novel, „In the folds of life", is a faithful narrative of a period of Ferdinand's rule in which the leading political figures of the time are thinly disguised under assumed names. He also wrote a drama which met with great success when staged at Sofia, but though all the above mentioned writers have compiled historical, literary, and dramatic works of merit, owing to the restricted reading public, it is not surprising that they have not secured the recompense and appreciation they deserved. It would make a very long list indeed if one were to mention all the noteworthy works of Bulgarian historians, scientists etc, who have attained world-wide recognition, such as Prof Zlatarski, Boyan Penev etc., one however may be allowed to make a brief allusion to Symeon Radev's „Creators of Contemporary Bulgaria", a perusal of which is indispensable to those interested in Balkan affairs, and which, from both a literary, and a historical point ot view, may be said to be one of the most excellent productions in the Bulgarian language.

There has also been quite a flowering ol lyrical poets of real distinction like Constantine Velitchkov, who among other things translated Dante into Bulgarian and Cyril Christov, who after enriching Bulgarian literature with his own productions, in which he reveals himself as a first class lyrical poet, has added to his merits that of a translator of Shakespeare's Henry IV, of Schiller's William Tell, of Byron's Manfred, and of Silvio Pelico's Francesco of Rimini. Peyu Yavorov should likewise be mentioned among the best poets of Bulgaria, since his

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poetry approaches to some extent the perfection and emotional intensity of that of Slaveikov. 538

Another estimate of the literary activities of the Bulgarians may be formed by the number and serious character of the books that are being published. Thus in 1931, a total of 2222 different books was printed, of which 1782 were original productions, and 229 translations, some 201 of the former being in languages other than Bulgarian. The bulk of the works published dealt with scientific subjects. Thus 591 books were on economics, sociology and politics, 349 on culture and pedagogy, 301 on literature, 262 on applied sciences, 175 on medicine, 131 on religion, 97 on law, 84 on history, 44 on art, and 39 on geography and ethnography. 214

The number of newspapers which appeared in 1931 was stated to be 571, and the number of periodicals 352 of which 26 appeared in foreign languages.[1] The largest newspaper circulation was that of the *Utro*, a morning newspaper, which reached daily 60,000 copies, while that of its rival, and the more serious, *Zora*, attained 40,000. The *Mir*, under its able editor, Peev-Platskov, a graduate of Robert College, and an accomplished English scholar, is admittedly the leading newspaper with a daily sale of 20,000 copies. From among the periodicals the *Bulgarski Voin* had the largect number of subscribers, namely 41,300 (mainly reserve officers), while other excellent reviews, such as the *Philosophski Pregled*, and the *Journal of the Economic Association* boasted 3000 and 1400 subscribers respectively. 204

[1] Among these is the „Bulgarian-British Review," a monthly periodical published in English chiefly aiming at promoting cultural and economic intercourse with Anglo-Saxon countries. This review offers to its American and English readers an accurate survey of Bulgarian life, and constitutes a much appreciated means of approach between the English-speaking communities and the Bulgarian people.

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CHAPTER IV

THE GOOD OLD DAYS

168 888 539 THE DRAGALEVTSY of 1937 had much in common with the Dragalevtsy of the past centuries. The dances, the homes, and the farm practices proved that. The differences were also marked. For instance, a crude but efficient means of population control in the good old days was the killing off of the old people when they had passed the period of active usefulness. That at least was the theme of an old folk tale still current in the village. "It so happened that one spring the people discovered that they had saved no grain for sowing. The king sent men everywhere in search of grain, only to see them return empty-handed. One son, who at considerable risk to himself had kept his aged father alive, secretly hidden in his home, told him of the people's distress. The old man said: 'Tell the people to go to the ant hills for grain.' Some of the men followed this suggestion and found the grain they were hunting. When the king learned that an old man had told them where to look he ordered that the aged should not be killed for their disability but should be kept alive and respected for their wisdom."

175 Just at what time this story became a part of the folklore was difficult to determine, because of the numerous racial mixtures which the people represent. The Pechenegi, according to all accounts, might have been the ones who practiced this parricide. They got themselves into the history books by driving the Magyars (the modern Hungarians) westward from what is now Russia in the latter part of the ninth century. For about two hundred years more they, allied first with one prince and then with another, raided tribe after tribe and lurked near important trade routes. In 1091 the Pechenegi who had survived previous setbacks were finally destroyed by the Crusaders under Peter the Hermit, and little was heard of them after that.

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888 cide was by that time an out-of-date practice no longer linked with the precarious economic existence of a wandering people.

539 But it was a far cry from the cessation of the killing of aged
888 parents to the "Honor thy father and mother" of the Decalogue, which
593 later became a part of the Bulgarian family system. The peasants had another story to explain this dramatic change:

"In the olden days, when fathers died the sons would drag the bodies with a hook to a stream or gully and push the bodies in. One day a middle-aged man returned home from disposing of his father's body in this way, but failed to bring back the hook. Whereupon his own son in greeting him said:

" 'But, father, where is the hook? What will I use when I drag you away?'

"This made the father thoughtful, then remorseful. It was then that he retrieved his father's body and gave it a proper burial. Since then sons have been more respectful."

593 At any rate, whatever may be the explanation, the patriarchal
562 system with its respect for and obedience to the father won out. Con-
175 tact with Byzantine culture until the coming of the Turks must have
186 reinforced the Bulgarian father's right to dominate his family. He became more fully acquainted with the *patria potestas* which had been too strongly entrenched in the Roman family system to be forgotten by the Byzantines. Likewise, the patriarchal emphasis of the Old Testament and the Pauline epistles of the New aided in the continuance
175 of male supremacy. It is fascinating indeed to observe the response that the Slavicized Bulgarians made to the Byzantine culture in general. First they opposed cultural assimilation by force of arms; more than once the armies of the Bulgarian kings thundered at the gates of Constantinople in Bulgaria's proud golden age (about 900). Military expeditions, however, proved inadequate, with the result that the Bulgarian leaders sought to build a Slavic culture to rival that of the Greeks. It was this new culture which kept the feeling of national uniqueness alive among the Bulgarians, while other tribes upon entering that region became so thoroughly absorbed into the Byzantine Empire that they ended as curious names of the past with no modern representatives.

Then came the Turks in the fourteenth century to begin a reign 175
which lasted five hundred years. It was in this period, termed by Bulgarians *Igoto* or The Yoke, that Dragalevtsy was supposedly founded.

A pregnant sow was the beginning of it all. At least, so the 539 ●
villagers said. Two or three hundred years ago this particular sow 173
ran away from home and grunted up the mountainside to bear her litter in the brush. Baba Dragana, a widow who owned the animal, after a long search found her on the spot where the village church now stands. Since the old woman could not carry the animals back to her village, just south of Sofia, she built a small hut where she was. She liked the place so much that she decided to stay; finally she persuaded her former neighbors to join her. The Turks who robbed them in the village on the highway, she argued, would not harm them on the mountainside. Besides, there was an ample supply of delicious water near her new shelter. The ten families who joined her began to call the settlement Dragalevtsy in honor of Baba Dragana, and the name has remained to this day.

Baba Dragana was also known for her fiery patriotism, as well as for "eternal beauty, strength, and power," if we are to believe an old folk song. This beauty was noticed by the Turkish Pasha in Sofia, and led to frequent meetings between Dragana and him. Years passed. Dragana lost her beauty but retained her strength and power. One day a Bulgarian shepherd, wounded and beaten, stumbled into her yard. Before he died three days later Dragana learned that Turkish shepherds, enraged because his animals had entered their pastures, had fallen upon him. This was too much for Dragana. She called her sons about her, armed them with pitchforks, and sent them out to avenge the death of a fellow countryman. Blood for blood. A few days later their yard was surrounded by Turkish soldiers who promptly bound the sons and carted them off to Sofia for a summary trial before the Pasha. Death was their sentence. But just before the execution the bold Dragana appeared to ask indignantly if the Pasha knew what he was doing. "These are your sons that you are about to put to death," she said. "If you do not believe me, see how much they resemble you." Confused, the Pasha looked at Dragana's sons, saw the resemblance, and called off the death sentence.

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527 This was the peasant version of the Sabbath being made for man, not
857 man for the Sabbath.

One holiday which children particularly enjoyed was New Year's Day, which, like Christmas, came two weeks later than our own because of the Old Style Calendar still in use by the church. Boys and girls were up at break of day to tap every passer-by with a gaily decorated branch of a cornel cherry tree. As they tapped they chanted:

[539]

Fresh, fresh New Year
Happiness to the end.
Let mother and father be healthy
Like the past year!

Striking with a cornel-twig higher than the cap;
Wishing you a houseful of corn,
Yellow as the gold,
To ripen early, early in
The fields during the summer.

Let wedding guests again pass by
With full wine casks
To present us with white kerchiefs
And embroidered belts.

Fresh, fresh New Year,
Let us get sister married! . . .

With this chant they wished good health. In return they expected
[772] a coin or something to eat. This tapping continued until nightfall. Most members of the family looked sleepy during the day because they had stayed up late the night before to gamble. Their success or failure on New Year's Eve was supposed to foretell what luck the new year had in store.

Early in the morning the older boys and girls told fortunes by gathering around a copper kettle in which each one had placed some identifying article, such as a ring or knife. The group sang a song, connected with some occupation, while one token was drawn from the pot. If a boy's token was drawn, the occupation described would be his; if a girl's token was drawn, then she would marry a man engaged in that occupation. After this they all danced the *horo*.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

857 524 six times before falling motionless. The least skillful contestant received a beating from the others.

Na machuklin (In New England called "Peggy"). Consisted chiefly of tapping the end of a small stick so that it would rise into the air to be hit again before it fell to the ground.

Na Kokumish. This was a form of tag played by children sitting around in a circle.

Na gonenitsa (Form of running tag). The one to be "it" *(gogan)* was chosen by "counting out" with the use of the following poem, which corresponded to "eeny, meeny, miney, mo":

[539]

Ala bala nitsa,
Turska panitsa,
E, gidi Dancho,
Nash kapitancho.

Ala bala nitsa,
A Turkish plate,
Hey, you Dancho,
Our leader.

The children when counting out spit on their fingers. The *gogan* would run and try to touch the others.

Na zhmish (Hide and seek). The one who was "it" said the following poem while the others hid:

[539]

Dve vrabcheta
Se skaraka
Na Popovota vrata.
Pop izleza i im kazva
Ish, pish, tish, stesh, mish.

Two sparrows
Quarreled
At the Priest's gate.
The Priest came out and told them
Ish, pish, tish, stesh, mish.

After he said this he went to hunt the others. Wherever he found anyone he spit in the place where he was. The others tried to run to the homebase and spit there before he did.

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759 school) training and worked for two years in a lying-in hospital. The midwife, who had difficulty in winning the co-operation of the old *babi,* could not set a charge for her services but had to take only what the women gave. The State paid the midwife the equivalent of $16 each month. There was a health committee, composed of the doctor as chairman, the priest, the director of the local school and the mayor. The midwife attended unofficially. This committee met once a month to consider the problems of village hygiene and sanitation and tried to enlist public support for the doctor. The county doctor came twice a year without advance warning to visit the village doctor for the purpose of seeing if her reports were made out properly, if she exercised suitable control of the merchandise, and if she gave the school children proper supervision.

● 544 Another impact, of an educational sort, upon the traditional way of life was the *Naroden Universitet,* or People's University. This consisted of a series of lectures in the schoolhouse on such topics as these:

1. "Our National Awakeners: A Patriotic Talk"—by a local schoolteacher.
2. "Problems and Purposes of the Zadruga"—by the local president of this agricultural group.
3. "The Insurance of Cattle"—by a veterinarian from Sofia.
4. "Alcohol and Effects"—by a medical man from Sofia.
5. "What Village Homes and Food Should Be Like"—by a different medical man from Sofia.
6. "Concerning Faith"—by a priest from Sofia.
7. "Concerning Tuberculosis"—by the local doctor.
8. "The Cleaning of Seed"—by the district *agronom.*
9. "The Significance and Service of the Producers' Cooperatives"—by a former attorney and by the Superintendent of Cooperatives of the Bulgarian Agricultural Bank.

The mayor encouraged the peasants to attend in the hope that they would be inspired to improve their living conditions or become more loyal to the government.

871 656 Another educational group affected by the intrusion of the State was the school board. Formerly the peasants themselves controlled the board's membership, but it had become an ex officio body composed

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Three or four lectures, dealing with topics related to the elevation of village life, are given each year by men from outside. Each government inspector from the various departments is required to visit the village once a year and some in the course of this visit take occasion to give an educational address to the people. I do not feel, however, that the peasants take a very vital interest in these talks unless they get into the realm of politics, always a fascinating subject. 544

From the 15th of May until August 1st soldiers in training are encamped in and about Dragalevtsy, but it is only occasionally that they mingle with the young people of the village. Every year, however, three or four village girls become engaged to soldiers and subsequently upon marriage move elsewhere. 609

The outside world is also represented by a few salesmen and speculators in land and cattle, these numbering about fifteen a week. They transact their business with the interested party, perhaps break bread with him, and then go on their way.

4. TELEPHONE, RADIO, LETTERS, PRINTED MATTER. There are two radios in the village, one belonging to the priest and the other standing in the window of the mayor's office to blare forth its music and messages to passersby in the main square. The first program I heard from the public radio was the aria, "My Heart at Thy Sweet Voice," from the opera *Samson and Delila* as played by an orchestra in Amsterdam, although music like this is soon turned off in preference to the folk-music periodically broadcast from the Sofia station. 207

There is one telephone in the village in the office adjacent to the mayor's. There is great pomp about the use of this instrument since one pays two cents and receives a receipt of payment from the telephone operator. Making a telephone call is a serious affair, so serious, in fact, that few peasants ever do so. 206

The post arrives around one o'clock each week-day afternoon, but there is little excitement attached to its coming, for not more than ten personal letters, usually for the intelligentsia, arrive daily for the whole village. A peasant family receives no more than one or two letters a year. Twenty newspapers and twenty magazines come each day for the 279 families. According to data furnished by 279 questionnaires, 21 families bought or received newspapers* to 257 who did not; and 7 families received magazines to 271 who did not. In both cases, 1 family failed to report. 205 204

* Of these, 13 families received a daily newspaper daily; 2 received a daily paper twice a week; 1, once a week; and 5 received a weekly paper regularly.

536 The theatre too has its votaries, and not only many prominent men of letters have contributed dramas and plays. but there are even some like M. Kostov, who devoted themselves exclusively to playwriting. The latter has won a well-deserved reputation as a comedy writer, which has transcended the narrow limits of his country, for such has been the success of his plays, that they have been translated into Rumanian and Serbian, and successfully staged both in Bucharest and Belgrade.

545 It would not be amiss to mention that the Bulgarians have succeeded in creating an opera and a theatre which compare very favourably with those of any of the larger provincial towns in western Europe, and this with an annual subsidy from the State of barely 12 million leva which is a most noteworthy feat. For a modest fee of one shilling, one may secure a most comfortable seat, and enjoy an excellent rendering of Wagner's Lohengrin, Verdi's Aïda, or Gounod's Faust, etc. It is regrettable that the best Bulgarian singers are often attracted by the lure of higher pay and appear more often in the opera houses of Prague and Paris, than that of Sofia, but the rendering of the choruses is always admirable. and compensates to a certain extent for the occasional absence of the protagonists. The staging too is perfect, and most modern, and is far ahead of what the average London theatre can offer.

532 In painting also, the Bulgarians have produced quite a number of really talented artists. The paintings of Mitov, Mirkvitska. etc were greatly admired at the Paris exhibition of 1900, and secured most flattering distinctions. It is to be deplored that few have kept to the real path of art and not gone astray allured by modern tendencies which have revolutionised artistic conceptions after the world war. Artists, like the portraitist Nicolaï Mihailov, who has not sacrificed his artistic convictions to these modern ideas has won a well-deserved international reputation

Flower bazaar and tavern: It is around the fourth destination on Fridays that fondest memories cling, because this is the spot near the Sofia flower bazaar where young people from surrounding villages go upon completing their morning duties in town. It is here that romance blossoms and young men from one village are introduced to girls from another. While the younger people are amusing themselves here the older people, especially the men, gather at the tavern called *Dulgata Mehana,* the particular establishment to which Dragalevtsy peasants are loyal.[7] They lunch and drink here, they rest here, and here they swap their stories. Nor is it without pride that they tell how Fiodor Chaliapin, the celebrated opera singer, in 1934 spent a very merry evening in this *Dulgata Mehana,* enjoying its drink and atmosphere. Seldom, however, does the peasant get to converse with the Sofia citizenry in this tavern. Here again he is in a peasant world; if he were not, he would feel decidedly uncomfortable. Should he decide to see a movie, in the afternoon he would go to a cheap theater on a side street and guffaw with his fellow peasants.[8]

2. To Serve His Country. The *trudova* system, or that of compulsory labor for the young men of Bulgaria, has received much attention in the West. It served a magnificent purpose, taking as it did young men from villages throughout the land, mixing them up in labor camps, and providing them with picks and shovels for the construction of highways, bridges, and other public works. But now the young Bulgarian citizen is given military training instead. This is not in keeping with the Treaty of Neuilly, which limited Bulgaria's armed forces to 33,000, but what nation in Europe, the Bulgarians ask, has been abiding by the treaties? The trend from *trudova* to military service is shown by the fact that in 1935 not a single youth was called from Dragalevtsy to do *trudova* service, but sixteen went to be trained as soldiers.

The effect of life in a labor camp or a military barracks upon the young men is apparent upon their return to the village. They have gone out from a family system where each member works unquestioningly as a part of the whole; they return, in spite of military discipline, often very conscious of their own individuality, and have to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought again close in about them. However, before the returning young men are reabsorbed by the community, reverberations of struggle are felt throughout parts of the social structure. There are some who never again fall completely into line and who naturally

[7] Every village over a period of years has tended to select one tavern where peasants from that village spend their leisure time while in Sofia.

[8] Fifty-five per cent of the villagers (babies, children, and adults) have never seen a cinema. Out of 265 families reporting, *all* members of 73 families had seen a cinema; *no* members of 78 families had done so.

178 A daughter-in-law especially disliked to live as a stranger in her
606 husband's paternal home subject to the will of the parents-in-law. Time
596 and time again I heard this opinion clumsily but definitely expressed:

"The large families started to break up after the wars. The chief reason for that was the daughter-in-law. Many of them come from different places and even if they come from the same village, they begin to care more for their own children and to make things for them without the knowledge of the others with whom they are living. This brings trouble among them and so they quarrel. Then they talk to their husbands; finally the brothers, although they love one another, have to separate in order to be at peace."

178 Ordinarily most men felt that conditions were better before the
596 separation, though the women were more content apart. Ill will and distrust also grew up between the members of the family when some of them who worked as day laborers failed to hand over their entire earnings to the common treasury. In the villages around Sofia several brothers rarely lived together with undivided possessions after the death of their father as they would have done in the days of the zadruga. During 1935, a record year for the division of families in Dragalevtsy, there were 9 cases of estates being broken up, 3 of them the result of the separation of son and father and the remaining 6 involving the separation of brothers. When a large family divided, the younger brother usually remained in the old homestead and assumed the care of the parents.

594 This change from the large patriarchal family to the small
178 conjugal family was having consequences which few of the peasants
551 realized.[1] For one thing, in comparison with the larger group, the conjugal family, which consists of parents and their unmarried children, has a short life. It ends, in a sense, with the death of one of the marriage partners. This especially affects the rearing of children, who in the olden days grew up with such a bevy of cousins that a special middle name was useful in identifying each child with his particular parents. More specifically each child received a "small" or given name selected by his godparents; as a middle name he automatically added to his father's given name an *ev* or *ov* ("the son of") or, if a girl, an *eva* or *ova* ("the daughter of"). As a last name he

[1] [Cf. pp. 65-69, Category 116--Analyst]

551 would take the larger family name of his father's kinship group. Thus
178 an outsider could immediately place each child not only in the family
594 group as a whole but in the small conjugal group as well. Students of child development have often pointed out the advantage to the child of growing up with a number of intimate contemporaries, as well as having several adults ready to serve as substitute parents whenever occasion demands.

But the change need not be viewed as entirely unfavorable. The smaller family unit was bringing about a more intimate relationship between members, breaking down the formalism between parents and children, and encouraging democratic living.

178 The good old days, if we are to believe the elders of the village,
463 differed not only in the degree of governmental autonomy in community affairs and a patriarchy in which the young respected the old: occupations too were of a different order.

"Half a century ago there were very few educated people, the chief of these being a priest from the monastery and a teacher. The mayor was an ordinary peasant elected by the town council of twelve people. There was a swineherd, as well as other herdsmen, and five merchants, plus a tanner. Practically all of the people were farmers. There was no dairyman; there was no doctor. All dentistry was done by Turks who remedied an aching tooth by pulling it out. We raised no horses, and an itinerant gypsy smith did all the necessary iron work."

When I asked another man about occupations half a century ago, he added this information:

"It was 'simple business' fifty years ago. There was a teacher for boys in the first and second grades; there was no village tailor, and the single tanner had little work. A priest from the monastery min-
652 istered to the people on occasion. We had no tax collector and an
211 illiterate mayor took all the taxes and kept the account on a *rabosh*."

(Here I steered the conversation off the subject of occupations long enough to find out what the *rabosh* was. It was similar to a practice of the Exchequer in twelfth-century England in which accounting was done with pieces of notched wood. Each family had a small piece of wood fitting into another piece kept by the mayor. The notches in the wood told the financial status of the family as far as the tax money was concerned.)

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nineteen husbands always consulted their wives before doing anything such as selling a calf, hiring a servant, or building a small stable; four husbands consulted sometimes, and only three were so strong-willed and dominating that they never asked their wives' opinions. Many husbands said that their wives knew more than they did about the management of the farm, though these same wives modestly asserted that they knew very little. One man said: "That's why we are married: to ask each other." Quite a few husbands, having learned that it paid in the long run to consult the women, betrayed this by saying, "We have to ask," or "We have to listen to women." 562 581 593

Consulting, however, was not always the same as catering to the wives' wishes. I asked twenty-six husbands: "Suppose you had set your heart on buying something but your wife objected, what would you do?" Twelve said they would make the purchase anyway, three hedged a little in their answers, but eleven would buy nothing contrary to the wishes of their wives. This last group of eleven showed that to many men the judgment or wishes of the women meant far more than one would expect in "a man's country."

Much of a woman's hold upon her husband came about quite unconsciously on the part of either. The village wife was artless and ignorant of the wiles of a sophisticated society, but she knew that as long as she was efficient, decorous, and dutiful she could count upon continued support from her husband. She also knew that she was not in competition with adventuresses or with women, jaded and disappointed, frantically seeking excitement to enliven their days. Instead, the Dragalevtsy woman felt secure. With her there was a solemn finality about marriage to which her husband and others in the village subscribed.

She expected no courteous gestures or terms of endearment from her husband. Her name sufficed. Only three couples out of twenty-seven used affectionate names for each other, these taking such forms as *bulka* (bride), *baba* (old woman), and the like, but never *dear, darling,* or *sweetheart.* One of the three men who used such names saved them for times when his wife did not listen, and then he used several to get her attention. The occidental practice of kissing was little used by the married couples, though the younger generation was [551] 562 593

Epiphany the godparent went to the home of his godchild, poured water on him or, in a rare case, pushed him into the river for the sake of his health during the coming year. On Cheese Sunday, however, the godchild went to his godparent's home with a gift and begged forgiveness for all sins committed during the year. On certain other holidays and special occasions the godchild was also supposed to pay his respects. 608 527 85D

Some features of this bond between godparent and godchild were strange to one unfamiliar with the Orthodox Church. Behavior in the presence of godparents was highly formalized and correct. A person would not lie to his godparent; nor was he supposed ever to swear in his godparent's presence. These customs emphasized the mystical spiritual union which was supposed to exist between godparent and godchild. 608

Because the office of the godparent was hereditary, the same family provided godparents for the members of another family for generations. Consequently a feeling of strong relationship had come about. A godparent was considered one of the closest of relatives. "The godfather is closer than an uncle, and the godmother is closer than an aunt," the peasants used to say. Children of the two families could not marry even though madly in love, because, in the sight of the village, they were related. The taboo against marriage into the family of the mother's godparents further complicated matters. A woman, upon marriage, adopted the godparent of her husband, who assumed the same responsibility to the children of that couple as he did to the father. If a godparent was called upon to officiate at a wedding or a christening and was unable to attend, he could send one of his children to perform in his stead. [582]

We have already seen the part that the godparents *(kumove)* played in the wedding ceremony.[1] The rite of christening revealed even more of the relationship between godparent and his spiritual ward. He went with a friend or relative to the infant's home, some two or three Sundays after its birth, and took it to the church. He had previously discussed the child's name with the parents and usually followed their wishes, but had the right to give the child any name he thought proper. In the case of the first son he was apt to follow the 608 553 851

[1] [See p. 89, category 116 -- Analyst]

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608 custom of giving him the "little name" of his paternal grandfather.
553 After the morning church service a small group of interested
851 people would gather around the priest up near the front of the church. The priest, dressed in his richly decorated robes and with his long auburn hair uncovered, made an impressive figure. The sexton and a woman or two scurried around getting lukewarm water ready in a basin. The air of the room was heavy with the combined smell of incense, used in the church service, and melting tallow, as the tapers in the front candelabra sputtered toward exhaustion. Before they flickered out an attendant doused them in water and threw the stubs into a tin receptacle near the bowl of sand, in which worshipers had placed candles in memory of the dead.

After the layers of swaddling clothes had been removed from the infant the priest quieted the small group by saying: "Let us begin." While the godparent held the baby he listened to the solemn obligation which he was assuming, an obligation made more impressive by the use of scriptural passages and a charge by the priest. Levity quickly replaced any serious thoughts as the godfather jocularly affirmed three times that he "resigned" from the devil, and spat across the baby resoundingly onto the floor to signify that he would keep everything unholy from the child.

The high light of the church ceremony was the immersion of the tiny baby three times in warm water mixed with olive oil. As Father Sava had had ample experience with the three little girls of his own, he deftly balanced the child in palm and forearm while laving it three times in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Then the woman assisting the godfather, usually his wife, dressed the baby in an entirely new outfit. While this was taking place the priest was washing and drying his hands with a bar of soap and towel which the godparents provided and which they expected him to keep as a part of his fee.

[846] The infant's mother had remained at home[1] because her purification ceremony at the church could not take place until forty days after the child's birth. Of course, she was expected to help prepare the christening feast which followed the church ceremonies. The christening party invariably arrived at the home in a gay mood and stood around laughing as the godfather turned the child over to the mother

[1] [From the christening ceremony -- Analyst]

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with these words: "I took the child away a Jew and now I return him to you a Christian." 553 851

There was usually an awkward wait of half an hour or more until the meal was ready and the priest had come to give the blessing so the feasting could begin. The christening dinner was one of the most significant of all family events for both adults and children. A child could not attend school without a baptismal certificate, nor could he later join the army, get a passport, or do anything of real importance without this church record. For a child from an Orthodox home to be unchristened was worse than having him unnamed; he did not exist legally. The national government, however, honored the equivalent of these baptismal certificates given by religious minority groups for their members, and also considered valid their marriages and divorces, be they Moslems, Jews, or Protestants. This religious freedom and tolerance had been a source of pride to many a Bulgarian in the past. 608 [798]

There were times in Dragalevtsy, though rare indeed, when the two families involved felt it best to break off the godparent relationship. If a woman, for instance, had three or four miscarriages, the godparents, who officiated at the wedding, might say: "You're not having very good luck with your children. We've been talking it over, and believe that things would work out better for you if you had different godparents." The husband and wife could then invite another couple to be godparents. 608

There were a few instances where babies did not have godparents at birth. Former godparents for the family might have died, moved away, or been unwilling to serve. In such a case the baby, no matter what the weather happened to be, was left on a street corner near the church just prior to the Sunday morning service. Naturally, the cries of the child attracted the curiosity of some passer-by. At the moment that he went over to look at the baby some elderly woman rushed out of hiding to say: "Congratulations, sir. You have the honor of serving as godparent to this child." So off he was marched to the church, be he foreigner, gypsy, drunk, or on important government business, to participate as godfather in the christening. Should he move to some distant place, he was still expected to keep in touch with his unexpected charge and, if possible, return in due course of time to take part in the 608 553 851

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godchild's wedding. This strange custom illustrated that where there is a *must,* such as *having* to have a godparent, there was a traditional method for correcting any irregularity.

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Another *must* for the children, at least from the government point of view, was school attendance. The child began his formal education at seven years of age. In the "good old days" much ceremony attended this event. The peasants called the teacher *"Kandilo,"* a candle, the one to light the path for the child entrusted to him. As education became more common, the old ceremonies died out. All that remained of that old ceremonial respect was the handful of flowers the children sometimes gathered in the fields for a favorite teacher.

In Turkish times, only boys attended school. Educational activity in Dragalevtsy, however, took a new lease on life with the completion of the excellent building in 1931, made financially possible by the help of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior. The school consisted of four primary grades and three classes which were termed the "pro-gymnasium." Boys and girls were supposed to complete the pro-gymnasium, though they could drop out as soon as they reached their fifteenth year. The director was in charge of all of the school's activity, under the supervision of the school inspectors.

The diagram on the following page illustrates the educational hierarchy of the country.

Few decisions were left to the local school authorities, whose duties had become largely administrative, in the sense of observing the regulations handed down from above. As the school director said, "Everything is controlled from the *Inspection,* though the teachers have much freedom in the classroom." Even this freedom was supervised. At the conclusion of each class the teacher had to go to the office and list the work taken up that hour, the questions asked, and assignments made. The inspector made surprise inspections of the health situation, the records of the director, and, if he chose, of the lesson notebooks of the school children. The purpose of this inspection was to check up and control, not to supervise constructively.

The school was supported financially by the Dragalevtsy *Obshtina,* though the salaries of the eight teachers were paid by the national

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out of hand. The fact that not all patrons of the tavern drank liquor was shown by the comment of one of the villagers: 517 521

"I come to the tavern chiefly for the newspaper. I have a strong will, drink little, and know when to stop. The young men when starting the temperance association asked me to be president but I couldn't give up coming here for the newspaper. The small coffee house across the square has only room enough for five or six people and there's no point in going there. Many blame me for going to the tavern, but they have no interest in finding out what is going on in the world." 275 203

One advantage of visiting the tavern included the announcements that the town crier always made there as well as out in the square.

The tavern keepers, however, had no illusions about their standing in the public estimation. All of them were of the same peasant stock as their patrons, but had sold some of their land in order to set themselves up in business. 554 463

"If the people of the village took a vote, the majority would favor shutting up all the taverns. The people don't like us," was the tart comment of one tavern keeper. This dislike sprang from the indebtedness of so many people to the tavern keepers, as well as from the strong feeling many have toward the social consequences of excessive alcoholism.

There were, however, a number of men who had to miss the morning session at the Dragalevtsy *kruchmi*. They were the milkmen. Each morning while it was still dark eight tiny donkeys left their yards, pattered down the slope just outside the village, and followed the straight gravel road five miles to Sofia. They were accompanied by their prodding masters who kept an eye on the two or three large cans of milk which had been strapped onto the wooden saddles. These donkeys long ago learned to swallow any pride they might have had, for each morning, with monotonous regularity, they were overtaken by the high two-wheeled horse-drawn milk carts used by the remaining thirty Dragalevtsy milkmen. Once in Sofia, the majority of the milkmen covered their routes, knocking at the doors of the regular customers and waiting patiently for a container into which to pour a quart or so of milk from the large cans. The round completed, most of the milkmen began at once to retrace the long uphill journey from the city's outskirts to the village. 463 [231]

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622 the matter. The mayor was happily married to an attractive wife,
159 who dressed *po modata* (in the latest fashion) and kept her children so neat and proper that they contrasted vividly with the peasant urchins who ran up and down the unpaved streets.

625 The mayor was charged with maintaining law and order with
159 the help of the *strazhar* (police officer), the field policeman, and
622 the forest policeman. The second wandered from field to field to see that cattle did not stray unattended onto strips where there were growing crops; the forest policeman prevented the purloining of wood from the forest lands used by Dragalevtsy people. The mayor also acted as local justice of the peace, and was ex officio member of the school board, health board, and any other village organization he considered worthy of serious attention.

793 But the mayor, although he enjoyed the spotlight, had to share
622 it with the village priest. For five centuries, while the Bulgarians were subject to the Turks, the priest was often the only person in a village with any formal education. He not only interpreted the laws of God, but the laws of man as well. The Bulgarian monks and priests helped keep the feeling of Bulgarian nationality alive during those dark days, and thereby eventually aided in the achievement of national independence in 1878 at the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish
●[554] War. Since traditions die slowly in a Bulgarian village, the position of the priest is still very high, although few people attend religious services and fewer people observe the rather rigid fasts of the Eastern Orthodox Church. However, the priest is an essential officiant at christenings, weddings, and funerals. Without him the peasants have no way of meeting life's major crises.

159 Father Sava was the *sveshtennik* or priest in Dragalevtsy. He
793 wore with dignity his long black gown and high brimless hat, his uncut red hair in a knot at the back of his head, and a long auburn
581 beard. I never failed to marvel at his wide range of interests. One day we would poke around his beehives; the next day he would show me his favorite photographs and competently discuss the relative merits of American and German cameras. But it was after I learned of the man's romance that I began to see him in a clearer light. The young lady whom he wanted to marry was the daughter of a priest

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Hurrah!] That's right; nobody will fail. No pupil will repeat the class next year! [Hurrah! Hurrah!] All deportment marks likewise will be raised and anyone who has been expelled from school will be accepted back on probation. The government is cancelling over a billion leva in unpaid taxes and is freeing thousands of prisoners . . . . [871]

Before he finished he led the children, and such adults as would join, in further cheers for Prince Simeon, for King Boris, and for Queen Iovanna. After the school choir had sung the national anthem and the "Hymn to the King," all filed inside for the official graduation exercises. There were more patriotic songs and at least twenty declamations with such titles as "Three Days at the Battle of Shipka," "To our Teachers," "A Prayer to God," "I Like the Priest," "I am a Temperance Girl," and "Nature." Displays of the children's handwork, as well as these recitations, brought some recognition to the teachers who had worked behind the scenes. 527 659 871

The director in her remarks thanked the mayor and the priest profusely and the parents casually for the help they had rendered during the past year. When she was about to present the diplomas, such bedlam broke loose that few could hear the compliments she paid the brightest pupils, who had received as special awards from the mayor books on war and religion. The exercises concluded with the presentation of a large bouquet from the pupils to the school director, who politely accepted the flowers on behalf of all the teachers.

The intelligentsia just described had more importance than their village duties seemed to indicate. They were the channels through which the national state, the national church, and the national school system expressed themselves. No member of this select group was Dragalevtsy-born. Their high status rested not only upon the influence they wielded as representatives of powerful institutions, but also upon the fact that they were educated. Education, along with the patient accumulation of land and money, was one sound way of raising one's social position, and those who had persevered in its pursuit received due honor. As one father said to his son upon sending him to school: "If you don't study you will plow, sow, and work in the fields, and where will you get then?" 565 554 [555]

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The artisans, though few in number, comprised a third occupational group. Just because their knowledge and special skill raised them above the ordinary peasant, these artisans in no sense of the word walked in the rarified atmosphere of the intelligentsia. In 1937 the people of Dragalevtsy supported one blacksmith, one full-time and two part-time tailors, a cobbler, and a barber. Of course, the six or seven Dragalevtsy men who went to Sofia every day to ply a skilled trade were enumerated in the census but had little connection with the economy of the village. The few tradesmen were identified more with the agricultural group than with the artisans.

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One of the most picturesque characters in the village was Iliya, the smith. Dark-complexioned, sturdy of frame, with his stolid face weighed down by enormous mustaches, he was far too forbidding in countenance to attract the village children to his small establishment behind Bai Penko's tavern. In fact, customers often had to look for him in the tavern, where he consumed record-breaking quantities of liquor. In his sober moods he and his two apprentices occasionally worked fourteen hours at a stretch to finish up some much-needed job. The three of them combined wagon-repairing with blacksmithing, working at the lathe almost as frequently as at the anvil. However, frequent preoccupation with hinges, wagon bolts, horseshoes, plowshares, and wheel rims gave Iliya a fair claim to being a *kovach*, or smith. So did his master smith's certificate hanging on the wall.

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Yurdan, the leading tailor, was another artisan. He and his wife Zdravka were a unique couple in that they were the only Dragalevtsy people to become involved in divorce proceedings within recent years. To be sure, Zdravka withdrew her petition for divorce soon after it reached the high church court, which, rather than civil bodies, then decided upon all matters pertaining to marriage. Yurdan had a small but well equipped workroom attached to his trim little house. Although Dragalevtsy-born, he worked for twelve years in Sofia as an apprentice and *maistor*, later becoming the first tailor to set up business in Dragalevtsy.

I often went to converse with Yurdan and Zdravka, for I found them both loquacious and inclined to be objective in their views of village life. I questioned them in particular about the peasant costumes, which always seemed picturesque to me a foreigner. It was Zdravka who told me how the women made their garments.

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582 married in Dragalevtsy. Because she had a physical deformity her
208 parents had given up all hope of marrying her off since they knew she would be unable to attend properly to her housework and field work. During the first World War there were two old maids in the village who had not been chosen for marriage because each of them had a goiter. A doctor with the German forces cured the goiters
[554] and these two unmarried women became desirable prospects, one of them marrying a priest's son in Sofia, one of the highest prizes a village girl could capture in her matrimonial venture.

[208] Since public opinion made life miserable for unmarried women,
[562] even a girl of independent temperament looked upon marriage as an inevitable event, especially if she stayed in the village. With men it
581 was different. They could choose to remain unmarried and not lose prestige in the community. People only said: "Well, Asen simply doesn't want to marry. He's a bit shy of skirts, you know."

The young men to whom I talked were outspoken in regard to those qualities which they looked for in choosing a mate: good health, industry, efficiency in the house and field, and proper care of the person. The girls, on the other hand, had little to say regarding the qualities they wanted in a husband. They seemed willing to accept whatever luck brought them. But marry they must.

584 There were many ways in which the husbands and wives had
574 become acquainted with each other. If both had been born in
883 Dragalevtsy, as was the case with a little more than half the couples, they were already aware of the other's characteristics either through personal acquaintance or hearsay. Many of the married couples had played together as children while tending the cattle in the sun-drenched pastures, only to become distant until most of the adolescent period passed. Then began frequent meetings at the fountain at sunset, shy flirtation at the *horo* and *sedenki,* or rambling conversation on the way to and from the Friday market. At the *sedenki,* held by the young people in various girls' homes on winter evenings, games involving forfeits were played. At one *sedenka* I attended, the girl giving out the penalties sent a couple obviously in love to the dark outdoors "to see what the weather was like." A few minutes later she sent a second couple out to see where the first had gone. All four of the

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boys usually became cobblers, tailors, or tanners. In all cases where the sons remained to work in the village, they were expected to turn over to the father a part or all of their earnings. This practice once more emphasized the economic importance of children. 593 857

As far as I could discover, none of the villagers resented my questions into their personal affairs. More than once, after the routine interviewing was over, a man unburdened himself of some hurt or grievance that revealed more than any questionnaire could. It was through such outpourings that I realized how land could dominate or warp completely otherwise normal family relationships of father and sons or brother and brother. 156 554 593

Lonely old Bai Dimiter held especial interest for me since his wife had earlier told about incidents in his past which helped me to understand better why he began to drink so much that his girls felt ashamed of being called his daughters; to see how he bore his loss of economic and social position in the village owing to bad business methods coupled with a disabling accident. The key to the whole situation was the fact that his own father had tricked him in his early married days. After the son had paid off a heavy debt owed by his father, the father refused to deed him meadows in return but frankly confessed: "I fooled you in order to get money." To make the deception harder to bear, Dimiter inherited no land from his father, all of it going to another son with whom the father had been on better terms. Naturally, Dimiter had a falling out with his brother, and took the matter to the courts where, after long litigation, he failed to obtain any part of the inheritance.

The books I had read about Bulgaria in the old days pointed out the role the older brother formerly played when the father died. One village home was actually operated on the old principle of subordination of the younger brother to the older. Hristo, the older brother, was smaller than the younger brother, standing huge and stooped in the low-ceilinged room in such a way that the kerosene lamp cast a grotesque, mountainous shadow behind him. I knew, of course, about these men, as I knew about most village men, from the talk of tavern groups and other willing informants. I knew that they were ashamed of their family name which meant "the son of a donkey," and I knew

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156 that Hristo had served in the first World War and had been taken as
593 a prisoner to France, which gave him a definite claim to distinction in
554 the village. He talked easily and willingly of the war but just as willingly turned to discuss the arrangement whereby his brother and he, with their large families, lived in the same room in comparative harmony. In the first place, Sando, the younger, submitted to Hristo's authority, but Hristo, in turn, did not make or execute any plans without consulting his brother. Hristo had the task of managing the farm and doing the field work, marketing the products, and laying in the meager supplies; Sando worked as a teamster and as a day laborer if necessary to earn extra funds for the common treasury kept by Hristo. Some idea of the trust that the younger brother had in the older came from the knowledge that the wages of each long day's work, the pay for every laborious haul, went to the older brother. He spent it as it was needed together with the profits from the farm; he gave the money to the younger brother for clothing his children, for buying his wife new *tsarvuli* (pigskin sandals); he also took for his own use whatever he deemed necessary, though never abusing his prerogative. This was the only such relationship which I came across, simply because brothers did not live together as much as they used to, even in Dragalevtsy, ordinarily so tenacious of the older forms of life.

593 The lot of an unmarried brother in the paternal home managed by an elder brother was likewise one of subordination. I visited one home which bore the unmistakable signs of belonging to a dairyman: milky buckets littered the inside; cows hopelessly switched at flies coming from the ever-present manure piles all over the yard. In the course of the conversation I learned that there was little difficulty between the brothers concerning work: the younger together with the wife of the older got up long before daybreak to milk and prepare the milk for Sofia; later on the older brother got up at the same time as his widowed mother to breakfast and started on his daily trek to Sofia and back. Whenever the younger man had extra money he gave it to the older, with the understanding that he could ask for what he needed. There was one source of trouble in the brotherly relationship arising out of the attempt on the part of the older to dictate whom the younger should marry. The inconsistency in this de-

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The *trudova* system existed in principle until Bulgaria joined the Axis, though, she like all countries defeated in the first World War, passed through a period when compulsory labor was gradually replaced by compulsory military service. After the *coup d'état* of May, 1934, various groups of army officers controlled many of the country's policies; so it was not surprising to learn of the strengthening of the military forces of the nation. One sign of the government's changed policy was the fact that in 1935 not a single young man from Dragalevtsy went as a *trudovak,* but sixteen were called to do military service. Those eligible for service were called before a commission of army officers and examined; the successful ones passed on to receive military training, and the rest were returned home. Those who were rejected lost some standing in the eyes of the villagers, because it was thought that they had inherited some family weakness. The *family* rather than the individual was blamed.

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There was undeniably a great influence exercised upon the village by the practice of taking young men, in their impressionable years, away from the village for an interval of several months. They lived in an army barracks or a *trudovak* camp with other young men from different parts of the country. For a time they ceased doing some things which the village thought essential, and they learned to do other things which older family members would perhaps have frowned upon. They went out from a family system where each member worked more or less as a part of the whole; they returned often very conscious of their own individuality, and had to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought once more closed about them. There were some individuals who never again fell completely into line and who turned to Sofia for employment and a more congenial atmosphere.

[554]

Older men who returned to the village as retired noncommissioned officers enjoyed a certain prestige that lingered after brass buttons and clumping boots had been exchanged for the conventional village attire. On the wall of the office of the Village Clerk, the names of all local officials and public employees were posted. There was considerable information regarding each man, but the concluding and perhaps most important item was the statement of the person's service

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to the State, either as a soldier or a *trudovak*. All had served in one of these capacities, else they would not have been employed.

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The young men were the only ones called to leave the village. As for the rest of the people, the national government went to them in the persons of its civil servants, who comprised most of the intelligentsia. Even the priest was a government employee, since the state supported the church. The doctor received most of her salary from public funds, since private practice in a village would have been financially unrewarding. In addition to these, the veterinarian, the schoolteachers, and an occasional lecturer from outside formed the advance guard of the national State. All of these public servants knew that they would be held accountable by their supervisors or inspectors, and identified themselves much more readily with the national bureaucracy than with the peasants whom they were supposed to help. Of these, the mayor was the spearhead in the attack on the old ways. One of his duties was to preside over the village court, where he stood for the law and order of the land.

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One day as I was leaving the office of the mayor he asked me to stay and attend court. I sat in the corner of the room next to a bookcase jammed with documents. The mayor sat behind his desk, covered on such occasions by the white, green, and red Bulgarian flag, on which there was a stack of folders, one for each case to be heard. On the wall over his head were pictures of the King and Queen, a beautifully colored coat of arms of Bulgaria, and a patriotic calendar. Through the window I could see the small memorial garden in which forty-four fruit trees had been planted in memory of the forty-four local sons killed in the battles of Bulgaria's several wars. Two rifles for use when the policemen were on patrol stood in the gun rack not far from the desk. A bench lined another wall close to the small cast-iron stove. Near me there was a hat rack, and a spittoon less popular than the floor. A muddy, unshaven policeman stood at the door to bark people in and out.

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The first man to come in was Iliya Trunin, a thirty-two year old villager in a *kozhuh* (sheepskin coat), who was being sued by Ivan Katsarov, a tavern keeper. Iliya, instead of going to the expense of running an electric line from the main electric cable, had arranged

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by the others. They answered back, repeating many of the comments heard around the house, comments definitely unfavorable to Communism and its cause. So the bickering reached into the schoolhouse and the playground, and children early became conscious of political differences not of their own making. 668 178 578

With the young people, as already indicated, the division on the basis of political sympathy was even more marked. The Agrarian young people tended to associate with each other, and watched with dismay the active role that the members of the Communist youth group were playing in village life. Some enamoured couples, where each had differing political loyalties, disregarded political barriers in their devotion to each other, but when broaching the question of marriage to the parents often met stern disapproval. A girl's father would say, "I don't want my daughter marrying a Communist" or "You do what you want, but if you marry a Communist never come back to my house."

The controversy over politics extended also to the various "working groups" which had been such a basic part of village life in the past. A woman who was organizing a corn-hoeing group would invite only those whose political interests were similar. She knew that little work would be done in her fields if she got together women who differed over the present government.

At this stage of accommodation, therefore, factionalism was based on political differences and expressed itself in a separatism which seriously affected village life. People who differed politically simply stayed apart; where they had to mingle, such as on a bus, they made the best of it by teasing and horseplay which seemed to be all in fun but which often gave voice to deeply rooted emotions.

Accompanying the disagreements within the agricultural group itself were disagreements between the Agrarians and the artisans. The peasants of the opposition resented intensely the attempt on the part of the government[1] to classify them with "workers," or men who owned little or no land and who depended entirely upon some skill for a livelihood. The peasant in the past had felt superior, or at least claimed to be more favored in social position than the artisan such as the tailor, although envious of the "easy work" that the tailor had to 668 578 554 178

[1] [The Communist government in 1945 — Analyst]

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668 do. Owing to the Communistic agitation in Dragalevtsy, lines were
578 more sharply drawn between the peasants on the one hand and the
554 artisans on the other. Most of the artisans had learned their trade in
178 Sofia, had been subjected to city influences, and many of them had become acquainted with Communist ideas there before the war. Even Bai Milosh, the village patriarch so frequently mentioned in this account, had a son who had become an ardent Communist. This son was not the one who took over the management of field crops, nor the one responsible for the livestock. Instead he had become a cobbler. He thought of himself as a worker, whereas his brothers thought of themselves as farmers.

668 Quarreling between the young and old also characterized the
578 factionalism. Although the Agrarian young people opposed the
178 Communists, they were certainly influenced by the actions of their
[888] more progressive or radical contemporaries. The older peasants who were opposed to the present regime emphasized time and time again the danger of having young people run the affairs of the land. This displacement of the aged rather than the indifference of Communists to God seemed to be causing the gravest concern to those who had been steeped in the traditional way of life.

But factionalism was not the only pronounced change which I
668 noted. I found everywhere an insecurity which was foreign to the
178 Dragalevtsy I had once known. The opposition supporters could be
626 expected to feel insecure, for they had to face the possibility that Communism would carry the day. But even the Communists who were definitely in the good graces of the party were having many troubled moments. The wife of one Communist was active in the opposition, and when I asked him why he tolerated such political division in his family he simply laughed. I continued to question him: "Aren't you the boss in this family? Why do you let your wife have such independence?"

He then became deadly serious and sought to lead me out of my cloud of ignorance. "You see, it's this way. Suppose the Communists are overthrown. Where would I be then? But if my wife is active in the Agrarian group, she can then speak for me and get me out of trouble."

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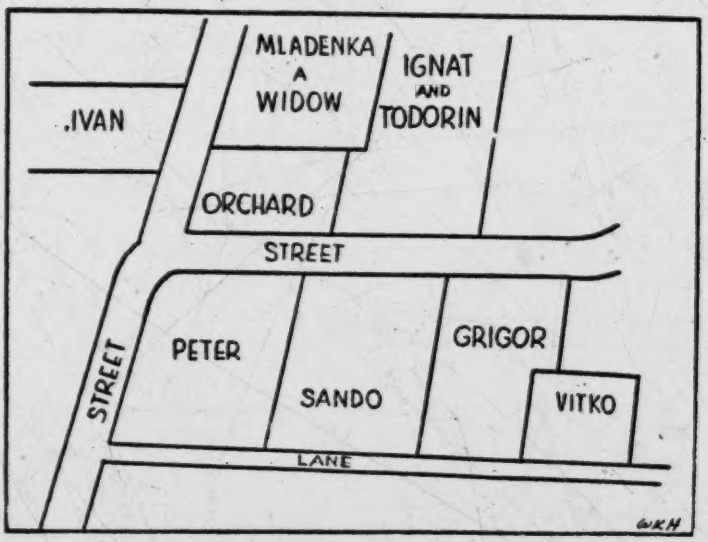
621 [554] Furthermore, the *mahali* (plural form) differ in size and prestige as well as in location. If the fortunes of two or three homes in a *mahala* rise, then the prestige of that *mahala* rises too. Land values go up in that place and the choice residential sites tend to shift there. This is illustrated in the case of the Daneva *Mahala* where the Danev men because of shrewd business methods have been able to accumulate considerable capital. Just the reverse is true in *mahali* where the families are very poor.

621 578 But the general use of the term *mahala* by the Dragalevtsy villagers is that applied to the smaller neighborhood of from seven to twelve houses. This use will be best understood if we briefly consider one of the village *mahali*: for instance, the Stoiova *Mahala* which consists of eight families living in the following spatial relationships and identified by the names of the family head as follows:



THE STOIOVA MAHALA*

Seven family heads are men, one is a woman.

Ignat and Todorin live with their families in separate divisions of the same house.

The kinship nature of the *mahala* is shown by the fact that Ignat and Sando are brothers and are nephews of Peter, and uncles of Todorin. They

* Subsequent investigation showed this *mahala* to be representative of others in the village.

[cf p. 231, category 116.. Analyst]

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156 turn to Sofia for employment and sympathy. But the significant fact is that
702 most young people do submit to the process of resocialization and as they grow older adopt the conservatism of their elders. In other words, no attempt is made in the army experience to teach them new farming methods, bee-keeping, animal breeding, or anything else which they might apply in a useful way upon their return to the village.

554 3. For the Good of His Soul. When asked "Why do you go on pil-
788 grimages to various Bulgarian monasteries?" the peasants often answer: "We
484 go for the good of our souls." No mention is made of the enhanced social status that is theirs as a result of such a trip or the excitement of being sped on their way at the edge of the village by the priest and a flock of relatives or welcomed back far outside the village by the same relatives two or three days later. The most popular place to visit is Rila Monastery, the historic, magnificent establishment in the heart of the Rila Mountains to which thousands come at Easter time. The Dragalevtsy peasants (only thirty-five from the village went in 1934) mix with the assembled multitudes at Rila, attend the services, buy sacred objects, and snatch what sleep they can before starting on the return journey. If they are walking, the pilgrimage requires five or six days; if they go by automobile from Sofia, they spend one day en route each way. In olden days pilgrimages played a great part in creating social contacts between the villages and the outside world. Now we can safely conclude that as other means of making social contact increase, the importance of making pilgrimages decreases.

484 4. To Visit Socially. Once a year a Bulgarian village has an "At Home
574 Day." This event always falls on the name day of the sai[illegible] or member of the Trinity for whom the local church is named an[illegible]mmemorated by the preparation of immense quantities of stews for the fe[illegible]undred guests from outside. Many of these guests are old residents returning with their families for a visit. There is a special service at which bread and boiled corn is blessed, the priest in return receiving a portion of the food. At the meal afterwards, to which all guests are invited, pledges are made for the upkeep of the local church. Many guests would rather go to the homes of friends and relatives than partake of the common meal; this makes more intimate visitation possible. These "At Homes" of neighboring villages are the chief attractions drawing the peasants from Dragalevtsy to other villages. Table 13 on the following page shows us how often Dragalevtsy family heads visit other villages (for the "At Home" as well as other purposes).

484 Combining the data in this table with other information obtained we can make the following conclusions regarding the social visits of Dragalevtsy people to other villages:

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IV. EFFECT OF KINSHIP ON CHOICES. Twenty-seven of the thirty-four individuals comprising this group are related to some other individual in the group.[1] Therefore, the question naturally arises as to the influence of such relationship upon the choices that the men made. Sociogram II, on the following page, shows seven clusters, each cluster made up of related individuals bearing the same family name. Of course, some of the individuals within a cluster are only distantly related because the joint-family names in Dragalevtsy have a place connotation in addition to the one of relationship. But just the same, the village usually thinks of the Pachevi or the Chalukovi as a definite group in the community bound together by kinship as well as geographical proximity. The sociogram also shows the choices made by each individual for other individuals in the same cluster. A few in-law relationships are not shown in this sociogram, but an examination of the data showed them to be relatively unimportant in this woodcutting group.[4]

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I was interested in my analysis of the group to see what effect a feeling of insecurity on the part of an individual might have upon his choice of a relative. The best measure of this feeling of insecurity seemed to be the failure to receive favorable votes. It does seem significant that every individual[5] shown on Sociogram II who received only one or else no favorable votes from the group at large selected some relative, with whom he naturally felt on more intimate terms. When an individual received as many as two votes from the group at large, then the chances were about fifty per cent that he would name a relative among his first three choices. Of course, the unwanted individual does not know definitely the opinion, expressed on the questionnaire, which the general public has for him, but in a face-to-face society like Dragalevtsy every individual has a rather clear picture of his social status. This was illustrated forcibly when 23, who received the largest number of negative votes, refused to name any individuals which he would reject from a woodcutting group of his own formation. He co-operated in naming those he would like (two of the first three being relatives), but lacked the hypocrisy necessary to name any others as being undesirable; he knew where he stood in the opinion of the community.

Not only was I interested in the position of the person choosing relatives but also in the position of the relatives chosen. I wondered, for instance, if relatives out of kindness or a sense of loyalty would list some kinsman whom the group at large might reject. This did not prove to be the case because only one person named by a kinsman was not listed by someone outside the

[4] The *svatovshtenie*, or in-law relationship, is very important in Bulgarian villages—so much so that two brothers cannot marry two sisters, since the second brother by marrying a sister-in-law would be marrying a relative, something taboo.

[5] The Voynishki (Numbers 36 and 37) are exceptions here, but since they are not on speaking terms one would not expect them to choose each other.

[1] [This refers to a woodcutting group studied by the author; see pp. 250-256, category 116 -- Analyst]

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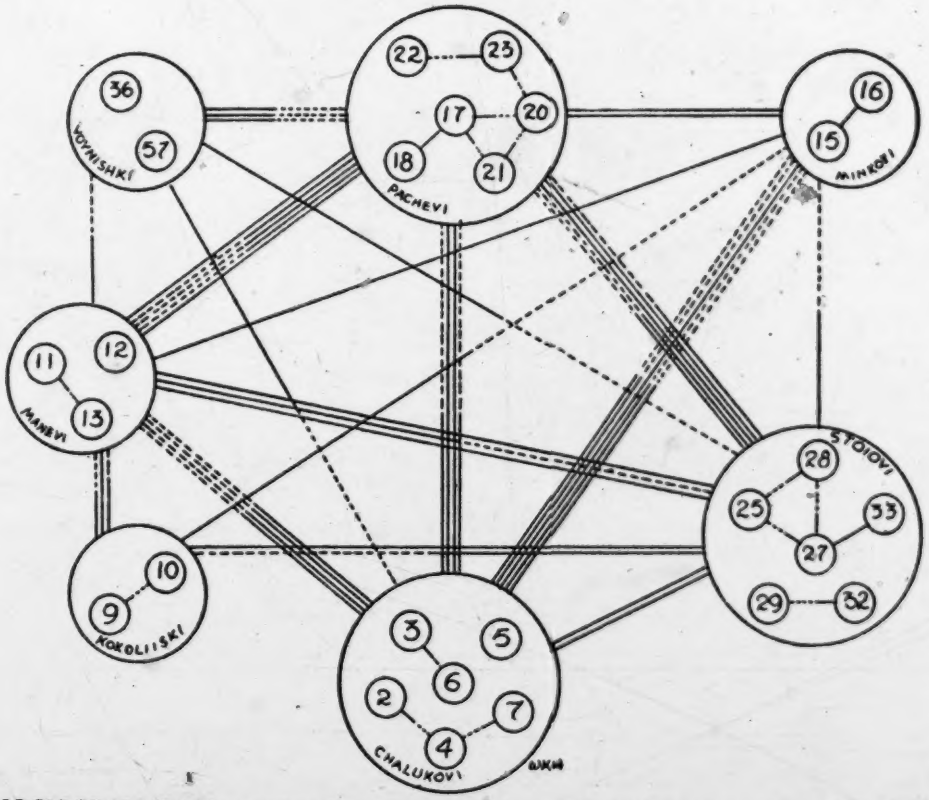

SOCIOGRAM II—EFFECTS OF KINSHIP ON CHOICES. Each cluster is made up of related individuals bearing the same family name. Lines between clusters show the number of times members of one cluster mentioned those in another cluster (first three choices).

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kinship group. That is, individuals who chose relatives chose those upon whom the group at large likewise placed approval. 476 571

Sociogram II likewise shows us the status of the different kinship clusters as far as the woodcutting activity is concerned. The Pachevi, Stoiovi, and Chalukovi, each consisting of six members, are comparable in size but received 16, 9, and 6 votes respectively. The other clusters, made up of two or three members, are similarly comparable but vary considerably: Voynishki, 1; Kokoliiski, 3; Minkovi, 10; Manevi, 15. The size of the cluster has little to do with the number of votes received; it is rather the popularity of certain individuals within the cluster which determines the voting. 554 602 157

My conclusions regarding the effect of kinship as far as this one group is concerned are: (1) the choices of unwanted individuals included a relative with whom they felt some security; (2) the persons chosen were usually those upon whom the group as a whole set its stamp of approval; and (3) family clusters can be said to have a status in the same sense that individuals do, and are rejected or mentioned favorably through the medium of the individuals comprising those clusters.

Hurrah!] That's right; nobody will fail. No pupil will repeat the class next year! [Hurrah! Hurrah!] All deportment marks likewise will be raised and anyone who has been expelled from school will be accepted back on probation. The government is cancelling over a billion leva in unpaid taxes and is freeing thousands of prisoners . . . . [871]

Before he finished he led the children, and such adults as would join, in further cheers for Prince Simeon, for King Boris, and for Queen Iovanna. After the school choir had sung the national anthem and the "Hymn to the King," all filed inside for the official graduation exercises. There were more patriotic songs and at least twenty declamations with such titles as "Three Days at the Battle of Shipka," "To our Teachers," "A Prayer to God," "I Like the Priest," "I am a Temperance Girl," and "Nature." Displays of the children's handwork, as well as these recitations, brought some recognition to the teachers who had worked behind the scenes. 527 659 871

The director in her remarks thanked the mayor and the priest profusely and the parents casually for the help they had rendered during the past year. When she was about to present the diplomas, such bedlam broke loose that few could hear the compliments she paid the brightest pupils, who had received as special awards from the mayor books on war and religion. The exercises concluded with the presentation of a large bouquet from the pupils to the school director, who politely accepted the flowers on behalf of all the teachers.

The intelligentsia just described had more importance than their village duties seemed to indicate. They were the channels through which the national state, the national church, and the national school system expressed themselves. No member of this select group was Dragalevtsy-born. Their high status rested not only upon the influence they wielded as representatives of powerful institutions, but also upon the fact that they were educated. Education, along with the patient accumulation of land and money, was one sound way of raising one's social position, and those who had persevered in its pursuit received due honor. As one father said to his son upon sending him to school: "If you don't study you will plow, sow, and work in the fields, and where will you get then?" 565 554 [555]

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275 461 181 "Most of the people prefer to be in the tavern, though there are some who go there to do *pazarluk* [arrange a business deal], drink a little, then leave to do their work again."

"I prefer to work in the fields than to sit in the tavern."

463 181 *Why do young people want to become artisans and do not want to become farmers?*

"They want easier work. Field work is heavy. If they work inside, they will live longer, the wind won't beat in their faces, they won't remain in the cold."

"It's better to work inside than out in the weather."

"If one is an artisan, one won't become hungry. There will always be work to do. But in the fields things are not so sure. Work is easier as an artisan than as a farmer. The money is only of minor importance."

461 181 *Do people of Dragalevtsy, like the heroes of old folk songs, love hard work more than easy work?*

"They prefer easy work. Fifty years ago people liked the harder work, for there were few occupations. Now parents don't control their children. A son sees his father at one tavern and he goes to the other. If his father comes to the second tavern, then he goes back to the first. Formerly people had big fields and had to do much work. They prided themselves on the amount of work they could get done. They were healthier, because they didn't smoke and drink so much. The one who could work the most was the most honored. Now the fields are small. There is little work to do in them, and so people get out of the habit of working hard."

"They like easier work now. Everyone looks for something that is light. It was not so fifty years ago, but the change came about especially since the war."

"They love easy work. Formerly there were more animals, more fields, less people, and therefore more work."

● 556 181 *With what adjective would a Dragalevtsy peasant prefer to be described: industrious, rich, influential, wise?*

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"Now all want to be rich and will lie to become so. There is no one who wants to be industrious. They sit in the tavern and say, 'Let those who are foolish work.' There is no shame nowadays. Formerly a man was ashamed to be seen away from his work. Furthermore, people prefer to be influential than wise." 556 181

"People would rather be rich, but think it necessary to be industrious in order to be rich. It is better to be influential than wise."

When I pursued the attitude toward money by further questioning I received such replies as these:

"When I was young I could work and get money, but now I can't, so therefore I think more about it. I sent my son to be a soldier and have to do everything all alone."

"Prices are now higher, money doesn't go so far, and therefore has to be watched carefully. Formerly people didn't have to buy so much. Now there are many who want to get more and more money."

The position of the wealthy man was described as follows:

"Rich men have lots of influence, even more than the priest. The priest is a good man and people listen to his advice, but when they go to Trayko Danev [a wealthy peasant] they take off their hat and ask for money. They give him wine to drink and roast lamb to eat because he is rich. Before the war what the priest said was thought to be what God said. Now he can't get anybody to go to church and stand for five hours hungry. It's a punishment. During the World War our people went many places—Salonika, Serbia, Bucharest—and saw how people lived; they then agreed that life in the village was too hard and not for the likes of them."

Education, which ordinarily was held in very high esteem, had yielded ground to commercialism. Villagers were beginning to prefer money to education, and said:

"In Sofia there are many unemployed educated people, and so if I have money, I'll be better off than if I had education."

Many of the villagers considered it highly desirable to have a government pension, and so valued jobs with the state railways, state telegraph system, or postal service.

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556 181 An intelligent woman once summed up for me the peasant's attitude toward labor and money in this terse fashion:

"Most people work because they want money. Everyone looks for money."

511 181 434 Although the peasant considered money of greater importance than formerly because he was becoming more and more a part of a money economy, he really handled very little in the course of a year. The annual income for a family of four or five was less than two hundred dollars, an amount that came into the family coffer in driblets and was paid out as slowly as possible. After the autumn market or the sale of a cow, the peasant was flush with money, but when he had bought the necessities which he could not produce for himself (kerosene, shoes and other articles of clothing, rice, salt, and some hardware) he was little better off financially. If a member of the family worked outside the home, his wages were a considerable help, especially when some of the many taxes were due.

465 181 I asked nine young men, picked at random, about the money they earned. Their monthly income varied from the meager equivalent of $6 a month earned by a twenty-five-year-old servant and an eighteen-year-old shepherd to $66 earned by a twenty-year-old milkman. There was only one who kept more than half of his earnings for himself. He explained apologetically that the reason he did not turn these over to his father was that he had to pay board and rent in Sofia, where he worked.

454 181 Very few Dragalevtsy people accumulated savings in the bank. They preferred, like people all over Bulgaria, to invest money in real estate. The city people did it because of the security of investment, whereas the peasants, especially in Dragalevtsy, were more interested in possessing land for its own sake.

426 181 The great majority of the peasants were in debt, though many debtors were also creditors. Those specializing in field crops preferred long-term loans, usually for fifteen or twenty years, with land as security, while sheep owners usually sought short-term loans of three or four months. One village merchant, to whom many peasants came for advice, estimated that 70 per cent of the loans were taken from [652] banks and 30 per cent from individuals. The government had done much in the past through periodic moratoria to reduce the amount of indebtedness.

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who flatly decreed that his daughter could marry no one but a priest. 159
(Not only are priests well provided for financially, but they can marry 793
only once. This means that they supposedly take exceptionally good 521
care of their mates.) Sava had already completed the commercial gymnasium, had studied for two years in a school for leaders of co-operatives, and planned to attend the university. In order to comply with the demands of his sweetheart's father, however, he interrupted his educational plans long enough to prepare himself for the ecclesiastical examinations, which he passed with credit. He was then assigned to the Dragalevtsy parish. Meanwhile he had married the young lady of his choice. Soon thereafter he obtained leave of absence from his church responsibility in order to complete his work in Finance at the Svoboden (Private) University in Sofia. He was highly respected by the people whom he shepherded and was vitally interested in their welfare.

There were often two or three kibitzers while the intelligentsia 557
played cards. These were lesser officials interested in advancement, or well-to-do peasants who wanted to hobnob with the controlling group. None of these hangers-on had been westernized to the point [291]
of wearing a tie, and some of them still wore the heelless, pointed pigskin sandals.

Oddly enough for a Bulgarian village, the veterinarian and 759
physician were both women, who constantly found the patriarchal 562
traditions stumbling blocks to the winning of village support. The medical doctor was a Russian who had spent part of her childhood in San Francisco, but returned to the University of Petrograd for her medical training. After the Revolution she left Russia with her family.

The only other "educated" people in the village were the 875
teachers, eight in number, selected for their posts by outside school authorities rather than by the villagers themselves. Four of the eight had been born outside the pre-Hitler boundaries of Bulgaria, in territories which irredentist Bulgarians sought to recover permanently. Maria, for example, was from Dobruja, which was then a part of Rumania; Anna and Georgi were born in parts of Macedonia which

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642 666 vibrant youth and living hope, her fling at democracy failed, primarily because ballots were given to peasants who were not being taught the meaning of citizenship in a national state.

178 623 Those interested in democracy have much to learn from the story of government in Dragalevtsy. At the outset the informal rule of the elders, which had been recognized by the Turks, was replaced by a commune or *obshtina* with regularly elected officials. At first these units included a number of villages. By 1890 the increase in population necessitated the breaking up of the larger *obshtini* so as to include only two or three villages. In other words, the pendulum was swinging back in the direction of greater local control, the swing being further accentuated after the First World War.

665 Political parties grew like mushrooms in Bulgaria. In 1930 the country had more than sixteen significant parties; in the village of Dragalevtsy, with its total population of about sixteen hundred, there [557] were six important parties with recognized leaders and platforms. To be a party leader in the village meant added prestige; to be one in the city or on a national scale meant power. In order for a Dragalevtsy man to become a local party leader he had to be acquainted with important people in Sofia. Even though he had only one influential friend in the city, he could persuade this man to come out and help organize a party. Other peasants were invited to the organizational meeting and officers were elected. Naturally, the one who took the initiative would be chosen to an important post. Because of the multiplicity of parties and the intense strife among them, many people throughout the country breathed a sigh of relief when the authoritarian government, which came into power on May 19, 1934, abolished by decree all political parties and started the practice of appointing university graduates as mayors in villages. This meant that the head of the government in a village was not dependent upon the will of the populace but had to produce results satisfactory to the officials over him. The breakdown of the party system was associated, especially as far as the conservative peasant population was concerned, not only with forces outside the village but also with the failure of popular education to develop into "a bulwark of people rule."

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The girls of Dragalevtsy had no way of proposing to a boy. The girl waited and, if nobody proposed to her, she remained unmarried. 583 562

Sometimes unmarried young people had sexual intercourse. If the boy did not want to marry the girl, then she told her parents; the boy was brought before the *Obshtina* and, if the charge was proved, was made to marry the girl. As one peasant said in matchless understatement: "In such cases they do not have a happy life." 836

One such case occurred during my sojourn in the village and was an exciting topic of conversation. A girl with an unsavory reputation, in the hope of gaining a certain young man as a husband, accused him of having had intimate relations with her; the parents, too, insisted upon his marrying their daughter. He refused and the matter was taken up before the village court, where several of his friends swore that they likewise had had intimate relations with the same girl. Whether the friends swore truthfully or falsely was still a matter of doubt in the minds of many villagers, but the young man was freed from all responsibility in the matter. [691]

Chastity ranked high in the scale of village social values. Even though some couples had illicit relationships before they married, they were running a grave social risk. Public indignation was especially great in the case of illegitimacy. A girl giving birth to an illegitimate child was forced to leave the village. On this subject I had the following conversation with one of the more respected villagers: 848 836 558

"Where does the girl go if she is driven out of the village?"

"She goes to Sofia because she's a bad girl."

"Do the villagers try to find out who the father was and punish him for his part?"

"The father? Why should they? The girl is to blame, not the man."

"Are many illegitimate children born in the near-by villages?"

"In my time [the last thirty-five years] there have been two in Bistritsa, one in Dragalevtsy, and none in Simeonovo."

There was no particular stigma attached to being a widow or a widower, but the village mores decreed that, when remarrying, widows had to choose widowers, and vice versa. The explanation for this went back to the villagers' belief of the afterlife. They thought of 587 775

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intelligentsia, when it came to the point dared not run counter to the old village sanctions against divorce. 586

More often it was the husband who left the home. When he did and in rare cases interested himself in another woman, the villagers did all in their power to make him return. If he refused at first, they made him feel the indignation of public opinion, treating him as an outcast and sometimes going to the length of beating him. If he remained in the village, he had no choice but to go back to his wife. During the time he was away his wife also was put to shame, getting little sympathy from the general public. She knew, furthermore, that in case of a divorce both parties would be held guilty by the villagers, so she was willing to take her husband back and get along with him as best she could. A divorced man was considered to have loose morals; a divorced woman would have been thought thoroughly bad. There was thus a situation in which everyone was expected to marry, with no sanctioned way out once the marriage contract had been entered upon. Though such an attitude meant that unfortunate marriages had to drag on interminably, it also had the effect of forcing couples to adjust themselves to each other. [208] [558]

Dragalevtsy seemed a curiosity indeed: a village in which marriage was little questioned, where there was practically no marital unfaithfulness, and no divorce. What were the reasons for the family stability? For one thing, life was still lived according to ancient customs. People only recently had begun to wonder about the age-old patterns which they had been following so faithfully. Some writers would call them the "dead hand of the past," others "the cake of custom." Whatever their name, they were conducive to a common understanding of the place of marriage. All the people expected the same things from life and from the home. 581 593 181 829

Then, too, earning their living by farming was a joint enterprise. People got used to putting their shoulders to the wheel as a family group. In addition to what they all did together, women were supposed to do certain things, men other things, and children still other things. As long as every person did his part there was no friction, but quiet efficiency. Furthermore, the presence of a number of relatives made for greater stability. In the case of apparent misunderstanding

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The *trudova* system existed in principle until Bulgaria joined the Axis, though, she like all countries defeated in the first World War, passed through a period when compulsory labor was gradually replaced by compulsory military service. After the *coup d'état* of May, 1934, various groups of army officers controlled many of the country's policies; so it was not surprising to learn of the strengthening of the military forces of the nation. One sign of the government's changed policy was the fact that in 1935 not a single young man from Dragalevtsy went as a *trudovak,* but sixteen were called to do military service. Those eligible for service were called before a commission of army officers and examined; the successful ones passed on to receive military training, and the rest were returned home. Those who were rejected lost some standing in the eyes of the villagers, because it was thought that they had inherited some family weakness. The *family* rather than the individual was blamed.

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There was undeniably a great influence exercised upon the village by the practice of taking young men, in their impressionable years, away from the village for an interval of several months. They lived in an army barracks or a *trudovak* camp with other young men from different parts of the country. For a time they ceased doing some things which the village thought essential, and they learned to do other things which older family members would perhaps have frowned upon. They went out from a family system where each member worked more or less as a part of the whole; they returned often very conscious of their own individuality, and had to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought once more closed about them. There were some individuals who never again fell completely into line and who turned to Sofia for employment and a more congenial atmosphere.

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Older men who returned to the village as retired noncommissioned officers enjoyed a certain prestige that lingered after brass buttons and clumping boots had been exchanged for the conventional village attire. On the wall of the office of the Village Clerk, the names of all local officials and public employees were posted. There was considerable information regarding each man, but the concluding and perhaps most important item was the statement of the person's service

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who flatly decreed that his daughter could marry no one but a priest. 159
(Not only are priests well provided for financially, but they can marry 793
only once. This means that they supposedly take exceptionally good 571
care of their mates.) Sava had already completed the commercial gymnasium, had studied for two years in a school for leaders of co-operatives, and planned to attend the university. In order to comply with the demands of his sweetheart's father, however, he interrupted his educational plans long enough to prepare himself for the ecclesiastical examinations, which he passed with credit. He was then assigned to the Dragalevtsy parish. Meanwhile he had married the young lady of his choice. Soon thereafter he obtained leave of absence from his church responsibility in order to complete his work in Finance at the Svoboden (Private) University in Sofia. He was highly respected by the people whom he shepherded and was vitally interested in their welfare.

There were often two or three kibitzers while the intelligentsia 557
played cards. These were lesser officials interested in advancement, or well-to-do peasants who wanted to hobnob with the controlling group. None of these hangers-on had been westernized to the point [291]
of wearing a tie, and some of them still wore the heelless, pointed pigskin sandals.

Oddly enough for a Bulgarian village, the veterinarian and 759
physician were both women, who constantly found the patriarchal 562
traditions stumbling blocks to the winning of village support. The medical doctor was a Russian who had spent part of her childhood in San Francisco, but returned to the University of Petrograd for her medical training. After the Revolution she left Russia with her family.

The only other "educated" people in the village were the 875
teachers, eight in number, selected for their posts by outside school authorities rather than by the villagers themselves. Four of the eight had been born outside the pre-Hitler boundaries of Bulgaria, in territories which irredentist Bulgarians sought to recover permanently. Maria, for example, was from Dobruja, which was then a part of Rumania; Anna and Georgi were born in parts of Macedonia which

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palatable to peasant taste. If the bread supply gave out at the table, the diners sat calmly without eating until the new loaf was brought in, for it was almost impossible for them to eat unless holding a piece of bread in the left hand. Dunking was the approved method of disposing of the juice of a stew. When eating, one was apt to get a greasy coating on the lip; the accepted technique was to scrape this off with a piece of bread already on its way into the mouth. Forks and small spoons were used only when there were guests. But why should table manners not be simple and direct? 264 [576]

"Knives for everybody are not used. There is one knife at the table, but people use their hands, for we peasants say, 'For what did God give the fingers to man if he does not use them to feed himself?' "

As for the preparation of the food: 252

"Usually it is the duty of the oldest woman in the family to prepare the food, because she knows the best how to cook and she can cook most deliciously of all. In case she is sick, then her daughter-in-law or her daughter cooks. If there are not such, then the man cooks." Here my informant sniffed and added scornfully, "Of course, in such a case dry food is eaten chiefly, but even the men can cook at least some of the dishes."

I asked another woman who really "knew her place," as a Dragalevtsy man would say, whether men could cook: [562]

"Of course, men can do everything woman does, but woman cannot do everything men do. Who cooks for those men that are shepherds or work in the forests but they themselves? Men do not need women half as much as women need men. Yet we all recognize that cooking is for the women, not for the men."

No matter what time of day I entered a village home the *domakinya* (housewife) with unfailing and genuine hospitality offered me food or drink. I began to wonder when the people had their regular meals and found that some homes had no regular mealtimes; instead, people got up and took a piece of bread or anything else available whenever they were hungry. In most families, however, about nine o'clock in the morning a meal called *ruchok* was served to all; at about two, dinner was served, and two hours after sunset the people gathered for supper. One villager put it this way: 264 574

The woman is born
●562 to be a mother. She knows it and, as her duty, should not expect anything from the others."

843 Before the birth of the child, swaddling clothes were prepared, and a cradle and wooden tub were bought. The mother herself was not supposed to sew because it was believed that this would make the baby dumb. In fact, nobody went to any trouble at all to provide an elaborate layette, for that would really seem to the peasants like tempting fate. One of the men asked me, "Who can tell whether it will be a boy or a girl, and most important, who has unnecessary money to throw away in vain, for the baby may die?"

844 At the delivery of the baby, all the young people were sent away, and only the old people and the midwife remained with the mother. "The business of the relatives is to give courage to the mother, and in case the delivery of the child is painful, the midwife massages and carefully pulls the baby out."

The peasants much preferred the midwife or *baba*, to whose old-fashioned ways they were accustomed. To be sure, they called in the village doctor if the case seemed very complicated or if the woman fainted in labor. Dr. Chirkova has encountered many interesting superstitions and folkways in her village experience; these she included in her annual reports to the District Health Office. For instance, since the baby is supposed to be born on straw, in conformity with the birth of Christ, some deliveries occurred in mangers where the doctor was quite apt to find the baby blue with cold. There were instances of women who kept the pains secret from everyone, especially the husband, for they did not "want to add to his troubles." Some of these women even went so far as to remain alone during the childbirth, cutting the cord with a sickle and tying it with their own hair. Such instances, however, were exceptional.

Many deliveries were made with the woman standing, but when labor seemed to be difficult those in attendance put a rope beneath her breasts, tied it to the ceiling, and swung her "in order that the baby
[776] might be born more easily." To lessen the ordeal still more, the *baba* moistened the lips of the woman with an herb called "The Hands of the Holy Virgin," which had been put into a bowl of water. It is assumed that the Virgin will render direct aid.

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When I asked her if she and Dimiter had quarrels about other things, Zdravka answered: 578 685 422

"We don't quarrel for I keep quiet, and he only speaks to me 'between his teeth.'"

Poultry was a source of much ill feeling among neighbor women. Whenever a hen or rooster strayed into the garden next door there was apt to be a verbal battle, the effects of which fortunately wore off within a few days. There was one woman, however, who had not spoken to her next-door neighbor for three years because of harsh words uttered about a straying hen. "May her chickens be homeless," cursed the other person in describing the incident.

In case the women quarreled over such things as chickens, overhanging branches of a fruit tree, or the return of a borrowed article, the men were inclined to treat the whole incident lightly and speak of it as "woman's business." On the other hand, if two men had a serious dispute, their families behaved distantly toward each other, either because of actual antipathy or because of paternal command. From the standpoint of social interaction, therefore, a serious row between two men was more of a strain on the social structure than was a quarrel between two women. It was apt to last longer, involve more people, and have larger issues at stake. [562]

A visit to the village courtroom convinced me that money was also the basis for much misunderstanding. The court records were full of cases of men who had argued over financial matters until one of them haied the other into court. Most of these disputes were settled by the mayor, but many people left his courtroom still dissatisfied. Because the Dragalevtsy peasant was penurious, every lev was cherished and spent only when absolutely necessary. Such frugality was a virtue from one point of view, but it became a vice when it led to disruptive conflict. 691 578

This increased emphasis upon money permeated even the family relationships. One woman exclaimed:

"Relatives don't even lend sewing machines to one another without payment. I have a sister-in-law who has a machine, but she won't let my daughters use it unless I pay."

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888 cide was by that time an out-of-date practice no longer linked with the precarious economic existence of a wandering people.

539 But it was a far cry from the cessation of the killing of aged
888 parents to the "Honor thy father and mother" of the Decalogue, which
593 later became a part of the Bulgarian family system. The peasants had another story to explain this dramatic change:

"In the olden days, when fathers died the sons would drag the bodies with a hook to a stream or gully and push the bodies in. One day a middle-aged man returned home from disposing of his father's body in this way, but failed to bring back the hook. Whereupon his own son in greeting him said:

" 'But, father, where is the hook? What will I use when I drag you away?'

"This made the father thoughtful, then remorseful. It was then that he retrieved his father's body and gave it a proper burial. Since then sons have been more respectful."

593 At any rate, whatever may be the explanation, the patriarchal
562 system with its respect for and obedience to the father won out. Con-
175 tact with Byzantine culture until the coming of the Turks must have reinforced the Bulgarian father's right to dominate his family. He
186 became more fully acquainted with the *patria potestas* which had been too strongly entrenched in the Roman family system to be forgotten by the Byzantines. Likewise, the patriarchal emphasis of the Old Testament and the Pauline epistles of the New aided in the continuance
175 of male supremacy. It is fascinating indeed to observe the response that the Slavicized Bulgarians made to the Byzantine culture in general. First they opposed cultural assimilation by force of arms; more than once the armies of the Bulgarian kings thundered at the gates of Constantinople in Bulgaria's proud golden age (about 900). Military expeditions, however, proved inadequate, with the result that the Bulgarian leaders sought to build a Slavic culture to rival that of the Greeks. It was this new culture which kept the feeling of national uniqueness alive among the Bulgarians, while other tribes upon entering that region became so thoroughly absorbed into the Byzantine Empire that they ended as curious names of the past with no modern representatives.

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582 married in Dragalevtsy. Because she had a physical deformity her
208 parents had given up all hope of marrying her off since they knew she would be unable to attend properly to her housework and field work. During the first World War there were two old maids in the village who had not been chosen for marriage because each of them had a goiter. A doctor with the German forces cured the goiters
[554] and these two unmarried women became desirable prospects, one of them marrying a priest's son in Sofia, one of the highest prizes a village girl could capture in her matrimonial venture.

[208] Since public opinion made life miserable for unmarried women,
[562] even a girl of independent temperament looked upon marriage as an inevitable event, especially if she stayed in the village. With men it
581 was different. They could choose to remain unmarried and not lose prestige in the community. People only said: "Well, Asen simply doesn't want to marry. He's a bit shy of skirts, you know."

The young men to whom I talked were outspoken in regard to those qualities which they looked for in choosing a mate: good health, industry, efficiency in the house and field, and proper care of the person. The girls, on the other hand, had little to say regarding the qualities they wanted in a husband. They seemed willing to accept whatever luck brought them. But marry they must.

584 There were many ways in which the husbands and wives had
574 become acquainted with each other. If both had been born in
883 Dragalevtsy, as was the case with a little more than half the couples, they were already aware of the other's characteristics either through personal acquaintance or hearsay. Many of the married couples had played together as children while tending the cattle in the sun-drenched pastures, only to become distant until most of the adolescent period passed. Then began frequent meetings at the fountain at sunset, shy flirtation at the *horo* and *sedenki*, or rambling conversation on the way to and from the Friday market. At the *sedenki*, held by the young people in various girls' homes on winter evenings, games involving forfeits were played. At one *sedenka* I attended, the girl giving out the penalties sent a couple obviously in love to the dark outdoors "to see what the weather was like." A few minutes later she sent a second couple out to see where the first had gone. All four of the

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With women it was quite different, since marriage for them called for major adjustments. Not only did the wife have to become accustomed to the demands and habits of her husband, but she also had to fit into the routine of her husband's parental home. In some cases she had to subordinate herself to other daughters-in-law in the household. Should she and her husband live in a separate dwelling near the husband's childhood homestead, she still was so subject to the scrutiny of the in-laws that she found it expedient to conform to their ways of doing things.

The woman, much more than the man, had to give up the companionship of her former friends to move in the group of the married women of the neighborhood. In these groups she was initiated into much of the folklore about anatomy, conception, childbirth, and child care. The frank discussion by various women of their personal experiences was enough to make any squeamish girl terrified at the very thought of becoming a mother. Continued discussion, however, made the experience eventually seem less of an ordeal; in fact, it was often a source of comfort and encouragement when her time arrived.

These neighborhood gossiping groups did much more than shock the girl into some of the realities of married life; they also informed her of the personal peculiarities of her in-laws and neighbors; they let her know what she should and should not do. And if she was one of the first of her circle of friends to marry, she could look forward to the day when one or two of them would become brides in the vicinity and could join her in the company of these older married women.

The role of these women's groups in the village was interesting and far more important than the surface informality would indicate. Recreation for the older women was generally tied up with work. Distinctions, however, should be made between the women's work groups, such as those for spinning and carding, and women's gossiping groups, in spite of the fact that the membership was the same in both groups and that gossiping was the chief recreation in both instances. In the work groups, the women were invited formally by the hostess, were fed, and were expected to stay most of the day, definitely to work. Gossiping groups, however, were much more informal, since people

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did the most talking. The women found it difficult to say which one helped the others most, because "this depends so much upon one's special knowledge of cooking, caring for the sick, and sewing." Each woman was expert in a different line, but all were willing to help in any way.

The distinction between age groups broke down when the group was hard at work, as the work was then more important than the flow of gossip. In general, the gossiping groups got together more frequently in the summertime and on Sundays. Women found their chief recreation with women, and men with men, though the men said they needed the stimulation of tavern society.

This willingness of the men to spend money for recreation and to limit their wives to the questionable joys of gossip illustrated the common saying, "Bulgaria is a man's country." A Dragalevtsy peasant saw nothing strange in the sight of a man riding a donkey while his wife trudged along behind carrying their purchases home from market. Or if a man returned alone from market, having ridden all the way in his wagon, his wife, tired from a day in the field, went out to carry in his things, saying, "He's weary and needs my help." She was always careful to make no queries about the day's activities, although she might be bursting with curiosity to know what had happened at market. She went about her work and waited until he was comfortably fed and settled, knowing full well that then she would have a complete report. Usually her husband made himself out to be the hero of each little episode, but "men are like that," she would say.

The well trained wife always deferred to her husband. If ever I asked a question in the presence of both, the woman turned her eyes to see what response her husband made. If he made a gesture as though to say, "You go ahead and answer," then she began to talk, becoming silent whenever her husband wished to interject any comments.

What was even more conclusive proof that Bulgaria was a man's country, and certainly that Dragalevtsy was a man's village, was the obedience of women to their husband's command. I asked thirty wives in the course of my family interviews:

562 "Suppose you wanted to go to market some Friday and your
181 husband thought you ought not to go, what would you do?"
593 Not a single wife would dare go to market under these circumstances. Two or three said, "I wouldn't even start for the door."

"But suppose you wanted to make some small purchases in the city and your husband disapproved, what would you do?" Only two daring ones out of the thirty said they would make these purchases if they had money.

It paid the women to "behave," because the husband did have the right to beat a disrespectful wife. I never happened upon a wife-beating, but the fact that a few husbands told me with pride, "I never beat my wife," showed me that they considered themselves exceptional.

[208] A wife who received rough treatment, especially if her husband
562 had been drinking, could go to her father's home. She could not stay
593 there very long after her mate had become sober, because her father and the village in general made her feel that her place was with her husband no matter how disagreeable he might be. Usually she waited until her husband came with a meek promise of good behavior to ask her to come back.

In those formal ways a village wife showed respect to her husband. She did not, most of the time, find them burdensome because she knew nothing else. All of her experiences from childhood to
[208] marriage had conditioned her to a subordinate role. Should any woman have tried to rebel against her lot other women would have been her most vigorous critics. They, more than the men, aided in the perpetuation of the existing order.

562 The woman, however, had a far more important place than the
581 social amenities would indicate. Men frankly admitted that they
593 could not make a living without their wives. This feeling of dependence overshadowed the traditional masculine superiority to the extent that a partnership resulted. The man, to be sure, was the senior partner, but he knew that he was a member of a team in which co-operation was essential.

This deeper sense of partnership was best shown by the practice husbands had of consulting their wives on every matter of importance as well as on minor matters. Out of twenty-six representative cases,

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"Bulgaria is a man's country."
See page 95.

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"The neighborhood gossiping groups did much more than shock the girl into some of the realities of married life . . ." *See page* 93.

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nineteen husbands always consulted their wives before doing anything such as selling a calf, hiring a servant, or building a small stable; four husbands consulted sometimes, and only three were so strong-willed and dominating that they never asked their wives' opinions. Many husbands said that their wives knew more than they did about the management of the farm, though these same wives modestly asserted that they knew very little. One man said: "That's why we are married: to ask each other." Quite a few husbands, having learned that it paid in the long run to consult the women, betrayed this by saying, "We have to ask," or "We have to listen to women."

Consulting, however, was not always the same as catering to the wives' wishes. I asked twenty-six husbands: "Suppose you had set your heart on buying something but your wife objected, what would you do?" Twelve said they would make the purchase anyway, three hedged a little in their answers, but eleven would buy nothing contrary to the wishes of their wives. This last group of eleven showed that to many men the judgment or wishes of the women meant far more than one would expect in "a man's country."

Much of a woman's hold upon her husband came about quite unconsciously on the part of either. The village wife was artless and ignorant of the wiles of a sophisticated society, but she knew that as long as she was efficient, decorous, and dutiful she could count upon continued support from her husband. She also knew that she was not in competition with adventuresses or with women, jaded and disappointed, frantically seeking excitement to enliven their days. Instead, the Dragalevtsy woman felt secure. With her there was a solemn finality about marriage to which her husband and others in the village subscribed.

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She expected no courteous gestures or terms of endearment from her husband. Her name sufficed. Only three couples out of twenty-seven used affectionate names for each other, these taking such forms as *bulka* (bride), *baba* (old woman), and the like, but never *dear*, *darling*, or *sweetheart*. One of the three men who used such names saved them for times when his wife did not listen, and then he used several to get her attention. The occidental practice of kissing was little used by the married couples, though the younger generation was

593 562 [581]

beginning to imitate "the people of the world" in this respect. As the psychological aspect of the sexual relationship between husband and wife varied with each couple, no generalization could be made except to point out that sex seemed to be a concomitant of marriage rather than the basis of marriage. Mates were picked by young men more for their potentialities as hard-working farm hands than for their sexual attractiveness. Quite often before marriage a sort of affection had grown up between the couple; more often affection came after marriage and increased as the partnership proved successful and the feeling of mutual dependence deepened.

Most of these couples freely, sometimes jokingly, admitted that they quarreled more or less, even when they were in many respects fortunately adjusted to each other. Nevertheless, in only one-third of the cases did this quarreling lead to a permanent cause of conflict.

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The disciplining of children by the husband frequently aroused the wife to indignation, but perhaps not to such a depth as did his late arrival from the tavern in an intoxicated condition. Few Bulgarian men drank to get drunk. Intoxication, when it came, was often the result of overenthusiastic observance of drinking customs. For instance, when men drank in the saloon all of them ordered drink and food not only for themselves but for the whole table, everybody paying for what he had ordered before leaving; the people always toasted health, long life, or happiness when they raised a glass of wine, beer, or whisky, at home, in the tavern, or in the field; at feasts *rakiya* was served before the people began to eat; during the meal they drank wine. A drunken man was sent out of the tavern at closing time, and it was up to him to get himself home, even though he fell down several times en route. If he was having too great a difficulty, some companions might lead him. If they were not around, the policeman or night watchman might act as guide. At his approach, the children hid and the wife became afraid. The villagers said: "Even an insane man runs away from the drunken." Sometimes in order to sober up the drunken man, people put a little urine or horse manure (substances rich with ammonia) in his mouth. The chief complaint the women made against drinking was economic, the spending of money "for nothing," as they said.

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assets. They could do hard work; they could run countless errands. 858
Later, they were the heirs to the father's fields and the chief support of the parents in their declining years.

One of the first women I interviewed about family life told me: "I had a little boy but he died when forty days old. Now I cannot help crying every St. George's Day [May 6] and every St. Dimiter's Day [November 8] when my husband goes out to hire a boy to care for our sheep. If my son had lived, he could have taken care of the sheep for us."

Later on in the course of a conversation with a garrulous *baba* I asked her if she did not think her seven children too many for one woman to have. She snorted, pointed out of the window to her sons unloading wood they had gathered in the forest, and said: "If I hadn't had lots of children, who would go to get our wood?"

Sons were greater economic assets than girls but even so would 858
have normally received more attention in this man-centered society. 562
As parents often had to go to some expense to get their daughters 593
married off, they were always jubilant at the arrival of a son. The good-natured priest was occasionally the butt of a number of sly jests because he had three daughters and no son. One man in particular, Stefan, who had been in the same predicament, had recently acquired a son, who was now the apple of his eye. He was fond of his daughters, but made no secret of his particular pride in his boy. I thoroughly enjoyed a conversation between Stefan and the priest in which Stefan fully explained how to be sure the next one was a boy. I have known of fathers who refused to look at the newly arrived infant upon learning that it was a girl. Of course, they eventually acquiesced and simply hoped for better luck next time. Where parents had no sons, village curiosity reached a peak when a new child was expected, and an occasional wager was laid on the possibility of its being a boy. But favoritism was the exception rather than the rule. When you asked a Dragalevtsy parent which child he liked best he responded: "I like them all equally; they are just like the fingers on one's hand." He often added the proverb, "The fingers on one's hand feel pain equally, do they not?"

Whenever a child suffered from a physical or mental handicap 732
Dragalevtsy parents, like most parents around the world, were more 593
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2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

for, in the words of his father, "he does not like the village work and wants something lighter. He wants to go to Sofia." The son obeyed his father most of the time as regards work assigned, but paid less attention to what his mother said. He went with any girl he liked, though his father, who in his youth married a girl of whom his parents had disapproved, insisted that if the son did the same, he would turn the son's wife out into the street. 593

This case was quite typical of most village young men. They performed, though unwillingly at times, whatever tasks their father ordered them to do, but paid little attention to the mother, since "she is a woman and doesn't understand man's work." A smaller number listened to the advice of their parents in the choice of girl friends, but most looked upon that as a personal matter in which parents should not interfere. One father who made a matter-of-fact adjustment to the situation said, "I can't keep a candle for my son in the streets," meaning that he could not go before him to light up his path.

When young men kicked against the traces, the older people did not become particularly disturbed. At times they were annoyed, but there was a general feeling that once the boy got married he would settle down to the conventional routine. This tolerant viewpoint was supported by even the staid middle-aged men, who liked to give the impression that they had been wild and troublesome in their youth. This complacency would have been less widespread if the parents had realized how greatly conditions had changed in one generation.

Unmarried daughters caused little trouble to their parents. They were ordinarily obedient to both father and mother, but, like the sons, quarrelled most often with their mothers, for they were with them more and felt that the mother loved them more than the father. Daughters in three-fourths of Dragalevtsy's homes went with any boys they chose, though some parents were firm in stating that the young man must be suitable before they gave their consent to marriage. It was highly doubtful whether this threat had much effect on the young. One father, apparently devoted to his twenty-year-old daughter, whipped her for going with young men of whom he disapproved and quarreled much with his son of eighteen. [562]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

591 562 If a daughter failed to marry, she spent the rest of her life in her father's home and received sympathy only as long as her mother was alive. Her father and married brothers thought of her as a servant in the home and treated her accordingly. Fortunately there was rarely more than one old maid at a time in Dragalevtsy.

593 855 562 The treatment of younger children, of course, varied greatly with the home. Children in Dragalevtsy were accustomed to being yelled at from their first toddling days by displeased older people. As we have already seen, there was no question about boys being preferred to girls in most homes, especially if there was only one boy among several girls. In such homes it was the boy who received the presents when the father returned from town, and who was picked up first; it was the boy whom the parents held when they asked to be photographed.

[861] Whipping, which was usually done by the father, was such an effective check on misbehavior that parents often needed only to threaten it. Another method of punishment was to withhold bread from the child for two or three hours, but, as one father said, "This doesn't always work, especially if the child begins to cry."

[357] Some parents, when they were unable to make ends meet, sent a girl off to Sofia to work as a domestic. One family revealed that five years previously a twelve-year-old daughter had been sent to be a servant in Sofia; she would never return to the village to live, nor did she ever come to visit. In this case the parents could not support an extra person, so chose the simplest way out. The fact that many Bulgarian families in cities sought female servants from twelve to eighteen years of age made such a practice possible. Indeed, on St. Dimiter's Day (November 8) and St. George's Day (May 6) there used to be a "servant bazaar" in Sofia. Village girls went to a certain place and stood in a row where housewives could look them over like heifers and choose a maid. Changes in servants, including shepherds, were ordinarily made only at these two times during the year.

593 857 Should parents find a job for a teen-aged boy, the father might require the boy to accept the job. Most boys wanted work; only a few resented working at all. If a father had more sons than he needed on the farm, he sometimes chose a trade for or with the boy. Such

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

to return or remain, the girl decided to go back to her parents. In 1937 this would have made her ineligible, in a sense, for further consideration as a wife. Now she simply explained that when the boy had asked her in advance if she would marry him she had thought that he was joking and told him "Yes," in what she considered to be a jesting manner. She was greatly surprised two weeks later to find that the boy had been serious. The whole affair turned out happily in the end because within another two weeks the young man had found a willing girl, had become engaged to her, and married her. [583] 178 593

Another evidence that the family system was having to change to meet the stress of new times was the lack of social disapproval shown to widows and widowers who married persons previously unmarried. Heretofore, only widows and widowers could marry each other, and this was chiefly because of economic necessity. Although not yet common, it was a growing practice for a widower to take a fancy to a girl whom he later married. The age of marriage was becoming lower, dropping to 18 and 19 years for many of the couples. The engagement period still lasted only one or two weeks, a time sufficient to allow the girl to make her wedding preparations. [587]

Accompanying these changes was a greater freedom among the young people both in relation to each other and in relation to their parents. The *sedenki* for young people followed practically the same patterns which I had previously observed but had not yet popularized the kissing games which featured *sedenki* in northern Bulgaria. Clandestine love-making was increasing as was the tendency on the part of the young people to pair off. [883]

The changed relationship of sons to their fathers was shown by the failure of many of the sons to turn over their earnings to their parents as part of the common family treasury. Formerly more than half of the young men had followed this practice, but estimates in 1945 placed the number at approximately one out of ten.

Of especial interest was the pattern which younger couples were establishing after marriage. Whereas, ten years ago even the young wife would have given implicit obedience to her husband's orders, today many of the families were becoming equalitarian. The older women, however, still clung to the patriarchal pattern, though they [562]

[i.e. in 1945 -- Analyst]

[562] 178 593 were willing to grant that the changes introduced by the young people were a part of the times and might not be so bad after all. In talking to these older women I noted a touch of envy, which I would not have suspected ten years ago.

In contrast to these changes many phases of the family system remained the same. These included the attitude of intolerance towards a childless couple, the role of the mother-in-law in the caring for infants, the parents' preference for boys, the reserve between father and the children, the continued dwelling of many married sons with their fathers, and the importance attached to being an older brother or sister in the family. The godparent relationship and the attitude towards the *svatovstvo* (in-law relationships) were still of major importance.

[848] The moral standards remained relatively rigid, with continuing intolerance toward illegitimacy. The one such case within the past ten years[1] had caused a great amount of unfavorable comment. The mother resolved her predicament by leaving her child with relatives in the village and marrying in another place.

178 183 Many other traditional practices besides those related to the family still maintained their strong grip on the people. The Christmas Horo took place as always and the Sunday afternoon promenade had become more firmly established. The *babi* (older women) were called in whenever illness or childbirth occurred. The smaller families, of course, numbered fewer children these days, but the *babi* were kept just as busy since the state-employed midwife no longer worked for the Obshtina. The dead were buried much the same as formerly, although the priest forbade people to cry messages to the dead while the funeral procession paused at the crossroads on the way from the home to the church.

[527] The people still made much of the mice and wolf holidays. One day after St. Dimiter's Day (November 9) the peasants continued to fast to keep the mice from coming in and eating up not only stored food but even clothes and other prized possessions. Bai Yurdan, the tailor, told me in all seriousness, "When I was in Sofia I didn't observe such holidays but now that I am back in the village I must."

1 [i.e. 1935 - 1945 -- Analyst]

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

648 that others should carry out their part of the bargain. Passions would certainly not have flamed up as they did if it had not been for the Macedonian immigrants in Bulgaria, who exerted themselves to their utmost to incite the Bulgarians against their allies, rejecting every idea of compromise and insisting on the integral attribution of [563] their native country to Bulgaria. It should be remembered that the Macedonians formed a most influential element in the political life of Bulgaria. They occupied commanding posts in all the branches of the administration and in the army, in which were some 800 officers of Macedonian origin, while the number of those who enlisted for service in the war against Turkey reached 15,000. They had always carried on a persistent propaganda in favour of involving Bulgaria in a war for the liberation of their country and the most arduous task of Bulgarian governments has been to bridle their attempts to brew trouble with the suzerain Power in Macedonia. Fanatically inspired by the idea of liberating their native country, they were utterly deaf to all counsels of prudence. Having been driven away from their native land their sole aspiration was to see it liberated so that they might return to it. Their uncompromising spirit may be gauged by the attitude of D. Rizov (the Bulgarian diplomatic agent in Rome at the time, and later nominated to the same post in Berlin), which is revealed in the Report of the Parliamentary Commision of inquiry, vol. I p. 455. He wired to Gueshov on April 25, 1913, not to concede anything to the Serbs and repulse them to the north of the Shar mountains even though this was to be achieved through a war with both Serbians and Greeks. Other Macedonians did not hesitate to threaten both Danev and Ferdinand with death whenever the former showed himself inclined to accept Russia's arbitration. There were hotheads even among the Bulgarians, like the national poet

(veil) for women, and the change from the Arabic to the Latin alphabet. 178 167 175

These fundamental reforms provoked a schism at first, and for a long time Mustafa Kemal and his followers were considered infidels by other Moslems. The Bulgarian Government, keenly aware of the potential menace presented by the compact and numerous Turkish minority, was only too happy to exploit this schism, which caused the Turks in Bulgaria to turn away from Ankara and Constantinople. 175 563

Bulgaria refused to exert any pressure on the Moslem minority to force it to organize its social and religious life along the lines advocated by the Kemalists. The Moslems were left entirely free to keep the Sheriat and the Arabic alphabet. Nothing was changed in the Turkish clergy and schools in Bulgaria. This was all the easier to effect because the separation of the Church and State, which is the core of the Kemalist reforms, had long been realized in Bulgaria by the very fact of the establishment of the Christian Bulgarian State side by side with an ethnically foreign Moslem minority. 659 175 563 795 793

Left entirely to itself, this minority, whose nationality and religion have always been scrupulously respected, organized itself on the basis of the Sheriat, which governed every phase of its civic and religious life, particularly in matrimonial matters - marriage and divorce (i. e., repudiation of the wife by the husband), as well as in the matters of inheritance.

This organization, which developed side by side with

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the Bulgarian State, was maintained by the Bulgarian authorities by means of the institution of the muftis, whose network covered all the Turkish-inhabited regions and which was centered at Sofia in the person of a Great Mufti, elected by the regional muftis. The Great Mufti was assisted by a Council elected by all the Moslems in the country. Thus, the Turkish minority not only enjoyed equal political rights with other citizens, but also was provided with a system of self-government concerning all matters regulated by the Sheriat. Such was the privileged position of the great Moslem community, which was able to support a considerable number of mosques (no less than two thousand) and schools (more than one thousand) and to publish several newspapers in its own language.

The Kemalists were extremely dissatisfied with this state of affairs. It frustrated the expansion of their reforms beyond the frontiers of Turkey. The Government in Sofia, however, took a firm stand and refused to change anything in the direction desired by Ankara. What was more, the Turks in Bulgaria, being a compact and a large group, were a source of votes for the politicians, who did much to raise their primitive standard of living. Great projects were carried out [312] by the Bulgarian State over several years whose purpose it was to provide drinking water and irrigation for the arid region of Doliorman (Northeastern Bulgaria) predominantly populated by Turks.

B. Jewish Minority

The Jews in Bulgaria numbered about 50,000 and came originally from Spain. Until the last war they lived in absolute liberty and enjoyed all the rights of Bulgarian citizens. The Jewish colony maintained about 30 synagogues, of which seven are in Sofia, three in Plovdiv, two in Pleven, one in Vidin, one in Vratza, etc., and a consistory composed of prominent men, the most notable of whom was the great Rabbi Dr. Ehrenpreiss (actually residing in Stockholm). For more than fifteen years Dr. Ehrenpreiss made a center of his residence from which Hebrew culture was propagated not only in the Balkans but in Eastern Europe as well. [162] 563 795

The Jews not only were not persecuted, but also enjoyed the sympathy of the local population. This explains the fact that, although not numerous, they controlled the greater part of Bulgarian commerce, both domestic and foreign. The relations between Bulgarians and Jews were excellent, and sometimes went even as far as inter-marriage. The wife of the last Bulgarian Minister to the United States, Dr. Bevorah, who is of Jewish descent, is a Bulgarian.

This harmony was not disturbed even after Hitler's seizure of power in Germany when, under the influence of the new regime in the Reich, national-socialist and fascist groups were also organized in Bulgaria. These groups endeavored, among other things, to incite anti-Jewish feelings among the 798 563

local population. The most active of these groups in that respect was the nationalistic organization "National Defence", under the leadership of a reserve general. Now and then the members of that organization staged a raid on some Jewish shops in Sofia where there lived no less than 20,000 Jews. But these sorties usually provoked by some discourteous act of the Jewish merchants, or of his employees, towards their Bulgarian customers, were ostracized by the government.

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The situation changed abruptly at the beginning of World War II when the victories of the German Army in France made Hitler the virtual master of Europe. Bulgaria could not but take into account this change, the more so since her government was obviously inclined toward Germany. King Boris, whose power knew no limit, appointed then to the Ministry of Interior an attorney, none too intelligent, but an ardent Germanophile, who began to apply the national-socialist principles in the country and especially the theory of the purity of the race, which was claimed to be endanged in Bulgaria too. The national-socialists were shocked by the great liberty which the Jews enjoyed in Bulgaria, and openly began to talk of its suppression. Under German pressure, the Bulgarian government began to restrict its Jewish citizens. In December 1940 it sponsored in the legislature and the latter voted a Law on the "Defence of the Nation", which deprived the Jewish citizens of their liberty and made them a lower class of citizens. The Jews were deprived of the right to serve in

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government or public institutions and in the army; the right to own landed property and movie theaters, and the right to publish newspapers or to participate in their publication. The Jews were forbidden to marry Bulgarians or hire Bulgarian maids and the Jewish children were denied admission to Bulgarian schools. Jewish participation in commerce and industry was made proportional to the Jewish population. This was very difficult to establish and resulted, therefore, in numerous abuses. Provision was made for the forcible evacuation of the Jewish population from the capital to the country, so as to remove it from the sight of the Germans, who were preparing to enter Bulgaria. Jewish youngmen, who were forbidden to fulfill their military service together with their Bulgarian fellow citizens, were sent to serve in the labor detachments organized after the first world war when the subsequent peace treaty prohibited universal military training in Bulgaria, and the Bulgarians replaced it with the so-called labor service for the utilization of the conscripts for various public works, mainly road construction. This organization was maintained after the creation of a regular army and still exists. The fact that the Jews were drafted into the labor service did not indicate discrimination. Discrimination consisted of the creation of separate units for the Jews, which, of course, were treated more severely than the others.

Nobody was pleased by this law, inspired by the desire to disprove the reproaches which the Germans were making to the

government, and King Boris, after signing the law, preferred to suspend its application for six months with the hope that events would allow him to abandon it as an unnecessary measure against public opinion. The government confined itself to the mere registration of all Jewish property, movable and immovable. However, when the German Army entered Bulgaria in March 1941, and in April, crushed and occupied Yugoslavia and Greece, anti-Jewish legislation could no longer be deferred. Since King Boris disliked to sign outright discriminatory laws, a law was passed which authorized the Council of Ministers to issue decrees designed to settle the Jewish and related questions. Another law assessed a levy of 20 percent on all property of the Jews. A third law took away from the Jews the concessional pharmacies by obliging them to liquidate their business. (In Bulgaria pharmacies are opened only with a concession from the authorities which give these concessions under strict conditions, and for strictly limited sections of the community under state control.)

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Acting on the authority of the powers given him by the legislature, the Council of Ministers established a special Commissariat for Jewish Affairs, which was given extensive powers, and which was placed under the direction of one of the most embittered persons in the country, acting in close cooperation with the German Legation in Sofia. It was this Commissariat which introduced the regime of limitations for the Jews who were required to sell all apartments and houses not used as personal residences; i.e., those which were rented, as well as the stock piles of various articles which they had

hoarded at the beginning of the war. The Jews were required to entrust the Bulgarian National Bank with all their valuables, stocks, bonds, and insurance policies, and to liquidate their participation in various commercial and industrial enterprises. Property owned by Bulgarian Jews living abroad was simply seized. In the field of liberal professions, only 53 Jews were admitted to free practice, of which 21 were attorneys, 21 physicians, 7 dentists, 3 chemists, and 1 architect; most of them were allowed to practice because they were either decorated war veterans or converts to Christianity. Special identification cards were issued to Jews, and in order to distinguish them from Bulgarians, they were forced to wear on the lapels of their coats a yellow star of David (foreign Jews and war veterans were to wear red circles). Jewish radio and telephone receivers were often abused by the pro-German part of the population; but they never lost the sympathy of the people who knew that all of this was due to the Germans.

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In Macedonia, which was occupied by Bulgarian troops but under German rule, the situation was slightly different. There were not many Jews there; they were assembled in one place, not in a concentration camp, as such a thing did not exist, but in a little town from where the Germans, one night in 1942, deported them without even informing the Bulgarian authorities, and transported them to Poland in closed freight cars.

The Germans could not treat the Bulgarian Jews in the

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same way; but they were determined to deport them with the consent of the government. To this effect they recived the cooperation of the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs and signed with the latter a formal agreement, which was ratified by the Council of Ministers, and according to which the government agreed to hand over to the German Government a certain number of Bulgarian Jews. This agreement was published by the press after a change in the government took place, but at the time it was kept strictly secret. The Jews, however, learned that they were to be sent to ~~the German~~ concentration camps and frenziedly began to look for protection. A spontaneous outburst of protests arose among the Bulgarian population, which had been badly rattled by the passage through the country of the freight trains loaded with the Macedonian Jews on its way to Romania. By the sickening scenes of the conditions of their transportation, the impression made by this action was shocking, and when it was learned that the same fate was reserved for the Bulgarian Jews, the whole country rose in a wave of protests which was expressed in thousands of letters addressed to the Court, imploring insistingly, and some even menacingly, the Head of the State to prevent this shame. The frothing created was such that the King saw himself obliged to emerge from his passiveness and to warn the Germans discreetly, but firmly, that he was not responsible for the order and the peace in the country if they continued this action. The Germans understood the warning and forsook the deportation of the Jews from Bulgaria. Instead, they

deported the Jews en masse from Sofia forcibly to two main Jewish centers in the country, namely, the towns of Pleven and Vratza. There the Jews lived unmolested until the Coup d'Etat of September 9, 1944, when the new government immediately restored them to their former status. Thus, the Bulgarian Jews, although they suffered material and moral damages, were saved from destruction, contrary to what happened in some of the other countries occupied by Germany. 656 798 563

The new government repealed all anti-Jewish legislation; all the seized or sequestered property was returned to the Jewish owners. A special decree-law was promulgated for "the settlement of the consequences of the revocation of anti-Jewish legislation affecting private property." The Jews were given full satisfaction. This was at the beginning. No laws or decrees were disclosed which would discriminate against the Jews or restrict the exercise of Jewish faith. However, the general program of nationalization of industry and commerce affected strongly the source of livelihood of many Jews in Bulgaria. Once the government had nationalized all the commerce and all the industry of the country, most of the Jews were deprived of the exercise of their trade. Since 1947, they have been emigrating en masse to Palestine. According to a letter from Israel, published in the organ of the Bulgarian National Committee "Free and Independent Bulgaria" of October 28, 1949, there already are 40,000 Bulgarian Jews in Israel, and there are only about 8,000 Jews left in Bulgaria, which are awaiting their turn to leave, with the exception of 2,000 to 3,000 at the most who are 563

tied to the Communist Party and the present government. It is, 563 167
therefore, not to be expected that they will leave Bulgaria. It must be noted, however, that by means of this organized emigration to the State of Israel, the Russians, who are the masters in Bulgaria, have succeeded in sending there a rather large number of communists and they played an important part in that country in favor of a pro-soviet orientation.

C. Roman Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church was one of the most influential 795
although Roman Catholics were not numerous in Bulgaria. Indeed, 175
Catholicism penetrated Bulgaria as early as the XVII century. It did not come directly from Rome, but through the intermediary of the then powerful Austrian monarchy, which sought to expand into Southeastern Europe and which, in order to realize the goals of that policy, was promising the Bulgarian people to liberate them from the Turkish rule at a time when Russia had not yet entered the International arena.

The pioneers of that denomination were then Bulgarian merchants with connections abroad who often visited the Dalmatian port Dubrovnik (Raguza), an important cultural center at the time. There they were won to the idea of the liberation of Bulgaria with the help of Catholic Austria, an idea encouraged by the Vatican authorities, and they frequented Vienna and Rome for political conferences. Such merchants came mostly from the small but rich town Tchiprovtsi, in the present region of Vratsa,

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where many Bulgarian children of Southern Macedonia found asylum, especially after the great insurrection of August 1903. After the Balkan War, which Bulgaria fought for the liberation of her national territories of Macedonia and Thrace from Turkish rule, but which ended disastrously for her, these two important centers of education for the Bulgarian youths were suppressed, the school buildings and their grounds having been seized by the Greek and Serbian authorities, which likewise forced all other Bulgarian schools under their jurisdiction to be closed. This brutal occupation was resented by the local population, and many disgraceful scenes took place, such as the suppression of the school in Palortzi. The order stated that instructions be changed from the Bulgarian to the Serbian language; Father and Sister Aloati declared that when they established the school, they had found nothing but Bulgarian children in that region and that, for this reason, they could not fail in their duty to teach these children in their own Bulgarian language. This courageous declaration was unanimously supported by the students, who declared that they were Bulgarians and that they had no desire to learn the Serbian language. The order to change the language which was repeated several times was not carried out. One day a detachment of Serbian police invaded the grounds of the school with the official notice that either the curriculum was going to be Serbianized, or the school was to be evacuated immediately. The teachers and students remained firm in their attitude and preferred

exile to renunciation of the Bulgarian character of the school. With their few belongings that they managed to salvage, they sought refuge in Bulgaria,

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The Uniate movement did not expand after the establishment of the Exarchate in 1871 and the creation of a Bulgarian State in 1879. The towns of Adrianople and Kukash were devastated and almost destroyed by the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913. Turkey and Greece soon thereafter expelled most of the Bulgarian population of these regions. The Uniates among them were dispersed throughout Bulgaria and disappeared as an organized religious community.

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Between the two world wars a powerful Catholic action was begun by Italy in the Balkans and particularly in Bulgaria. This action was carried out by a special religious organization called "Pro Oriente". It did not, however, pursue religious aims but pure Italian propaganda and there is beyond the scope of this report.

The foreign denominations, however, have even enjoyed the greatest freedom in Bulgaria, this freedom being consecrated by the Constitution itself (see supra) and were under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which also took care of the ecclesiastic affairs of the Bulgarian Church. The Constitution of 1879 had created in this Ministry a bureau in charge of the denominations.

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The need for a special law for the foreign denominations was not even felt under the pre-war regime. Such a law was not

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8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

2. The census made by General Charpy, Governor general of Western Thrace from 1918 until 1920, respectively by the Allied occupational forces in Western Thrace, in March 1920. This census was incomplete, because it was made when the Bulgarians were fleeing from their native places and the Greeks were bringing in their „refugees" instead. 162

Bulgarian Christians	69.154
Bulgarian Moslems	11.739
Bulgarians total	80.839
Turks	73.220
Greeks	51.706
Others	6.803
Total	212.622

In spite of the unfriendly attitude and behaviour of the French chief in command of the East, Franchêt d'Eperey, towards anything that was Bulgarian, the sympathies were still with the Bulgarians. This is what Paul Roussel, the Allied Financial Director of the region, brought to the knowledge of Franchêt d'Eperey: „Two peoples contend the future of this country, if we leave aside the Turks, who are to return to the land of their origin... There is nothing left, of what we admire of their past, in the present-day Greeks... There is no doubt that the future belongs to this youthful and sturdy people, the Bulgarians, who are gifted with the rare capacity for work, honesty and saving." 563

34. The Spirit of the Bulgarian population and the Terror Exercised over it. The terror exercised over the Bulgarian population in Western Thrace after the Balkan War, during 1913 and 1914, was in no way less cruel than the one applied in Macedonia. Thousands of schemes were engineered to expel this population from its native lands. Numerous documents show us how bold and enlightened the spirit of this population was in the time of the Turkish domination, however. The Bulgarian peasant population around the city of Drama wanted to have their own Bulgarian bishop and they sent away the Greek bishop of Drama in 1872. The Greek bishop in Drama reported to the Patriarchate;

563 „The Bulgarians are simply wild in the region north of Drama... In all that region the language of the people is Bulgarian and this helps greatly the plans of the Bulgarians. Whole districts, belonging to the Drama eparchate and some communities, seceded to join the exarchate.[1]) But the Lord of truth and justice is more powerful than people, armament, fire and death."

So spoke this pastor and went on to say how he betrayed Bulgarian rebels of the same region to the Turkish authorities: „The soldiers put on fire the house in which the bandits were found and all were going to perish, had they not escaped by the roof of the house... With daggers in their hands and firing at the royal soldiers... they fled to the mountains. Here are the results: in the village of Volak[2]) (I do not know how that was allowed) the church services were done formerly in turns, one day in Greek and one day in Slavic, by ours and by schismatics. Immediately after that, I forbade these alternating services and now we officiate only in Greek. Half of the school was in the hands of Bulgarians, but now it is completely in the possession of the Orthodox (the Greeks). But what is most pleasing (says this naive Greek bishop) now is that all of them bow to the Patriarch and so our God is established firmly in the whole district", and ends his letter „and may the Lord, who comforts the meek, comfort and relieve us, Amen". The same Drama bishop writes: „We were greatly surprised and grieved when we learned to-day that in the holy church of your village[2]) the chanter Christo sang from Easter until to-day in Bulgarian, regardless of the fact that the whole village had accepted orthodoxy, in accordance with the sacred and divine instructions and orders of our confession. These things are forbidden and we command you to discontinue from to-day on this confused and arbitrary behaviour of the chanter or otherwise we will punish him severely even with the help of the state authorities. May the Lord's mercy be with you!" Let us quote the contents also of a letter addressed to a village by the Greek vicar in Drama. It is a gem of Greek Church impertinence and characterizes the whole period of church bar-

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[1]) The Bulgarian National Church.

[2]) Volak, a purely Bulgarian village.

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

barism. „We warned you in our recent letters, by order of our respected bishop, that you were to employ only the Greek language in the holy church of your village, as this is the language sanctified by the apostles and our holy fathers, and the language in which the holy and grand name of our Saviour should be glorified. Our letters and our recommendations, however, seem to have been disregarded by some of your people, who dare use the Bulgarian language in the church services. We are duty bound to give you strict instructions and to require that you should not allow any more like profanation of the holy service and liturgy. The Bulgarian language is not recognized by the church, on the contrary, it is forbidden and rejected by the Holy Synod and by the Great Christian Church..." (November 10, 1903). 563

A country Greek woman teacher wrote to the bishop: „Yesterday I sent the country guard of Pleven[1]) to fetch the three boys who refused to come by order of their parents. The same negative answer was received from Egri-Déré. I am left with only two girls and am at sea as to what to do. I don't doubt that you at least would send me two comforting words." (September 19, 1911.[2])

We found it appropriate to draw attention to the above letters and information, which, though coming from only one of the Bulgarian districts (that of Drama), would be sufficiently instructive of the methods which all Greek church authorities applied throughout the Bulgarian lands.

35. A Comparison Between Bulgarian and Greek Schools, 1904. The noted French writer, Victor Berard,[3]) who is a friend of the Greeks, reports the following: „It would be sufficient to compare the Bulgarian schools in Macedonia to the other schools there, in order to notice the difference immediately. The Greeks, who 563 871

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[1]) A purely Bulgarian village in the county of Drama.

[2]) Georgieff & Shishkoff, La Macédoine Orientale du Sud. II. Recherches et documents, 1918; Philippople.

[3]) Victor Berard, Pro Macedonia, Paris, 1904, p. 40; cf. D. Misheff Die Wahrheit über Makedonien, Bern, 1918, pp. 37-38.

 [Western Thrace]

563 have applied our old methods in training the students of their secondary schools in that literature and non-partizan culture, 871 which gave France the „honest" men of the 18th century, have filled to-day the Greek museum with babblers and politicians, physicians, deputies, ministers and lawyers. The curriculum of the Bulgarian gymnasias (high schools) in Macedonia is entirely different. The Bulgarian high schools give the Macedonians useful knowledge in the letters and sciences. They train them to know the present day world and to take account of actualities. They make them citizens of the 20th century, who are able to take care of themselves and to do justice and service to their own country.

„One single visit to a Bulgarian and to a Greek school will bring out the difference. In the first school the student handles a test tube, in the other he breaks his head over Demosthenes and the fallen warriors of the Marathon battlefield.

563 „The Greeks despise the Macedonian Bulgarian students in the same manner, like our gentlemen „classics" in our liceums used to despise the modern workers at one time. The Greek considers the Macedonian still as a slave and this awful contempt will continue to embarass the future of the Hellens for a long time.

„The Greeks assume an eternal monopoly on the culture and ideas of the East. They consider themselves the sole fighters for civilization and success and imagine themselves to be the only support of Europe against Asia. They see Bulgaria as she was 25 years ago: the competitor of the Cossack and the carrier of ignorance and barbarism. Obsessed by this imaginary right of monopoly, they entertain most delightful hopes... and when friends of theirs (among whom I have the right to consider myself) advise them to take note of Bulgarian culture and of the idea of Macedonia, they should not shrug their shoulders or raise offensive objections. If you talk to an Athenian about Bulgarians (and this I know from personal experience) without applying the contemptuous adjectives of „rough" and „wild", he would think that you were either a „Bulgarophile" or that you were bribed."

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

[Western Thrace]

36. Greek Atrocities Committed against the Bulgarians during 1920-1940. The Bulgarian population began to flee, as soon as the Greek occupation took effect in 1920.[1]) This exodus was justified because of the application of the Greek methods of imprisonment, beating,

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Fig. 10. After the occupation of Western Thrace by Greece in 1920, the Bulgarian population, which constituted the majority of the inhabitants of the District, was subjected to an outrageous persecution, banishment and forced expatriation. The above map, borrowed from E. von Seidlitz'sche Geographie, II. p. 757, shows the artificial increase of the population of Western Thrace during 1920—1928 due to this fatal displacement of population. This displacement, however, did not push forward the economic life of this country. On the contrary the economic situation there became extensive, because the Greeks are generally neither agricultural nor cattle raising people like the Bulgarians who are the basic population of the province. D = Dedeagatch, K = Kavalla, Ko = Gjumurdjina, Dr = Drama, Sal. = Salonica.

[1]) After the Peace Conference of San Remo, 19-26. IV. 1920.

563 167 banishment and economic spoliation against the Bulgarians. It brought them misery, sickness and death. This is a long story and space prevents us to tell it even in brief on this occasion (Fig. 10).

Bulgarians were exiled to the islands of Crete, Milos, Citera, Mitilene and Chios and to some parts of the Greek main land. Nearly 25,000 Bulgarians were banished in this manner. Many of them died of hunger and distress — particularly old people and children. Two hundred persons died in the village of Domus-Déré. Those who were lucky to return alive found their villages ruined and pillaged. Colonel Korf and Major Deroover, who were delegates in the mixed Bulgarian-Greek Commission on expatriations, reported: „Those who were sent to exile formed lines, which continued for weeks, during the months of February and March of 1923. The expatriation from each village was effected without delay. The unprepared villagers started on their jorney without any personal effects, abandoning their property and their crops. About 15,000 to 20,000 families were thus exiled to the islands and Thesally. To save themselves from exile many took refuge in Bulgaria... Banished Bulgarians, who managed to survive, were brought back from the islands and from Thesally in the fall of 1923. Their condition was destitute and lamentable. They pleaded that Bulgaria should open her frontiers and accept them on her territory, because they found their homes empty and were dying of hunger and cold."

727 563 **37. Modern Greek Cruelties.** Basil II Vulgaroctonos or the „Slayer of Bulgarians", in 1014, bored the eyes of 15,000 Bulgarian captives and left, for each group of 100, one single eyed guard to lead them. Greek cruelty towards anything that savours of Bulgarian, has not diminished since that time. Because of the generally milder and more humane attitude of the world of to-day, Greek cruelty should appear to have been softened a bit; but this really is a delusion, because, on the contrary, the Greeks manifest now a days the same inclinations.

The investigation made by a commission of the Carnegie Endowment after the mutual accusations of cruelties after the Balkan War, 1912-1913, has furnished us with an abundant evidence of Greek cruelty, which explains the Bulgarian depopulation of Western Thrace. We find the following in the intro-

duction to the repport of this investigations whose acting Director was Nicolas Murrey Butler: [1]) 727 563

„The circumstances which attended the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 were of such character as to fix upon them the attention of the civilized world. The conflicting reports as to what actually occured before and during these wars, together with the persistent rumors often supported by specific and detailed statements as to violations of the laws of war by the several combatants, made it important that an impartial and exhaustive examination should be made of this entire episode in contemporary history... It was with this motive and for this purpose that the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace constituted in July, 1913, an International Commission of Inquiry to study the recent Balkan Wars and to visit the actual scenes where fighting has taken place and the territory which has been devasted... [2])

We give the following extract from the repport:

„(p. 103). The Commission regrets that the attitude of the Greek governement toward its work has prevented it from obtaining any official answer to the charges which emerge from this evidence. The broad fact that the whole of this Bulgarian region, for a distance of about one hundred miles, was devasted and nearly (p. 104) every village burned, admits of non denial... No verdict which is based on the evidence collected by the Commission could be more severe than that which Greek soldiers have pronounced upon themselves. It happened that on the eve of the armistice (July 27) the Bulgarians captured the baggage of the Nineteenth Greek infantry regiment at Dobrinishte (Razlog). It included its post-bags...

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[1]) Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars; publ. by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Intercourse and Education; publication No 4; Washington D. C., 1914.

[2]) The Presidence of this International Commission was entrusted to Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, Senator of France, who had represented his country at the First and Second Hague Conference of 1899 and 1907; Members of the Commission: Austria — Dr. Josef Redlich, Prof. of Public Law; University of Vienna; Germany — Dr. Walter Schückling, Prof. of Law at the University of Marburg; Great Britain — Francis W. Hirst, Esq., Editor of The Economist an. Dr. H. N. Brailsford, journalist; Russia — Prof. Paul Milioukoff, Member of the Douma; United States — Dr. Samuel T. Dutton, Prof. in Teachers' College, Columbia University,

S. Dobroff, X-4, (no date) F46 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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The soldiers' letters require no commentary. Some of the writers boast of the cruelties practiced by the Greek army. Others deplore them. The statements in fact (see Appendix C, No 51) are simple, brutal, and direct, and always to the same effect. These soldiers all state that they everywhere burned the Bulgarian villages. Two boast of the massacre of prisoners of war. One remarks that all the girls they met were violated. Most of the letters dwell on the slaughter of incombatants, including women and children. These few extracts, each from a separate letter, may suffice to convey their general terror:

„By order of the King we are setting fire to all the Bulgarian villages because the Bulgarians burned the beautiful town of Serres, Nigrita, and several Greek villages.[1])

„We have shown ourselves far more cruel than the Bulgarians... Here we are burning the villages and killing the Bulgarians, both women and children... We took only a few (prisoners), and these we killed, for such are the orders we have received... We have to burn the villages — such is the order — slaughter the young people and spare only the old people and the children... What is done to the Bulgarians is indescriptible; also to the Bulgarian peasants. It was a butchery. There is not a Bulgarian town or village but is burned... We massacre all the Bulgarians wo fall into our hands and burn the villages... Of the 1200 prisoners we took at Nigrita, only forty-one remain in the prisons, and everywhere we have been we have not left a single root of this race... We picked out their eyes (five Bulgarian prisoners) while they were stil alive... The Greek army sets fire to all the villages where there are Bulgarians and massacres all it meets. ... God knows where this will end."

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[1]) Cf. ibid, p. 94: „The cases against the Bulgarians which remains after critical examination of the evidence relating to Dexato, Serres and Demir-Hissar is sufficiently grave. In each case the Bulgarians acted under provocation and in each case the accusation is grossly exagerated, but their reprisals were non the less laxles and unmeasured. It is fair, however, to point out that these three cases, even on the worst view which may be taken by them, are far from supporting the general statements of some Greek writers, that the Bulgarians in their withdrawl from southern Macedonia and western Thrace, followed a general policy of devastation and massacre. They held five considerable Greeco-Turkish towns in this area and many smaller place — Drama, Kavala, Xanthi, Gumurdjina and Dedeagatch. In none of these did the Bulgarians burn and massacre, through some facts of violence occured."

8. Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1540 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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„These letters relieve us of the task of summing up the evidence. From Kukush to the Bulgarian frontier the Greek army devasted the villages, violated the women, and slaughtered the noncombatant men. The order to carry out reprisals was evidently obeyed. We repeat, however, that these reprisals began before the Bulgarian provocation. A list of Bulgarian villages burned by the Greek army which will be found in Apendix C (No 52) convey some measure of this ruthless devastation. At Serres Bulgarians destroyed 4000 (p. 106) houses in the conflagration which followed the fighting in the streets. The ruin of this considerable town has impressed the imagination of the civilized world. Systematically and in cold blood the Greeks burned one hundred and sixty Bulgarian villages and destroyed at least 16.000 Bulgarian homes. The figures need no commentary."

A large part of the population fled to Bulgaria. Considerable part of them were butchered or drowned in the sea like Bostandjieff, the Secretary of the Salonica municipality and the Vicar of the Bulgarian Archbishorpric at Salonica, the Archimandrite Eulogius. The latter was a highly educated man, having studied at an eclesiastical high school in Austria-Hungary and then in Paris[1]. — The Archimandrite Eulogius lived his last on June 18/July 1.[1])

A witness described the scene of the murder of Reverend Father Eulogius in the following words:[2])

„We were a number of soldiers on board the steamer Catherine. I happened to stand a little apart. The Greek soldiers ordered our people to go down into the hold. When I found myself alone I was afraid of being thrown out of the ship and held my breath. At this moment the Vicar of our Archibishopric, the Rev. Father Eulogius, was brought up and two Greek soldiers having hastily robbed him transfixed him with their bayonets and threw him into the sea. I saw his long black hair floating for some time on the water, and then everything disappeared."

Considerable part of the Bulgarian population was butchered or drowned like Bostandjieff or Rev. Father Eulogius,

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[1]) Ibid. p. 189.
[2]) Ibid. p. 191.

S. Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no. date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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or interned on the island of Thrakiri and died there in martyrdom.

The town of Kukush (Kikis) and 30 villages of this country were among the inhabitated localities which were rased to the ground. The three villages of Negovan, Ravna and Bogoroditza in the vicinity of Salonica were also burned.

The fact that the main streets of all Macedonian and Thracian towns are named after Basil II, the Slayer of Bulgarians, shows how little the Greek has advanced in the last quarter of a century. There was a street even in Salonica, which was named after King Constantine Voulgaroctonos (Slayer of Bulgarians), who ordered the butchery of Bulgarians in 1914 and the burning of their villages.

38. The Greek „Voulgarophaghi". 1913.

We read in the report of the Carnegie Investigation Commission the following[1]);

„The Greek army went into the war, its mind inflamed with anger and contempt. A gaudily colored print, which we saw in the streets of Salonica and Pireaus, eagerly bought by the Greek soldiers returning to their homes, reveals the depth of the brutality to which this race hatred had sunk them. It shows a Greek evzone (highlander) holding a living Bulgarian soldier with both hands, while he gnaws the face of his victim with his teeth, like some beast of prey. It is entitled the Bulgarophagos (Bulgar-Eater), and is adorned with the following verses:

„The sea of fire which boils in my brest
And calls for vengeance with the savage waves of my soul,
Will be quenched when the monsters of Sofia are still.
And the life blood extinguishes my hate.

„Another popular battle picture shows a Greek soldier gouging out the eyes of a living Bulgarian. A third shows as an episode of a battle scene the exploit of the Bulgar eater."

„As an evidence of the feeling which animated the Greek army these things have their importance. They mean, in plain words, that Greek soldiers wished to believe that they and their comrades perpetrated bestial crueltics. A print seller

[1]) Ibid. p. 95-96.

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

who issued such pictures in a western country would be held guilty of a gross libel on its army." (Fig. 11). 727 563

Fig. 11. This picture is borowed from the Report of the International Commission (Carnegie Endowment) pp. 96-98 and shows the Greek „Bulgarophaghi" or „Eaters of Bulgarians", as they themselves have given the picture. Bulgarian villages in flames are seen in the background. (1913).

But let us stop at that. The records of the injustices and cruelties, committed for ages against the Bulgarians, are enormous and voluminous. So that we should not think of Bulgaria, like many a casual sentimentalist do, as only the land of the sweet scent of roses. Bulgaria is the land of great trials and tribulations, which need be known to anyone who has 000

S.P.
B Sofia. According to Broch they start directly on the Serbian frontier,
101 at Kriva Feia, to the east of Varna, and are distinguished from the other Bulgars by their costume (white breeches) and their physignomy. Some observers see in them an ancient Slavified Thracian tribe, the Sapaioi. Thus some people have found in the name of the Ruptsi the former Greek name of Merope, which has lost its first unaccented syllable.

Moreover, the Bulgars of the east call even the inhabitants of Vratsa and of Trun, by the name of Schopi even though they themselves do not use the name. If one were to believe Miletic, it is in the village of Mechka, on the road from Nikopol to Pleven, that the Khrtsoi stop and the Schopi begin. Formerly the Schopi did not cross Isker (now Sibir).

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101 Let us again mention that in the various sections of Bulgaria here exist communes which are called Arnaut, or in other words Albanian (Arnaoutlar), for example in the districts of Varna, Provadia, Razgrad, and Kermen. The inhabitants of these villages are partly of an origin neither Slavo-Albanian nor Greek. They are called the Arnaut because they came from Macedonia, notably from the regions of Kostur and of Voden. Such are the pretended Arnaut of Silistria, 210/ Razgrad, and Bratsigovo. On the contrary, the often repeated thesis which attributes a Slavic origin to the Tsakoniens and to the Mainotes of southern Greece must be considered to be without foundation.

B
795 In the northeastern section of Bulgaria live the Gagauz. They are Christians who speak Turkish. A certain number of Gagauz speak Bulgarian and declare that they are Bulgars. Some persons consider them to be the descendants of Turkized Bulgars.

The Gagauz of the coast are settled at Varna and in some communes at Kestrich, Kara-Hussein, Djevizliji, Djaperliji, Ala Klise Giaur Suiutchuk, Eni Kioi, Kavarna, and Biela. The Bulgarian Gagauz are settled in several communes in the outskirts of Varna and of Provadia and especially in the village of Beidaut in the Dobrudja. There is no agreement as to the origin of the Gagauz. Jirecek considers them as the descendants of the Cumaeans, Mochov as the Karakalpak of the Russian chroniclers, Zanetov as the ancient Bulgars of the Volga.

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101 Many Bulgarian Gagauz to be found also in Bessarabia, in the

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travelers, dressed in their brightest, newest garments, were speeded on their way. The friends and relatives loaded them with money and presents of clothing, food, and wool, which the pilgrims were to donate to the great and holy monastery. The whole ceremony of leave-taking was made a part of the bright landscape by the flowers everywhere—on the dress of the pilgrims, fastened to the gifts, and carried in huge bunches. Upon their return a few days later the dusty pilgrims were met at the outskirts of the village and escorted home through the blue twilight by those eager to hear of every adventure during the days and nights in the great mountains, whose jagged walls have protected Rila Monastery for hundreds of years. 788 181

Formal piety, as shown in pilgrimages, was only one of the major characteristics which these Bulgarian villagers possessed. The Dragalevtsy people, especially the men, were predominantly literate. Bulgaria, despite what seems a forbidding Cyrillic alphabet, has the highest rate of literacy of all Balkan countries, a fact which can be attributed to the tendency to regard education as a panacea for individual and social ills. While only 44 per cent of the women over fifteen years of age could read and write, 92 per cent of the men were literate. Of course, I often came upon groups of peasants crowded around a friend slowly spelling out a newspaper article aloud, but these little clusters of attentive listeners originated because of the scarcity of newspaper subscribers, not necessarily because of illiteracy. 212

The Dragalevtsy people were also law-abiding. During the first three years I knew the village, and informants said that the record went much farther back than that, no Dragalevtsy peasant had been taken to Sofia for imprisonment. There was no local jail, nor any need for one. This was not a sign of the inefficiency of local police, but rather an indication of the peaceable and honest traits of the people. 181 697

In many other characteristics the villagers shared what have come to be known as the universal "rural virtues," for theirs was an agrarian way of life. More than three-fourths of the family heads were peasant proprietors. In addition to these, there were two other occupational groups: the intellectuals and the artisans. Despite their small number, the intelligentsia, as they were called by the peasants, were the most influential group in the community. Whenever the [181] 463 565 524 361 517

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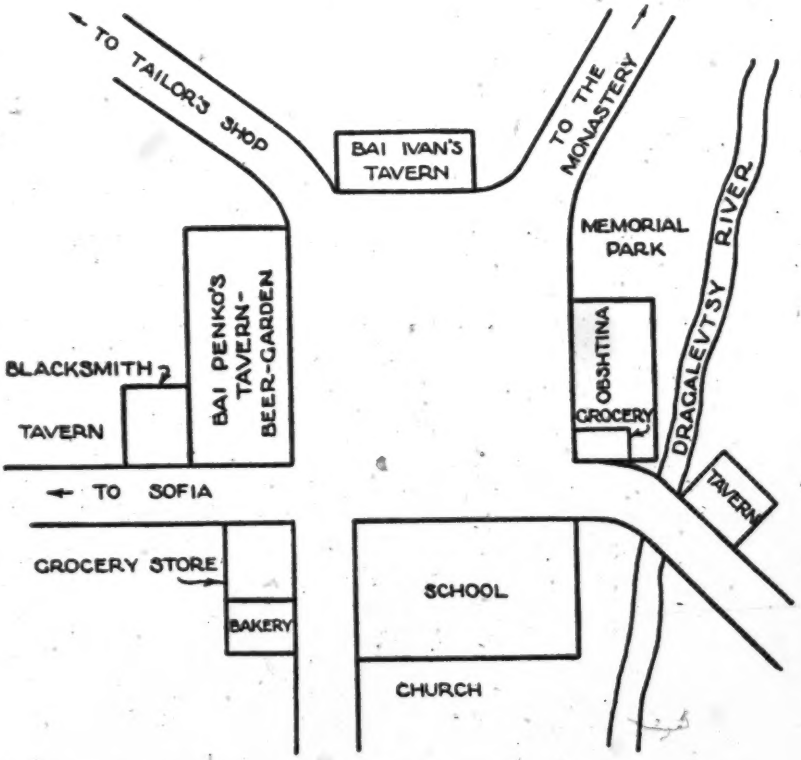

Renaissance Square, the focal point of Dragalevtsy's communal life

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weather was agreeable I was sure to find several of them playing cards in front of Bai Penko's tavern on the northern side of Renaissance Square, where the winter *horo* was held. Even though they sat engrossed in their game, they could still keep an eye on what was happening in the village, since this square was the focal point of community life. The mayor, for instance, could watch the Obshtina, or municipal building, across the square, as well as all traffic that entered this rocky plot of ground on its way to the city of Sofia below or to the monastery higher up Mount Vitosha. The priest could look past the modern school building, flanking the western side of the square, to the church just beyond. The village doctor's husband was near in

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case his wife needed him, although he invariably grumbled in his native Russian upon being called away from the game. A fourth hand during the summer was a reserve army officer whose intense love for German efficiency and ideology and whose contempt for the "ignorant, unreliable peasant" became bywords in the community. Peasants sitting on the porch of Bai Ivan's tavern on the eastern side of the square could observe with seeming indifference the intelligentsia at play, distracted though they were at times by the fervent temperance lectures delivered by the tavern keeper's daughter-in-law whenever she placed a glass of *rakiya* in front of a customer.

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These intelligentsia proved to be interesting people. The mayor had a good education, completed by the study of law in Russia. His father had been a priest in Boyana, a village just four miles to the west, so the mayor, himself a *Shop,* knew the workings of the peasant mind. When he was sent to the village as mayor back in 1934, after the *coup d'état* of that year abolished all elections and deprived many local officials of their jobs, he issued a flowery proclamation which contained such thoughts as these:

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> Therefore, as I take up my duties, desiring greatly to use the small abilities that I possess for the economic and cultural uplift of the villages included in the commune entrusted to my care, I wish to express my good feelings of loyalty and friendliness and attachment to the population and to certify that I am ready to work for the uplift of our commune and to be the loyal conveyor of its economic and cultural interests and needs.
>
> Imbued with the idea that we are all members of the same family, sons of mother Bulgaria, let us forget the recent past of shameful partisan struggles and begin to live as genuine brothers—Bulgarians filled with mutual love, patience, harmony, respect, and good will.
>
> Let us do our duty to these beautifully situated villages, perched on the slope of Mount Vitosha, and make them attractive gardens, with culture, and places of merriment and songs.

The people soon learned that the mayor when excited talked so rapidly that he failed to enunciate clearly, and they always enjoyed mimicking this mannerism. They did not particularly resent his management of their affairs, despite the fact that he had been sent by the central government which gave local communes no choice in

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875 were turned over to Greece and Yugoslavia, respectively, after the first World War; while Dimiter was from the section of Thrace which Bulgaria was forced to surrender. Since the teachers had such backgrounds it was no wonder that adorning one of the classrooms was a sign, "NEMA MIR DOKATO NEUILLY" or "There will be no peace as long as the Treaty of Neuilly is in force."

The director of the school was a vigorous woman with splendid preparation for her task. She told me on several occasions how disappointed she was that her teachers took so little interest in helping the peasants improve their way of life. They were supposed to spend Sunday afternoons visiting the homes of their pupils in an effort to advise parents in matters of child care and standards of hygiene. Actually, the teachers, being all too human, preferred to spend the week end in Sofia rather than reform the unenthusiastic adults.

[565] 527 659 The intelligentsia were usually seen in their glory at some great occasion such as the celebration of an important holiday. The event which caused most excitement during my six years of residence in Bulgaria was the birth of Prince Simeon, heir apparent to the throne of his father, King Boris. The exercises which were held in Dragalevtsy four days after the royal birth in 1937 showed how the intellectuals worked hand in hand, since the school, the church, and the state were so closely allied.

[796] The crowd had to wait at least forty-five minutes for the priests from the monastery who were to help Father Sava with the liturgy of the *vodosvet,* or consecration of the holy water, whose sprinkling gave official religious recognition to the closing of the school year. Then the mayor began to speak the high-sounding phrases which the villagers loved to hear. He told them how significant for Bulgaria was the birth of Prince Simeon.

> June Sixteenth [he said] will be written in golden letters in the history of Bulgaria. June Sixteenth marks the day when an heir was born to the throne of Bulgaria. Our school house has no name, so I recommend that we petition for the right to call our school "Prince Simeon II." The first Simeon who reigned a thousand years ago was called Simeon the Great. I feel sure that Simeon the Second will likewise go down in history as Simeon the Great.
>
> [871] In honor of this great occasion, the Government has decreed that the marks of every student will be raised, so that no one will fail in any subject. [Hurrah!

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Hurrah!] That's right; nobody will fail. No pupil will repeat the class next year! [Hurrah! Hurrah!] All deportment marks likewise will be raised and anyone who has been expelled from school will be accepted back on probation. The government is cancelling over a billion leva in unpaid taxes and is freeing thousands of prisoners . . . . [871]

Before he finished he led the children, and such adults as would join, in further cheers for Prince Simeon, for King Boris, and for Queen Iovanna. After the school choir had sung the national anthem and the "Hymn to the King," all filed inside for the official graduation exercises. There were more patriotic songs and at least twenty declamations with such titles as "Three Days at the Battle of Shipka," "To our Teachers," "A Prayer to God," "I Like the Priest," "I am a Temperance Girl," and "Nature." Displays of the children's handwork, as well as these recitations, brought some recognition to the teachers who had worked behind the scenes. 527 659 871

The director in her remarks thanked the mayor and the priest profusely and the parents casually for the help they had rendered during the past year. When she was about to present the diplomas, such bedlam broke loose that few could hear the compliments she paid the brightest pupils, who had received as special awards from the mayor books on war and religion. The exercises concluded with the presentation of a large bouquet from the pupils to the school director, who politely accepted the flowers on behalf of all the teachers.

The intelligentsia just described had more importance than their village duties seemed to indicate. They were the channels through which the national state, the national church, and the national school system expressed themselves. No member of this select group was Dragalevtsy-born. Their high status rested not only upon the influence they wielded as representatives of powerful institutions, but also upon the fact that they were educated. Education, along with the patient accumulation of land and money, was one sound way of raising one's social position, and those who had persevered in its pursuit received due honor. As one father said to his son upon sending him to school: "If you don't study you will plow, sow, and work in the fields, and where will you get then?" 565 554 [555]

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"Since the World War there has been much change. Men stopped wearing their narrow white trousers which belted below the hips because they saw during the war that pants that belted above the hips were better. The women changed to lighter clothes because a woman from Vladaya [another village] came with others to visit here, married a Dragalevtsy man, and settled here. Other women saw that the clothes she wore were more convenient and began to adopt the new style."

The tailor's customers brought their own cloth. Five or six of the more fashion-minded young women brought dresses from other villages to be copied. A girl before marriage accumulated about twenty black *sukmani* (jumper dresses), all of the same pattern. She wore out about three of these a year. The men had one black and one rough everyday suit.

Much of the cloth was dyed at home by the peasants with the use of commercial dyes. Black was the universal color for men except in the case of the old style white trousers. If any man deviated from this fashion, people said mockingly, "You are a gypsy," thereby reminding him that he had better act like other people or run the risk of additional social disapproval.

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Shoes in Bulgaria were definitely a sign of social rank. *Tsarvulin* or "sandal-wearer," once a common term for farmer or peasant, has been somewhat displaced by *selenin* or "villager." As a matter of fact, most men in Dragalevtsy continued to wear the pigskin sandals, whereas all self-respecting village women possessed a pair of cheap western shoes. Comically enough, they frequently walked barefoot and carried these uncomfortable badges of status. Just the same, these shoes periodically needed the services of a cobbler, who in Dragalevtsy happened to be the youngest married son of Bai Milush, a highly respected peasant proprietor. Three sons, their wives and progeny comprised part of the twenty people living in Bai Milush's patriarchal dwelling. As the land which will someday be divided up among the sons was limited, each son agreed to specialize along some particular line: the oldest was the dairyman, the middle son was the crop expert, and the youngest married son (and, incidentally, the most delicate in health) was a cobbler, whom the family agreed to send to a trade school in Sofia. Because he drove in his wooden pegs with the best of them, he was building up a profitable business in the village.

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[651] people living in the district, been a part of the village Obshtina. This
178 area had always been referred to by the villagers as the Mahala, or
369 Quarter.

4. Repairs in the village, such as putting a wooden bridge back into commission after a heavy storm, could be made only after the Sofia authorities gave their approval. Thus, maintenance of roads and other services in the village were said to suffer.

[759] 5. No longer did the village have its own doctor, and it had even lost, so the villagers said, all the medical equipment including microscopes and blood-testing units which the village Obshtina had once owned. Instead, a doctor came at irregular intervals to render whatever medical services were required. This loss of medical equipment, even more than the loss of the physician's services, was a hard pill for some of the more active village leaders to swallow.

6. In place of the veterinarian, who formerly lived in the village, one came twice a week to examine animals and to see that the various veterinary regulations were observed.

But whether they liked it or not, the Dragalevtsy people were a part of Sofia, even to the extent of being included in the city's wartime rationing system. The old rural-urban differences persisted, reminding Americans of similar situations in the United States where the businessman's daylight saving time was anathema to the farmer.

159 As I tried to reconstruct the chief occurrences of the years in-
● 565 tervening between my departure in 1937 and the end of the war, I inquired often as to the whereabouts of some members of the intelligentsia whom I had known well. I learned that the mayor, who had been so helpful during my earlier visit, had given up his post during the days of German collaboration. Apparently he had disagreed with the local committee as to procedures and amounts of grain to be requisitioned from the peasants. He had already been suffering from ill health and could no longer stand the pressure of troubles, arguments, and dissatisfactions which each day brought to his office. From Dragalevtsy my mayor friend had been transferred to the picturesque village of Panchevo, which I shall long remember because of the lunch I had there one summer's day many years ago.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

A friend and I had been cycling on the road which followed the Iskar River and stopped at a Panchevo inn. The waiter brought us white peasant cheese, wrinkled brined olives, and freshly made bread to which warm ashes clung. Cold beer made a perfect drink. 159 585

The village priest, who had become such an integral part of village life and managed to keep harmonious relationships between the church and the state functionaries, was no longer in Dragalevtsy. Three years ago he had become involved in an administrative argument with his superior and was told to transfer to a much less desirable parish. Rather than make this shift he went to live in Sofia where, true to his training in finance and commerce, he had a share in a small business enterprise. He still wore his priestly garb, occasionally officiating in a Sofia church. Someone described him as "a minister without portfolio."

The directress of the school was the only member of the intelligentsia who had stuck to her post through thick and thin. She still took the same interest in the all-around development of the children, emphasizing in particular their hygienic training and their religious tuition. There had been considerable shifting in the membership of her teaching staff, but she still had five teachers who, like their predecessors, were more interested in Sofia week ends than village welfare.

The Sekretar Birnik, who had much to do with the collection of taxes and thus enjoyed a social standing out of line with his educational preparation, had also left Dragalevtsy and had been replaced by a local person.

It seemed strange to visit the now completed municipal building and to find the woman doctor no longer there and to notice the absence of her husband from the taverns where he had enjoyed playing cards. Since both were White Russians they knew that their lot under the Communists would be full of uncertainty. No one seemed to know just where they had gone.

Much had been happening to the village organizations as the intelligentsia faded from the scene or were replaced by others with different points of view. The Red Cross, in which the mayor had 575 178

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APPENDIX VIII

BULGARIANS AND SOUTHERN RURAL WHITES IN CONTRAST*

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The Bulgaria of which I speak is three-fourths rural, definitely peasant. The group of Southern whites to which I limit myself in this analogy is made up of the small farmer, whether he be owner, tenant, sharecropper, hillbilly, or cracker.[1] My discussion, centering as it does upon what the political columnists so fondly and not inaccurately term the "little people" of each region, therefore excludes the comparatively well-to-do urban industrial and professional groups of both Bulgaria and the South. In comparing rural Bulgaria and the rural South I was reminded of a question which has been often raised recently: Are we to have an American peasant class?[2] While I cannot answer this question to my own satisfaction I recognize its implications. If we are to have a peasant class there is much we can learn from the agricultural sections of Europe where a stable, organized life has gone on for hundreds of years through the intensive use of all available natural resources in the midst of turbulent political changes, plagues, and famines.

Just as visitors in writing of the South misuse the word "poor white"[3] so we in considering the European scene often misuse the word "peasant," giving it a connotation of reproach as though a peasant were a serf.[4] The

* Read before the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Knoxville, Tennessee, April 5, 1940. Appeared as an article in *Social Forces*, XIX, No. 1, October, 1940. Reprinted by permission.

[1] "The South today, especially the Southeast, is essentially a land of hillbillies and other ruralites, whose chief contact with the commerce and culture of the world is through hick towns (p. 8).

"The South is a land of farms and farmers." . . . To appraise the South is to appraise farmers, whether for the art of living or for the lack of a living" (pp. 10-11). H. C. Nixon, *Forty Acres and Steel Mules* (Chapel Hill, 1938).

[2] " . . . Such are the beginnings of peasantry in the New World—The Collapse of the Black Belt plantation system is a preface to American peasantry." A. F. Raper, *Preface to Peasantry: A Tale of Two Black Belt Counties* (Chapel Hill, 1936), p. 4.

[3] W. T. Couch, Editor, *Culture in the South* (Chapel Hill, 1934). See chapt. 20, The Tradition of "Poor Whites," by A. N. j. Den Hollander. M. R. Mell, "Poor Whites of the South," *Social Forces*, December, 1938, pp. 153-167.

[4] " . . . With this transformation (that is, the peasant becoming an entrepreneur) have come changes in the connotation of the word 'peasant.' He is no longer a rustic of inferior status too ignorant and dull to take advantage of commercial opportunities;

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Bulgarian peasants whom I knew intimately for six years are independent farmers who dwell in their own homes, subsist on their own land[5] and form a folk, in the anthropological sense.

Bulgaria, a Balkan country the size of Ohio with a population of six million, was for five hundred years under Turkish rule, becoming independent in 1878 as a result of a Russo-Turkish War. Bulgaria's reconstruction period therefore covers approximately the same time as ours.[6] The few large landowners in Bulgaria fled to Turkey after the Liberation. This means that the Bulgarian farmers own their land; tenancy is very uncommon; the employment of farm laborers even less common.[7] As the farm population has increased, the already small holdings have had to be further divided, until now the average farm totals 15 acres scattered in 17 strips around the picturesque villages in which the people live.[8] The heart of Bulgarian peasant economy is the agricultural village[9]; the heart of life in the village is the home and the family system. Each farm of 17 acres must support, in addition to all dependents, four or five adults of working age. The fact that women and children

it is increasingly recognized that the really important characteristics peculiar to the peasant are his sentiments and attitudes, the intense attachment to his native soil and family tradition, which, even in the economic sphere, take precedence over the desire for individual advancement and gain. This peasant ethos is common throughout continental Europe." *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* Article on Peasantry by C. von Dietze.

[5] Peasantry, of course, is not synonymous with farm ownership everywhere in Europe, but the governments there (notably in Ireland and Denmark) recognize the importance of a landed peasantry as shown by recent attempts to lessen tenancy. See *Farm Tenancy, Report of President's Committee,* 1937, Section III, Some Tenure Programs of other Nations.

[6] The crises through which Bulgaria has passed have much in common with those of the South as listed in H. W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill, 1936), pp. 13-14. Nikola Stanev, *Istoria Na Nova Bulgaria, 1878-1928* (History of the New Bulgaria), Sofia, 1929.

[7] Ian C. Mollov and T. E. Bakurdjiev, *Organizatsionnata Struktura Na Zemedelskoto Stopanstvo Vv Sofiiska Okolia* (The Organizational Structure of the Farms in the County of Sofia), Sofia, 1931, pp. 6-7. (95.3 per cent of farmers work their own land, 4.7 per cent rent their land; only 3.2 per cent employ hired labor.)

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 5. For the country as a whole see the *Statesman's Year Book, 1939*: "According to the census of 1934, eighty per cent of the active population were engaged in agriculture, most of them being small proprietors holding from *one to six acres.*" This is understood more clearly when it is remembered that only thirty-nine per cent of the total area is arable and that this is divided into 750,613 farms. (*The New International Yearbook, 1938,* article on Bulgaria.)

[9] H. C. Nixon, *op. cit.* "Farm ownership or a sounder lease policy is not enough to enable Southern hillbillies to live in decency. It is essential to provide by public effort for social and economic co-operation among small farmers, to make possible a better system of farm villages" p. 61.

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work outdoors with the men means an abundant labor supply but also requires close co-operation, planning, and division of labor.[20]

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Peasant economy is based on a self-subsistence principle in which a satisfactory balance between plant and animal life is maintained.[21] Since cash income is low the plane of living is low.[22] That is, the peasant cannot buy from the outside world much in the way of clothing, machinery, conveniences, or recreation. On the other hand, he does eat well according to his own standards. Furthermore, he maintains his self-respect. There is security in land which nothing else affords unless it be a family large enough to work the land one owns. No matter how much one discounts that sort of economy, history has shown it to be the most enduring man has yet devised.

The picture is different in the South.[23] Although our farms average 71 acres they are operated by tenants in 54 per cent of the cases,[24] usually on a cash crop basis.[25] Only in the Appalachian-Ozark area, which by the way is most like the Bulgarian, do we find subsistence-farming as the prevailing principle.[26] There, however, it is blighted by isolation and lacks the co-operative features found in most agricultural villages: a swineherd caring during the day for all pigs in the village, communal pastures, or neighborhood cornhoeing groups. To be sure, there is mutual aid and co-operation in the highlands but these tend to be confined to periods of crisis rather than to the performance of ordinary daily tasks.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 14: "In fact, excessive ruralism has caused an unusual amount of labor to fall to the lot of women in this region of chivalry [the South]."

[21] Oxen, water-buffalo and horses, in the order of importance, are the work animals in Bulgaria. The government is trying to persuade peasants to replace oxen with dual-purpose cows as an economy move.

[22] Ian C. Mollov and H. K. Kondov, *Dohodnostuta Na 57 Zemedelski Stopanstva Vv Bulgaria* (1932-33). (The Incomes of 57 Bulgarian Farms for 1932-33.) This study gives some indication of the level of living possible.

[23] Standards of living are low in the South. See C. C. Taylor, H. W. Wheeler, E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture*, Washington, 1938. Good bibliographies on pp. 8 and 9; description of the Old South, pp. 115-119.

[24] *Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, 1937*, p. 35. Figures cited here are for sixteen South Atlantic and South Central States and the District of Columbia. The percentage would be even higher for Southeastern States alone.

[25] Odum, *op. cit.*, p. 391. On pages 489-491 Odum quotes Rupert B. Vance: "Until recently in this country no critical theory of tenancy has been developed which takes into consideration the fact that while the United States is drifting into tenancy, certain European countries with semi-feudal backgrounds, notably Denmark, Ireland, and France, have made the transitions to peasant proprietorship."

[26] Couch, *op. cit.*, p. 25. "This section [Appalachian-Ozark] is responsible for the fact that the South has a larger number of practically self-sufficing farms than any other important section in the United States." C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson, *Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties*, Washington, 1938.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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The failure of the Southern whites to co-operate for economic ends is tragic. A Southern adaptation of co-operative patterns found successful elsewhere, if generally accepted, would afford a fuller, richer existence for the thousands of families which go their individual, poverty-stricken ways in the mistaken belief that co-operation is incompatible with independence. European peasants are renowned for their independence as well as for their co-operation.[17]

The Southern population is mobile, one out of every three Southern tenant families moving yearly.[18] The Bulgarian population is permanent, as shown in the study I made of the farmers of one Bulgarian village where 91.4 per cent of the male family heads and 96.3 per cent of their fathers had been born in the same village.[19] We would expect this contrast because of the differences in the economic system.

But there is an interesting similarity between Bulgarians and the Southeast in those population characteristics which are dependent upon biological factors. The Southeast is often called the "nursery of the Nation" with a natural increase of 9.5 (birth rate 21.7, death rate 12.2),[20] whereas Bulgaria is one of the leaders of Europe in this respect with a natural increase of 10.5 (birth rate 23.9, death rate 13.4).[21]

Homogeneity is characteristic of Bulgarian people as it is of the Southern white, not only in respect to similarity of racial strain but in respect to religion as well. Most Bulgarians are adherents of the Eastern Orthodox Church; most Southern whites are Protestants.[22]

The Southern whites share the region with a numerous minority; Bulgaria has no significant minority problem, for the Turks who comprised 11 per cent

[17] This co-operation can be expressed on an informal basis as well as through a formal organization. Carl C. Taylor, Head of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, in addressing the American Association of School Administrators in February, 1940, said: "Self-help is no new doctrine in rural areas, and the best approach to the improvement of rural life on all fronts is to utilize the capacities for self-sufficiency and to expand self-help from an individual to a community and co-operative basis. To do otherwise is so completely to urbanize farming and farm life as to lose nationally the unique contributions which country life always has made and always should make to our civilization."

[18] *Report on Economic Conditions of the South,* National Emergency Council, 1938, p. 47.

[19] The Sociology of a Bulgarian Shopski Village, doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1938.

[20] Odum, *op. cit.,* p. 492 (evidently includes both Negro and white rates).

[21] *The New International Yearbook, 1938, article on Bulgaria.* Note the decline since 1926 when the natural increase was 20.1 (birth rate 37, death rate 17) D. Kostov, *Geografia Na Bulgaria i Susednite i Durzhavi* (Geography of Bulgaria and Neighboring States), Plovdiv, 1928.

[22] Odum, *op. cit.,* p. 15.

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565 105 of the population in 1926 have been returning to Turkey at a greatly accelerated pace.

There are striking anthropological contrasts between the Bulgarian peasant and the Southern white. The most marked of these is the peasant's close identification with a folk culture which is characterized by a consciousness of kind, established patterns of habit and thought, artifacts identified with that culture alone, and a strong exercise of social control. There is also uniformity of dress, agricultural method, and social values.

Among the Southern whites the Appalachian-Ozark area alone possesses the characteristics of a folk, for its people are closely knit together, have mountain handicrafts of which they are proud,[33] and, although differing in economic status, tend to conform to cultural patterns handed from the past. On the contrary, the tenant farmer may have his share of superstitions, folk remedies, and traditional attitudes, but he lacks "consciousness of kind" which would identify him with a folk culture.[34]

The four social institutions which I wish to mention briefly but which I shall not compare in detail are the family, education, religion, and government.[35]

596 105 The Bulgarian family is patriarchal, children are valued as economic assets; there is a strong kinship feeling even unto the third and fourth generation. Marriage is still an arrangement between two families under the sole control of the church. Family disorganization in the form of desertion or divorce is practically unknown; illegitimacy rare.

871 105 There is compulsory education to the fourteenth year in Bulgaria. However, the law is seldom invoked because the parents have recognized the economic value of education. That is why Bulgaria is the most literate country in the Balkans, a testimony to the high value the peasants place upon education and the rigid social control at work in the compact villages. If some

[33] W. T. Couch, *op. cit.*, chapter 15—The Handicrafts by Allen H. Eaten; chapter 19—Appalachian America by J. Worley Hatcher; chapter 26—Folk and Folklore by B. A. Botkin.

[34] The folk culture is quite different from a regional or Southern culture such as Odum describes at length in his Chapter IX in *Southern Regions* on Institutions and Folkways. The Bulgarian peasant is primarily identified with the village culture and secondarily with newer national culture in process of development. The Southern white is identified with a regional culture but not with a folk culture.

[35] Because of space limitations I omitted a section dealing with Psychological Comparisons. This would have compared the race prejudice and regional "inferiority complex" of the Southerner with the nationalism and sensitiveness to criticism of the Bulgarian. Bulgaria, defeated in the World War, has its Lost Cause as does the South. Bulgarians, like Southerners, have gained the reputation for conservatism and hospitality. On the other hand, industry is more a Bulgarian than a Southern trait.

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The Bulgarian peasant in thinking horizontally identifies himself with other agriculturalists and accepts their culture as a heritage of which he is proud. He derives strength as an individual from his consciousness of kind. His attitude was forcibly demonstrated when I tried to get answers to a questionnaire on occupational attitudes. I could not get a single peasant to answer one simple question: If you were not a farmer, what would you most prefer to be? It was inconceivable to them that they should be anything other than farmers. Although the Bulgarian peasant rides frequently in a bus or automobile it never occurs to him to want one of his own. If given an additional sum of money to spend he would buy more of what he already has—land, a new house, or animals. Because he thinks horizontally he co-operates with his fellows. As a matter of course he submits to stern social control for the common good.

I would like to say in conclusion that the lot of the Bulgarian peasant is not an enviable one; his plane of living is low, but the improvement that will take place can occur in the social organization already in existence. The Bulgarian does have security for which he has had to pay the price of class distinction, at least as it exists in the minds of others; whether the disadvantaged groups of the South are becoming typed as a class without gaining security in exchange is a matter for serious consideration. In the South we are faced with the fact of disorganization among our rural population and a consequent reorganization. It has not been my purpose to map the plan this reorganization should follow, but to present a comparison which may help to clarify and stimulate our thinking as we search realistically for a solution.

11: Logio S-4 (no date)/1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

000 and to work for its welfare, its success, its honour and glory, by the same motives which prompt him to desire and to work for his own welfare and success and honour... In this way, that is by extension to the group, the egoistic impulses are transmuted, sublimated and deprived of their individualistic selfish character and effects and are turned to public service".

517 M. I. P. Kepov, a noted Bulgarian educationalist in his very informative book „Our actuality", not only sets ●565 out to lecture the intellectuals for their shortcomings pointing out to them several of their defects and the unfortunate concequences they have hitherto produced, but also dwells on their envy, their vindictivenecs, intolerance of others, their lack of idealism and attachment to traditions, their self-sufficiency and extreme materialism, and their contempt of the peasant class out of which they have all sprung. He has arraigned a formidable indictement against them, and he shares the view prevalent among the peasantry who ascribe to the intellectuals the main cause of their country's disasters. The book draws a very black picture of the social life of the Bulgarian, and unfortunately it can not be said that the author exaggerates. Such poverty in emotional life, mistrustfulness, and self-centredness cannot but be devastating to the soul, and some device must be found to blow up the Chinese walls with which every Bulgarian seems to have encased himself. By participating more largely in social life, he might be made to share the satisfactions and enjoyments accruing to every participant in active group life, for nobody will dispute Wm. Mc. Dougall's (op. cit. p. 68.) statement that:

„The consciousness of the group and of oneself as a member of it brings a sense of power and security, an assurance of sympathy and co-operation, a normal and physical support without which man can hardly face the world".

It is sad to record that the political institutions borrowed from the West, the extreme centralisation of the administration have been altogether uncongenial to the

A PSYCHOLOGICAL ESSAY

Bulgarian and have stifled what public spirit existed among them at their liberation. The Turk was not the hard task-master he was reported to be, on the contrary he was tolerant enough to permit the Bulgarians to conduct their communal life on the lines they thought best. This communal semi-independence fostered the growth of a group spirit that readily manifested itself during the early years of the country's independence, examples of which have been often noted. M. Kepov also alludes to the kindly and well-meant efforts of the teaching profession in those years, to the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice they showed in their attempts to spread education amongst their countrymen, but the blight of politics soon froze this budding sociability. The politician in his endeavour to become omnipotent persecuted the teachers as likely to work up public opinion against him, and any manifestations of independent thought on their part was punished by dismissal. Thus the teaching profession was alienated and turned for consolation to socialism. Instead of working for the spread of views likely to strengthen the prestige of the State, they started spreading subversive notions utterly foreign to the traditional conceptions of the community they lived in and which the peasantry could not assimilate. Thus those who ought to have guided the people in their upward path completely estranged themselves both from those in authority and from the popular masses. The peasantry, as was to be expected, could not at all appreciate the Marxian gospel and began to view very suspiciously these missionaries in their midst, especially when they attempted to undermine the national religion and customs, by the weapon of ridicule. The rest of the intellectuals looked upon the peasant masses with the same contempt and lack of interest. They took no notice of them until elections were drawing near when politicians would start visiting the

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village and start inundating them in a spate of demagogic rhetoric. The orators of each political group would start vituperating and abusing their rivals, thus undermining completely the prestige of the intellectuals until the peasantry came to look on all with undisguised hatred and contempt. There has not been an example of such a deep cleavage within a people in recent times except in Tsarist Russia, with the well-known consequences, and if something is not done to assure the peasantry that the State will henceforth uphold and protect their interests, and instil in them the conviction that the abuses of the past are definitely over, we may well be anxious as to the future, for however self-sacrificing and patriotic the rulers of Bulgaria may be, the task they have shouldered is a stupendous one and the organs they must depend on for carrying it out are not as reliable as could be wished. And yet it is through the efforts of this „intelligentsia" that the country will have to work its way upwards, for the salvation of countries, the evolution of which has been retarded, depends on the predominance of urban civilisation over rural backwardness.

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It is of undoubted interest to record the views of one of the leaders of the sole political party which was actuated by a true conception of democratic principles and which persistently upheld them, but which failed to rally round it sufficient supporters to impose them because the Bulgarian elector expected to get some direct advantages in exchange for his vote, a practice the Bulgarian Radicals always denounced and fought against.

Thus M. Kosturkov speaking in the Sobranye on December 21, 1926 said among other things:

„We are with servile souls. A nation impregnated with a sense of freedom and having a sense of self-respect does not allow the authorities to usurp its liberty and its rights. It is always ready to place its rulers in their due place. I am not indignant at the servi-

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia
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474 241 completed only 15 percent on time, and the spring sowing 10 percent.[8]

474 565 661 The amount of compulsory self-criticism ensuing on such events, and the number of purges and trials of officials and arrests and trials of *kulaks,* bourgeois "saboteurs" and other criminals, can be imagined. In the article already quoted, Mr. Chernokolev admitted that there had been "serious mistakes" even in administering the comparatively moderate Bulgarian collectivization program, with the result that many "injustices" had occurred. Party organizations had failed to gauge correctly what was technically possible, people who owned land without actually working it had been admitted to collectives, even *kulaks* had been taken in, and so on. When lands were exchanged so that practicable coöperative farms might be organized, peasant rights often were "grossly violated." *Kulak* elements "took advantage of this and in a number of cases tried hard to win to their side the disgruntled poor and medium peasants and endeavored to turn them against the coöperatives and the people's power." They not only tried, apparently, but succeeded, for in some villages, the writer records, they fomented "strife between coöperative members and individual peasants," which "created a certain danger for the alliance between the working class and the poor and medium peasants."

Since the Cominform journal is designed for an international audience these comments were more moderate than those made on the spot. In a speech before the Central Committee of the Party in June 1949, Kolarov spoke of "clearly unreasonable and unfair" measures taken against the peasants; of many peasants being forced to join collectives against their will; and of peasants being indifferent to whether crops were big or small, the quota to be sold to the state at a fixed price being much too high—in some cases even comprising the total harvest.[9]

Kolarov put the blame for all that had gone wrong in the countryside on Kostov. So did Chervenkov. So did the Bulgarian press. So did the Committee which investigated Kostov's activities for the Grand National Assembly. It reported that besides the crimes de-

[8] *New York Herald Tribune,* April 16, 1950.
[9] Quoted in *The Economist,* London, July 16, 1949.

scribed in the preceding chapter he had "carried out a policy leading to the estrangement of the overwhelming mass of medium peasants and of a great part of the small peasants from the Fatherland Front and putting them under the influence of *kulaks* and the reaction, thus destroying the union between workers and peasants." [10] This was very convenient. At one stroke Kostov was linked with the crisis in the countryside, and an excuse was provided for the existence of the crisis. It was not a very good excuse, for the same difficulties with the peasants continued after Kostov had been eliminated from any share in the country's economic life. As for the expectation that the trial would sober nationalist elements in the Party, that did not seem to work out to Moscow's satisfaction either. One count of top-level Communist officials purged in the six months beginning October 1949 showed a tally of nearly 50.

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Class war in the villages, presaged by Dimitrov in December 1948, did not materialize at once. The expectation may have been that the simple threat would overcome peasant resistance, but when it did not a new model statute for collective farms was brought up "for discussion," *i.e.* to prepare the peasants for what the Party had decided would now be imposed by force. Peasants who had come into the collective system and those who had stayed out would both be hit. A member's share in the profits of a coöperative (if there were profits: another story) was henceforth going to be figured 30 percent on the amount of land he had put in and 70 percent on the number of "work days" he contributed, instead of being compensated, as formerly, in direct proportion to the amount of land and the number of "work days." In other words, he was becoming one-third a landowner and two-thirds a state agricultural worker. If he knew about what had happened to the Russian peasants in the final step of the Soviet agrarian "reform" in 1937 he could foresee what would become of the remaining one-third of Bulgarian land values. Actually, of course, the distinction between "rent" for land and "pay" for labor often was theoretical anyway. The product of a collective is turned in to the state in amounts fixed in advance and in return for payment at rates which in practice are confiscatory. A

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[10] Report by the Bulgarian radio, Sofia, July 20, 1949, of the proceedings on that date in the Bulgarian Grand National Assembly.

Soviet groove. Secondly, Bulgaria is highly important to Russia strategically. She flanks enemy Jugoslavia. She provides the only direct approach to Greece since Tito has closed the main route. She adjoins Turkey, on whom the Soviets desire to exert pressure from all directions. She is, as we have seen, Russia's chosen instrument of intervention in the Macedonian question. On every count she is the country which, more directly than any other except Poland, can be useful to Russia in the present line-up of European forces. It is not by chance that she and Poland had the honor of being the first to receive high officers of the Soviet Army as commanders-in-chief of their troops. 177 648

The sources of opposition are two. One is nationalism. It may be called Titoism or Kostovism, but it is always treason. Nationalists are dealt with as Petkov and Kostov were dealt with. These two, such poles apart, are simply conspicuous examples among tens of thousands who have suffered for opposing the Communization or Sovietization of their country. Any successors they may have, whether noble like Petkov or hateful like Kostov, will be put down with the same irresistible brutality. 186

The other source of opposition is the peasantry. The peasants resist being made into sharecroppers. They do not think that they are being forced into collectives so that a great social goal can be achieved but in order that a group of adventurers can exploit their hold on them and on the country more conveniently. The Communists are everything that peasants hate and fear—the city slicker, the government bureaucrat. These newcomers in the villages, wearing city clothes, often speaking with a foreign accent, urge the peasants to enter collectives for their own good. Those who do are only one degree better off than those who do not—they are allowed to live, while those who refuse starve. But they live as serfs. They will work for the rest of their lives, as they figure it, to support others who will not or cannot work so hard as they must do—other peasants who have let their lands run down and are glad to merge with those who have kept theirs up, and surplus townsfolk who will never learn to "pay their way." That there are other answers to such arguments than force does not matter. The answer has been given, and it is force. 565 578

[i.e. Opposition to Sovietization---Analyst]

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With women it was quite different, since marriage for them called for major adjustments. Not only did the wife have to become accustomed to the demands and habits of her husband, but she also had to fit into the routine of her husband's parental home. In some cases she had to subordinate herself to other daughters-in-law in the household. Should she and her husband live in a separate dwelling near the husband's childhood homestead, she still was so subject to the scrutiny of the in-laws that she found it expedient to conform to their ways of doing things. 581 562 606 591

The woman, much more than the man, had to give up the companionship of her former friends to move in the group of the married women of the neighborhood. In these groups she was initiated into much of the folklore about anatomy, conception, childbirth, and child care. The frank discussion by various women of their personal experiences was enough to make any squeamish girl terrified at the very thought of becoming a mother. Continued discussion, however, made the experience eventually seem less of an ordeal; in fact, it was often a source of comfort and encouragement when her time arrived. 521 571

These neighborhood gossiping groups did much more than shock the girl into some of the realities of married life; they also informed her of the personal peculiarities of her in-laws and neighbors; they let her know what she should and should not do. And if she was one of the first of her circle of friends to marry, she could look forward to the day when one or two of them would become brides in the vicinity and could join her in the company of these older married women.

The role of these women's groups in the village was interesting and far more important than the surface informality would indicate. Recreation for the older women was generally tied up with work. Distinctions, however, should be made between the women's work groups, such as those for spinning and carding, and women's gossiping groups, in spite of the fact that the membership was the same in both groups and that gossiping was the chief recreation in both instances. In the work groups, the women were invited formally by the hostess, were fed, and were expected to stay most of the day, definitely to work. Gossiping groups, however, were much more informal, since people

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571 521 came together without an invitation. If it was a workday, a few women of the neighborhood gathered in one of the yards to spin, sew, or knit. If it was a holiday, they simply talked. The village women spoke of it as getting together "to laugh, to be merry." The women gathered in twos, threes, or more, almost entirely on a neighborhood basis. If relatives were in the neighborhood, they were included, but because they were neighbors, not relatives. Seldom did relatives from other sections of the village attend. Among some women it was the practice to go only when invited, however informally. As one woman said:

"We take our work along. If there is anything to eat, we eat. Age makes no difference. It is seldom that an unmarried girl participates in a group with married women, because the married women talk about things which a girl should not be permitted to hear. A girl would be allowed to stay with the women only if the discussion is not of a kind bad for her." She went on to add that the young and old people customarily did not mix in conversation. "The old have little to say which interests the young, so then they begin to give advice and the young people run away."

I met five women varying in age from thirty-three to sixty-six talking one Sunday on the street corner. Some of the women had taken off their shoes and were standing in the brook beside the road. This group had a decided neighborhood basis. When I asked how these five women happened to get together, this was the explanation:

"Slavina came to ask Geny about a sick neighbor across the street. Maria saw them talking and came over to hear what the news was. Stenna, who lives up the street, also came, and after her the other Maria."

They had been talking there for almost an hour before I came and were still talking an hour after I left, as I saw on my return to the College. Since it was Sunday they were doing no handwork, but said that often during the week they gathered to help one another spin, hoe corn, and harvest. One said to me, "We live together." Even in the wintertime they went around to visit, to inquire if the friends had enough wood to see them through the winter, if the cow was still sick, how much the taxes had been. Of all the women Geny

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did the most talking. The women found it difficult to say which one helped the others most, because "this depends so much upon one's special knowledge of cooking, caring for the sick, and sewing." Each woman was expert in a different line, but all were willing to help in any way. [476] 571 521

The distinction between age groups broke down when the group was hard at work, as the work was then more important than the flow of gossip. In general, the gossiping groups got together more frequently in the summertime and on Sundays. Women found their chief recreation with women, and men with men, though the men said they needed the stimulation of tavern society. [517]

This willingness of the men to spend money for recreation and to limit their wives to the questionable joys of gossip illustrated the common saying, "Bulgaria is a man's country." A Dragalevtsy peasant saw nothing strange in the sight of a man riding a donkey while his wife trudged along behind carrying their purchases home from market. Or if a man returned alone from market, having ridden all the way in his wagon, his wife, tired from a day in the field, went out to carry in his things, saying, "He's weary and needs my help." She was always careful to make no queries about the day's activities, although she might be bursting with curiosity to know what had happened at market. She went about her work and waited until he was comfortably fed and settled, knowing full well that then she would have a complete report. Usually her husband made himself out to be the hero of each little episode, but "men are like that," she would say. 562 181 593

The well trained wife always deferred to her husband. If ever I asked a question in the presence of both, the woman turned her eyes to see what response her husband made. If he made a gesture as though to say, "You go ahead and answer," then she began to talk, becoming silent whenever her husband wished to interject any comments.

What was even more conclusive proof that Bulgaria was a man's country, and certainly that Dragalevtsy was a man's village, was the obedience of women to their husband's command. I asked thirty wives in the course of my family interviews:

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taxes or to attend some social function, the villagers say, "Oh, he's from the *mahala*." In this sense, therefore, they are thinking not at all of any family relationship between the people of that settlement. 621

NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS: THE *Susedstvo*. For a clearer picture of social interaction we must turn to a smaller unit than the *mahala*: namely, the *susedstvo*[*] which is a complex of houses whose yards adjoin or face each other across a narrow street. The peasants say, "Without neighbors life is impossible," or "God help those who have bad neighbors" and they are thinking of next-door neighbors. Bulgarian writers especially in reminiscing about their childhood tell of the free interchange of goods between neighbors. In any time of need, whether it be of food, garments, or work, the neighbors were always called upon to render aid. That is still true today, though there are two tendencies setting in: first, many villagers prefer to go to relatives living elsewhere in the village for aid rather than to go to a next-door neighbor; second, nowadays neighbors when they lend live more in expectation of financial remuneration. In other words, the commercialistic spirit is pervading even neighborhood contacts. Some villagers feel this more keenly than others. 621 571 [476]

The *susedstvo* therefore, like the *mahala*, is a geographical unit which is the scene of intense social interaction, though this interaction takes place through ordinary individuals and groups rather than through the *susedstvo* itself, thought of in terms of a psychical entity. It is an interesting fact that personal friendships and preferences sometimes carry women outside of the neighborhood for even the ordinary needs of life. For example, Anna may live next to Gorka but may prefer the companionship of Mara who lives four or five houses down the street. Sometimes this friendship goes to such an extent that Anna will draw water from a more distant fountain in order to meet there with Mara.

However, no number of exceptions can do away with the fact that women who are neighbors depend greatly upon one another. Not only in times of crisis such as birth, death, or marriage are the neighbors' services invaluable, but are especially useful in varying the tedium of everyday life. If a woman has half an hour to spare, she is apt to pick up her knitting or spinning and go to a neighbor's house for a chat while doing her handwork. After a while, visits of such a sort become so habitual that a woman would find it difficult to get along without them. It must be remembered that the Bulgarian woman has no magazines and no radio to entertain her at home. Her only source of entertainment is to share some other neighbor's company. [517]

Newcomers to a neighborhood (and these are usually women) have to go through a period of assimilation. Not only must they bear the embarrassing

[*] Many of the peasants still use for neighbor the word *komshia*, a Bulgarized form of the Turkish *koms*.

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scrutiny of the neighbors and answer hundreds of questions, but they must also be quick to appreciate the social values and interests of the women of the surrounding houses. This is always so difficult that the villagers have a proverb: "One can't even drink the water from a different village," which they use in the social as well as physiological sense.

In a *susedstvo* we likewise find that there is often a family tie because the yards of married brothers or cousins frequently join. (See diagram on page 232.) If there is harmony between the brothers, such relatives are the closest of all because they are also neighbors; between such houses most of the borrowing takes place.

Since at least three-fourths, if not more, of a woman's recreation is provided in the neighborhood, this unit forms the basis for most gossiping groups. Men cross neighborhood lines because they can go to the tavern, but their wives must stay at home.

In comparing the *mahala* and the *susedstvo* we may conclude that the *mahala* once was the scene of the intimate interaction now characterizing the *susedstvo*. This was back in the days when the *mahala* was a family circle because of *zadruga* ties. As the number of houses increased and the feeling of kinship weakened or became extinct the *mahala* was superseded by the *susedstvo* as an important basis of interaction.

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CONCLUSION

571 178 The concept "social contact" implies both the possibility of contact as well as psychic interaction.[21] The quantitative measurements of this study deal chiefly with the possibilities which the peasants have or create for social interaction, since these were sufficiently clear-cut for the village officials and peasants to measure. But when it came to the more intangible element of psychic interaction I had to rely on direct personal observation. Therefore, the following conclusions are based in part on statistics and in part upon observation:

369 571 178 1. Proximity to a "city-culture" and frequent trips to the city on the part of the villagers does not necessarily mean psychological contact with that "city-culture." For the most part, the peasant moves in a peasant world even while in the city. It is quite natural for him to attach himself to the familiar.

2. Proximity to the city may in itself be a deterrent to the ready acceptance of "city ways" on the part of the villager, since he constantly confronts fashions, habits, and viewpoints which clash decidedly with his own. This leads me to wonder whether or not "modernization," granting that it is desirable, might not come more quickly through a small, provincial town which is more in keeping with rural thought and life than through direct contact with the city. The hikers who visit Dragalevtsy, although causing dissatisfaction, make the mature peasant more resistant to city influences; these visitors do seem to have an influence upon the young; but it would be hazardous to guess to what degree, because so often the seemingly liberal young people become conservative when they have children of their own.

656 369 571 178 3. Government leaders in their attempt to raise the peasants' standard of living visit the village systematically for lectures and some demonstrations. They seem to be overlooking the fact that thousands of peasants regularly visit the city where, if some Peasant Center could be established, methods of improved living could be interpreted in a favorable light. Some such approach would lessen the peasant's negativism toward the city, a negativism which has been built up as a defense or as a result of genuine disapproval.

4. The statistics relative to the reading matter which comes into the village weekly show how little is being done effectively to influence the peasant by letters, journals, and other publications, although the literacy rate for males over fifteen years is 92.

[21] At first I had in mind the formulation of a contact Index such as Kulp used in his Chinese study, *Familism in South China.* I soon found that the various contacts were of varying intensity, concerned different types of people, and would, therefore, require separate weighting. My methods were not refined enough to make such weightings feasible. Furthermore, aside from the methodological interest, the value of such an index would be limited to the study of other Bulgarian villages in the same cultural setting.

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5. This study of one village can be merely suggestive and does not afford the basis for any sweeping conclusions, but it can serve as a pattern for those who wish to measure the social contacts of villages which are similar in many respects to Dragalevtsy. 000

6. In considering the social contact which the peasants have with the city and its implication for social change, we must not overlook the sheer enjoyment derived by the peasant from the very fact of contact itself, whether it be from the thrill of a new experience or the more intimate association with friends from other villages. Because recreation is not yet commercialized and impersonalized, face-to-face contact is the chief form of amusement. Of course, this need is usually met within the village, but a talk with someone from the outside world does possess a novelty not afforded by everyday association. 369 571 178

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the grabbing is good." Now, the *Obshtina*[8] divides the village into ten groups; the part of the forest made available to the villagers is likewise divided into ten sections; each group thus has a limited section in which to work. The *Obshtina* usually divides the village according to neighborhoods, though sometimes one family from a larger neighborhood is assigned to the group of a smaller neighborhood in order to make the number of families average about thirty for each group. The only case of this kind in Group X, which we are studying, is that of Krustan Arnaudski, who lives across the river from the others. 313 476 596

The *Obshtina* lists the names of the family heads in making out its divisions; theoretically these family heads are supposed to go collectively to get the wood for their households. In other words, they are supposed to constitute the group. However, variations occur. Some of the family heads are too old or too busy or too lazy to go. In that case they do one of three things: (1) they send their married sons who live with them, these sons performing the work more capably than the older men could; (2) they hire village youths from other neighborhoods to go and gather the wood for them; or, (3) they send weaker members of their own family, such as younger boys, the older girls, wives, or—in the case of one lazy man—a mother. 313 476 571 596

Thus, in reality, the group of wood-gatherers varies from day to day as regards the actual personnel of those working in the forest. We might say that most of those working there are family heads or able-bodied married sons, though mixed with them are women, girls, and younger boys. Before sending a substitute the family head is supposed to get permission from the group leaders. The failure to do this results in many quarrels and, as one leader says, "makes a man quarrel with his best friend."

The reason why the presence of women and children is frowned upon lies not so much in the objection to women and children working, as it does to the fact that women and children cannot do as much work in a day as a man. Since all the cut wood is piled into thirty different piles, one for each family, and the piles later distributed by lot, those who work hard each day get no more wood than those who do less work or who send weaker substitutes.

The question arises as to the classification of this type of group. On the basis of admission to membership, we can conclude that it is chiefly involuntary since the family heads are assigned by the *Obshtina* and since the family head can order members of his family to replace him in case he does not care to go. Only in the case of outsiders gathering wood for pay does the group seem voluntary. The group is secondary as far as function is concerned, but partakes of certain primary group characteristics when we notice that the *Obshtina* 313 476 571

[8] *Obshtina*—used here in the sense of the local governmental unit under the direction of a mayor appointed from Sofia.

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313 476 571 usually divides the village up according to neighborhoods. Thus we have many persons accustomed to associate as neighbors interacting along economic rather than social lines.

II. Duration of Group. The group is temporary, since the *Obshtina* lists have varied from year to year. However, for thirty days the wood-gathering continues, halted in bad weather but energetically pursued in good weather, even on Sundays. During this period there is constant interaction between the members of the group, who get to know the working qualities of the others in an intimate way. The most exciting day of all is the day when the wood has been piled up, the piles numbered, and the family heads take their turn drawing lots for the piles. It is then that the whole family comes in the ox-cart to haul the wood home. There is joy as though a harvest were being gathered. Each family usually takes home from four to five ox-carts full of wood, most of which consists of branches or scrub-growth. After the wood is stacked in the yard, the group is ended; its existence is terminated by the completion of the job it set out to do.

313 476 571 157 III. Structure of Group (Relationship). With thirty individuals, unequally divided as to ability or inclination to work, there must be some sort of leadership to keep the group functioning effectively. The nominal leaders are two men appointed by the *Obshtina,* one as superintendent and the other as his assistant. Leaders appointed by the *Obshtina* usually serve even though they profess an unwillingness to do so. Some members of Group X point out that those who do the most talking against the way the present leaders discharge their functions are themselves loath to accept the responsibility if it is offered to them. The leaders of Group X this year were Stoyanche Chalukov and his god-son (almost his equal in years) Yurdan Chalukov.

The leaders of all ten groups gather on an appointed day to visit the forest with the forest policeman, who shows them how the forest has been divided into ten sections. The leaders then draw lots to see which section will fall to their particular groups. On the day of the visit this fall neither leader of Group X went because each one thought, or at least hoped, that the other leader would go. It so happened that Group X got what its members considered the worst part of the forest, though the leaders maintain that their absence had nothing to do with the section allotted. Upon seeing the state of things, the leaders of Group X went to the mayor and asked that some re-distribution be made on the grounds that the forest had not been equally divided. As such re-distribution seemed out of the question, the mayor suggested: "You go ahead and cut down the wood in your section, and the priest and I will come and visit the forest and see whether people in other sections have bigger piles

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than you. If they do, we'll re-distribute then." But the mayor and the priest never made this visit with the result that the members of Group X have nothing but complaints as consolation.

The duties of the leaders are burdensome. They must decide whether the weather permits work in the forest or not; they must accept or reject some family head's proposal for substitution; they must argue with those who do not work well; they must direct the making of the piles and the equal distribution of the wood among these piles; furthermore, they must keep a record of those who come to work and those who do not. The only authority vested in them is the right to report to the mayor the name of any man who they think should not be given any wood for failure to do his share of the work. However, no such instance occurred this past year.

Quite often a group has a formal structure in addition to the actual structure. This formal or theoretical structure corresponds to the plan of a house; the actual structure corresponding to the shape, relationship of the parts, etc., which may be quite different from the original plan in even so definite a field as architecture.

The woodcutting or wood-gathering Group X has two leaders appointed by the *Obshtina,* under whom the family heads are supposed to work. This is the plan, but we notice that there are variations since many family heads send substitutes. Our first problem is to see whether the appointed leaders are the actual leaders: that is, to see if the plan of the group corresponds with the structure as we discover it.

In order to accomplish this I followed Moreno's method as explained in his book, *Who Shall Survive?* namely, to ask each member of the group which five men he preferred and which five he would eliminate if he were choosing a group of his own with direct reference to one activity—the gathering of wood, and with no interest at all in the question of the friendship involved.

Each of the family heads on the *Obshtina* list furnished us with the information desired. Where some family heads had sent substitutes, we interviewed the substitutes instead. A few people, neither full-time substitutes nor family heads, who worked in the forest from time to time in the place of someone who stayed away were interviewed if they were mentioned twice by others. The only exceptions were numbers 19 and 30, both of whose fathers we interviewed. Some family heads who did not go to the forest were mentioned either as desirable or undesirable, and their names were included on the list which formed the basis for the diagrams.

There was no way of cross-checking to see whether the answers were correct; nor was there any reward to hold up to them in order to identify their emotions with their answers. In this respect, one might consider the method open to question. However, each man was told: "There will be no reward for you in answering these questions, nor will any harm come to you as a

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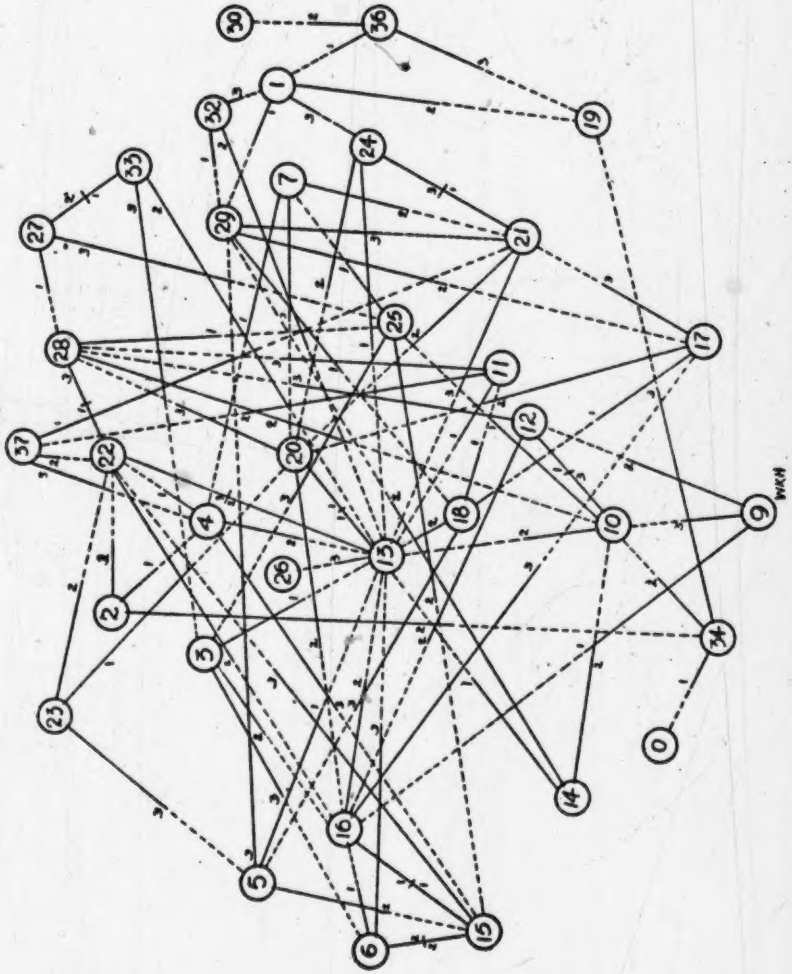

SOCIOGRAM I. Woodcutting Group, Dragalevtsy, Bulgaria—34 men, first three choices

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result. If you answer, it will be simply out of kindness and because of your desire to help me." Such an approach met with a splendid response, since practically all of the villagers knew that a "book" was being written about their village and were eager to help in its preparation. I am inclined to believe that in most cases this desire to help on the part of those interviewed has an emotional content, though it is something hard to measure or estimate.

While these interviews took place over a two-day period during the Christmas holiday recess, I visited the village several times when the wood-gathering was taking place to make family interviews and received considerable incidental material about wood-gathering which seemed to be on everybody's mind. Group X was selected by chance. Since the groups were all equal in size there was no reason to choose any one more than another for the study of the group *per se*. (See Sociogram I.)

An analysis of Sociogram I, which is based on the first three choices of each man, shows us how weak is the leadership of the two men appointed by the *Obshtina*—namely, numbers 4 and 7. At no time do they come out as important leaders but this may be due to conflict situations which arose between them and group members during the course of the wood-gathering. The predominant choice is 13, a hard-working retired railroad man, who is close-mouthed and has the reputation of "minding his own business." He was mentioned 15 times: 6 firsts, 6 seconds, and 3 thirds. This sociogram shows that when the mayor appointed the leaders he did not consider the same qualities which the peasants themselves thought essential. He appointed men who had been former political figures on the assumption that they could also lead capably in the task of woodcutting.

The other leader individuals besides 13 are 10, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 28. An interesting concentration of leadership is shown by the reciprocal bonds existing between some of these eight leader individuals: namely, 15-16, 13-20, 13-22, 22-28. (Notice again the strong position of 13.) The leaders also have the following reciprocal bonds with non-leader individuals: 10-12, 15-6, 21-24. That is to say, every leader individual has at least one reciprocal bond, while three of them have two reciprocal bonds—the majority of these being with other leader individuals. *Furthermore, there is only one other reciprocal bond in the whole group in which a leader does not figure*—namely, 27-33.

Perhaps the quadrilateral 13-20-28-22-13 sums up the concentration of leadership best of all. The only gap is the failure of 28 to reciprocate the choice of 20. But both 28 and 20 are joined by reciprocal bonds to 22 and 13 respectively, who in turn are connected reciprocally. This, it seems to me, demonstrates the value of a sociogram in an analysis of group leadership, for in no other satisfactory way could this quadrilateral be illustrated and its implications manifested.

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WORK-SHEET FOR SOCIOGRAM I

Individual Number	Chose	First	Second	Third
1	–	29	19	24
2	–	4	34	22
3	–	13	16	6
4	–	22	13	15
5	–	13	15	29
6	–	16	15	13
7	–	4	21	20
8	Did not go.	Sent Number 4 instead		
9	–	16	12	10
10	–	25	13	12
11	–	12	37	28
12	–	10	28	16
13	–	20	22	26
14	–	13	10	29
15	–	16	6	22
16	–	15	13	17
17	–	18	20	21
18	–	11	13	5
19	Did not go.			
20	–	13	16	28
21	–	24	20	13
22	–	28	16	13
23	–	29	22	5
24	–	13	20	21
25	–	7	15	3
26	Did not go.	His brother, 33, went instead		
27	–	28	33	25
28	–	25	10	22
29	–	18	17	21
30 and 31	Did not go.			
32	–	29	13	1
33	–	27	13	3
34	–	outsider	10	19
35	Did not go.	No. 3 went for him		
36	–	1	30	19
37	–	21	22	4

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IV. EFFECT OF KINSHIP ON CHOICES. Twenty-seven of the thirty-four individuals comprising this group are related to some other individual in the group.[1] Therefore, the question naturally arises as to the influence of such relationship upon the choices that the men made. Sociogram II, on the following page, shows seven clusters, each cluster made up of related individuals bearing the same family name. Of course, some of the individuals within a cluster are only distantly related because the joint-family names in Dragalevtsy have a place connotation in addition to the one of relationship. But just the same, the village usually thinks of the Pachevi or the Chalukovi as a definite group in the community bound together by kinship as well as geographical proximity. The sociogram also shows the choices made by each individual for other individuals in the same cluster. A few in-law relationships are not shown in this sociogram, but an examination of the data showed them to be relatively unimportant in this woodcutting group.[4]

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I was interested in my analysis of the group to see what effect a feeling of insecurity on the part of an individual might have upon his choice of a relative. The best measure of this feeling of insecurity seemed to be the failure to receive favorable votes. It does seem significant that every individual[4] shown on Sociogram II who received only one or else no favorable votes from the group at large selected some relative, with whom he naturally felt on more intimate terms. When an individual received as many as two votes from the group at large, then the chances were about fifty per cent that he would name a relative among his first three choices. Of course, the unwanted individual does not know definitely the opinion, expressed on the questionnaire, which the general public has for him, but in a face-to-face society like Dragalevtsy every individual has a rather clear picture of his social status. This was illustrated forcibly when 23, who received the largest number of negative votes, refused to name any individuals which he would reject from a woodcutting group of his own formation. He co-operated in naming those he would like (two of the first three being relatives), but lacked the hypocrisy necessary to name any others as being undesirable; he knew where he stood in the opinion of the community.

Not only was I interested in the position of the person choosing relatives but also in the position of the relatives chosen. I wondered, for instance, if relatives out of kindness or a sense of loyalty would list some kinsman whom the group at large might reject. This did not prove to be the case because only one person named by a kinsman was not listed by someone outside the

[4] The *svatovshtenie*, or in-law relationship, is very important in Bulgarian villages—so much so that two brothers cannot marry two sisters, since the second brother by marrying a sister-in-law would be marrying a relative, something taboo.

[4] The Voynishki (Numbers 36 and 37) are exceptions here, but since they are not on speaking terms one would not expect them to choose each other.

[1] [This refers to a woodcutting group studied by the author, - see pp. 250-256, category 116 -- Analyst]

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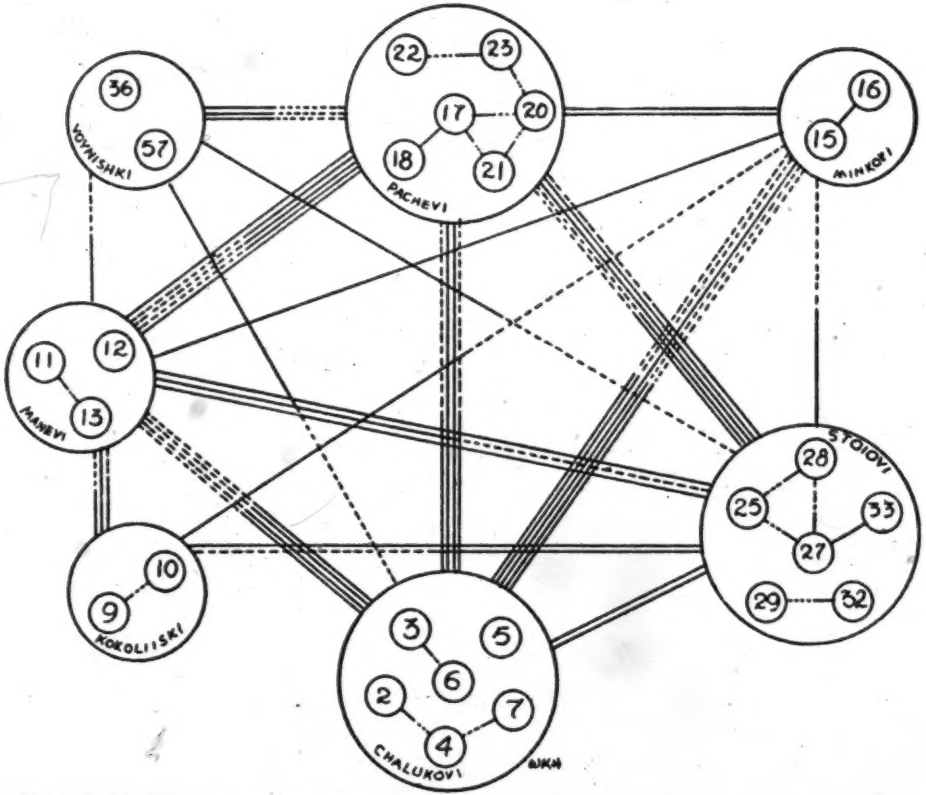

SOCIOGRAM II—EFFECTS OF KINSHIP ON CHOICES. Each cluster is made up of related individuals bearing the same family name. Lines between clusters show the number of times members of one cluster mentioned those in another cluster (first three choices).

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kinship group. That is, individuals who chose relatives chose those upon whom the group at large likewise placed approval. 476 571

Sociogram II likewise shows us the status of the different kinship clusters as far as the woodcutting activity is concerned. The Pachevi, Stoiovi, and Chalukovi, each consisting of six members, are comparable in size but received 16, 9, and 6 votes respectively. The other clusters, made up of two or three members, are similarly comparable but vary considerably: Voynishki, 1; Kokoliiski, 3; Minkovi, 10; Manevi, 15. The size of the cluster has little to do with the number of votes received; it is rather the popularity of certain individuals within the cluster which determines the voting. 554 602 157

My conclusions regarding the effect of kinship as far as this one group is concerned are: (1) the choices of unwanted individuals included a relative with whom they felt some security; (2) the persons chosen were usually those upon whom the group as a whole set its stamp of approval; and (3) family clusters can be said to have a status in the same sense that individuals do, and are rejected or mentioned favorably through the medium of the individuals comprising those clusters.

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palatable to peasant taste. If the bread supply gave out at the table, the diners sat calmly without eating until the new loaf was brought in, for it was almost impossible for them to eat unless holding a piece of bread in the left hand. Dunking was the approved method of disposing of the juice of a stew. When eating, one was apt to get a greasy coating on the lip; the accepted technique was to scrape this off with a piece of bread already on its way into the mouth. Forks and small spoons were used only when there were guests. But why should table manners not be simple and direct? 264 [576]

"Knives for everybody are not used. There is one knife at the table, but people use their hands, for we peasants say, 'For what did God give the fingers to man if he does not use them to feed himself?' "

As for the preparation of the food: 252

"Usually it is the duty of the oldest woman in the family to prepare the food, because she knows the best how to cook and she can cook most deliciously of all. In case she is sick, then her daughter-in-law or her daughter cooks. If there are not such, then the man cooks." Here my informant sniffed and added scornfully, "Of course, in such a case dry food is eaten chiefly, but even the men can cook at least some of the dishes."

I asked another woman who really "knew her place," as a Dragalevtsy man would say, whether men could cook: [562]

"Of course, men can do everything woman does, but woman cannot do everything men do. Who cooks for those men that are shepherds or work in the forests but they themselves? Men do not need women half as much as women need men. Yet we all recognize that cooking is for the women, not for the men."

No matter what time of day I entered a village home the *domakinya* (housewife) with unfailing and genuine hospitality offered me food or drink. I began to wonder when the people had their regular meals and found that some homes had no regular mealtimes; instead, people got up and took a piece of bread or anything else available whenever they were hungry. In most families, however, about nine o'clock in the morning a meal called *ruchok* was served to all; at about two, dinner was served, and two hours after sunset the people gathered for supper. One villager put it this way: 264 574

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582 married in Dragalevtsy. Because she had a physical deformity her
208 parents had given up all hope of marrying her off since they knew she would be unable to attend properly to her housework and field work. During the first World War there were two old maids in the village who had not been chosen for marriage because each of them had a goiter. A doctor with the German forces cured the goiters
[554] and these two unmarried women became desirable prospects, one of them marrying a priest's son in Sofia, one of the highest prizes a village girl could capture in her matrimonial venture.

[208] Since public opinion made life miserable for unmarried women,
[562] even a girl of independent temperament looked upon marriage as an inevitable event, especially if she stayed in the village. With men it
581 was different. They could choose to remain unmarried and not lose prestige in the community. People only said: "Well, Asen simply doesn't want to marry. He's a bit shy of skirts, you know."

The young men to whom I talked were outspoken in regard to those qualities which they looked for in choosing a mate: good health, industry, efficiency in the house and field, and proper care of the person. The girls, on the other hand, had little to say regarding the qualities they wanted in a husband. They seemed willing to accept whatever luck brought them. But marry they must.

584 There were many ways in which the husbands and wives had
574 become acquainted with each other. If both had been born in
883 Dragalevtsy, as was the case with a little more than half the couples, they were already aware of the other's characteristics either through personal acquaintance or hearsay. Many of the married couples had played together as children while tending the cattle in the sun-drenched pastures, only to become distant until most of the adolescent period passed. Then began frequent meetings at the fountain at sunset, shy flirtation at the *horo* and *sedenki,* or rambling conversation on the way to and from the Friday market. At the *sedenki,* held by the young people in various girls' homes on winter evenings, games involving forfeits were played. At one *sedenka* I attended, the girl giving out the penalties sent a couple obviously in love to the dark outdoors "to see what the weather was like." A few minutes later she sent a second couple out to see where the first had gone. All four of the

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young people came back giggling with excitement. Only in some rare instances had shyness kept the young couple apart in the village until matchmaking elders brought them together on the wedding day.

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Old and young alike agreed as to the importance of the *sedenka* as a boy-meet-girl occasion. Even some of the intelligentsia with a nostalgia for the simplicity of their early years in the village talked fondly of these groups in which young people whiled away many hours in common work and merriment. The *sedenka* was the Bulgarian counterpart of our pioneer cornhusking and quilting bee. There, romance as it existed in the hearts of the peasant boys and girls came to the surface and was expressed in such simple acts as the giving of a flower, the kissing of a hand or cheek. These groups, which met in fall and winter, consisted early in the evening only of girls who had been especially invited by the hostess one or two days ahead of time. Two or three hours before the *sedenka* was to begin the girl doing the entertaining had to put on her heavy *kozhuh* and again tour the neighborhood to extend a formal invitation to each guest. When the girls had gathered they immediately began to spin, since work was the pretext for coming together. Sometimes the guests brought their own work, and sometimes they assisted the hostess in carding or spinning her wool. If spinning was the order of the evening, each girl was supposed to average about a pound of rather coarse thread.

As the door was usually locked after the girls were inside, the boys, whose arrival was announced by the barking dogs, had to knock for admittance. The hostess then asked who was knocking, and one of the boys told his name.

"The girls and even the hostess know with which boys he associates and if there is any one of them who is undesirable to some or all the girls, then none of the boys is allowed to enter. Usually, however, if they open to the boys, they will open to all; but if they are not in a good mood [very rarely] then they do not open to any."

A gust of cold, fresh air accompanied the boys' entrance, and activities inside ceased until they had made the rounds, shaking hands with those present. After much squeezing and adjusting each boy found a place to sit, usually next to the girl known to be his favorite.

The coming of the boys might or might not stop the work. Quite

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The coming of the boys might not stop the work.[2] Quite
584 often the girls were able to accomplish a great deal in spite of the
574 boys, but usually the entertainment which began soon after the boys
883 arrived distracted the girls from their task. There was much singing.
533 Someone struck up an old ballad and others joined in. Then, after a few more ballads, someone ventured a popular song. I once asked a young woman whether she ever sang any modern songs (knowing well enough that she did). She replied:

"Yes, the Dragalevtsy girls know almost all the popular songs. They hear the boys singing them on the street or at *sedenki* and then ask some boy who is a relative to write down the words. If they see that the song is not appropriate, they will not sing it. They always learn the words of songs and never whistle or 'murmur' [hum]."

I wondered to what extent the patriotic songs in the school were replacing the folk songs. Here is what informants at one *sedenka* said:

"As soon as a girl leaves the school, she does not sing any of the songs learned in school, but starts singing again the old songs that she has learned from the old people. The boys, however, continue to sing the songs, chiefly military, learned in school."

No instrumental music was taught in the school, but the radio was beginning to have some effect on the peasants' choice of music. One man listened to the radio fifteen days, stopping almost all other activity, in order to get the words of a jazz song then popular. These he sang with great gusto to his admiring friends. Many of the young people were becoming ashamed of the old songs and told me that they were out of date. The new popular songs that they learned were contained in *Pesnopoiki* (songbooks) bought for a few cents on market days.

[535] The singing of some particularly lively tune at the evening gath-
584 erings might lead to folk dancing in which both the boys and the
883 girls took part. The very foundations of the house seemed to shake as the feet shuffled in time to the music. Parlor games of various sorts, quite similar to those played at a rural church social in America, were frequently played at these *sedenki*. This meant that the girls laid aside their spinning entirely and what started out as a work-bee became entirely a social gathering.

1 [-] The "sedenka", or "spinning party", the Bulgarian part of an American pioneer cornhusking and quilting bee -- Analyst]
2 [-] "Sedenki" -- Analyst]

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Usually after midnight, the singing at the *sedenka* began to decrease in volume, conversation became dull, and the boys sensed that it was time to go. After their departure the hostess often served refreshments such as a soggy cheese pie *(banitsa)*, and the girls might or might not spend the night. The courting aspect of the gathering was emphasized by the fact that none of the married people of the household, except the mother of the girl acting as hostess, could be present. Even she was absent much of the time in some of the homes. 584 574 883

It was at these *sedenki* that I collected a number of village proverbs, which were a real conversational aid to young people somewhat tongue-tied in mixed company. 538

"A kind word opens an iron gate."

"God gives but does not drive into the stall."

"A wet person is not afraid of rain."

"Listen much, speak little."

"Short are the legs of a lie."

"Stretch out your feet according to your quilt."

"I am telling your daughter so that daughter-in-law may hear [speaking indirectly]."

"After the rain, a raincape."

"Every pear has a stem."

"Give advice freely but not money."

"The thirsty carry water."

"A dog that barks much puts a wolf in the stall."

Within recent years the *vecherinki* provided young people other means of getting acquainted. The purpose of a *vecherinka*, or evening entertainment in the schoolhouse, was not to get any work done, but to raise money for some worthy cause. The villagers bought tickets to a program of music or drama, provided by both imported and local talent. Auctions and lotteries were features of most *vecherinki*. After the program was over the people joined in dancing: first, for an hour or so, they danced the native *hora*, to be followed, when the old folks 584 517 883 [525] [535]

[A "sedenka" is a spinning party — The Bulgarian — part of an American pioneer corn husking and quilting the ... Analyst]

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585 quantities of wine and *rakiya,* the hiring of musicians from Sofia, and the baking of many pies and loaves of bread. Of course, the women of the neighborhood shared in the excitement by helping both the parents of the bride and of the groom.

Before the church service all of the young people who could find a wagon went to the bride's house, and after certain formalities took her possessions to the home of the groom. The bony horses raced around the curves in a cloud of dust while the boys cracked whips and shot guns. The procession to the church went first to the home of the godparents, a point of special honor, then to the home of the groom, and finally to that of the bride. As in America, there was room for great variety in wedding procedures, according to the amount of money the families could afford to spend.

431 584 Another important aspect of a village wedding was the custom of presenting important guests with some sort of garment. The groom's family gave a shirt, a belt, or a handkerchief to each of its close relatives, but the bride had to have something ready for the relatives of both families. When she was eight or nine years old she began preparing these numerous presents, doing them all by hand. In return she received a small sum of money from each person she honored. At the first weddings I attended I failed, through ignorance of the custom, to live up to my part of the bargain, but that seemed to make no difference in the way the people felt toward me. They never came to remind me of the oversight, because with natural courtesy they did not want to make me, a guest, feel uncomfortable or embarrassed. One evening when I was visiting one of the families I knew best, I asked a twenty-year-old girl to show me her hope chest containing the presents that she intended to give away as well as those garments that she planned to keep for her own use. This is what the chest contained:

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25 pairs of socks knitted by the girl
55 long white shirts of homespun cloth (half to be given away)
35 homespun belts to be given to unmarried men
15 face towels
15 headkerchiefs worn by married women
20 *sukmani,* or black jumper dresses (most to be kept by the girl)

This girl was by no means from a rich house hold.

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591 by her husband, to come and live with him. Most married daughters
● 574 liked to visit in their parental homes on Sundays and other holidays, with their children and their husbands. While the frequency of visitation naturally varied with the daughters' sociability, it was significant that the daughters of wealthy peasants returned more often for visits than the daughters of poor peasants. There might have been an economic as well as a filial motive involved in this visitation. Married daughters still living in Dragalevtsy frequently called on their mothers, and helped them through difficult times. In more than half of the homes the married daughter-mother bond was kept intact, a source of comfort to both parties.

593 Married sons living with their parents were far more considerate of them than sons who had separated and lived in houses of their own. While in the paternal home they were subject to the authority of the old people, especially to that of the father. Sons living separately had no reason to obey the father if, as was usual in such cases, the property had already been divided. Though he might go to his father for advice, he was just as apt to seek the advice of tavern cronies. Of course, there were many variations of this situation. One thirty-eight year old son, married but not living in the paternal home, consulted his father about everything of importance—buying land, selling animals, building a house.

In another case, where the youngest son and his family lived in the paternal home with the widowed mother, the son got along extremely well with the mother. For instance, when she slapped him resoundingly because he had gone to the drink-shop, he simply smiled and said: "All right, you have the right to do that." He consulted his mother about many things, saw to it that she did not do heavy work and that she had an honorable place in the household.

In one household the twenty-six year old son spent little time at home because of his job as the *Obshtina* courier. He and his father experienced considerable conflict because he did not hand over his earnings to the old man but spent them on his own needs. At the same time he was living and eating free of charge in his father's house, much to the satisfaction of his mother who championed him before her husband. Naturally the son was dissatisfied with staying at home,

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593 Although this insight into the relations between parents and their children, both adult and immature, has taken us beyond the period of childhood, it does show us why the children had to learn obedience and respect and why the village would soon show its dissatisfaction [857] with anyone who flouted the established rules. Children also learned to defer to an older brother or sister, and assumed responsibility for those who were younger. In the main, a child's life was centered about the home and about those activities which he shared with members of his immediate family or the relatives in the neighborhood who were young enough to be his playmates.

527 Children became acquainted with their relatives in other villages ● 574 on the annual *Subor* or "At Home Day" which each village observed. Dragalevtsy families had four village *Subori* which they could attend; on Pantaley Den (August 9) they could go to Boyana; on Spasov Den (the Monday of the eighth week after Easter) they could go to Durvenitsa; on Petkov Den (October 27) they could visit Bistritsa; and on Archangel Day (November 21) they could visit Simeonovo.

I once attended this Simeonovo *Subor* with the Dragalevtsy families. I was told gravely by the old women that on this day everyone must be especially good, for the Archangel Michael was the one who received the souls of the dead into heaven. On the day preceding, the Simeonovo women had gathered to make many loaves of bread from flour previously donated to the church by its loyal supporters. Early on the morning of the *Subor* the church sexton with some helpers killed four sheep for the big meat stews; later he gave terse commands regarding the flavoring of the stews: bean and mutton, cabbage and mutton, and rice and mutton—a somewhat monotonous menu, but one hallowed by tradition.

We started our four-mile walk at an early hour. The air was crisp and so clear that the great Balkan range, miles across the plain, stood out sharply in its rose and blue. By midmorning a large number of people, including the children, had come into the churchyard. Most of them entered the church and attended part of the service; the women carried bread and boiled corn to be blessed by the priest, who received a portion. At noon, the church service was concluded and the priest blessed the meal prepared under the auspices of the church. Then it

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was that a few hundred people—guests, villagers, and total strangers—partook of the common meal. This dinner was typical. There was wine in abundance, for, as a member of the financial committee told me, wine induced a generous spirit in the hearts of those making their annual pledges to the church. After the meal and the pledges, the crowd dispersed. Visitors went home with family groups for further eating and drinking. The village square became a kaleidoscope of colors when peasant boys and girls began to dance the stately *horo* to the music of the pipes and drums. 527 574

With the coming of evening the guests left the village. Simeonovo moved again through a period of quiet and almost unbroken monotony until Archangel Day next year. Of course Christmas and Easter brought celebrations, but not the dash and gaiety that the presence of several hundred outsiders invariably created.

In spite of these set occasions for visiting, a surprising number of Dragalevtsy people stayed put, at least as far as going to other villages was concerned. *(See Appendix V.)* They had business in Sofia, and could justify going there. But almost half of the *stopani* never went to another village, even though there were four villages within five miles of Dragalevtsy. The same held true for their wives, the *domakini.* But those that did take such trips usually let their children go along, at least on some of the visits. These proved to be gala events in the lives of the youngsters. 574

In addition to the commemoration of Christmas and Easter and the celebration of St. George's Day, described in the last chapter,[1] there were other holidays during the year which interested the children as much if not more than they did the adults. On the few summer holidays the villagers avoided any strenuous field work; since most of the special days came in the winter it was simple enough "to remember the holiday and take it easy." If the people found it necessary to do some important job on a holiday, they had a precedent set by no less a personage than St. Peter himself. On his own name day (July 12) he saw that the grain needed harvesting, so he took a piece of hearth cake in one hand and a sickle in the other and went to work reaping his wheat "so that the ripe grains wouldn't fall to the ground." 527 857

[1] [cf. pp. 106-111, category 116--Analyst]

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"Studying their lessons in the pasture while tending the sheep . . ."
See page 117.

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Dragalevtsy families on their way to a *Subor* in Simeonovo.
See page 124.

[Facing p. 128]

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527 857 and provide food and drink for their friends on their name days. Children had to grow into the many practices surrounding holidays just as they had to grow into understanding of how to become a good farmer. It took some time to learn, for example, that on September 11, the Day of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, one should have nothing to do with objects colored red. That color symbolized blood and guilt. On the first of March, however, red was very much in evidence. In the cities the young people exchange *martenitsi,* equivalent to our Valentines. This day was popularly called *Baba Marta* or "Old Woman March," because the weather during March was changeable and whimsical.

Although the villagers themselves paid little attention to the patriotic holidays which had been started within the past few decades, children welcomed them, for they meant a variation in the school routine. Schoolteachers would never think of letting a patriotic holiday go by without some special exercises. Among such holidays were those commemorating the liberation of Bulgaria, the King's birthday, the King's name day, the King's ascension to the throne. A special holiday for students was also becoming firmly rooted. It was the one honoring the missionary brothers, St. Cyril and St. Methodius, who were the patron saints of learning.

[574] These holidays, both religious and patriotic, were often the occasion for relatives to come to the village. The buses, mysteriously held together in places by baling wire, chugged up the hill to the square to disgorge their load of people and grotesque bundles. Children crowded around to greet the newcomers and merrily skipped beside [166] them as they walked toward the house. However, one-third of the homes had *no* visitors from outside the village during the year. Many of the visitors were originally from Dragalevtsy. A record of one year's migrants, twenty-one in all, showed that six had married outsiders and settled elsewhere; four had gone as soldiers, four as students, two as laborers, and the rest as cabmen, watchmen, and a coffeehouse proprietor.

527 857 608 All these holidays meant much to the children: exciting food, observance of age-old customs, and the arrival of guests. A few holidays were of special importance to godparents and godchildren. On

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156 turn to Sofia for employment and sympathy. But the significant fact is that
702 most young people do submit to the process of resocialization and as they grow older adopt the conservatism of their elders. In other words, no attempt is made in the army experience to teach them new farming methods, bee-keeping, animal breeding, or anything else which they might apply in a useful way upon their return to the village.

554 3. For the Good of His Soul. When asked "Why do you go on pil-
788 grimages to various Bulgarian monasteries?" the peasants often answer: "We
484 go for the good of our souls." No mention is made of the enhanced social status that is theirs as a result of such a trip or the excitement of being sped on their way at the edge of the village by the priest and a flock of relatives or welcomed back far outside the village by the same relatives two or three days later. The most popular place to visit is Rila Monastery, the historic, magnificent establishment in the heart of the Rila Mountains to which thousands come at Easter time. The Dragalevtsy peasants (only thirty-five from the village went in 1934) mix with the assembled multitudes at Rila, attend the services, buy sacred objects, and snatch what sleep they can before starting on the return journey. If they are walking, the pilgrimage requires five or six days; if they go by automobile from Sofia, they spend one day en route each way. In olden days pilgrimages played a great part in creating social contacts between the villages and the outside world. Now we can safely conclude that as other means of making social contact increase, the importance of making pilgrimages decreases.

484 4. To Visit Socially. Once a year a Bulgarian village has an "At Home
574 Day." This event always falls on the name day of the saint, angel, or member of the Trinity for whom the local church is named and is commemorated by the preparation of immense quantities of stews for the few hundred guests from outside. Many of these guests are old residents returning with their families for a visit. There is a special service at which bread and boiled corn is blessed, the priest in return receiving a portion of the food. At the meal afterwards, to which all guests are invited, pledges are made for the upkeep of the local church. Many guests would rather go to the homes of friends and relatives than partake of the common meal; this makes more intimate visitation possible. These "At Homes" of neighboring villages are the chief attractions drawing the peasants from Dragalevtsy to other villages. Table 13 on the following page shows us how often Dragalevtsy family heads visit other villages (for the "At Home" as well as other purposes).

484 Combining the data in this table with other information obtained we can make the following conclusions regarding the social visits of Dragalevtsy people to other villages:

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stop to spend money in a generous manner. This is one reason that the peasants complain so bitterly of their dull, monotonous life and long to have their children counted among the white-collar class. 369

Recently Dragalevtsy has become a mountain summer resort. Twelve families have little villas in or near the village, while as many more live in the monastery. These seasonal guests buy most of their produce from the villagers, and patronize Bai Penko's tavern daily. Some, especially the twelve families with summer houses, are counted as real citizens of Dragalevtsy, though the peasants do not try to assimilate them into their informal groups. These summer guests are in a position to do much in the way of village improvement if they cared to seize their opportunities. 529

2. Family Guests. Another important influence from outside comes in the form of guests entertained by the family during the course of a year. The numbers of guests from Sofia, from other towns, and from villages are shown in Table 14 below: 574

TABLE 14

Guests in Dragalevtsy Homes During the Year 1934, Classified According to Domicile (Census of 1934)

Number of Guests	Number of Families Entertaining Guests			Total Number of Guests*		
	From City	From Town	From Village	From City	From Town	From Village
0	96	249	62	0	0	0
1-10	125	8	135	786	36	824
11-20	34	0	58	555	0	888
21-30	3	0	14	75	0	380
31-40	4	0	1	150	0	35
41-50	5	0	0	250	0	0
Over 50	1	0	1	100	0	65
Total	172	8	209	1,916	36	2,192

*Computed from actual figures and not from class midpoints.

Out of the 268 families that reported, 96 families do not have any guests from Sofia during the year. The guests visiting the 172 remaining families total 1,916 people. In other words, if all the people who come from Sofia to visit stayed in the village and did not return home, the village would little more than double its present population, ignoring the possible natural increase. Of course, the total of 1,916 does not necessarily include that many people, but certainly over 1,000. These visitors are relatives or friends, generally of peasant origin, who have gone to the big city and succeeded. As one stands in

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●574 the main village square and sees these visitors arrive, averaging 36 each Sunday, one marvels at the grotesque bundles with which their arms are loaded. A christening, a wedding, and, to a less extent, a funeral, call them back to the village. Conveniently for them, christenings and weddings take place on Sundays; funerals, unfortunately for them, cannot wait for Sunday but occur a day or two after the death.

There are no towns within forty or fifty miles of Sofia, and therefore very few guests from other towns visit the village. Only 8 families report such guests, the total number of the visitors reaching 36.

Out of 271 families reporting, only 62 do not have guests from other villages during the year. This means that 209 families do. The total number of outside villagers is 2,192, many of them coming to Dragalevtsy's "At Home Day" on the Day of the Holy Trinity.

Only a few of these guests originally came from Dragalevtsy but it is of interest to notice how many leave the village permanently in the course of a single year, why, and where they go. These facts are shown in Table 15.

TABLE 15

166 MEMBERS OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS WHO PERMANENTLY LEFT DRAGALEVTSY DURING 1934, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO REASON FOR LEAVING AND DESTINATION (CENSUS DATA)

LEFT TO BECOME:	DESTINATION:			Total
	Sofia	Town	Village	
Soldier	3	1	0	4
Student	4	0	0	4
Coffee house proprietor	1	0	0	1
Cabman	1	0	0	1
Watchman	0	1	0	1
Laborer	0	0	2	2
Wife	1	0	4	5
Husband	0	0	1	1
Unreported	1	1	0	2
Total	11	3	7	21*

*These 21 persons came from 19 of the 279 families covered by the census questionnaire.

574 3. VILLAGE GUESTS. During the course of a winter several *vecherinki*, or community parties, are staged in the schoolhouse by some organization for the purpose of raising funds. These are usually followed by a dance at which the thirty-five guests from Sofia (that being the average) mix little with the peasant folk. These guests are entertainers or friends of the intelligentsia.

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574

"The . . . purpose of the *sedenka* is to help some woman card her . . . wool." *See page 261.*

[Facing p. 260]

178 181 Instead of concentrating on the improvement of home-making and the encouragement of hygienic practices, which were their primary aims, they were also trying to change the women's meeting habits, or their ways of getting together. They insisted that the women leave their homes and come to the school for an artificially assembled meeting of a stiff, formal sort where they would be on the "receiving end," without the give-and-take of informal conversation to which they were accustomed.

As I sensed this difficulty I became convinced that the folkways already provided an avenue to the village women: namely, the *sedenka,* or "sitting," which is the name the villagers have given to the women's working groups.

574 476 THE SEDENKA.[1] Allegedly, the main purpose of the *sedenka* is to help some woman card her fluffy, newly-washed wool or to help her spin some of the wool into thread. Actually, it is recreational as well, for the women thoroughly enjoy sharing the gossip, the songs, and the food which accompany such get-togethers. Although these *sedenki* (pl.) seem at times to be hit-or-miss affairs, certain unwritten rules govern their activity. If a woman, for example, wants to have the help of her neighbors in carding her wool there are procedures she must follow.

1. She will select the guests quite carefully, inviting those who owe her work in kind or those to whose houses she wants to be invited when they card their wool. She rejects from the number those who cause ill-feeling, who stir up trouble, or who are at odds with each other. Similarly she rejects those whose houses she does not want to visit in a "return engagement" either because their food is poorly prepared or because they are dirty and slovenly in their housekeeping. At times she is prevailed upon by a close friend or a relative to invite some individual who is not popular enough to receive many invitations but who is anxious for the social intercourse that these occasions provide.

2. She will issue the invitations in the time-honored way. Although she may have seen two friends the evening before at the fountain and learned from them that they definitely plan to attend, she nevertheless goes to their homes before daybreak to call out in the crisp autumn air, "Anka, Anka." The dogs set up a terrific roar, and Anka finally appears at the door. "I'm having a *sedenka* today and I hope you can come." Anka accepts most graciously, while the walking alarm clock moves on to issue the next invitation.

3. She will prepare quantities of special food. There are certain dishes that are *sedenka* favorites. In the fall, one of these is *banitsa,* a soggy pumpkin pie two feet in diameter. A stew of beans or one of meat and vegetables is often popular.

4. She will see that the activities at the *sedenka* flow along normally. There must be enough of the comb-like affairs, long spikes set in a small

[1] [For additional material, see pp. 74-77, category 116--Analyst]

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574 476 wooden frame, through which the wool is drawn. The women in all parts of the room must be kept supplied with wool. Mealtimes must come at the prescribed intervals, and the good conversationalists must be urged to repeat some of the latest news, while those who consider themselves singers must be encouraged to start a song. And so the day passes. The women have arrived in the morning as soon as they completed their morning tasks, and they stay until midafternoon. At other times, however, a smaller group assembles in the evening for four or five hours of enjoyment and spinning.

521 Needless to say, these *sedenka* groups[1] are powerful agencies in the dissemination of news and in the formation of village opinion. After a day spent in one of these sessions a woman has a supply of "small talk" sufficient to last her for two or three days in conversations with those who did not attend this particular gathering.

000 GOOD EXTENSION PRINCIPLES AND THE SEDENKA. The specialist who uses a *sedenka,* whether especially arranged for her or not, would be following good educational and sociological practice.

1. *She would be bringing people together in a familiar environment:* that is, one of the village homes. There would not be the strangeness of the schoolroom nor the distractions of completely new surroundings. Instead of having to adjust to a new place and a new person (the speaker) the women would play the role of hostesses and expect the speaker to adjust to them.

2. *The people would already be accustomed to meeting with each other.* Any newly-formed group needs an exploratory period in which the bolder individuals try various things on the group to see what meets with favor and what with stony indifference or frank disapproval. In a *sedenka* group, people already know how their remarks and their questions will be received, which is a matter of much importance in a learning situation. Among people who do not know each other well an ill-advised laugh at a sincere question can kill the chances of a lively, helpful, wholehearted discussion. The congeniality of the group is further assured by the fact that the hostess is able to use a selective technique which weeds out the incompatibles. Fortunately, these "incompatibles" are usually compatible in other groups where they have much in common with their associates in these groups. Therefore, every village woman could be reached in some *sedenka* grouping.

3. *The demonstration agent could use the artifacts of the village home to good advantage.* As far as possible the demonstration should be built around what the women already have, for that is what they must use if they follow the speaker's suggestions. The average village home would not spend more than four or five dollars a year on furnishings, utensils, and the like, nor could one expect them to spend more than this out of the meager budget

[1] [cf pp 74-77, p. 261, category 116 -- Analyst]

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young people connected with it, it had little reforming influence upon 273
the older people. The government was trying to control the sale of 733
liquor by limiting hours of sale and by excluding minors from taverns. For example, the taverns were closed during the time of Sunday morning service.

Here, then, we have three efforts on the part of villagers and authorities to promote abstinence or temperance. The first, in 1922, used the local governmental machinery but lacked the support of the men who were the only ones with the right to vote. The second was the voluntary association of strong-willed youths, who soon found that formal organizations had short lives in Dragalevtsy. The other method consisted of the mayor's arbitrary edicts, which he had power to make people obey. From time to time he overlooked infringements of his rules, being more interested in avoiding excessive drunkenness on the part of well-known sots than in decreasing the tavern keeper's revenues.

The chief objections raised to the use of liquor were economic rather than moral. Although recreation was not commercialized in our sense of the term, the tavern keepers did make an adequate income from catering to patrons with free time on their hands.

The only formally organized recreational group in the village was 529
the *Yunak* organization. It began its career in the village in 1932. 575
The local group was one of hundreds scattered throughout the whole of Bulgaria for the purpose of organizing the youth for sport and physical education. The activity of this organization was intense in the beginning. Since then, however, interest died down to the point that the young men gathered only two or three times a year for exercise in the schoolyard where there were rings and a horizontal bar, and once a year for election of officers. Many of the members felt that it was an honor to belong because it signified to the rest of the villagers that "you want to be healthy." The older people, however, thought that such an organization was unnecessary since, in their opinion, "if the young people did enough work in the fields and around the stables they would not need any organization for exercise." As is the case with many clubs of this sort, there were four or five people who really carried the load in an effort to keep the group alive. Because this organization was so utterly out of line with the familistic point

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529 of view, its members got little encouragement from the older people
575 and had little lasting enthusiasm for its program.

575 The Reading Room Association *(Chitalishte)* was organized
829 locally on February 10, 1921, upon the initiative of men who had been outside the village and had returned with the desire to raise the cultural level. From its founding, however, it concerned itself more with financial than with cultural problems. In the words of the constitution, the purposes of the organization were:

A. to influence the people of the village, especially the young to self-improvement.

B. to cause to grow among the people a feeling for public unity in life and for intelligent usage of the village domain.

C. to cultivate love towards the fatherland and towards the good and morally edifying elements of the national literature.

The *Chitalishte* planned to achieve its purpose by opening a public reading room free for all inhabitants and visitors and supplying the room with suitable books. The *Chitalishte* group also planned to organize evening lectures and other public performances and entertainments "in order to create a patriotic feeling and appreciation of the nation's past."

The first act of the newly organized society was to buy a large sign inscribed with the name of the organization. After that the officers spent money for chairs, lamps, benches, bookcases, stovepipes, and tables, while individuals donated inkstands, water jugs, a box for gathering money, and a picture of the Madonna. Unfortunately this left practically no money for any form of reading matter. The expense of having a share in the construction of the *Obshtina* building further drained the financial resources of the organization. It was also a factor in keeping away prospective members who preferred to wait until the building was paid for before they joined. In 1937 twenty-two people, most of them charter members, were looked upon as active supporters of the work of the *Chitalishte.*

Most of the members were critical of the present officers, and recognized that the organization's activities were at a standstill. When members were asked to tell how they would improve matters if elected

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to a position of importance they answered: "We should choose a new executive committee, put the library in order, lend out the books, have more evening entertainments. To do this we should get in touch with people in Sofia." 575 829

Part of the trouble arose from disagreement among the officers. In the words of one member, "An organization cannot get ahead with that sort of business." But even more of the trouble went back to the fact that the organizers had not convinced the villagers of the importance of the group. Meanwhile, most peasants looked upon it as an importation of interest only to the intelligentsia and their hangers-on.

The experiences of the *Chitalishte* and other organizations in Dragalevtsy revealed that the peasants were not organization-minded. Even if we included the governmental groups to be discussed in the next chapter, we would find that less than ten women in the village belonged to any formal group, and only 107 of the 510 men over twenty years of age had an organizational membership. Where people's homes were so conveniently located one would expect greater participation on the part of the men, at least. But almost four-fifths of them avoided any organizational affiliation, largely because they were not accustomed to using an organization to do what they thought needed to be done. One of the most frequent reasons for failure to join was this: "Why should I pay the fees charged when I would get nothing in return?" 575

In this world of competing *isms* Dragalevtsy represented in 1937 a modification of familism, the oldest and most widespread way of life we know, perpetuated by agricultural villages all over the world. But familism was slowly losing out. In some quarters of the world the commercialism of a capitalistic system was supplanting the older values with money values; in other quarters the collectivism of a communist society was shaking the economic foundations of the large family group. 178 596

As far as Dragalevtsy was concerned, commercialism was in its infancy. Back in 1937 communism might have seemed to the outsider to have a hold on this village as well as on others in Bulgaria

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A friend and I had been cycling on the road which followed the Iskar River and stopped at a Panchevo inn. The waiter brought us white peasant cheese, wrinkled brined olives, and freshly made bread to which warm ashes clung. Cold beer made a perfect drink. 159 585

The village priest, who had become such an integral part of village life and managed to keep harmonious relationships between the church and the state functionaries, was no longer in Dragalevtsy. Three years ago he had become involved in an administrative argument with his superior and was told to transfer to a much less desirable parish. Rather than make this shift he went to live in Sofia where, true to his training in finance and commerce, he had a share in a small business enterprise. He still wore his priestly garb, occasionally officiating in a Sofia church. Someone described him as "a minister without portfolio."

The directress of the school was the only member of the intelligentsia who had stuck to her post through thick and thin. She still took the same interest in the all-around development of the children, emphasizing in particular their hygienic training and their religious tuition. There had been considerable shifting in the membership of her teaching staff, but she still had five teachers who, like their predecessors, were more interested in Sofia week ends than village welfare.

The Sekretar Birnik, who had much to do with the collection of taxes and thus enjoyed a social standing out of line with his educational preparation, had also left Dragalevtsy and had been replaced by a local person.

It seemed strange to visit the now completed municipal building and to find the woman doctor no longer there and to notice the absence of her husband from the taverns where he had enjoyed playing cards. Since both were White Russians they knew that their lot under the Communists would be full of uncertainty. No one seemed to know just where they had gone.

Much had been happening to the village organizations as the intelligentsia faded from the scene or were replaced by others with different points of view. The Red Cross, in which the mayor had 575 178

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575 178 taken such an interest, had long ceased to have any importance. This was also true of the Union for Protection of Children, which had had as its chief function the provision of school lunches for the poor children. The Association for the Decoration for Valor was still tottering along, and its members hoped eventually to enroll three or four members who had participated in the recent war. The School Board had become a thing of the past as the control of the school passed into the hands of the Sofia School System. The Church Board, however, was maintaining its existence and was giving its support to a new organization called the Christian Union which had been founded during the Fascist regime as a religious welfare organization. Before the coming of the Russians this Christian Union had collected and distributed to the poor families at Christmas time and the New Year an amount varying from sixty to seventy thousand leva. In 1945 it boasted about seventy-five members and was flourishing.

For the most part, however, the village organizations died at birth or perished in early infancy, as an earlier chapter showed. The [596] Dragalevtsy peasant had not yet become a joiner.[1] He gained his social status by the position his family held rather than by the numbers and types of organizations to which he, as an individual, was elected

183 178 Such, then, was the prelude to Communism. The coming of the National State to the village back in 1934 set a pattern by which each peasant household was later on closely geared in with a totalitarian wartime economy. The majority of traditions were holding firm among the middle-aged and old, while many of the younger people no longer disguised their interest in the fascinating ways of the West. The net effect of the war was to commercialize more fully the village's economic life and make the peasants more money-conscious. Their incorporation into the Sofia municipality as well as the Fascist nature of their state made them feel less responsible as individuals for governmental affairs and drew them farther away from the democratic Slavic tradition inherent in their old joint family system. Religion continued to be accepted as a matter of course, for no one questioned the propriety of having a priest officiate on ceremonial or patriotic occasions.

1 [As of 1945-- Analyst]

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622 to qualify for governmental retirement benefits and his former sup-
668 porters were now a part of the opposition. Sofia, too, had a new mayor. It seemed to the village dignitary that all of his trouble was becoming a labor of love for which he would receive little financial return. Upon last report he was seeking a way out of office and was subject to a great deal of jesting in the taverns. The men all laughed one day in December, 1945, when a visitor from Sofia addressed him as "Mr. Mayor," because nobody knew at that time whether he was the mayor or not.

An office more important, however, than that of the mayor was that of the Commune Secretary. In Dragalevtsy this man was a Communist and, although he did not take the public limelight as much as a regular mayor would, he was the key person in the local government. Communist party matters frequently cleared through him, and he was in position to inform higher authorities about all phases of village government. Whereas the mayor's allegiance was primarily to the people of Dragalevtsy and secondarily to the Agrarian party, a luncheon conversation with the Secretary showed me that his loyalty was first of all to his party. Through serving it he felt he was best serving the people.

668 Part of the secret of Communist control in the local community
575 lay in the success which the Communists had in enlisting the aid of
883 many of the young people. In a traditionalistic society, such as one
178 finds in Dragalevtsy, young people have no place of importance. Prestige is reserved for the old; and wisdom is the prerogative of the aged. Therefore a young person is constantly being urged to conform; and whatever idealism may flare up within him in his late teens becomes dissipated in the face of his placid parents and the other apostles of the past. The Communists showed real insight, therefore, in their glorification of the young people, in giving them a place in the sun, as it were. One of the first things they did was to get control of the *Chitalishte,* or Reading-Room Association, and use that as the core for their young people's program. In the house just back of the *Obshtina* they set up clubrooms where members of the *RMS* (Workers Youth Union) could hold meetings, study up on party doctrines, or loaf. The members of this particular organization, although not

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representing the majority of the young people, had an increasing voice in village affairs and were aggressive in their approach to practical problems. Part of this aggressiveness was directed against the young people at that time still active in the *ZMS* (Agrarian Youth Society), which was a part of the opposition.

Another means by which the Communists gained support was in the favoritism shown to party members in the distribution of rationed articles. Just as the ward boss of an American city or the prewar mayor of Dragalevtsy learned that gratitude prompts support or that favors done call for favors in return, so the Fatherland Front made good use of its opportunities. Some of its generosity served purely political ends. The mayor of Sofia, so the Dragalevtsy peasants said, gave one million leva at Christmas time to the *Septemvriche,* or National Children's Communist Organization. Opposition groups, of course, received no such largesse.

But many of the criticisms of pork-barrel politics were due to misunderstanding. The peasants of Dragalevtsy could usually procure no clothing coupons if they had wool at home, and most of them did have a small supply which they were allowed to keep. This amount was based on family size and any surplus was requisitioned by the government. Artisans and laborers, however, who had no sheep, who worked in factories or at their trade, received the clothing coupons, for that was the only way they had of obtaining wearing apparel. Wool and cotton, thread, and goods were still so scarce in both villages and cities that no one group was content with what it had, and peasants were inclined to ascribe whatever others received as due to favoritism rather than the merits of the case. The proof that wool was scarce was the relative inactivity of the carding and spinning *sedenki,* the working bees so popular among the women.

"Why don't you have *sedenki* now," I asked.

"We have no wool to work," was the plausible answer.

Communist party members who used their political standing for self-aggrandizement and enrichment were supposed to be severely dealt with by the party authorities. One story making the rounds in Dragalevtsy had done much to discredit the Communists with those in the opposition. Since living in a Balkan village is a great deal like

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The mayor has some influence with the Debt Commissions coming from government banks to relieve the debt burdens of the farmers, he distributes whatever relief is available for needy families, and he has a prominent part in the administration of the school, public health, and village improvements. Because of this he is gradually displacing the priest as the most important personality in the village. In other words, the paternalism of the church is now being supplanted by that of the state. 622 105

We find a similar situation in the South where white farmers are beginning to depend less upon landlords, banks, and advancing merchants, and more upon the grants from governmental units, whether in the form of relief or credit facilities. Plantation or small-town paternalism is yielding to governmental paternalism.

The Bulgarian peasant is not a joiner. He does not use the organizational approach in attacking a problem but prefers to work through informal groups. There are two chief reasons why he avoids membership in the numerous formal groups seeking the villagers' support: first, he is penurious and will pay no membership fee unless he sees some prospect of personal advantage; secondly, he does not understand the purpose or program of the organizations, since most of them originate in the cities and are promoted by the *intelligentsia.* There are no church organizations claiming his support as in the case in most Southern neighborhoods. Living in a village as he does the peasant can visit with friends and neighbors without the necessity of having an organization to provide a rallying place. 575 181

The Southern white thinks vertically; the Bulgarian peasant horizontally —a difference in mental pattern which accounts for the difference in social process.

By "thinking vertically" I mean that traditionally the Southern white is dominated by the attraction of the American ladder of opportunity, although for him it has often proved mythical.[20] That is, success in life is determined by the extent to which one approximates the plane of living enjoyed by those of a higher economic level. Climbing means competition rather than co-operation.[21] Frustration seems to be displacing the traditional, optimistic view among many of the Southern whites. They look up the ladder, but say, "What's the use of starting the climb!" As individuals they are pitted against forces over which they have no control.[22]

[20] H. C. Nixon, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Shows the traditional nature of this mind-set in speaking of the Old South: "Nonslaveowners expected to become small slaveowners, and small slaveowners expected to become large ones." The mythical aspect is shown nowadays by the phrase "once a sharecropper, always a sharecropper."

[21] Odum, *op. cit.*, pp. 585-586, emphasizes the need for county and/or community co-operation.

[22] Perhaps Populism in the late 19th century came as near creating a consciousness of kind among the rural whites as anything else has ever done.

797 communities, and they worked only for the good of the communities.

797 575 The organizations of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. were started independently of the Protestant or mission people. But those starting both organizations were people who had been closely connected the the Protestant work in Bulgaria. The purpose of organizing those was to make them serve all Bulgarians, especially the Orthodox Christians as well. The Y.M.C.A. was started by the husband of a graduate of the Lovetch School, who was not a Protestant himself, and a friend of his, a banker who was a Methodist. They were able to have an American secretary sent out, and the Y.M.C.A. did an excellent work for the Bulgarian youths. It held evening classes and had fine summer camps in the mountains and on the Black Sea.

The Y.W.C.A. was started by a graduate who was the daughter of a graduate from the Women's College at Constantinople, a Bulgarian. She was ably assisted by several young women who were graduates also of the Constantinople School. The Y.W.C.A. was a vigorous and successful undertaking, reaching many young women and girls in Bulgaria. It conducted many classes and had a summer camp for industrial girls at Zemen all through the summer. It also carried on a good work for the factory girls around Sofia.

Both the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. have been closed since the arrival of the Nazis in 1942. The Communists also do not allow them to continue their work.

000 of the milkmen began at once to retrace the long uphill journey from the city's outskirts to the village.

● 576 Sometimes I overtook these men outside the village and fell in with them.[1] *"Dobra stiga"* ("Well-reached"), I said; and they answered, *"Dal ti bog dobro"* ("God has given you good"). The [822] amenities observed, I then asked about other matters. "How far is it from Sofia to your village?" Always the answer came in terms of "walking hours" and never in kilometers, the accepted measure of distance in Bulgaria. When we would encounter those going in the opposite direction we stopped our conversation long enough to say, *"Dobra sreshta"* ("Well-met"). When I chanced to inquire about the size of Dragalevtsy, the usual answer was, "About three [161] hundred houses." If I wanted to know how many inhabitants this would mean, I multiplied the figure by five, the size of the average household. (The difference between this crude estimate of fifteen hundred and the 1934 census figures of 1,669 persons meant little to the peasant.)

000 No, Dragalevtsy was in no sense of the word a large village, as Sofia savants used to point out to me when they asked where I saw material enough there for a book. Theirs was the loss. An old village with more than sixteen hundred people teems with life. The stuff of which its days are made is rich and lasting; the intricate crisscross of vigorous personalities and deep-rooted folkways proved a never-ending drama for which nature usually provided a superb setting.

788 181 The meadows were lush from the spring rains, some of the fruit trees were in bloom, numberless tiny silver streams spread a glittering net down the side of Vitosha, and a veil of green leaves lay over all the red roofs of the village. Against such a background, a group of peasants made ready for their pilgrimage to Rila Monastery. Such an occasion was as truly an outpouring of joy as was the departure of the Canterbury pilgrims in Chaucer's day. The clanging of the church bell summoned the friends and relatives of the departing pilgrims to the incense-filled church. Inside, before the iconostas, dark and gilt, the priest read a prayer and led the little flock of people to the edge of the village, to the beginning of the outside world, where the

[1] [i.e. milkman delivering their milk to Sofia--Analyst]

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palatable to peasant taste. If the bread supply gave out at the table, the diners sat calmly without eating until the new loaf was brought in, for it was almost impossible for them to eat unless holding a piece of bread in the left hand. Dunking was the approved method of disposing of the juice of a stew. When eating, one was apt to get a greasy coating on the lip; the accepted technique was to scrape this off with a piece of bread already on its way into the mouth. Forks and small spoons were used only when there were guests. But why should table manners not be simple and direct?

"Knives for everybody are not used. There is one knife at the table, but people use their hands, for we peasants say, 'For what did God give the fingers to man if he does not use them to feed himself?' "

As for the preparation of the food:

"Usually it is the duty of the oldest woman in the family to prepare the food, because she knows the best how to cook and she can cook most deliciously of all. In case she is sick, then her daughter-in-law or her daughter cooks. If there are not such, then the man cooks." Here my informant sniffed and added scornfully, "Of course, in such a case dry food is eaten chiefly, but even the men can cook at least some of the dishes."

I asked another woman who really "knew her place," as a Dragalevtsy man would say, whether men could cook:

"Of course, men can do everything woman does, but woman cannot do everything men do. Who cooks for those men that are shepherds or work in the forests but they themselves? Men do not need women half as much as women need men. Yet we all recognize that cooking is for the women, not for the men."

No matter what time of day I entered a village home the *domakinya* (housewife) with unfailing and genuine hospitality offered me food or drink. I began to wonder when the people had their regular meals and found that some homes had no regular mealtimes; instead, people got up and took a piece of bread or anything else available whenever they were hungry. In most families, however, about nine o'clock in the morning a meal called *ruchok* was served to all; at about two, dinner was served, and two hours after sunset the people gathered for supper. One villager put it this way:

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the shoulder. In late July harvesters came from other villages to help 243
at least one-third of the families (the others harvested their own grain)
to cut the grain with sickles and place the stalks in little piles. An
old man, expert through years of practice, then made up the sheaves
by tying together a bundle of stalks with the longest stalks taken from
a previous sheaf. He used a round, pointed stick about fourteen
inches long to make the grain compact and to tie the knot ingeniously.

Most of the grain was threshed by the hoofs of animals, usually 231
horses, on the packed, earthen threshing floors near the house. The 243
Karakachani, a band of Wallachians from the village of Yakoruda in
the Rhodope Mountains, brought about fifty horses to the village at
threshingtime. A peasant paid the equivalent of a dollar a day for
the service of a team. The grain was placed in the center of the
floor, near a pole to which the animals were hitched. Around and
around the pole the horses walked until the rope's length was used
up, whereupon they reversed their direction. Much grain was threshed [407]
by the machine owned by some of the wealthier men of the village,
which was beginning to supplant the old-fashioned threshing floors.
Some of the families still winnowed the grain by tossing it in the face
of a stiff breeze, but many others had access to a separating machine
in the neighborhood.

But this *smes,* or wheat and rye mixture, was not the only crop 241
raised. Quite a few of the homes had garden patches, either in the
yard or on the edge of the village, where peppers, mealy potatoes,
cabbages, and tomatoes were grown. The white beans from Dragalevtsy were said to be the best in this part of Bulgaria.

Some families grew sunflowers in order to sell the seeds for oil.
Pumpkins from the cornfields were prized for use in a soggy pumpkin
pie called *banitsa.* Fruit raising was decidedly underdeveloped, but
the trees that were properly cared for produced very well. Straw for
the animals was frequently borrowed or purchased from the wealthier
peasants who had a surplus from the threshing.

The crop second in importance to *smes,* however, was corn. 462
Of considerable interest were the groups of women who hoed the 241
cornfield first in one direction, and a week later in a different direc- 476
tion. Varying in number from three to fifteen, these groups did 576

462 more than merely chop weeds and loosen the soil; they also afforded
241 an opportunity for visiting and conversation. A day or two ahead
476 of time the woman needing help broached the matter to those whose
● 576 assistance she wanted in her cornfield. She was careful to include only those women who would work in a congenial manner, shunning those known to be gossipy or quarrelsome. At four in the morning on the day of the hoeing the hostess had to go to the home of each guest.

"Anka, Anka," she called above the barking of the menacing dogs. Anka came to the door to greet her walking alarm clock with a cheery *"Dobro utro"* ("Good morning"). Since Anka owed the visitor two days of work for having helped with her cornfield, she readily accepted, hurried about her household tasks, and was ready to leave for the fields by six o'clock. Young women received many invitations because they could better withstand the summer heat. Occasionally, young men, upon hearing that their sweethearts were to be invited, asked the hostess the night before to call them along with the others in the morning. In the field all day long they had a wonderful opportunity to hoe next to the girls of their choice and "to tell secret things and to speak what they shouldn't."

461 Each woman brought her heavy, semicircular hoe and her own
436 bread, but the hostess provided the vegetables and other food. Some-
576 times the people were paid in cash for their work, but more often the work was repaid in kind. The oldest maiden was "at the post." She apportioned the number of rows and kept the workers from getting in each other's way. She set the pace as the workers moved in a line, side by side, across the field. Her word was supreme, and even the hostess kept quiet, although she might think the girl was giving poor directions. The hostess watched the time and told the group when to stop working for the three meals she served. The girl "at the post" gave the signal to resume work, but she did not urge others to work until she saw that the group sentiment favored it. If one woman was not ready to start, the others began anyway. But the niceties of etiquette were always observed: the hostess, who was profiting from the work, invited the group to stop to eat; a guest, who
was directing the group, rather than the hostess, suggested that they take up work once more.

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mental activity exists primarily to meet crisis situations and to keep 181
the established ways of life moving smoothly. The giving of relief, 829
the provision of education, healing of the sick, insurance of cattle 596
and crops are all left to the family rather than to the government.

It is quite possible for several societies to use the familistic approach, in the sense that the family is the dominant institution, and still differ as to the relative importance of many community values. Most of them would probably respect the heritage from the past, but even here there would be variations. As far as Dragalevtsy was [577] concerned, the chief values or virtues were land ownership, hard work, frugality, premarital chastity, observance of some of the more important religious rites, and being a good neighbor. In connection with the last, the villagers said, "God help those with bad neighbors" and "Without good neighbors life couldn't go on."

The Dragalevtsy people, although their underlying organization and philosophy was primarily familistic, had adjusted themselves to a number of modern ways. Some ways persisted because they fitted in with the established customs, and others because they were kept in vogue by force or by the authority of the mayor.

Commerce, as represented by about ten merchant groups, had 441
become established in the village because it was conducted essentially 596
as a family enterprise. From time to time a local man sold some of 462
his land and started in business for himself. He always employed members of his family rather than outsiders, because he trusted his own. If he needed extra help and had an unmarried son, the normal thing was to urge matrimony. He carried over into his business the same idea of division of labor which prevailed at home and in the field. The men ordered the goods, settled the accounts, sold the liquor in the taverns. The women acted as cooks or clerks. Some of the wives who helped keep the store could not read, write, add, or subtract and had to give whole measurements or else depend upon the customer to hand them the right amount for fractions. A husband explained when I discussed the matter with him, "It is better to lose money through error than through dishonesty." Both men and women co-operated in keeping the place clean. Here the man made a concession which he would seldom have made in the home.

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The War of 1939-1945

Jockeying for Position

When the European war broke out in September, 1939, the conditions in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were not dissimilar. In each country a semi-dictatorial government, primarily responsible to the monarch, ruled with the assent of a subservient parliament. The predominantly agrarian masses were discontented with both political and economic conditions but were inarticulate and ineffectively organized. While all former political parties had been officially dissolved, their members continued to carry on a half-concealed activity beneath the eyes of the censor and the political police. The economy of each country was tied, in the main, to Germany's; although in Bulgaria, Great Britain and France made a pretense at counteracting German influences, they had apparently abandoned Yugoslavia to the Axis. In foreign relations both governments officially pursued a policy of neutrality, while their ministers and rulers made open or surreptitious visits to Hitler or his henchmen. German "tourists" ceaselessly worked in each country for the benefit of the German Reich.

Beneath the surface, however, there were forces which caused Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to take different courses when the crucial test came. In Yugoslavia resistance to collaboration with the Axis sprang up the minute the government capitulated. In Bulgaria, on the other hand, the government was able to swing the country into the Axis camp and keep it there until the triumph of the United Nations and particularly Russia made it clear that the Axis was losing the war.

As late as February, 1940, the Bulgarian government[5] assured the members of the Balkan Entente that it would not press its revisionist claims while the war lasted. With the dismemberment of Romania, however, in the summer of 1940, Bulgaria considered itself absolved of this pledge and in September obtained Southern Dobruja, thus regaining the boundary of 1912. Although Romania and Hungary were persuaded in November to adhere to the Tripartite Pact of Germany, Italy, and Japan, and despite the fact that over 80 per cent of Bulgaria's trade was now being carried on with Germany, the tsar and his government refused to join the Axis. Russia, whose agreement with the Reich in August, 1939, had undoubtedly helped to confuse the Bulgarian people, may have had something to do

[5] In well-managed elections, January, 1940, the government obtained a *sobranje* composed of 140 supporters and 20 opponents of whom 9 were Communists. A new government, organized on February 16, was headed by Bogdan Filov who remained premier until he entered the Regency Council in September, 1943.

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Dragalevtsy. In general, though the division of labor was traditional, the specialization of occupation was increasing. Though unemployment was absent from the village, this in no way implied that all had the kind of work they wanted. It was astounding enough that even in times of world depression all did have a way of earning a living. 464

In Bulgaria, as in most countries, property passed from parent to child. There too the laws governing this transfer were very complicated. However, as a general principle in the villages sons inherited twice as much land as daughters. Usually the sons received equal amounts, but a father while still alive could divide the land, taking an equal share for himself, which he later gave to his favorite son. Quite often a sister said when the time of division arrived: "Why should I take land away from my brothers?" and forfeited her claim. In some cases she would sell her share of the estate cheaply to a favorite brother. If she was married, however, her husband could insist that she take what was her due and might even go to court to pursue the case. Every year there were a few Dragalevtsy people involved in long-drawn-out lawsuits originating over the division of inherited land. More often than not, lawyers' fees used up a great part of the value of the property. 428 593 [691]

A heavy inheritance tax accompanied any such transfer of property from the father to his children. One man at work in the hayfield took time off to tell me of the arrangement being worked out in his family: 428 651

"Our father, who is still living, told us three brothers to divide his property equally among us. We have not made the division officially as yet, because if we did we would have to pay an inheritance tax amounting to about four hundred dollars. We divide the land by lot. We take strips of land, both meadows and fields of equal value, and draw lots for the strips. Of course, our father has kept some of the land for himself, but we shall divide that among the three of us after his death."

The most serious conflicts in the village arose when there was disagreement over the division of a patrimony. Brother turned against brother, and whole families became involved in the dispute. There 428 578

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428 was also conflict over the location of boundary stones. At first I could
578 scarcely believe my eyes when I was shown how the peasants dis-
[423] tinguished their fields. Taking some landmark such as a tree, a bend in the road, or a stream, the peasants marked off their strips by small piles of stone. Fences and hedgerows were impracticable because the strips were too small to justify the expense of enclosure. Since every farmer possessed several strips, possibilities of conflict over the boundaries were numerous. The wonder is that there was so little trouble, in view of the fact that every foot of the strip must be utilized if the farmer was to make any profit.

578 Animals too proved a source of dispute. The oxen, for instance,
685 strayed into an unprotected field and did considerable damage to the
42a growing crop. The person incurring loss often took the matter to the mayor for trial in his magistrate's court. Once an effort was made to have all funds collected from such disputes turned over to the local *Chitalishte,* or Library Association, but this received little public support. For some time there was very bad feeling between the shepherds and the dairymen over the question of pasturage. The *Obshtina,*
[656] or local government, passed an ordinance that grazing should be done on one's own land and the common pasture abolished. The shepherds, accustomed to roaming over a considerable area in a day's time, were violently opposed to the new measure; those possessing five or six head of cattle naturally favored it.

Other types of conflict also arose over animals. The widow Zdravka, in explaining to me why she was not on good terms with her neighbor Dimiter, brought another case of disagreement over livestock to my attention:

"Just before St. Peter's Day, Dimiter's dogs fell upon my sow as she passed his yard on her way home from pasture. The pig, which was to bear young the next day, became frightened and fell into a ditch. I immediately went to the veterinarian who told me that the pig's young would be stillborn, and sure enough, they were. I went to the priest and the mayor to ask for justice, but Dimiter told them that he didn't let his dogs out and the accident wasn't his fault. Since he was a man, nothing was done to him and I can't do anything about it myself."

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When I asked her if she and Dimiter had quarrels about other things, Zdravka answered: 578 685 422

"We don't quarrel for I keep quiet, and he only speaks to me 'between his teeth.'"

Poultry was a source of much ill feeling among neighbor women. Whenever a hen or rooster strayed into the garden next door there was apt to be a verbal battle, the effects of which fortunately wore off within a few days. There was one woman, however, who had not spoken to her next-door neighbor for three years because of harsh words uttered about a straying hen. "May her chickens be homeless," cursed the other person in describing the incident.

In case the women quarreled over such things as chickens, overhanging branches of a fruit tree, or the return of a borrowed article, the men were inclined to treat the whole incident lightly and speak of it as "woman's business." On the other hand, if two men had a serious dispute, their families behaved distantly toward each other, either because of actual antipathy or because of paternal command. From the standpoint of social interaction, therefore, a serious row between two men was more of a strain on the social structure than was a quarrel between two women. It was apt to last longer, involve more people, and have larger issues at stake. [562]

A visit to the village courtroom convinced me that money was also the basis for much misunderstanding. The court records were full of cases of men who had argued over financial matters until one of them haled the other into court. Most of these disputes were settled by the mayor, but many people left his courtroom still dissatisfied. Because the Dragalevtsy peasant was penurious, every lev was cherished and spent only when absolutely necessary. Such frugality was a virtue from one point of view, but it became a vice when it led to disruptive conflict. 691 578

This increased emphasis upon money permeated even the family relationships. One woman exclaimed:

"Relatives don't even lend sewing machines to one another without payment. I have a sister-in-law who has a machine, but she won't let my daughters use it unless I pay."

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578 But day in and day out co-operation was much more common in the community than conflict. Conflict was more colorful, it varied the ordinary routine for participants and observers, and it brought to the surface many causes of minor irritation. The character of village life, however, called for continued interchange of labor, implements, and even work animals.

527 241 At breakfast one morning Bai Penko told me that I had better go down to the school meadows if I wanted to see something interesting. The dog days had come. The peasants would do no work of their own during three of these days because of their firmly rooted superstition that fire would later destroy whatever they did. If they should use these days for getting in their own hay, it would probably burn during the autumn. Some imaginative leader had taken advantage of this traditional idleness by proposing that every family send a member down to the school meadows to mow and stack the hay which was later to be sold for the benefit of the local school. The villagers obliged with the mental reservation that it was no concern of theirs if the school's hay burned before it could be sold to the commission merchants.

Even before I had finished my pale cocoa made of sheep's milk, some of the tavern faithful began to drift in. It was already hot outside, so hot that the men rejoiced because they did not have to go down to the meadow in the broiling sun. One patriarch had trouble persuading a daughter-in-law to represent the family, but she had agreed to go if he would buy her the pair of new shoes he had been promising her; another said his son wanted to go because he thought it would be more fun down there than hanging around the house. Such remarks as these spurred me on my way.

I had gone only a hundred yards before I caught up with a housewife headed for the meadow, a wooden pitchfork over her shoulder. She was not looking forward to the toil ahead of her, because she wanted to work in her vegetable garden, dog days or no dog days.

Even before I reached the group I saw them hard at work. Rows of men were wielding scythes, rhythmically and unhurriedly advancing together without leaving an erect blade of grass between them.

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individuals were celebrating their name days with appropriate hospitality. 796

Bulgarian children did not hang up their stockings on Christmas Eve but, if their parents were being influenced by modern ideas, did find a present or two at the foot of their bed when they woke up in the morning. They immediately ran to kiss the hands of their father and mother. They called Santa Claus *"Dedo Koleda,"* which meant "Grandfather Christmas." He did not wear a bright red, white-furred costume but had on a brown homespun outfit that corresponded more nearly to the peasant's manner of dress.

On these ceremonial occasions the father and mother presided with quiet dignity over the celebrations. They were accorded every respect by their children. As the Christmases passed, the couple's feeling of partnership deepened. Each year left its accumulation of memories, about which husband and wife said little, but about which they could feel sure the other was thinking. [593]

Christmas and the holidays that followed were only a prelude to *Velikden*—literally, the Great Day—the day of Christ's resurrection. On the eighth Sunday before Easter, or *Mesni Zagovezni* (meat fast), all those who kept the long Easter fast stopped eating meat. The following Sunday was *Sirni Zagovezni* (cheese fast) after which those fasting gave up all milk products. This Sunday itself was a day of great feasting on all sorts of cheese products. On both Sundays fires were lit; on *Mesni Zagovezni* there was a great fire at night in the village square, and on *Sirni Zagovezni* almost every household lighted a fire in the yard around which the youngsters waved burning straw stuck in the cleft end of a stick and chanted an ancient couplet [785]

> Orata, Kopata!
> Dai mi, chicho, momata

whose significance had vanished with the ages.

On this Sunday, and the three days preceding, all quarrels among the villagers were settled, everyone visiting his neighbors and relatives to beg pardon for real or fancied offenses. The quiet that reigned over the village on the evening of *Sirni Zagovezni* was little short of wonderful. At the break of day the children had risen to kiss their 796 578

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parents' hands and ask pardon for past misbehavior, and all day long there had been a wandering in and out of homes by men to meet some other men with whom they had been at odds, and by a handshake to ask pardon.

I came into the tavern late in the afternoon of that day. It was snowing heavily and the warmth from the stove felt good. Near me sat a man rubbing his chilled hands. After we had exchanged formal greetings, I asked him where he was going, the usual village question.

"I'm going back to my village, eleven miles farther on."

"Where have you been?"

"I've been over to Durvanitsa [two miles away] to visit my parents and beg their forgiveness."

"Have you had any trouble with your parents during the past year that would make you take such a long walk in such bad weather?"

Patient with me, a foreigner, he said, "No, I've had no troubles with my parents. I've been to visit them. That is the custom."

A little later he went out into the snow to resume his eleven-mile tramp back home. His heart was at ease, for he had fulfilled the age-old custom of *Sirni Nedelya* (Cheese Sunday).

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The Saturday following Cheese Sunday was *Todorovden* (the day of St. Theodore, patron saint of horses). Then the children stopped fasting, for their young bodies could not stand seven weeks of a milkless diet. Early in the morning they, together with some of the old people, took communion in the village church. Many of the young men visited the village of Gorna Banya, which had its *Subor* on *Todorovden*. There was a great deal of horseback riding and racing up and down the muddy village streets, in honor of St. Theodore and "to protect the horses from worms."

[777]

Eight days before Easter was the Saturday called *Lazarovden* (St. Lazarus's Day). *Lazarki* groups, consisting of six girls each, went from house to house to sing and dance, according to the villagers in honor of the resurrection of Lazarus. They were given coins and eggs by the peasants who believed that these girls would bring them good luck in the months to come.

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668 confronting anyone seeking a rational solution to the Balkan impasse back in 1945.

178 578 My visits to Dragalevtsy, however, were not for the purpose of involving myself in the weighty matters of Balkan politics. I simply wanted to see how the village had changed, but soon found that an understanding of political events was necessary to an interpretation of the present situation. This became further apparent when I discovered that the three most significant differences between 1937 and 1945 were heightened factionalism, an increased feeling of insecurity, and a shifting of the relative importance of village institutions. Each of these deserves further explanation.

668 178 578 The coming of Communism had fostered factionalism to a degree never before experienced in Dragalevtsy. That, in fact, was its chief sociological effect. During the times when political parties were flourishing with abandon in the late 1920's and early 1930's the competition between party members was more a recreational pursuit than serious political maneuvering. All parties had had considerable backing from their respective leaders in Sofia, and all to that extent were on a similar footing. With the coming of the Germans some villagers ardently supported Nazi ideology and considered Bulgaria fortunate to be allied with the Axis powers; others had their misgivings, but never to the point of splitting up the village on factional lines. Upon the formation of the opposition in 1945, matters were different. No longer was the political competition an internal affair alone, but was one in which outside powers took an active interest. The Communists openly boasted about the might of Russia and spoke with assurance of Russian support; those in the opposition took what comfort they could from British and American actions and speeches but could not claim unqualified aid.

The splitting up of the village into Communists and non-Communists had therefore caused a tear in the total social fabric. For example, children who belonged to the Fatherland Front organization —the *Septemvriche*—received many small favors from the state. Little *Septemvristi* were sent to conferences within Bulgaria and even to Yugoslavia where they performed for their neighbor Slavs. Children who did not belong because their parents disapproved were taunted

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by the others. They answered back, repeating many of the comments heard around the house, comments definitely unfavorable to Communism and its cause. So the bickering reached into the schoolhouse and the playground, and children early became conscious of political differences not of their own making. 668 178 578

With the young people, as already indicated, the division on the basis of political sympathy was even more marked. The Agrarian young people tended to associate with each other, and watched with dismay the active role that the members of the Communist youth group were playing in village life. Some enamoured couples, where each had differing political loyalties, disregarded political barriers in their devotion to each other, but when broaching the question of marriage to the parents often met stern disapproval. A girl's father would say, "I don't want my daughter marrying a Communist" or "You do what you want, but if you marry a Communist never come back to my house."

The controversy over politics extended also to the various "working groups" which had been such a basic part of village life in the past. A woman who was organizing a corn-hoeing group would invite only those whose political interests were similar. She knew that little work would be done in her fields if she got together women who differed over the present government.

At this stage of accommodation, therefore, factionalism was based on political differences and expressed itself in a separatism which seriously affected village life. People who differed politically simply stayed apart; where they had to mingle, such as on a bus, they made the best of it by teasing and horseplay which seemed to be all in fun but which often gave voice to deeply rooted emotions.

Accompanying the disagreements within the agricultural group itself were disagreements between the Agrarians and the artisans. The peasants of the opposition resented intensely the attempt on the part of the government to classify them with "workers," or men who owned little or no land and who depended entirely upon some skill for a livelihood. The peasant in the past had felt superior, or at least claimed to be more favored in social position than the artisan such as the tailor, although envious of the "easy work" that the tailor had to 668 578 554 178

[The Communist government in 1945 -- Analyst]

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668 do. Owing to the Communistic agitation in Dragalevtsy, lines were
578 more sharply drawn between the peasants on the one hand and the
554 artisans on the other. Most of the artisans had learned their trade in
178 Sofia, had been subjected to city influences, and many of them had become acquainted with Communist ideas there before the war. Even Bai Milosh, the village patriarch so frequently mentioned in this account, had a son who had become an ardent Communist. This son was not the one who took over the management of field crops, nor the one responsible for the livestock. Instead he had become a cobbler. He thought of himself as a worker, whereas his brothers thought of themselves as farmers.

668 Quarreling between the young and old also characterized the
578 factionalism. Although the Agrarian young people opposed the
178 Communists, they were certainly influenced by the actions of their
[888] more progressive or radical contemporaries. The older peasants who were opposed to the present regime emphasized time and time again the danger of having young people run the affairs of the land. This displacement of the aged rather than the indifference of Communists to God seemed to be causing the gravest concern to those who had been steeped in the traditional way of life.

But factionalism was not the only pronounced change which I
668 noted. I found everywhere an insecurity which was foreign to the
179 Dragalevtsy I had once known. The opposition supporters could be
626 expected to feel insecure, for they had to face the possibility that Communism would carry the day. But even the Communists who were definitely in the good graces of the party were having many troubled moments. The wife of one Communist was active in the opposition, and when I asked him why he tolerated such political division in his family he simply laughed. I continued to question him: "Aren't you the boss in this family? Why do you let your wife have such independence?"

He then became deadly serious and sought to lead me out of my cloud of ignorance. "You see, it's this way. Suppose the Communists are overthrown. Where would I be then? But if my wife is active in the Agrarian group, she can then speak for me and get me out of trouble."

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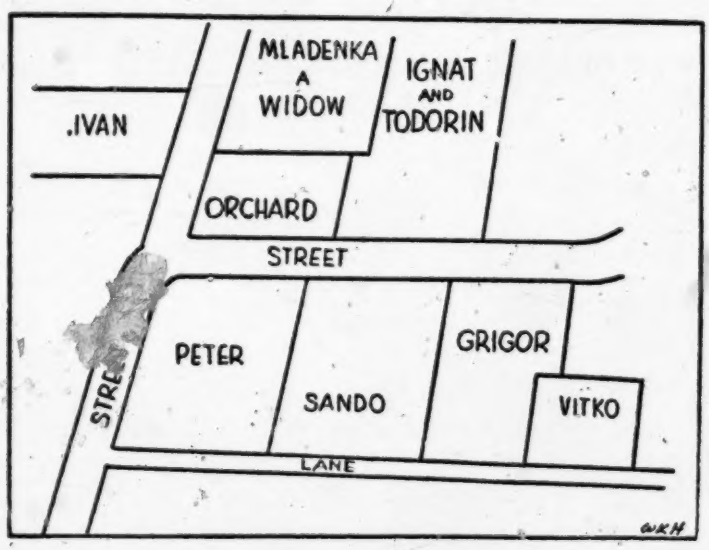
621 [554] Furthermore, the *mahali* (plural form) differ in size and prestige as well as in location. If the fortunes of two or three homes in a *mahala* rise, then the prestige of that *mahala* rises too. Land values go up in that place and the choice residential sites tend to shift there. This is illustrated in the case of the Daneva *Mahala* where the Danev men because of shrewd business methods have been able to accumulate considerable capital. Just the reverse is true in *mahali* where the families are very poor.

621 578 But the general use of the term *mahala* by the Dragalevtsy villagers is that applied to the smaller neighborhood of from seven to twelve houses. This use will be best understood if we briefly consider one of the village *mahali*: for instance, the Stoiova *Mahala* which consists of eight families living in the following spatial relationships and identified by the names of the family head as follows:



THE STOIOVA MAHALA*

Seven family heads are men, one is a woman.

Ignat and Todorin live with their families in separate divisions of the same house.

The kinship nature of the *mahala* is shown by the fact that Ignat and Sando are brothers and are nephews of Peter, and uncles of Todorin. They

* Subsequent investigation showed this *mahala* to be representative of others in the village.

[cf p. 231, category 116.. Analyst]

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TABLE 11

INTERACTION BETWEEN FAMILY HEADS OF STOIOVA MAHALA, DRAGALEVTSY, SUMMER OF 1937

(Positive Interaction, +; Negative, —; Neutral or None, O)

GIVEN NAMES OF HEADS	MLADENKA	IGNAT	PETER	SANDO	GRIGOR	VITKO	TODORIN	IVAN
1. Mladenka,* a widow		+	—	O	—	—	O	—
2. Ignat, a "peacemaker"	+		—	O	+	O	+	+
3. Peter, an elderly man	—	—		—	O	+	—	+
4. Sando, bro. of 2	O	O	—		+	O	+	+
5. Grigor, an outsider	—	+	O	+		—	O	O
6. Vitko, now retired	—	O	+	O	—		O	O
7. Todorin, nephew of 2, 4	O	+	—	+	O	O		O
8. Ivan, a landlord	—	+	+	+	O	O	O	

* The predominance of conflict in Mladenka's relationships may be attributed to the fact that she is a woman and thus at a decided disadvantage. The peasants think of Bulgaria as still being a "man's country," and so it is.

are very distant cousins of Vitko and of Grigor's wife who persuaded Grigor, an outsider, to move to Dragalevtsy. Mladenka moved in from another *mahala,* while Ivan came from some other part of Bulgaria. Further light is thrown on the nature of the *mahala* by an analysis of the interaction between the family heads of the Stoiova *Mahala* as shown in table 11. The positive interaction* took such forms:

Ignat plowed Mladenka's garden plot for her and received in return permission to keep his sheep in her yard during the winter.

* I made no attempt to work out a complicated classification of social interaction with these simple, peasant folk. I soon learned that a rule-of-the-thumb method *similarly* applied in each case got results which checked with my own observation as well as that of the best informed people in the village. Eliminating from consideration here assimilation, competition, and accommodation I used merely the concepts of co-operation (Positive interaction) and conflict (Negative interaction). Where there is little trace of either positive or negative interaction I used the term Neutral. My description is based on the following questions: Which of the family heads co-operate regularly? Examples. Which have difficulties or quarrel more than they co-operate? Examples. Which have little to do with each other? Why?

The examples presented by the villagers to justify their statements were common knowledge in the whole neighborhood. Therefore, I was little surprised to find that once I had tentatively jotted down the prevailing interaction as given by the first informant every subsequent interview confirmed it. It is the case of anybody's business being everybody's business. Indeed, there is little doubt in the "public's mind" as to the relationship between any two people. I even suspect that two people wanting to better their relationship, for instance, would find the public a handicap due to the fixed conception of their respective roles.

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Families of Ignat and Grigor work together in the field and at home throughout the year. Their children are of similar ages.

Sando and Ignat draw wood from the mountain for Ivan and in return borrow money from him occasionally.

Peter and Ivan, both elderly men, are drawn together by common interests.

Negative interaction can be illustrated as follows:

Peter's dog attacked Mladenka's sow which was about to bear young. As a result the litter was stillborn. Mladenka unsuccessfully tried to recover damages from Peter. Now she says of Peter: "He only speaks to me between his teeth."

A quarrel between Mladenka's daughter and Vitko's daughter, formerly the best of friends, over the question of employment as a domestic.

Mladenka is engaged in a lawsuit with Ivan over the question of property. The dispute arose when a new street was constructed between their houses.

Grigor quarrels with Vitko, and Ignat; Sando, and Todorin quarrel with Peter over land.

A count of the bonds between the family heads shows that the three categories are approximately equal in number: Positive—nine; Negative—eight; Neutral—eleven. Of course, we have not attempted to analyze bonds between the wives of the family heads, but we can be sure that if two men are in a quarrel they will forbid their wives to associate with members of the other's family.

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In other parts of Bulgaria I have found that the word *mahala* has a slightly different significance and is used to describe some large section of the village which is separated because of such physical limitations as a river or a hill.[8] This means that other places would not have the twenty-two *mahali* which we find in Dragalevtsy. However, the Dragalevtsy people themselves use this broader term to describe an industrial community which is springing up between the village and Sofia and which has been assigned to the Dragalevtsy commune. Whenever any resident from there comes to Dragalevtsy to pay

[8] "The *mahala* (Dorfviertelschaft) is an enlarged neighborhood, which is usually determined by the physical features of the village. A river, a hill, or a strip of woods divides the village into two or more parts, localities, 'house complexes,' even *mahali*. If, however, there are no geographical lines of demarcation, 'calling-distance' determines the extent of the individual 'house complexes.' If two inhabitants of separate or distant 'house complexes' greet each other, each speaks when the conversation turns upon it of his *mahala* as of something individual and independent, distinct from the others. To each his *mahala* is a sort of miniature *Heimat*. Every man in the whole village is identified first as a native of his *mahala*, then as a member of his neighborhood, finally as a native of his own home. Neighborhood, *mahala*, and village are three gradually increasing entities, of which only the last two exhibit outwardly defined boundaries." (Wasil Handjieff: *Zur Soziologie des Bulgarischen Dorfes*, pp. 35-36.) Also see Note 3 in this connection.

Soviet groove. Secondly, Bulgaria is highly important to Russia strategically. She flanks enemy Jugoslavia. She provides the only direct approach to Greece since Tito has closed the main route. She adjoins Turkey, on whom the Soviets desire to exert pressure from all directions. She is, as we have seen, Russia's chosen instrument of intervention in the Macedonian question. On every count she is the country which, more directly than any other except Poland, can be useful to Russia in the present line-up of European forces. It is not by chance that she and Poland had the honor of being the first to receive high officers of the Soviet Army as commanders-in-chief of their troops. 177 648

The sources of opposition are two. One is nationalism. It may be called Titoism or Kostovism, but it is always treason. Nationalists are dealt with as Petkov and Kostov were dealt with. These two, such poles apart, are simply conspicuous examples among tens of thousands who have suffered for opposing the Communization or Sovietization of their country. Any successors they may have, whether noble like Petkov or hateful like Kostov, will be put down with the same irresistible brutality. 186

The other source of opposition is the peasantry. The peasants resist being made into sharecroppers. They do not think that they are being forced into collectives so that a great social goal can be achieved but in order that a group of adventurers can exploit their hold on them and on the country more conveniently. The Communists are everything that peasants hate and fear—the city slicker, the government bureaucrat. These newcomers in the villages, wearing city clothes, often speaking with a foreign accent, urge the peasants to enter collectives for their own good. Those who do are only one degree better off than those who do not—they are allowed to live, while those who refuse starve. But they live as serfs. They will work for the rest of their lives, as they figure it, to support others who will not or cannot work so hard as they must do—other peasants who have let their lands run down and are glad to merge with those who have kept theirs up, and surplus townsfolk who will never learn to "pay their way." That there are other answers to such arguments than force does not matter. The answer has been given, and it is force. 565 578

[i.e. Opposition to Sovietization---Analyst]

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622 the matter. The mayor was happily married to an attractive wife,
159 who dressed *po modata* (in the latest fashion) and kept her children so neat and proper that they contrasted vividly with the peasant urchins who ran up and down the unpaved streets.

625 The mayor was charged with maintaining law and order with
159 the help of the *strazhar* (police officer), the field policeman, and
622 the forest policeman. The second wandered from field to field to see that cattle did not stray unattended onto strips where there were growing crops; the forest policeman prevented the purloining of wood from the forest lands used by Dragalevtsy people. The mayor also acted as local justice of the peace, and was ex officio member of the school board, health board, and any other village organization he considered worthy of serious attention.

793 But the mayor, although he enjoyed the spotlight, had to share
622 it with the village priest. For five centuries, while the Bulgarians were subject to the Turks, the priest was often the only person in a village with any formal education. He not only interpreted the laws of God, but the laws of man as well. The Bulgarian monks and priests helped keep the feeling of Bulgarian nationality alive during those dark days, and thereby eventually aided in the achievement of national independence in 1878 at the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish
[554] War. Since traditions die slowly in a Bulgarian village, the position of the priest is still very high, although few people attend religious services and fewer people observe the rather rigid fasts of the Eastern Orthodox Church. However, the priest is an essential officiant at christenings, weddings, and funerals. Without him the peasants have no way of meeting life's major crises.

159 Father Sava was the *sveshtennik* or priest in Dragalevtsy. He
793 wore with dignity his long black gown and high brimless hat, his uncut red hair in a knot at the back of his head, and a long auburn
581 beard. I never failed to marvel at his wide range of interests. One day we would poke around his beehives; the next day he would show me his favorite photographs and competently discuss the relative merits of American and German cameras. But it was after I learned of the man's romance that I began to see him in a clearer light. The young lady whom he wanted to marry was the daughter of a priest

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who flatly decreed that his daughter could marry no one but a priest. 159
(Not only are priests well provided for financially, but they can marry 793
only once. This means that they supposedly take exceptionally good 581
care of their mates.) Sava had already completed the commercial gymnasium, had studied for two years in a school for leaders of co-operatives, and planned to attend the university. In order to comply with the demands of his sweetheart's father, however, he interrupted his educational plans long enough to prepare himself for the ecclesiastical examinations, which he passed with credit. He was then assigned to the Dragalevtsy parish. Meanwhile he had married the young lady of his choice. Soon thereafter he obtained leave of absence from his church responsibility in order to complete his work in Finance at the Svoboden (Private) University in Sofia. He was highly respected by the people whom he shepherded and was vitally interested in their welfare.

There were often two or three kibitzers while the intelligentsia 557
played cards. These were lesser officials interested in advancement, or well-to-do peasants who wanted to hobnob with the controlling group. None of these hangers-on had been westernized to the point [291]
of wearing a tie, and some of them still wore the heelless, pointed pigskin sandals.

Oddly enough for a Bulgarian village, the veterinarian and 759
physician were both women, who constantly found the patriarchal 562
traditions stumbling blocks to the winning of village support. The medical doctor was a Russian who had spent part of her childhood in San Francisco, but returned to the University of Petrograd for her medical training. After the Revolution she left Russia with her family.

The only other "educated" people in the village were the 875
teachers, eight in number, selected for their posts by outside school authorities rather than by the villagers themselves. Four of the eight had been born outside the pre-Hitler boundaries of Bulgaria, in territories which irredentist Bulgarians sought to recover permanently. Maria, for example, was from Dobruja, which was then a part of Rumania; Anna and Georgi were born in parts of Macedonia which

CHAPTER V

THE COURTSHIP AND WEDDING

WHENEVER I asked a man or a woman "How did you come to marry?" the response was always the same. After an embarrassed laugh, the person would say, "Oh, it's so long ago. I have forgotten. I have not had time to remember such foolish things." Then would come a quick look at me from dark eyes that never seemed to lose their brilliance even when the broad face was sagging, deeply lined with the years. "You really want to know?" First it came haltingly; then soon the man would drop the harness he was mending or the woman would lay aside her distaff to give undivided attention to the story. I needed to do little prompting. My interruptions were usually questions about attitudes toward courtship or marriage in general. 581

There was never any self-pity, even among those women who had been stolen. Even for them something bright had flashed across their days. And for all—"It was so long ago, I thought I had forgotten. There has been much work." From all their reminiscences, stripped of their meager romance, there emerged the village conception of marriage.

Marriage was expected of young people in Dragalevtsy and was an affair which they usually handled in a matter-of-fact way. The peasant youth did not trouble himself as to whether he should or should not marry. He simply concerned himself, sometimes much and sometimes little, about whom to marry.

A woman who had not married by her twenty-fifth year was considered an old maid. People began to wag their heads and ask: "Why doesn't Vesela marry? She's a nice looking girl. There must be something wrong with her about which we do not know." As a matter of fact, in 1937 there was only one peasant girl over twenty-five un- 208 582

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[554] and these two unmarried women became desirable prospects, one of them marrying a priest's son in Sofia, one of the highest prizes a village girl could capture in her matrimonial venture.

[508] Since public opinion made life miserable for unmarried women,
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581 was different. They could choose to remain unmarried and not lose prestige in the community. People only said: "Well, Asen simply doesn't want to marry. He's a bit shy of skirts, you know."

The young men to whom I talked were outspoken in regard to those qualities which they looked for in choosing a mate: good health, industry, efficiency in the house and field, and proper care of the person. The girls, on the other hand, had little to say regarding the qualities they wanted in a husband. They seemed willing to accept whatever luck brought them. But marry they must.

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883 Dragalevtsy, as was the case with a little more than half the couples, they were already aware of the other's characteristics either through personal acquaintance or hearsay. Many of the married couples had played together as children while tending the cattle in the sun-drenched pastures, only to become distant until most of the adolescent period passed. Then began frequent meetings at the fountain at sunset, shy flirtation at the *horo* and *sedenki,* or rambling conversation on the way to and from the Friday market. At the *sedenki,* held by the young people in various girls' homes on winter evenings, games involving forfeits were played. At one *sedenka* I attended, the girl giving out the penalties sent a couple obviously in love to the dark outdoors "to see what the weather was like." A few minutes later she sent a second couple out to see where the first had gone. All four of the

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threes, and fours passed village girls locked arm in arm; appropriate (and inappropriate) comments were made as they passed. Up and down they went, greeting each other again and again, joking, blushing, laughing heartily, each wondering at the impression made upon some favorite member of the opposite sex. 584 517 883

These modern ways contrasted sharply with the laconic statements of those villagers who had married many years ago.

"When we grew older we began to know each other more intimately and went together for two or three years."

"We were neighbors before marriage. We met every holiday at the *horo* and in the evenings at the fountain. Our wedding festivities lasted three days."

"My wife and I knew one another as children. Outsiders urged both of us to marry, so I stole her. She would not agree to marry me until after I had stolen her."

Often the relatives of the couple involved kept saying that it would be a good thing to have the two persons married, and thus brought about a match they considered advantageous. [581]

In Dragalevtsy human nature asserted itself in universal forms; for example, a village Lothario boasted:

"I had had thirty-five girls, and had gone 'hand-in-hand' with one for two years. But I fell in love with my wife because she was modest and had not talked to boys."

I might add here that the parents of the girl objected to the match, but only because she was taller than her suitor.

Two-fifths of the Dragalevtsy-born men, in their search for a wife, preferred the novelty that other villages afforded. More often than not a Bulgarian youth would all of a sudden get a fixed idea in his mind, "I've got to get a wife." The search was then under way. In such a state of mind the young man was not apt to wander far. The villages in their order of popularity were Boyana, Simeonovo, and Bistritsa. Only two other villages had more than four representatives among the married women. These likewise were not far away. It was significant that no man born in Dragalevtsy and currently living there had a wife born in Sofia. This meant that if a Sofia- 581

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581 born girl should marry a Dragalevtsy boy, she would make him get a job in Sofia and would not return with him to village life.

When a husband and wife born in different villages told their stories I once more began to believe in the improbable. These are typical accounts:

"I went to Kumaritsa to carry my sister's things since her husband was working at the railroad station. We stopped at a house where a niece was living with her uncle. When she heard that people from another village were at her house, she returned and found that she liked me and I liked her. We were both seventeen. Half a year later we married, during which time I came to see her only once. That means we had seen each other twice before we married."

"I met my wife when she was with her father selling onions near the Sofia *Obshtina*. This was on a Friday; the next day I went to get her from her village the other side of Sofia; the following day we were married in Dragalevtsy. The father agreed to this for I seemed to be her destiny."

584 The choice of a mate was not just an individual decision in Dragalevtsy, for the pressure on the part of relatives was steady and occasionally severe. At times the young people rebelled at this guidance but generally acquiesced, largely because they were so economically dependent upon their families. There were no professional matchmakers. In their stead some interested relative would take a hand at getting a daughter married off by seeing that a fitting young man was made conscious of the young woman's qualifications. This was often done so skillfully that the young man thought he had discovered the girl himself. In the 1930's the choice had to seem to originate with the young people, and there were few cases of families forcing their children into a marriage.

583 There were times when girls did marry against their will, but this was not because of parental command. These cases occurred when the bride was stolen without her consent. The actual stealing usually took place in the evening or late afternoon when the young man, assisted by companions, carried the girl from the fountain or the *horo* to his home. The girl's father was supposed immediately to hurry to the boy's home to ask if his daughter was willing to stay. The girl

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CHAPTER VI

MARRIAGE

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THE BULGARIAN groom settled down naturally into the role of the married man as the embarrassment of the first few days of good-natured joshing wore away. He took less and less interest in the Sunday afternoon promenade, preferring to sit in front of the tavern with the other married men where he liked to be complimented on the woman he had chosen in the same way that he would appreciate compliments on a cow just bought. However, as marriage progressed he began to respect his wife as a person rather than as a possession.

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It was when the first child arrived, in a year or so, that the husband suddenly felt a sense of tremendous importance. He was no longer just a married man; he was a father. Though the beginning of married life had little effect upon his behavior, the fact of parenthood changed even his facial expression, his earnestness in his work, and his whole attitude toward the future. I sensed this often in the requests that people made for photographs. Few young men came to ask for pictures of their brides; but many wanted pictures of their infants, especially of the sons. In the case of the first child they would hold him up squarely in front of the camera so that he would fill up the whole picture if possible. But as children continued to arrive year after year, the fathers often asked, "Could we get our new oxen into the picture too?"

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Most of the men accepted marriage as they did the weather: inevitable, sometimes balmy and sometimes disagreeable, but utterly essential. They did not go out of their way particularly to adjust themselves to marriage, and spoke little of marriage. They patiently waited for parenthood, which was revolutionary in its effect upon them.

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With women it was quite different, since marriage for them called for major adjustments. Not only did the wife have to become accustomed to the demands and habits of her husband, but she also had to fit into the routine of her husband's parental home. In some cases she had to subordinate herself to other daughters-in-law in the household. Should she and her husband live in a separate dwelling near the husband's childhood homestead, she still was so subject to the scrutiny of the in-laws that she found it expedient to conform to their ways of doing things.

The woman, much more than the man, had to give up the companionship of her former friends to move in the group of the married women of the neighborhood. In these groups she was initiated into much of the folklore about anatomy, conception, childbirth, and child care. The frank discussion by various women of their personal experiences was enough to make any squeamish girl terrified at the very thought of becoming a mother. Continued discussion, however, made the experience eventually seem less of an ordeal; in fact, it was often a source of comfort and encouragement when her time arrived.

These neighborhood gossiping groups did much more than shock the girl into some of the realities of married life; they also informed her of the personal peculiarities of her in-laws and neighbors; they let her know what she should and should not do. And if she was one of the first of her circle of friends to marry, she could look forward to the day when one or two of them would become brides in the vicinity and could join her in the company of these older married women.

The role of these women's groups in the village was interesting and far more important than the surface informality would indicate. Recreation for the older women was generally tied up with work. Distinctions, however, should be made between the women's work groups, such as those for spinning and carding, and women's gossiping groups, in spite of the fact that the membership was the same in both groups and that gossiping was the chief recreation in both instances. In the work groups, the women were invited formally by the hostess, were fed, and were expected to stay most of the day, definitely to work. Gossiping groups, however, were much more informal, since people

562 "Suppose you wanted to go to market some Friday and your
181 husband thought you ought not to go, what would you do?"

Not a single wife would dare go to market under these cir-
593 cumstances. Two or three said, "I wouldn't even start for the door."

"But suppose you wanted to make some small purchases in the city and your husband disapproved, what would you do?" Only two daring ones out of the thirty said they would make these purchases if they had money.

It paid the women to "behave," because the husband did have the right to beat a disrespectful wife. I never happened upon a wife-beating, but the fact that a few husbands told me with pride, "I never beat my wife," showed me that they considered themselves exceptional.

[208] A wife who received rough treatment, especially if her husband
562 had been drinking, could go to her father's home. She could not stay
593 there very long after her mate had become sober, because her father and the village in general made her feel that her place was with her husband no matter how disagreeable he might be. Usually she waited until her husband came with a meek promise of good behavior to ask her to come back.

In those formal ways a village wife showed respect to her husband. She did not, most of the time, find them burdensome because she knew nothing else. All of her experiences from childhood to
[208] marriage had conditioned her to a subordinate role. Should any woman have tried to rebel against her lot other women would have been her most vigorous critics. They, more than the men, aided in the perpetuation of the existing order.

562 The woman, however, had a far more important place than the
581 social amenities would indicate. Men frankly admitted that they
593 could not make a living without their wives. This feeling of dependence overshadowed the traditional masculine superiority to the extent that a partnership resulted. The man, to be sure, was the senior partner, but he knew that he was a member of a team in which co-operation was essential.

This deeper sense of partnership was best shown by the practice husbands had of consulting their wives on every matter of importance as well as on minor matters. Out of twenty-six representative cases,

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nineteen husbands always consulted their wives before doing anything such as selling a calf, hiring a servant, or building a small stable; four husbands consulted sometimes, and only three were so strong-willed and dominating that they never asked their wives' opinions. Many husbands said that their wives knew more than they did about the management of the farm, though these same wives modestly asserted that they knew very little. One man said: "That's why we are married: to ask each other." Quite a few husbands, having learned that it paid in the long run to consult the women, betrayed this by saying, "We have to ask," or "We have to listen to women."

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Consulting, however, was not always the same as catering to the wives' wishes. I asked twenty-six husbands: "Suppose you had set your heart on buying something but your wife objected, what would you do?" Twelve said they would make the purchase anyway, three hedged a little in their answers, but eleven would buy nothing contrary to the wishes of their wives. This last group of eleven showed that to many men the judgment or wishes of the women meant far more than one would expect in "a man's country."

Much of a woman's hold upon her husband came about quite unconsciously on the part of either. The village wife was artless and ignorant of the wiles of a sophisticated society, but she knew that as long as she was efficient, decorous, and dutiful she could count upon continued support from her husband. She also knew that she was not in competition with adventuresses or with women, jaded and disappointed, frantically seeking excitement to enliven their days. Instead, the Dragalevtsy woman felt secure. With her there was a solemn finality about marriage to which her husband and others in the village subscribed.

She expected no courteous gestures or terms of endearment from her husband. Her name sufficed. Only three couples out of twenty-seven used affectionate names for each other, these taking such forms as *bulka* (bride), *baba* (old woman), and the like, but never *dear*, *darling*, or *sweetheart*. One of the three men who used such names saved them for times when his wife did not listen, and then he used several to get her attention. The occidental practice of kissing was little used by the married couples, though the younger generation was

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593 562 [581] beginning to imitate "the people of the world" in this respect. As the psychological aspect of the sexual relationship between husband and wife varied with each couple, no generalization could be made except to point out that sex seemed to be a concomitant of marriage rather than the basis of marriage. Mates were picked by young men more for their potentialities as hard-working farm hands than for their sexual attractiveness. Quite often before marriage a sort of affection had grown up between the couple; more often affection came after marriage and increased as the partnership proved successful and the feeling of mutual dependence deepened.

Most of these couples freely, sometimes jokingly, admitted that they quarreled more or less, even when they were in many respects fortunately adjusted to each other. Nevertheless, in only one-third of the cases did this quarreling lead to a permanent cause of conflict.

273 593 The disciplining of children by the husband frequently aroused the wife to indignation, but perhaps not to such a depth as did his late arrival from the tavern in an intoxicated condition. Few Bulgarian men drank to get drunk. Intoxication, when it came, was often the result of overenthusiastic observance of drinking customs. For instance, when men drank in the saloon all of them ordered drink and food not only for themselves but for the whole table, everybody paying for what he had ordered before leaving; the people always toasted health, long life, or happiness when they rai[illegible] glass of wine, beer, or whisky, at home, in the tavern, or in t[illegible]d; at feasts *rakiya* was served before the people began to eat; during the meal they drank wine. A drunken man was sent out of the tavern at closing time, and it was up to him to get himself home, even though he fell down several times en route. If he was having too great a difficulty, some companions might lead him. If they were not around, the policeman or night watchman might act as guide. At his approach, the children hid and the wife became afraid. The villagers said: "Even an insane man runs away from the drunken." Sometimes in order to sober up the drunken man, people put a little urine or horse manure (substances rich with ammonia) in his mouth. The chief

Complaint the women made against drinking was economic, The spending of money "for nothing," as they said.

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intelligentsia, when it came to the point dared not run counter to the old village sanctions against divorce. 586

More often it was the husband who left the home. When he did and in rare cases interested himself in another woman, the villagers did all in their power to make him return. If he refused at first, they made him feel the indignation of public opinion, treating him as an outcast and sometimes going to the length of beating him. If he remained in the village, he had no choice but to go back to his wife. During the time he was away his wife also was put to shame, getting little sympathy from the general public. She knew, furthermore, that in case of a divorce both parties would be held guilty by the villagers, so she was willing to take her husband back and get along with him as best she could. A divorced man was considered to have loose morals; a divorced woman would have been thought thoroughly bad. There was thus a situation in which everyone was expected to marry, with no sanctioned way out once the marriage contract had been entered upon. Though such an attitude meant that unfortunate marriages had to drag on interminably, it also had the effect of forcing couples to adjust themselves to each other. [208] [558]

Dragalevtsy seemed a curiosity indeed: a village in which marriage was little questioned, where there was practically no marital unfaithfulness, and no divorce. What were the reasons for the family stability? For one thing, life was still lived according to ancient customs. People only recently had begun to wonder about the age-old patterns which they had been following so faithfully. Some writers would call them the "dead hand of the past," others "the cake of custom." Whatever their name, they were conducive to a common understanding of the place of marriage. All the people expected the same things from life and from the home. 581 593 181 829

Then, too, earning their living by farming was a joint enterprise. People got used to putting their shoulders to the wheel as a family group. In addition to what they all did together, women were supposed to do certain things, men other things, and children still other things. As long as every person did his part there was no friction, but quiet efficiency. Furthermore, the presence of a number of relatives made for greater stability. In the case of apparent misunderstanding

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between a husband and wife, the proper relative intervened to suggest a way out. Most of the husband's relatives were in the same locality with him and could keep an eye on his behavior.

One was not only tied closely to the husband's blood kin *(rodstvo)* but had to enter upon a formal relationship with one's in-laws. Families related by marriage felt close to each other, the intensity of the feeling depending upon the frequency with which the families met and the way the young couples got along. Ordinarily, however, the family of the bride was considered by the husband's parents to be as close, at times even closer, than blood relatives. For instance, if there was any sort of celebration to which guests were invited, the family of the bride was the first to be asked. One reliable informant estimated that ninety out of one hundred people in Dragalevtsy felt the force of *svatovstvo,* or this relationship springing up through intermarriage. The young people, who are usually so prone to make a break with the past, maintained it in all its vigor. Here was the way one young man explained the *svatovstvo:*

"If my sister married some man in Simeonovo, even though I had never seen him before, his brother and sister would be my *svati,* and if I met them we would feel like cousins. I would never curse them or quarrel with them and would call their father *'dedo'* and their mother *'baba,'* the same names I use for my own grandparents. My parents and the parents of my new brother-in-law would likewise be *svati* and would treat one another reverently." Two brothers could not marry two sisters from another family, though there was no blood relationship, because the second couple were *svati* after the first couple married, and *svati* could not marry. Two brothers could marry two first cousins, but not two sisters. This feeling of closeness in families related by marriage did not stop with the husband and the wife, nor with the single in-law gained by each family. It included, as well, the in-law's parents and brothers and sisters with whom just dealings and proper behavior had always to prevail.

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More than anything else, however, the shared activities of husband and wife developed an understanding which lasted through thick and thin. Some of these shared activities were the trip to market, the

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CHAPTER V

THE COURTSHIP AND WEDDING

WHENEVER I asked a man or a woman "How did you come to marry?" the response was always the same. After an embarrassed laugh, the person would say, "Oh, it's so long ago. I have forgotten. I have not had time to remember such foolish things." Then would come a quick look at me from dark eyes that never seemed to lose their brilliance even when the broad face was sagging, deeply lined with the years. "You really want to know?" First it came haltingly; then soon the man would drop the harness he was mending or the woman would lay aside her distaff to give undivided attention to the story. I needed to do little prompting. My interruptions were usually questions about attitudes toward courtship or marriage in general. 581

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second marriages were entered into because of convenience and necessity. But such tolerance was not shown to the previously unmarried. 587 837

In Dragalevtsy children married according to age, the oldest first. If a younger child wanted to marry before his brother, he had to buy permission, but in no case was a son or daughter supposed to have the customary wedding celebration before an older sister married, the only chance being an elopement followed by a very simple ceremony. 582

Most girls and men in Dragalevtsy married between the twentieth and the twenty-fifth year. At the time of the last census (1934) there were only one married man and eighteen married women under twenty. Men had begun to marry later than they had ten years before, although there seemed to be no such well-defined trend for the women.

Since marriage was the normal channel for sex expression, an enamored couple thought readily of a wedding. When they reached an understanding, they considered themselves engaged and sought parental approval. Of the thirty representative families that I studied, eighteen, or more than half, were engaged one week. Only two couples were engaged for longer than two weeks. 584

The engagement did not grant the couple any privileges of intimacy; indeed, the boy was not allowed to visit with the girl until the wedding. His sisters and relatives went to call upon her, or, if she had been stolen and was in his home, his parents kept the girl away from him until the day of the wedding. Therefore, the engagement period did not give the young couple any chance of getting better acquainted; it simply gave the families an opportunity to prepare for the wedding a week later. Whenever a wedding was to take place, someone usually sent a message to me at the College, and if possible I attended. As a foreigner I was attracted to those customs that were bizarre; so to offset this I persuaded three peasants of different ages and from different families to give me separately a complete description of the typical wedding. This showed me which points they thought most important and served as a check to my observations.

A wedding was a village affair, the parents of the girl inviting all of those who had previously invited them as well as those whose invitations they would like to receive. This meant the laying in of large 585

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More than anything else, however, the shared activities of husband and wife developed an understanding which lasted through thick and thin. Some of these shared activities were the trip to market, the

Epiphany the godparent went to the home of his godchild, poured water on him or, in a rare case, pushed him into the river for the sake of his health during the coming year. On Cheese Sunday, however, the godchild went to his godparent's home with a gift and begged forgiveness for all sins committed during the year. On certain other holidays and special occasions the godchild was also supposed to pay his respects. 608 527 857

Some features of this bond between godparent and godchild were strange to one unfamiliar with the Orthodox Church. Behavior in the presence of godparents was highly formalized and correct. A person would not lie to his godparent; nor was he supposed ever to swear in his godparent's presence. These customs emphasized the mystical spiritual union which was supposed to exist between godparent and godchild. 608

Because the office of the godparent was hereditary, the same family provided godparents for the members of another family for generations. Consequently a feeling of strong relationship had come about. A godparent was considered one of the closest of relatives. "The godfather is closer than an uncle, and the godmother is closer than an aunt," the peasants used to say. Children of the two families could not marry even though madly in love, because, in the sight of the village, they were related. The taboo against marriage into the family of the mother's godparents further complicated matters. A woman, upon marriage, adopted the godparent of her husband, who assumed the same responsibility to the children of that couple as he did to the father. If a godparent was called upon to officiate at a wedding or a christening and was unable to attend, he could send one of his children to perform in his stead. [582]

We have already seen the part that the godparents *(kumove)* played in the wedding ceremony.[1] The rite of christening revealed even more of the relationship between godparent and his spiritual ward. He went with a friend or relative to the infant's home, some two or three Sundays after its birth, and took it to the church. He had previously discussed the child's name with the parents and usually followed their wishes, but had the right to give the child any name he thought proper. In the case of the first son he was apt to follow the 608 553 851

[1] [See p. 89, category 116 -- Analyst]

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581 born girl should marry a Dragalevtsy boy, she would make him get a job in Sofia and would not return with him to village life.

When a husband and wife born in different villages told their stories I once more began to believe in the improbable. These are typical accounts:

"I went to Kumaritsa to carry my sister's things since her husband was working at the railroad station. We stopped at a house where a niece was living with her uncle. When she heard that people from another village were at her house, she returned and found that she liked me and I liked her. We were both seventeen. Half a year later we married, during which time I came to see her only once. That means we had seen each other twice before we married."

"I met my wife when she was with her father selling onions near the Sofia *Obshtina*. This was on a Friday; the next day I went to get her from her village the other side of Sofia; the following day we were married in Dragalevtsy. The father agreed to this for I seemed to be her destiny."

584 The choice of a mate was not just an individual decision in Dragalevtsy, for the pressure on the part of relatives was steady and occasionally severe. At times the young people rebelled at this guidance but generally acquiesced, largely because they were so economically dependent upon their families. There were no professional matchmakers. In their stead some interested relative would take a hand at getting a daughter married off by seeing that a fitting young man was made conscious of the young woman's qualifications. This was often done so skillfully that the young man thought he had discovered the girl himself. In the 1930's the choice had to seem to originate with the young people, and there were few cases of families forcing their children into a marriage.

● 583 There were times when girls did marry against their will, but this was not because of parental command. These cases occurred when the bride was stolen without her consent. The actual stealing usually took place in the evening or late afternoon when the young man, assisted by companions, carried the girl from the fountain or the *boro* to his home. The girl's father was supposed immediately to hurry to the boy's home to ask if his daughter was willing to stay. The girl

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usually answered "Yes," since she had very little choice in the matter, even though she might be in love with someone else. One sixteen-year-old girl whom I knew had gone to Sofia to live until she was seventeen, when she married a young butcher there. Her family feared that if she had stayed in the village she would have been stolen by a local boy and been unable to marry the one upon whom she had set her heart. The stealing of the bride was a very common practice in the past, became incorporated in the marriage ritual, and was being revived for economic reasons during the period I studied Dragalevtsy. A stolen bride did not have to be married from her house with all the customary expensive ceremonies. She was married from the groom's house much more simply. Whether the bride agreed to a prearranged stealing or was the victim of a young man's sudden impulse, once she was taken to his home she dared not spurn his offer and return to her people. If she did, she would be in disgrace, with little possibility of a subsequent marriage.

Some of the stolen brides described their experiences in simple, matter-of-fact terms:

"In 1930 a group of us girls from Bistritsa had gone to the Monastery to card wool, and stayed there for a week. Some of the young bachelors from Dragalevtsy came up to see us two or three times and were with us for a long period on Sunday. My husband saw me working, liked me, and decided to capture me. He, with seven friends, waited outside the Monastery from eight o'clock to midnight knowing that I would have to go outside before going to bed. I came out with a *baba* [old woman] whom the boys frightened away with their guns; then I was taken down to Dragalevtsy. When we got to his home his mother and sisters met me in the yard with bread and salt ['so she wouldn't enter the house with empty hands,' interpolated the mother-in-law listening to the account]. The next day girls from Bistritsa went home and told my brothers that I had been stolen; they came here at eight o'clock that evening. I kissed their hands, gave them something to eat, and then they asked me if I wanted to stay or go back with them. I decided to stay, so they returned home."

The villagers described another traditional way of obtaining a bride, but I found that few young couples observed it. It involved a

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formal visit from some member of the boy's family, who brought the girl a hearthcake. If she and her parents accepted the proposal, the cake was eaten; then there was music and a general celebration. If the girl accepted but the parents did not agree, the guests went back home and sometime later on the girl ran away with the boy. Sometimes the girl knew the boy was sending a committee to ask for her hand; quite often she did not know. At times the young man himself made the request of the girl's father:

"We had known each other from childhood. He left bread and money for me to accept or reject, but my father turned him away, partly because I wanted to marry someone else in Simeonovo. He came, however, with three men, stole me, and wouldn't let me go."

A shy suitor acted differently:

"I was afraid to ask for her hand for fear she would refuse, so I got some older people to ask her married brothers, who agreed. Her parents were both dead and her brothers had been very strict with her, not allowing her to go to any *sedenki.*"

This last incident illustrated the popular idea that village young people are loath to discuss love and marriage with each other and do so by means of third parties. Such traditional going around Robin Hood's barn was being subjected to heavy strain by the young generation and, in fact, had always had its exceptions. "Stealing the bride" when both parties were in agreement is more correctly termed elopement; if the girl did not consent and the boy did not have the permission of her parents, then it was a case of actual stealing. Examples of elopements are:

"We were both from this village and had met at the fountain. We associated for two or three years, and one day while back on leave from the army I stole her with her agreement and then returned to the army. She stayed with my mother until I was again on leave a month and a half later, at which time we married."

"She was from Simeonovo and I met her one day as she was carrying nuts to the Friday market. Her father was a very unsympathetic man and did not approve of the match, so she ran away with me to Dragalevtsy, where we married and settled down in my father's home."

The girls of Dragalevtsy had no way of proposing to a boy. The girl waited and, if nobody proposed to her, she remained unmarried. 583 562

Sometimes unmarried young people had sexual intercourse. If the boy did not want to marry the girl, then she told her parents; the boy was brought before the *Obshtina* and, if the charge was proved, was made to marry the girl. As one peasant said in matchless understatement: "In such cases they do not have a happy life." 836

One such case occurred during my sojourn in the village and was an exciting topic of conversation. A girl with an unsavory reputation, in the hope of gaining a certain young man as a husband, accused him of having had intimate relations with her; the parents, too, insisted upon his marrying their daughter. He refused and the matter was taken up before the village court, where several of his friends swore that they likewise had had intimate relations with the same girl. Whether the friends swore truthfully or falsely was still a matter of doubt in the minds of many villagers, but the young man was freed from all responsibility in the matter. [691]

Chastity ranked high in the scale of village social values. Even though some couples had illicit relationships before they married, they were running a grave social risk. Public indignation was especially great in the case of illegitimacy. A girl giving birth to an illegitimate child was forced to leave the village. On this subject I had the following conversation with one of the more respected villagers: 848 836 558

"Where does the girl go if she is driven out of the village?"

"She goes to Sofia because she's a bad girl."

"Do the villagers try to find out who the father was and punish him for his part?"

"The father? Why should they? The girl is to blame, not the man."

"Are many illegitimate children born in the near-by villages?"

"In my time [the last thirty-five years] there have been two in Bistritsa, one in Dragalevtsy, and none in Simeonovo."

There was no particular stigma attached to being a widow or a widower, but the village mores decreed that, when remarrying, widows had to choose widowers, and vice versa. The explanation for this went back to the villagers' belief of the afterlife. They thought of 587 775

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178 234 began to compare the cost of feed with their income from milk and realized that they were losing money. As the war progressed the government bought more and more forage for military animals, feed costs went up, and dairying profits went down. Once this fact became evident and was noised throughout the village there was almost a wholesale withdrawal from dairying. Whereas three or four years before 1,300-1,400 kilos of milk were sold daily, by 1945 only 40 kilos were sold. The 1945 situation was aggravated by the excessively dry season and the reduced yield per cow from 15 liters daily down to 4 or 5. In other words, the number of cows fell off by as much as 90 per cent owing to the low prices of milk and feed difficulties. The peasants liked to mention the fact that *boza,* a fermented millet-seed drink which tastes like sour, liquefied chicken feed, sold for 40 leva a kilo and milk for only 22 leva.

178 233 The loss in dairying, temporary though it may prove to be, meant a corresponding gain in sheep-raising, with 1945 estimates of sheep numbers varying from 12,000 to 15,000. Sheep had also become popular because of the wool they made available for garments in the days of clothing shortage during and following the war. A return to sheep had created interesting social problems connected with pasturing. The sheepmen wanted to go back to the days when sheep could graze freely on uncultivated land, but many of the peasants wanted to keep pasturelands for their own use rather than common use.

178 593 As I talked to the peasants and heard the concerns expressed by the parents and the aspirations voiced by the young, I began to realize that the family trends already under way in 1937 had progressed further than I would have anticipated. Parents, although very much interested, had less to say about the choice of mates for their sons and daughters. Some of them were quite skillful in making use of relatives to advise the young people in choices which the older members of the family group considered wise.

583 178 593 Brides were still stolen but, contrary to the case in former years, the girl could return home immediately if dissatisfied with the man desiring to become her husband. Shortly before I visited the village a young man had "captured" the girl of his choice and taken her to his father's home. When the girl's parents came to ask whether she chose

to return or remain, the girl decided to go back to her parents. In 1937 this would have made her ineligible, in a sense, for further consideration as a wife. Now she simply explained that when the boy had asked her in advance if she would marry him she had thought that he was joking and told him "Yes," in what she considered to be a jesting manner. She was greatly surprised two weeks later to find that the boy had been serious. The whole affair turned out happily in the end because within another two weeks the young man had found a willing girl, had become engaged to her, and married her. [583] 178 593

Another evidence that the family system was having to change to meet the stress of new times was the lack of social disapproval shown to widows and widowers who married persons previously unmarried. Heretofore, only widows and widowers could marry each other, and this was chiefly because of economic necessity. Although not yet common, it was a growing practice for a widower to take a fancy to a girl whom he later married. The age of marriage was becoming lower, dropping to 18 and 19 years for many of the couples. The engagement period still lasted only one or two weeks, a time sufficient to allow the girl to make her wedding preparations. [587]

Accompanying these changes was a greater freedom among the young people both in relation to each other and in relation to their parents. The *sedenki* for young people followed practically the same patterns which I had previously observed but had not yet popularized the kissing games which featured *sedenki* in northern Bulgaria. Clandestine love-making was increasing as was the tendency on the part of the young people to pair off. [883]

The changed relationship of sons to their fathers was shown by the failure of many of the sons to turn over their earnings to their parents as part of the common family treasury. Formerly more than half of the young men had followed this practice, but estimates in 1945 placed the number at approximately one out of ten.

Of especial interest was the pattern which younger couples were establishing after marriage. Whereas, ten years ago even the young wife would have given implicit obedience to her husband's orders, today many of the families were becoming equalitarian. The older women, however, still clung to the patriarchal pattern, though they [562]

[i.e in 1945 -- Analyst]

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582 married in Dragalevtsy. Because she had a physical deformity her
208 parents had given up all hope of marrying her off since they knew she would be unable to attend properly to her housework and field work. During the first World War there were two old maids in the village who had not been chosen for marriage because each of them had a goiter. A doctor with the German forces cured the goiters
[554] and these two unmarried women became desirable prospects, one of them marrying a priest's son in Sofia, one of the highest prizes a village girl could capture in her matrimonial venture.

[208] Since public opinion made life miserable for unmarried women,
[562] even a girl of independent temperament looked upon marriage as an inevitable event, especially if she stayed in the village. With men it
581 was different. They could choose to remain unmarried and not lose prestige in the community. People only said: "Well, Asen simply doesn't want to marry. He's a bit shy of skirts, you know."

The young men to whom I talked were outspoken in regard to those qualities which they looked for in choosing a mate: good health, industry, efficiency in the house and field, and proper care of the person. The girls, on the other hand, had little to say regarding the qualities they wanted in a husband. They seemed willing to accept whatever luck brought them. But marry they must.

584 There were many ways in which the husbands and wives had
574 become acquainted with each other. If both had been born in
883 Dragalevtsy, as was the case with a little more than half the couples, they were already aware of the other's characteristics either through personal acquaintance or hearsay. Many of the married couples had played together as children while tending the cattle in the sun-drenched pastures, only to become distant until most of the adolescent period passed. Then began frequent meetings at the fountain at sunset, shy flirtation at the *horo* and *sedenki*, or rambling conversation on the way to and from the Friday market. At the *sedenki*, held by the young people in various girls' homes on winter evenings, games involving forfeits were played. At one *sedenka* I attended, the girl giving out the penalties sent a couple obviously in love to the dark outdoors "to see what the weather was like." A few minutes later she sent a second couple out to see where the first had gone. All four of the

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young people came back giggling with excitement. Only in some rare instances had shyness kept the young couple apart in the village until matchmaking elders brought them together on the wedding day.

Old and young alike agreed as to the importance of the *sedenka* as a boy-meet-girl occasion. Even some of the intelligentsia with a nostalgia for the simplicity of their early years in the village talked fondly of these groups in which young people whiled away many hours in common work and merriment. The *sedenka* was the Bulgarian counterpart of our pioneer cornhusking and quilting bee. There, romance as it existed in the hearts of the peasant boys and girls came to the surface and was expressed in such simple acts as the giving of a flower, the kissing of a hand or cheek. These groups, which met in fall and winter, consisted early in the evening only of girls who had been especially invited by the hostess one or two days ahead of time. Two or three hours before the *sedenka* was to begin the girl doing the entertaining had to put on her heavy *kozhuh* and again tour the neighborhood to extend a formal invitation to each guest. When the girls had gathered they immediately began to spin, since work was the pretext for coming together. Sometimes the guests brought their own work, and sometimes they assisted the hostess in carding or spinning her wool. If spinning was the order of the evening, each girl was supposed to average about a pound of rather coarse thread.

As the door was usually locked after the girls were inside, the boys, whose arrival was announced by the barking dogs, had to knock for admittance. The hostess then asked who was knocking, and one of the boys told his name.

"The girls and even the hostess know with which boys he associates and if there is any one of them who is undesirable to some or all the girls, then none of the boys is allowed to enter. Usually, however, if they open to the boys, they will open to all; but if they are not in a good mood [very rarely] then they do not open to any."

A gust of cold, fresh air accompanied the boys' entrance, and activities inside ceased until they had made the rounds, shaking hands with those present. After much squeezing and adjusting each boy found a place to sit, usually next to the girl known to be his favorite.

The coming of the boys might or might not stop the work. Quite

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The coming of the boys migh[illegible] not stop the work.[2] Quite
584 often the girls were able to accomplish a great deal in spite of the
574 boys, but usually the entertainment which began soon after the boys
883 arrived distracted the girls from their task. There was much singing.
533 Someone struck up an old ballad and others joined in. Then, after a few more ballads, someone ventured a popular song. I once asked a young woman whether she ever sang any modern songs (knowing well enough that she did). She replied:

"Yes, the Dragalevtsy girls know almost all the popular songs. They hear the boys singing them on the street or at *sedenki* and then ask some boy who is a relative to write down the words. If they see that the song is not appropriate, they will not sing it. They always learn the words of songs and never whistle or 'murmur' [hum]."

I wondered to what extent the patriotic songs in the school were replacing the folk songs. Here is what informants at one *sedenka* said:

"As soon as a girl leaves the school, she does not sing any of the songs learned in school, but starts singing again the old songs that she has learned from the old people. The boys, however, continue to sing the songs, chiefly military, learned in school."

No instrumental music was taught in the school, but the radio was beginning to have some effect on the peasants' choice of music. One man listened to the radio fifteen days, stopping almost all other activity, in order to get the words of a jazz song then popular. These he sang with great gusto to his admiring friends. Many of the young people were becoming ashamed of the old songs and told me that they were out of date. The new popular songs that they learned were contained in *Pesnopoiki* (songbooks) bought for a few cents on market days.

[535] The singing of some particularly lively tune at the evening gath-
584 erings[2] might lead to folk dancing in which both the boys and the
888 girls took part. The very foundations of the house seemed to shake as the feet shuffled in time to the music. Parlor games of various sorts, quite similar to those played at a rural church social in America, were frequently played at these *sedenki*. This meant that the girls laid aside their spinning entirely and what started out as a work-bee became entirely a social gathering.

1 [1 The "sedenka", or "spinning party", The Bulgarian part of an American pioneer corn husking and quilting bee -- Analyst]
2 "sedenki," -- Analyst]

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Usually after midnight, the singing at the *sedenka* began to decrease in volume, conversation became dull, and the boys sensed that it was time to go. After their departure the hostess often served refreshments such as a soggy cheese pie *(banitsa)*, and the girls might or might not spend the night. The courting aspect of the gathering was emphasized by the fact that none of the married people of the household, except the mother of the girl acting as hostess, could be present. Even she was absent much of the time in some of the homes. 584 574 883

It was at these *sedenki*[3] that I collected a number of village proverbs, which were a real conversational aid to young people somewhat tongue-tied in mixed company. 538

"A kind word opens an iron gate."

"God gives but does not drive into the stall."

"A wet person is not afraid of rain."

"Listen much, speak little."

"Short are the legs of a lie."

"Stretch out your feet according to your quilt."

"I am telling your daughter so that daughter-in-law may hear [speaking indirectly]."

"After the rain, a raincape."

"Every pear has a stem."

"Give advice freely but not money."

"The thirsty carry water."

"A dog that barks much puts a wolf in the stall."

Within recent years the *vecherinki* provided young people other means of getting acquainted. The purpose of a *vecherinka*, or evening entertainment in the schoolhouse, was not to get any work done, but to raise money for some worthy cause. The villagers bought tickets to a program of music or drama, provided by both imported and local talent. Auctions and lotteries were features of most *vecherinki*. After the program was over the people joined in dancing: first, for an hour or so, they danced the native *hora*, to be followed, when the old folks 584 517 883 [525] [535]

[3] [A "sedenka" is a spinning party — The Bulgarian part of an American pioneer husking and quilting bee — Analyst]

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went home, by village versions of western dances. It was a strange sensation on these occasions to see fifty young people trying to do the fox trot, when it was obvious that not more than five couples were experienced at it. But those who knew were patient with the novices. The excited faces were flushed not with the interest in learning a new step but rather with the daring of the dance's embrace. I asked quite a few of my acquaintances how they felt about these dances. Most of the older people who had seen the modern dances and many of the younger people considered them very immoral. In the words of one of these conservatives, "The boys especially are eager to learn a modern dance so that they can do very immoral things, which are very sweet for the young."

Although these evening entertainments had less importance in the social life of the people than the *sedenki* or the promenade, the villagers were proud of them as a formal medium of recreation in imitation of what one would find in a city. It was a new experience for many men to buy a ticket and be shown a seat; and such new experiences were dear to a peasant heart if they did not take him too far away from the ordinary world in which he moved. The first *vecherinka* was given in 1925. The teachers after that tried to give one or two more, but no one attended, so the practice was discontinued. In 1930, however, the *Chitalishte* (Reading Room Association) started them again, with the result that in the following years four or five were held during a winter.

Another innovation which played an important part in Dragalevtsy courtship was the Sunday afternoon promenade, which had displaced the traditional Sunday *horo*. The promenade course extended from Renaissance Square up a rocky street which bends to the left for a quarter of a mile. Here the young people in their Sunday best turned about and retraced their steps to the Square. One reason for the popularity of the promenade was its modernity; another was the absence of a church ban against it during Lent in contrast to the traditional interruption of *hora* during that seven-week period.

Even in the promenade there was no pairing off except in the case of some engaged couple. Indeed, walking in a twosome was tantamount to announcing an engagement. So village boys in twos,

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threes, and fours passed village girls locked arm in arm; appropriate (and inappropriate) comments were made as they passed. Up and down they went, greeting each other again and again, joking, blushing, laughing heartily, each wondering at the impression made upon some favorite member of the opposite sex. 584 517 883

These modern ways contrasted sharply with the laconic statements of those villagers who had married many years ago.

"When we grew older we began to know each other more intimately and went together for two or three years."

"We were neighbors before marriage. We met every holiday at the *horo* and in the evenings at the fountain. Our wedding festivities lasted three days."

"My wife and I knew one another as children. Outsiders urged both of us to marry, so I stole her. She would not agree to marry me until after I had stolen her."

Often the relatives of the couple involved kept saying that it would be a good thing to have the two persons married, and thus brought about a match they considered advantageous. [581]

In Dragalevtsy human nature asserted itself in universal forms; for example, a village Lothario boasted:

"I had had thirty-five girls, and had gone 'hand-in-hand' with one for two years. But I fell in love with my wife because she was modest and had not talked to boys."

I might add here that the parents of the girl objected to the match, but only because she was taller than her suitor.

Two-fifths of the Dragalevtsy-born men, in their search for a wife, preferred the novelty that other villages afforded. More often than not a Bulgarian youth would all of a sudden get a fixed idea in his mind, "I've got to get a wife." The search was then under way. In such a state of mind the young man was not apt to wander far. The villages in their order of popularity were Boyana, Simeonovo, and Bistritsa. Only two other villages had more than four representatives among the married women. These likewise were not far away. It was significant that no man born in Dragalevtsy and currently living there had a wife born in Sofia. This meant that if a Sofia- 581

581 born girl should marry a Dragalevtsy boy, she would make him get a job in Sofia and would not return with him to village life.

When a husband and wife born in different villages told their stories I once more began to believe in the improbable. These are typical accounts:

"I went to Kumaritsa to carry my sister's things since her husband was working at the railroad station. We stopped at a house where a niece was living with her uncle. When she heard that people from another village were at her house, she returned and found that she liked me and I liked her. We were both seventeen. Half a year later we married, during which time I came to see her only once. That means we had seen each other twice before we married."

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second marriages were entered into because of convenience and necessity. But such tolerance was not shown to the previously unmarried. 587 837

In Dragalevtsy children married according to age, the oldest first. If a younger child wanted to marry before his brother, he had to buy permission, but in no case was a son or daughter supposed to have the customary wedding celebration before an older sister married, the only chance being an elopement followed by a very simple ceremony. 582

Most girls and men in Dragalevtsy married between the twentieth and the twenty-fifth year. At the time of the last census (1934) there were only one married man and eighteen married women under twenty. Men had begun to marry later than they had ten years before, although there seemed to be no such well-defined trend for the women.

Since marriage was the normal channel for sex expression, an enamored couple thought readily of a wedding. When they reached an understanding, they considered themselves engaged and sought parental approval. Of the thirty representative families that I studied, eighteen, or more than half, were engaged one week. Only two couples were engaged for longer than two weeks. 584

The engagement did not grant the couple any privileges of intimacy; indeed, the boy was not allowed to visit with the girl until the wedding. His sisters and relatives went to call upon her, or, if she had been stolen and was in his home, his parents kept the girl away from him until the day of the wedding. Therefore, the engagement period did not give the young couple any chance of getting better acquainted; it simply gave the families an opportunity to prepare for the wedding a week later. Whenever a wedding was to take place, someone usually sent a message to me at the College, and if possible I attended. As a foreigner I was attracted to those customs that were bizarre; so to offset this I persuaded three peasants of different ages and from different families to give me separately a complete description of the typical wedding. This showed me which points they thought most important and served as a check to my observations.

A wedding was a village affair, the parents of the girl inviting all of those who had previously invited them as well as those whose invitations they would like to receive. This meant the laying in of large 585

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585 quantities of wine and *rakiya*, the hiring of musicians from Sofia, and the baking of many pies and loaves of bread. Of course, the women of the neighborhood shared in the excitement by helping both the parents of the bride and of the groom.

Before the church service all of the young people who could find a wagon went to the bride's house, and after certain formalities took her possessions to the home of the groom. The bony horses raced around the curves in a cloud of dust while the boys cracked whips and shot guns. The procession to the church went first to the home of the godparents, a point of special honor, then to the home of the groom, and finally to that of the bride. As in America, there was room for great variety in wedding procedures, according to the amount of money the families could afford to spend.

431 584 Another important aspect of a village wedding was the custom of presenting important guests with some sort of garment. The groom's family gave a shirt, a belt, or a handkerchief to each of its close relatives, but the bride had to have something ready for the relatives of both families. When she was eight or nine years old she began preparing these numerous presents, doing them all by hand. In return she received a small sum of money from each person she [574] honored. At the first weddings I attended I failed, through ignorance of the custom, to live up to my part of the bargain, but that seemed to make no difference in the way the people felt toward me. They never came to remind me of the oversight, because with natural courtesy they did not want to make me, a guest, feel uncomfortable or embarrassed. One evening when I was visiting one of the families I knew best, I asked a twenty-year-old girl to show me her hope chest containing the presents that she intended to give away as well as those garments that she planned to keep for her own use. This is what the chest contained:

25 pairs of socks knitted by the girl
55 long white shirts of homespun cloth (half to be given away)
35 homespun belts to be given to unmarried men
15 face towels
15 headkerchiefs worn by married women
20 *sukmani*, or black jumper dresses (most to be kept by the girl)

This girl was by no means from a rich house hold.

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TABLE 7

LENGTH OF ENGAGEMENT PERIOD, DRAGALEVTSY, 1935*

No engagement	1 couple
"Short"	3 couples
1 day	1 couple
3 days	1 couple
1 week	18 couples
10 days	1 couple
2 weeks	3 couples
6 weeks	1 couple
8 weeks	1 couple

* Information gotten from people selected at random. They were of varying ages and had been married for varying periods of time.

B. TABLES ABOUT THE FARMS

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TABLE 8

SIZE OF HOLDINGS OF DRAGALEVTSY FARMERS, WITH NUMBER ENTIRELY OWNED, CENSUS OF 1926*

SIZE OF HOLDING (DECARES†)	NUMBER OF FARMS	TOTAL DECARES	NUMBER OF FARMS OWNED	TOTAL DECARES OWNED
0- 10	12	35.2	11	32.2
10- 20	14	237.5	14	237.5
20- 30	27	674.9	26	654.6
30- 40	32	1,147.1	29	1,048.4
40- 50	21	947.3	21	947.3
50- 60	24	1,319.4	22	1,206.3
60- 70	17	1,104.0	17	1,104.0
70- 80	19	1,429.8	17	1,276.7
80- 90	7	589.7	7	589.7
90-100	7	657.3	7	657.3
100-150	37	4,300.2	34	3,950.6
150-200	13	2,191.8	13	2,191.8
200-300	2	492.7	2	492.7
Total	232	15,126.9	220	14,388.6
Per cent owned			94.8	95.1

* Monastery farm of 1,176.1 decares omitted from table.
† 1 decare is ¼ acre.

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"The school is largely responsible for the change." *See page 72.*

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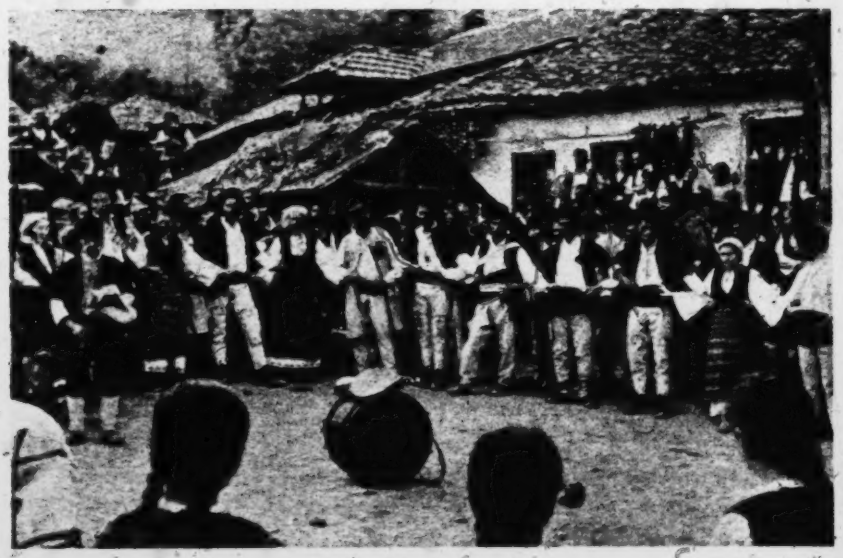

". . . a wedding was a village affair . . ." *See page 85.*

[Facing p. 81]

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second marriages were entered into because of convenience and necessity. But such tolerance was not shown to the previously unmarried. 587 837

In Dragalevtsy children married according to age, the oldest first. 582 If a younger child wanted to marry before his brother, he had to buy permission, but in no case was a son or daughter supposed to have the customary wedding celebration before an older sister married, the only chance being an elopement followed by a very simple ceremony.

Most girls and men in Dragalevtsy married between the twentieth and the twenty-fifth year. At the time of the last census (1934) there were only one married man and eighteen married women under twenty. Men had begun to marry later than they had ten years before, although there seemed to be no such well-defined trend for the women.

Since marriage was the normal channel for sex expression, an 584 enamored couple thought readily of a wedding. When they reached an understanding, they considered themselves engaged and sought parental approval. Of the thirty representative families that I studied, eighteen, or more than half, were engaged one week. Only two couples were engaged for longer than two weeks.

The engagement did not grant the couple any privileges of intimacy; indeed, the boy was not allowed to visit with the girl until the wedding. His sisters and relatives went to call upon her, or, if she had been stolen and was in his home, his parents kept the girl away from him until the day of the wedding. Therefore, the engagement period did not give the young couple any chance of getting better acquainted; it simply gave the families an opportunity to prepare for the wedding a week later. Whenever a wedding was to take place, someone usually sent a message to me at the College, and if possible I attended. As a foreigner I was attracted to those customs that were bizarre; so to offset this I persuaded three peasants of different ages and from different families to give me separately a complete description of the typical wedding. This showed me which points they thought most important and served as a check to my observations.

A wedding was a village affair, the parents of the girl inviting all 585 of those who had previously invited them as well as those whose invitations they would like to receive. This meant the laying in of large

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The church ceremony always took place on Sunday if neither the bride nor groom had been married before. On Saturday the groom, bearing up fairly well under the good-natured jibes of the officials and his friends, went to the *Obshtina* for a license. A little after sunset the intimate friends of the bride and groom carried water from three different fountains to the bride. After the first two trips she poured the water brought to her onto the ground, but when the company returned from the third fountain she kept the water to heat later on for washing her hair. I shall never forget accompanying a group of young people on such an occasion. The bride was from a distant village, had come to Dragalevtsy to help harvest grain, and had been stolen by one of the young men. She, of course, was taken straight to his home, whereupon the boy's father started on the thirty-mile journey to visit the girl's parents to get her hope chest and wedding finery. The girl herself had no chance to go home for a farewell visit, nor did she have a single friend with her for the wedding. She was a sad little figure that Saturday evening as she received the water from these kind but strange young people. We were all excited because the boy's father had not yet returned from the girl's home. As everyone expected a favorable reply, wedding preparations went on without any delay; but there was always the possibility, however slight, that these preparations might be in vain. 585

When the father did return with the consent of the girl's family, the wedding followed the usual procedure. Sunday was the big day, with the *horo* set for the morning. I left my room at the tavern about nine o'clock, after breakfasting on sliced bread, white cheese, and linden-leaf tea provided for me by Bai Penko. The *horo* had not yet begun, so I talked with the groom's father for more than an hour on the sunny porch. The bride was being dressed in a room on the first floor; women bustled in and out carrying garments, water, combs and brushes, and ribbons. Upstairs the groom was being shaved and spruced to the accompaniment of considerable horseplay. There was a noticeable difference of atmosphere in the two quarters: great solemnity and a certain sadness pervaded the lower room; hilarity, aided by considerable drinking, rang out from above. Several women who

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585 were busily preparing the big meal to be served after the church ceremony every now and then rushed out with something for me to taste, with the groom's father insisting that I sample some of the choice wine or brandy purchased just for the wedding.

535 585 [186] The dance I had come to see did not begin until afternoon. It lacked the enthusiasm which I had learned to anticipate, but was nevertheless colorful: the girls and women wore their most beautiful costumes; the men were neatly dressed, some in army uniforms; the leader of the *horo* carried the Bulgarian flag of white, green, and red, taking care that it did not catch in the overhanging branches. (In time of war the colors are reversed with the red bar on top.) This dance really was the prelude to the gay procession which headed for the church about two-thirty. First came the musicians with their battered instruments; then the principals of the wedding, followed by the guests. The flag was there, as well as Bulgarian tricolor sashes over the shoulders of the men.

585 292 Ordinarily the bride was a gay figure in the procession, her somber black overdress brightened with huge silver belt buckles and cherished strings of thin gold coins handed down for generations from mother to daughter. Hair and face shining with cleanliness, she moved in her wedding procession, happy, although considerably confused by her prominent position. But this particular bride had no ornaments—(Had her parents refused to send them?)—except a flower over her ear and the usual short, coarse white veil on her head. She did have on real leather shoes, instead of the customary pigskin sandals, but that was the only elaboration of her costume. It was hard to get her to smile for her picture; but when her new brother and sister each took an arm to encourage her, the broad, rather dull face suddenly lit up and a pair of beautiful dark eyes looked shyly at my camera.

585 All the village turned out to see the procession pass. Swarms of children came racing down the principal streets at the sound of the music. Once we had entered the churchyard I learned that they were there to scramble for the candy and coins which were thrown in the air along with rice to symbolize sweetness, wealth, and productivity. But this came at the end of the ceremony, and the children stood

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closely packed in the church as the wedding party entered to face the altar before a table in the center of the church. 585

The bride and groom had no more than taken their stand when a middle-aged woman hurried to place dough baked in the form of a male phallic symbol deep in the sash worn by the bride and another piece to represent the female organs around the waist of the groom. This was done half surreptitiously while the priest was busy about something else. [831]

As the ceremony began I realized as never before the important part played by godparents in the ritualistic and spiritual life of the village. They stood behind the bride and groom, who were attended by the groom's brother as *dever,* or best man. The young couple shifted from foot to foot, each holding a bunch of flowers in one hand and a large burning taper in the other. The priest read from the Bible in his beautiful rich tones about the wedding at Cana of Galilee, and then asked God's blessing upon the couple. [608]

At this point the priest stepped out of his role and said to me: "Would you like to take a picture now?" Then when I was set for a time-exposure, he said to the crowd: "Everybody, quiet!" My act done, he told the godparents to assist in the changing of the rings from bride to groom, as well as the fragile, bright crowns previously placed upon the heads of the couple. In addition, the priest, as part of the ritual, passed around the chalice so the young couple, the best man, and the godparents could sip the wine. These same people then followed the priest in a walk around the table on which a cross and the Holy Scriptures rested. Three times around they went, stopping four times during each circuit to symbolize north, east, south, and west. At each of these twelve stops the party bowed over the table and its sacred relics. It was during this walk that the godmother tossed the rice, candy, and coins in the air for the children.

Such a brief account fails to include much of the liturgy which was an important part of the Orthodox Church's ceremony, but the peasant accounts of a wedding skimmed over this as being either unimportant or else a topic about which they were uninformed. In fact, most of the men accompanying the bridal party to the church remained outside during the ceremony. The parents of the groom

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585 had no important part to play, and, of course, the parents of the bride did not attend because of the distance.

The musicians began to play as soon as they saw the people coming from the church, and the procession formed again and went back to the groom's home over a different route, for it was considered unlucky to retrace the route. Back at the house a *horo* began with the liveliness I had always associated with the wedding dances. While many of the guests danced, others with special invitations went into the house to eat what had been so laboriously prepared over open hearths and sheet metal stoves. About dark the young couple were led to their room and left alone with the best man on guard by the door. An old custom, now falling into disuse, required the groom after intercourse to present the undergarment of the bride to the best man as a proof of her virginity. In the old days this was passed from guest to guest in a flour sieve so that all could be personally assured of the fact. But in the case of this young couple that custom was not observed. Word did get around that the groom was satisfied with his bride; if he had not been, then she could have been sent home in disgrace and the wedding called off—that is, provided he had not been guilty of previous incontinence with her. The groom's parents in their joy passed "sweet brandy" around for all the guests to drink.

Early in the morning the bride came out for the rest of the ceremonies. She was taken to the chopping block underneath the nut tree to demonstrate her ability to wield the axe. The godmother then took her bridal veil, wound it on a stick, and touched some of the other village girls in the belief that they would soon get married. [292] In place of the veil the godmother tied a kerchief, brown in this case, over the girl's head to show that the wearer was married. The bride was then sent to the fountain for water of which all had to drink. The musicians were aroused from their befuddled sleep and told to strike up some lively music; the blaring horns and the beating drum woke the whole neighborhood, and then the whole village, as another procession began. This time all were headed for a wedding breakfast at Bai Penko's tavern, where they sat outside, just beneath my window. The first thing I noticed was the brown kerchief which, with the cheap

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gold ring on her finger, symbolized what a tremendous change had taken place in the life of the bride. A week before she had been a girl gathering wheat in the company of other girls; now that kerchief separated her from these former friends and meant that she was a daughter-in-law in a strange home, in a strange village, married to a strange man. But for this she had been born; there was no reason or precedent to complain, no matter how disturbed her emotions might be.

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CHAPTER VI

MARRIAGE

585 517 THE BULGARIAN groom settled down naturally into the role of the married man as the embarrassment of the first few days of good-natured joshing wore away. He took less and less interest in the Sunday afternoon promenade, preferring to sit in front of the tavern with the other married men where he liked to be complimented on the woman he had chosen in the same way that he would appreciate compliments on a cow just bought. However, as marriage progressed he began to respect his wife as a person rather than as a possession.

593 851 It was when the first child arrived, in a year or so, that the husband suddenly felt a sense of tremendous importance. He was no longer just a married man; he was a father. Though the beginning of married life had little effect upon his behavior, the fact of parenthood changed even his facial expression, his earnestness in his work, and his whole attitude toward the future. I sensed this often in the requests that people made for photographs. Few young men came to ask for pictures of their brides; but many wanted pictures of their infants, especially of the sons. In the case of the first child they would hold him up squarely in front of the camera so that he would fill up the whole picture if possible. But as children continued to arrive year after year, the fathers often asked, "Could we get our new oxen into the picture too?"

581 Most of the men accepted marriage as they did the weather: inevitable, sometimes balmy and sometimes disagreeable, but utterly essential. They did not go out of their way particularly to adjust themselves to marriage, and spoke little of marriage. They patiently waited for parenthood, which was revolutionary in its effect upon them.

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The artisans, though few in number, comprised a third occupational group. Just because their knowledge and special skill raised them above the ordinary peasant, these artisans in no sense of the word walked in the rarified atmosphere of the intelligentsia. In 1937 the people of Dragalevtsy supported one blacksmith, one full-time and two part-time tailors, a cobbler, and a barber. Of course, the six or seven Dragalevtsy men who went to Sofia every day to ply a skilled trade were enumerated in the census but had little connection with the economy of the village. The few tradesmen were identified more with the agricultural group than with the artisans.

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One of the most picturesque characters in the village was Iliya, the smith. Dark-complexioned, sturdy of frame, with his stolid face weighed down by enormous mustaches, he was far too forbidding in countenance to attract the village children to his small establishment behind Bai Penko's tavern. In fact, customers often had to look for him in the tavern, where he consumed record-breaking quantities of liquor. In his sober moods he and his two apprentices occasionally worked fourteen hours at a stretch to finish up some much-needed job. The three of them combined wagon-repairing with blacksmithing, working at the lathe almost as frequently as at the anvil. However, frequent preoccupation with hinges, wagon bolts, horseshoes, plowshares and wheel rims gave Iliya a fair claim to being a *kovach*, or smith. So did his master smith's certificate hanging on the wall.

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Yurdan, the leading tailor, was another artisan. He and his wife Zdravka were a unique couple in that they were the only Dragalevtsy people to become involved in divorce proceedings within recent years. To be sure, Zdravka withdrew her petition for divorce soon after it reached the high church court, which, rather than civil bodies, then decided upon all matters pertaining to marriage. Yurdan had a small but well equipped workroom attached to his trim little house. Although Dragalevtsy-born, he worked for twelve years in Sofia as an apprentice and *maistor*, later becoming the first tailor to set up business in Dragalevtsy.

I often went to converse with Yurdan and Zdravka, for I found them both loquacious and inclined to be objective in their views of village life. I questioned them in particular about the peasant costumes, which always seemed picturesque to me, a foreigner. It was Zdravka who told me how the women made their garments.

000 regard, particularly as the couple grew older and could look back upon years of joint achievement.

586 Should quarrels become frequent the inhabitants of Dragalevtsy did not use divorce as a means of breaking up such a marriage relationship, unpleasant though it was. This was due partly to the influence of the church, the only institution at that time which could grant a divorce; but public opinion was an even stronger sanction against it. The oldest villagers could remember no case of actual divorce in Dragalevtsy. The village as a whole was considerably stirred up for more than a year while I was there by the relationship which existed between the village tailor and his wife, who were mentioned in an earlier chapter.[1] When I raised the subject of divorce at one of the tavern sessions, one of the old men suggested gravely, but with what I soon learned was some suppressed amusement, that I interview Zdravka, the tailor's wife. "She is one of these modern women, you know; she has her own money and job. In fact, you have probably already met her for she is one of the servants at your school."

This looked like a gold mine in my own backyard, but I was somewhat hesitant about questioning Zdravka directly. I went to the Bulgarian teacher who had so often helped me in the more delicate questioning of village women. We learned that for over a year Zdravka had talked divorce and even claimed that she had consulted a Sofia lawyer about the matter. For weeks at a time she would stay away from her husband, leaving him in such an equivocal position that out of sheer embarrassment he used to hate to go to the tavern for an evening drink; then she would decide to spend the summer with him and help him make the garments which he sold. After two or three such separations and reconciliations Zdravka and her husband were together again. They lived in a neat little white-washed house, quite new. There were screens in the windows—("Zdravka learned that at the College," her husband said proudly)—and there were flowers around the door. Why she wanted to leave him no one knew exactly, least of all Zdravka. What it boiled down to was the strangely familiar cry, "I want to be independent." But even Zdravka, with all her surprising initative and contacts with the

1 [cf. p. 14 category 116 -- Analyst]

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intelligentsia, when it came to the point dared not run counter to the old village sanctions against divorce. 58L

More often it was the husband who left the home. When he did and in rare cases interested himself in another woman, the villagers did all in their power to make him return. If he refused at first, they made him feel the indignation of public opinion, treating him as an outcast and sometimes going to the length of beating him. If he remained in the village, he had no choice but to go back to his wife. During the time he was away his wife also was put to shame, getting little sympathy from the general public. She knew, furthermore, that in case of a divorce both parties would be held guilty by the villagers, so she was willing to take her husband back and get along with him as best she could. A divorced man was considered to have loose morals; a divorced woman would have been thought thoroughly bad. There was thus a situation in which everyone was expected to marry, with no sanctioned way out once the marriage contract had been entered upon. Though such an attitude meant that unfortunate marriages had to drag on interminably, it also had the effect of forcing couples to adjust themselves to each other. [208] [558]

Dragalevtsy seemed a curiosity indeed: a village in which marriage was little questioned, where there was practically no marital unfaithfulness, and no divorce. What were the reasons for the family stability? For one thing, life was still lived according to ancient customs. People only recently had begun to wonder about the age-old patterns which they had been following so faithfully. Some writers would call them the "dead hand of the past," others "the cake of custom." Whatever their name, they were conducive to a common understanding of the place of marriage. All the people expected the same things from life and from the home. 584 593 181 829

Then, too, earning their living by farming was a joint enterprise. People got used to putting their shoulders to the wheel as a family group. In addition to what they all did together, women were supposed to do certain things, men other things, and children still other things. As long as every person did his part there was no friction, but quiet efficiency. Furthermore, the presence of a number of relatives made for greater stability. In the case of apparent misunderstanding

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The girls of Dragalevtsy had no way of proposing to a boy. The girl waited and, if nobody proposed to her, she remained unmarried. 583 562

Sometimes unmarried young people had sexual intercourse. If the boy did not want to marry the girl, then she told her parents; the boy was brought before the *Obshtina* and, if the charge was proved, was made to marry the girl. As one peasant said in matchless understatement: "In such cases they do not have a happy life." 836

One such case occurred during my sojourn in the village and was an exciting topic of conversation. A girl with an unsavory reputation, in the hope of gaining a certain young man as a husband, accused him of having had intimate relations with her; the parents, too, insisted upon his marrying their daughter. He refused and the matter was taken up before the village court, where several of his friends swore that they likewise had had intimate relations with the same girl. Whether the friends swore truthfully or falsely was still a matter of doubt in the minds of many villagers, but the young man was freed from all responsibility in the matter. [691]

Chastity ranked high in the scale of village social values. Even though some couples had illicit relationships before they married, they were running a grave social risk. Public indignation was especially great in the case of illegitimacy. A girl giving birth to an illegitimate child was forced to leave the village. On this subject I had the following conversation with one of the more respected villagers: 848 836 558

"Where does the girl go if she is driven out of the village?"

"She goes to Sofia because she's a bad girl."

"Do the villagers try to find out who the father was and punish him for his part?"

"The father? Why should they? The girl is to blame, not the man."

"Are many illegitimate children born in the near-by villages?"

"In my time [the last thirty-five years] there have been two in Bistritsa, one in Dragalevtsy, and none in Simeonovo."

There was no particular stigma attached to being a widow or a widower, but the village mores decreed that, when remarrying, widows had to choose widowers, and vice versa. The explanation for this went back to the villagers' belief of the afterlife. They thought of 587 775

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[775] Heaven in concrete terms and believed that husbands and wives would
587 be reunited there. Things would work out quite well mathematically if a widow and widower remarried each other, since in Heaven each mate would go to the first spouse, thus avoiding the unheavenly complication of a second mate left alone for eternity. For a second wife, they listened to the recommendations of neighbors far more than they did when marrying the first time. This was borne out by the testimony of a woman I found picking berries from a bush that overhung a garden wall. While speaking to me she kept a watchful eye turned toward the near-by house in fear that someone would tell her to leave the berries alone. "How did you happen to marry Nikola?" I asked her. Like the other women she seemed to welcome a chance to talk about herself.

"For three years I was a widow in Simeonovo before somebody recommended me to my present husband, at that time a widower living here in Dragalevtsy. One day he came over to Simeonovo, looked me up, and asked me to marry him. I accepted right away although I had never heard of him before. Winter was coming on and I didn't have any money to buy food for myself and my little boy. I went immediately home with him and lived with him as his wife for two months before we were married."

Her second husband was one of the poorest men in the village, and her life was decidedly unhappy; yet to the village way of thinking, she was better off than as a widow.

593 Most of these second marriages turned out successfully provided the question of stepchildren could be satisfactorily settled. Sometimes fathers sent away their own children to a relative and gladly took in those of the second wife. Quite often the children of both the husband and wife were brought up together as one family. A second wife was generally anxious to have children by her second husband in order to ensure her place in his affections, especially if she had children by her first husband who ate up the food and wore the clothes provided by their stepfather.

587 Widows and widowers were permitted by public opinion to live
837 together as though they were married for awhile before the actual ceremony took place. This above all else emphasized the fact that

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second marriages were entered into because of convenience and necessity. But such tolerance was not shown to the previously unmarried. 587 837

In Dragalevtsy children married according to age, the oldest first. If a younger child wanted to marry before his brother, he had to buy permission, but in no case was a son or daughter supposed to have the customary wedding celebration before an older sister married, the only chance being an elopement followed by a very simple ceremony. 582

Most girls and men in Dragalevtsy married between the twentieth and the twenty-fifth year. At the time of the last census (1934) there were only one married man and eighteen married women under twenty. Men had begun to marry later than they had ten years before, although there seemed to be no such well-defined trend for the women.

Since marriage was the normal channel for sex expression, an enamored couple thought readily of a wedding. When they reached an understanding, they considered themselves engaged and sought parental approval. Of the thirty representative families that I studied, eighteen, or more than half, were engaged one week. Only two couples were engaged for longer than two weeks. 584

The engagement did not grant the couple any privileges of intimacy; indeed, the boy was not allowed to visit with the girl until the wedding. His sisters and relatives went to call upon her, or, if she had been stolen and was in his home, his parents kept the girl away from him until the day of the wedding. Therefore, the engagement period did not give the young couple any chance of getting better acquainted; it simply gave the families an opportunity to prepare for the wedding a week later. Whenever a wedding was to take place, someone usually sent a message to me at the College, and if possible I attended. As a foreigner I was attracted to those customs that were bizarre; so to offset this I persuaded three peasants of different ages and from different families to give me separately a complete description of the typical wedding. This showed me which points they thought most important and served as a check to my observations.

A wedding was a village affair, the parents of the girl inviting all of those who had previously invited them as well as those whose invitations they would like to receive. This meant the laying in of large 585

to return or remain, the girl decided to go back to her parents. In 1937 this would have made her ineligible, in a sense, for further consideration as a wife. Now she simply explained that when the boy had asked her in advance if she would marry him she had thought that he was joking and told him "Yes," in what she considered to be a jesting manner. She was greatly surprised two weeks later to find that the boy had been serious. The whole affair turned out happily in the end because within another two weeks the young man had found a willing girl, had become engaged to her, and married her. [583] 178 593

Another evidence that the family system was having to change to meet the stress of new times was the lack of social disapproval shown to widows and widowers who married persons previously unmarried. Heretofore, only widows and widowers could marry each other, and this was chiefly because of economic necessity. Although not yet common, it was a growing practice for a widower to take a fancy to a girl whom he later married. The age of marriage was becoming lower, dropping to 18 and 19 years for many of the couples. The engagement period still lasted only one or two weeks, a time sufficient to allow the girl to make her wedding preparations. [587]

Accompanying these changes was a greater freedom among the young people both in relation to each other and in relation to their parents. The *sedenki* for young people followed practically the same patterns which I had previously observed but had not yet popularized the kissing games which featured *sedenki* in northern Bulgaria. Clandestine love-making was increasing as was the tendency on the part of the young people to pair off. [883]

The changed relationship of sons to their fathers was shown by the failure of many of the sons to turn over their earnings to their parents as part of the common family treasury. Formerly more than half of the young men had followed this practice, but estimates in 1945 placed the number at approximately one out of ten.

Of especial interest was the pattern which younger couples were establishing after marriage. Whereas, ten years ago even the young wife would have given implicit obedience to her husband's orders, today many of the families were becoming equalitarian. The older women, however, still clung to the patriarchal pattern, though they [562]

[in 1945 -- Analyst]

264 "When we work in the fields we eat five times daily: as soon as we reach the place we have a light lunch *(zakuska)*, at nine we have the *ruchok*, at one dinner, at five another *zakuska*, and in the evening after finishing work we have supper. We older people don't eat between meals but let the children do so if they are hungry."

262 252 From time to time during my stay in the village I tried to teach the tavern cook some simple and uncomplicated western dish to vary the biting peasant food. She tried faithfully but unsuccessfully to comply. After one such hopeless but courteous attempt she read me a little lesson in village menus:

"We Dragalevtsy people are pretty conservative in everything and have added no new dishes to our menu. The western combinations which people eat in Sofia are tasteless and slimy. If one doesn't use lots of salt, hot pepper, and vinegar, then the food has no taste at all."

273 Beverages other than milk and wine made little appeal. Wine was much in evidence on holidays or when there were guests. An average village home would use from 250 to 300 quarts of wine a year. Most of the *rakiya* was drunk either at the taverns or on festive occasions. In commenting on the liquor consumption of the village one man said:

"We are not such fools as not to drink wine, for the wine is transformed into blood and gives strength to man."

000 Someone has said that a house does not become a home until it knows a birth, a wedding, and a death. In other words, it is more than plaster walls, crude furniture, and steaming food. It is even more an association of memories deeply rooted in family crises.

844 [591] A frequently recurring crisis in Dragalevtsy was childbirth, which always took place in a home, never in a hospital. Usually it was the home in which the couple lived, for only rarely did the wife return to her paternal home for the event. When a woman learned that she was pregnant, she told the fact only to her own mother and to her husband, embarrassment preventing further disclosure. The mother-in-law learned about it a month later, for in the words of one of the older village men:

843 [606]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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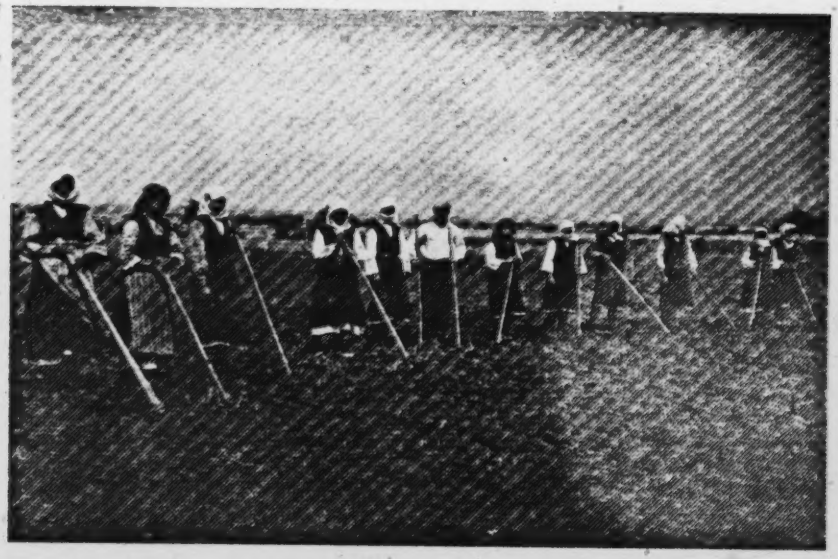

"The cornhoeing groups . . . also afforded an opportunity for visiting and conversation." *See page 46.*

591

"The patriarchal system . . . won out" (a father and three married sons living together in a one-room house). *See page 62.*

[Facing p. 49]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

veniently arranged to be away from home. The villagers occasionally 175
joked about the peasant who climbed a tree to escape the tax collector and had to remain in that uncomfortable predicament for many hours before the visitor left. But the Turks did recognize the traditional [623]
form of village government, or government by elders, and let the heads of the zadrugas, or large joint families, run village affairs to their liking. Most of the time, the head of the zadruga had to accept the responsibility for the deeds of all members of his family group.

These zadrugas were little principalities guided by a *stopanin,* 596
usually the oldest male. His word was law; he distributed the work 178
among the men, bought the necessities, sold the produce, and represented the zadruga before the outside world; therefore, the zadruga usually bore his name. Whenever a son, brother, or nephew of the [591] ●
stopanin married, he brought his wife back home to become a member of his zadruga. The wife of the *stopanin,* known as the *domakinya,* managed the housework. She kept the women busy making bread, cooking, washing, spinning, and weaving. Everything was owned in common. Work too was done in common, and whatever one earned outside was turned over to the *stopanin* for the common treasury. In return, all the members got clothes and food, which in those days were about all they expected to have.

After the death of the *stopanin,* the members met to select the next most capable male as their leader. At times, the *domakinya* took over the position of responsibility. Such was doubtless what happened in the case of Baba Dragana, or her prototype, since the ending of the word Dragalevtsy would indicate that it had been settled by a zadruga. The old joint family comprised married cousins descended from the same ancestor, with the result that it sometimes numbered as many as one hundred people.

When the older Dragalevtsy peasants talked to me of the zadruga, 596
which persisted as late as 1880 in their village, they showed that 178
wistfulness for the past which runs through the works of many Bul- 829
garian writers. The zadruga was supposed to be a source of plenty and happiness to its members. One aged peasant listed for me the advantages of this joint family over the modern family. First of all, he said, it had great economy. The members had only one lamp,

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

With women it was quite different, since marriage for them called for major adjustments. Not only did the wife have to become accustomed to the demands and habits of her husband, but she also had to fit into the routine of her husband's parental home. In some cases she had to subordinate herself to other daughters-in-law in the household. Should she and her husband live in a separate dwelling near the husband's childhood homestead, she still was so subject to the scrutiny of the in-laws that she found it expedient to conform to their ways of doing things. 581 562 606 591

The woman, much more than the man, had to give up the companionship of her former friends to move in the group of the married women of the neighborhood. In these groups she was initiated into much of the folklore about anatomy, conception, childbirth, and child care. The frank discussion by various women of their personal experiences was enough to make any squeamish girl terrified at the very thought of becoming a mother. Continued discussion, however, made the experience eventually seem less of an ordeal; in fact, it was often a source of comfort and encouragement when her time arrived. 521 571

These neighborhood gossiping groups did much more than shock the girl into some of the realities of married life; they also informed her of the personal peculiarities of her in-laws and neighbors; they let her know what she should and should not do. And if she was one of the first of her circle of friends to marry, she could look forward to the day when one or two of them would become brides in the vicinity and could join her in the company of these older married women.

The role of these women's groups in the village was interesting and far more important than the surface informality would indicate. Recreation for the older women was generally tied up with work. Distinctions, however, should be made between the women's work groups, such as those for spinning and carding, and women's gossiping groups, in spite of the fact that the membership was the same in both groups and that gossiping was the chief recreation in both instances. In the work groups, the women were invited formally by the hostess, were fed, and were expected to stay most of the day, definitely to work. Gossiping groups, however, were much more informal, since people

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

kissing his hand and toasting him before drinking *rakiya* at ceremonial 593
dinners. The newer patterns, such as little children giving a goodnight kiss, which had penetrated a few of the homes, centered around the mother.

For instance, in a family where three married sons dwelt in the same room with their parents and three unmarried brothers, one of the married sons said: "Our little children sometimes kiss the hands of the grown-ups before going to bed, and we married sons always kiss our parents' hands before drinking *rakiya* at home. We never quarrel with our father; if we are dissatisfied, we do not dare raise our voices." The married sons are thirty-six, twenty-seven, and twenty-five years old.

But sometimes the tables were turned. There was another case of a sixty-eight year old father who had entrusted the management of the estate to his thirty-four year old son. He had to consult his son before spending any money or doing anything around the place. The household still respected him in many ways though not leaving him much authority. He took comfort in at least one thing: "I am always the one to begin the meal, and all wait for me to begin before they start to eat."

One home which I studied made a great deal out of forms and ceremonies and was one of the best regulated and happiest homes I found. The children were doing excellently at school, and I came upon them studying their lessons even in the pasture while tending the sheep, a most extraordinary thing. The mother had been orphaned at an early age, appreciated a mother's role, and took her task seriously; the father likewise considered his parenthood as a real obligation and was ambitious for his children. When the children got up in the morning they put on their shoes, ran to the street fountain to wash, returned to say their prayers and then to kiss the hands of the elders, the youngest son kissing the hands of his older brothers (aged thirteen and twelve). Every day the mother reminded them: "Today you will be good."

When daughters married, they never returned to live at home 591
except under the most unusual circumstances. If the father was without a housekeeper, he might ask his married daughter, accompanied

2:Sanders 2-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria FE1

591 by her husband, to come and live with him. Most married daughters
594 liked to visit in their parental homes on Sundays and other holidays, with their children and their husbands. While the frequency of visitation naturally varied with the daughters' sociability, it was significant that the daughters of wealthy peasants returned more often for visits than the daughters of poor peasants. There might have been an economic as well as a filial motive involved in this visitation. Married daughters still living in Dragalevtsy frequently called on their mothers, and helped them through difficult times. In more than half of the homes the married daughter-mother bond was kept intact, a source of comfort to both parties.

593 Married sons living with their parents were far more considerate of them than sons who had separated and lived in houses of their own. While in the paternal home they were subject to the authority of the old people, especially to that of the father. Sons living separately had no reason to obey the father if, as was usual in such cases, the property had already been divided. Though he might go to his father for advice, he was just as apt to seek the advice of tavern cronies. Of course, there were many variations of this situation. One thirty-eight year old son, married but not living in the paternal home, consulted his father about everything of importance—buying land, selling animals, building a house.

In another case, where the youngest son and his family lived in the paternal home with the widowed mother, the son got along extremely well with the mother. For instance, when she slapped him resoundingly because he had gone to the drink-shop, he simply smiled and said: "All right, you have the right to do that." He consulted his mother about many things, saw to it that she did not do heavy work and that she had an honorable place in the household.

In one household the twenty-six year old son spent little time at home because of his job as the *Obshtina* courier. He and his father experienced considerable conflict because he did not hand over his earnings to the old man but spent them on his own needs. At the same time he was living and eating free of charge in his father's house, much to the satisfaction of his mother who championed him before her husband. Naturally the son was dissatisfied with staying at home,

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

591 562 If a daughter failed to marry, she spent the rest of her life in her father's home and received sympathy only as long as her mother was alive. Her father and married brothers thought of her as a servant in the home and treated her accordingly. Fortunately there was rarely more than one old maid at a time in Dragalevtsy.

593 855 562 The treatment of younger children, of course, varied greatly with the home. Children in Dragalevtsy were accustomed to being yelled at from their first toddling days by displeased older people. As we have already seen, there was no question about boys being preferred to girls in most homes, especially if there was only one boy among several girls. In such homes it was the boy who received the presents when the father returned from town, and who was picked up first; it was the boy whom the parents held when they asked to be photographed.

[861] Whipping, which was usually done by the father, was such an effective check on misbehavior that parents often needed only to threaten it. Another method of punishment was to withhold bread from the child for two or three hours, but, as one father said, "This doesn't always work, especially if the child begins to cry."

[357] Some parents, when they were unable to make ends meet, sent a girl off to Sofia to work as a domestic. One family revealed that five years previously a twelve-year-old daughter had been sent to be a servant in Sofia; she would never return to the village to live, nor did she ever come to visit. In this case the parents could not support an extra person, so chose the simplest way out. The fact that many Bulgarian families in cities sought female servants from twelve to eighteen years of age made such a practice possible. Indeed, on St. Dimiter's Day (November 8) and St. George's Day (May 6) there used to be a "servant bazaar" in Sofia. Village girls went to a certain place and stood in a row where housewives could look them over like heifers and choose a maid. Changes in servants, including shepherds, were ordinarily made only at these two times during the year.

593 857 Should parents find a job for a teen-aged boy, the father might require the boy to accept the job. Most boys wanted work; only a few resented working at all. If a father had more sons than he needed on the farm, he sometimes chose a trade for or with the boy. Such

1: Karutz--59 E-4 (no date) 1925 E1 Europe
Bulgaria E1

/88/ The Bulgarians

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1. Hair dress of young women, with tresses decorated with silver. 2. and 3. Decorative pendants. 4. Head ornament of the brides, made of flowers and silver coins. 5. Woman wearing an embroidered blouse and a woven carpet apron. 6. Drawing well. 7. Neck ornament. 8. Hand mill for salt. 9. Threshing sled. 10. Cave dwelling on the Lon. 11. Fire saw. 12. Village street. 13. Shelter of the field herders. 14. Household altar. 15. Rattle board of wood, from a monastery. 16. Signalling horn of a country mailman. 17. Sawing frame.[1]

175 At the time of the Romans present-day Bulgaria was called
101 Moesia in its northern (Danube) region, Thracia in its southern section,
144 and it was inhabited by an Indo-European people of North European extraction, at the time when old Greek, and later Roman and Byzantine, immigrants moved there and intermingled with it. From the [illegible] century on, the Slavic wave moved closer, and from the seventh century onwards Finnish Turko-Tataric migrant herders and horse breeders repeatedly found their way into this country from the middle Volga.
463 From these the Bulgarians adopted and kept the herding system, by the side of which the Thracian and Slavic agriculture was maintained. The Ottoman Turks coming from the southeast provided the country
181 with its class of craftsmen and tradesmen. This mosaic of races and peoples developed a particularly powerful and healthy stock of people whose high life expectancy is well known, as well as a temperate,
531 industrious, and sober character. It mirrors a corresponding multiplicity
177 of cultures; thus we have in art types that range from the Scythian style and its predilection for phantastic animal forms to the Byzantine and ancient Oriental motifs; from the cellular stone inlays of the period of the Teutonic migrations (belt clasps) to the Tatar decorative pendants (Figures 2, 3, and 7),[2] and from the Slavic joy in ornamentation and
592 colors to the Turkish, recent Near Eastern household industries. The Slavic household community, which takes up every new generation into the fabric of the family, has as its consequence the form of settlement
342 by individual and separate farmsteads. Aside from occasional underground dwelling pits in the loess, of which only the pointed roof of rushes rises above the ground, there are one-story high, rectangular panel-work houses covered with loam, placed either on a level with the soil, or else on top of a wooden substructure for the working sheds.

[1] [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a -- Analyst]
[2] [See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 57a -- Analyst]

Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples E16
Serbs EF6

The typical form is shown by a house of the village of Zianozene of the Berkof district, built in 1890 (Fig. 41) «In these areas», says Zlatev (p. 98), «southward and northward of the Haimos, in the plain or even in the mountains, this house is the normal type used. The portico here appears in various forms and positions, depending on the construction, which is here primitive and without any particular sense of shape». Part of the space under the portico has been enclosed with oak-tree boards and it is used as a pig-sty. The walls of the ground-floor are made of stone, and those of the upper floor of daubed wicker-work (Bulg.: pletarka). The floor of the upper storey is made of oak planks, roughly planed, and plastered with a thick layer of clay. Windows are few and small, and thus results a poor lighting in the house. The height of the basement is of 2 metres, and that of the upper floor 2 - 2.5 metres. The portico, formed on the frontage and called «islak» (Greek: ἡλιακός), appears as a non-organic part, attached to the main body, although its roof is a part of the whole roof of the house. It is mainly used for the drying of fruits[1]).

B 342
B [231]
B [354]
B [251]

The need to house a large family, as e.g. the so-called zadruga, created a difficult problem which remained architecturally unsolved in the case of the Serbs and the other Slavs: the young people and the young couples sleep in separate small buildings (vajat, klijet, staja or koliba from the Greek καλύβη = hut) which are constructed alongside or around the family house (called kuc'a), having no hearth and being also used as a stable or a store house[2]). The number of klijeti existing round the kuc'a gives the number of couples living in that cluster[3]). As for the Bulgarians, this problem has been solved through the following two methods: 1. By the addition of rooms, in direct organic connection with the original region of the hearth. 2. By the unification of two independent bipartite or tripartite houses through covered entrances or corridors.

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Sl
[342]
[592]
[513]

The first method is shown by the house in the village Zabel (Zlatev, fig. 16), one of the oldest houses in NW Bulgaria, which, «some

B [592]

1) It is interesting to note the nomenclature of each part of the wooden bone in W. Bulgaria, which is often similar to that used in Thessaly and Epirus (Zlatev, p. 101, fig. 86) 1. Temel (θεμέλιον) = the basis of the post. 2. Direk = the post. 3. Gredi = (γρεντιά) beam. 4. Pope (παπᾶς = priest) (cf. **G. Megas**, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 20).

2) See **J. Cvijic'**, La Peninsule Balkanique, Paris, 1918, p. 233 and foll.

3) See **L. Niederle**, Manuel de l'antiquité Slave, Vol. 2 Paris 1926, p. 109.

342 years ago, was giving shelter to a 40 members' family and which
[592] was especially built for this purpose (Plate XIII 6) It is an evolution
of the basic type of a house with two spaces (hyza and odaja). The
[513] cellars on the one side of the hyza are a subdivision of the third compartment into smaller spaces, and are used by the various couples of the family only to sleep in. The hyza remains the central appart-
[252] ment and it includes the hearth, measuring 2 m. x 2 m. where the bread is also baked in a special pot (srepnia, podnitsa). The cellars and the oda open to a hyza without any communication between them. The external architecture of this house presents the character-

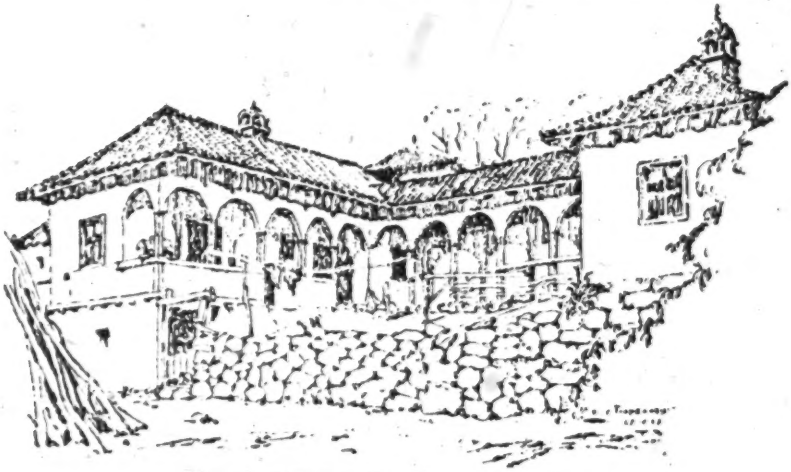

Fig. 42 House in the village of Tiorekovtsi
(Zlatev, Bălg kăsta fig. 77)

istic lack of a prostoon, which, according to Zlatev (p. 91) is the permanent element of the Bulgarian house. The house (Zlatev fig. 78) of the village of Tiorekovtsi, built in 1870, presents the same composition, but with a different arrangement of spaces (See Plate XIII 7).

Another house of this latter village is built according to the second method (Zlatev, Fig. 76 and 77) presenting an apparent archi-
[351] tectural synthesis: «two independent bipartite houses, extending parallel to each other are united on one side by a covered portico thus forming a sort of central courtyard, surrounded on two sides by porticoes which, according to Zlatev, remind us of monasteries and

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Dragalevtsy. In general, though the division of labor was traditional, the specialization of occupation was increasing. Though unemployment was absent from the village, this in no way implied that all had the kind of work they wanted. It was astounding enough that even in times of world depression all did have a way of earning a living. 464

In Bulgaria, as in most countries, property passed from parent to child. There too the laws governing this transfer were very complicated. However, as a general principle in the villages sons inherited twice as much land as daughters. Usually the sons received equal amounts, but a father while still alive could divide the land, taking an equal share for himself, which he later gave to his favorite son. Quite often a sister said when the time of division arrived: "Why should I take land away from my brothers?" and forfeited her claim. In some cases she would sell her share of the estate cheaply to a favorite brother. If she was married, however, her husband could insist that she take what was her due and might even go to court to pursue the case. Every year there were a few Dragalevtsy people involved in long-drawn-out lawsuits originating over the division of inherited land. More often than not, lawyers' fees used up a great part of the value of the property. 428 593 [691]

A heavy inheritance tax accompanied any such transfer of property from the father to his children. One man at work in the hayfield took time off to tell me of the arrangement being worked out in his family: 428 651

"Our father, who is still living, told us three brothers to divide his property equally among us. We have not made the division officially as yet, because if we did we would have to pay an inheritance tax amounting to about four hundred dollars. We divide the land by lot. We take strips of land, both meadows and fields of equal value, and draw lots for the strips. Of course, our father has kept some of the land for himself, but we shall divide that among the three of us after his death."

The most serious conflicts in the village arose when there was disagreement over the division of a patrimony. Brother turned against brother, and whole families became involved in the dispute. There 428 578

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888 cide was by that time an out-of-date practice no longer linked with the precarious economic existence of a wandering people.

539 But it was a far cry from the cessation of the killing of aged
888 parents to the "Honor thy father and mother" of the Decalogue, which
593 later became a part of the Bulgarian family system. The peasants had another story to explain this dramatic change:

"In the olden days, when fathers died the sons would drag the bodies with a hook to a stream or gully and push the bodies in. One day a middle-aged man returned home from disposing of his father's body in this way, but failed to bring back the hook. Whereupon his own son in greeting him said:

" 'But, father, where is the hook? What will I use when I drag you away?'

"This made the father thoughtful, then remorseful. It was then that he retrieved his father's body and gave it a proper burial. Since then sons have been more respectful."

593 At any rate, whatever may be the explanation, the patriarchal
562 system with its respect for and obedience to the father won out. Con-
175 tact with Byzantine culture until the coming of the Turks must have
186 reinforced the Bulgarian father's right to dominate his family. He became more fully acquainted with the *patria potestas* which had been too strongly entrenched in the Roman family system to be forgotten by the Byzantines. Likewise, the patriarchal emphasis of the Old Testament and the Pauline epistles of the New aided in the continuance
175 of male supremacy. It is fascinating indeed to observe the response that the Slavicized Bulgarians made to the Byzantine culture in general. First they opposed cultural assimilation by force of arms; more than once the armies of the Bulgarian kings thundered at the gates of Constantinople in Bulgaria's proud golden age (about 900). Military expeditions, however, proved inadequate, with the result that the Bulgarian leaders sought to build a Slavic culture to rival that of the Greeks. It was this new culture which kept the feeling of national uniqueness alive among the Bulgarians, while other tribes upon entering that region became so thoroughly absorbed into the Byzantine Empire that they ended as curious names of the past with no modern representatives.

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[775] .587 Heaven in concrete terms and believed that husbands and wives would be reunited there. Things would work out quite well mathematically if a widow and widower remarried each other, since in Heaven each mate would go to the first spouse, thus avoiding the unheavenly complication of a second mate left alone for eternity. For a second wife, they listened to the recommendations of neighbors far more than they did when marrying the first time. This was borne out by the testimony of a woman I found picking berries from a bush that overhung a garden wall. While speaking to me she kept a watchful eye turned toward the near-by house in fear that someone would tell her to leave the berries alone. "How did you happen to marry Nikola?" I asked her. Like the other women she seemed to welcome a chance to talk about herself.

"For three years I was a widow in Simeonovo before somebody recommended me to my present husband, at that time a widower living here in Dragalevtsy. One day he came over to Simeonovo, looked me up, and asked me to marry him. I accepted right away although I had never heard of him before. Winter was coming on and I didn't have any money to buy food for myself and my little boy. I went immediately home with him and lived with him as his wife for two months before we were married."

Her second husband was one of the poorest men in the village, and her life was decidedly unhappy; yet to the village way of thinking, she was better off than as a widow.

● 593 Most of these second marriages turned out successfully provided the question of stepchildren could be satisfactorily settled. Sometimes fathers sent away their own children to a relative and gladly took in those of the second wife. Quite often the children of both the husband and wife were brought up together as one family. A second wife was generally anxious to have children by her second husband in order to ensure her place in his affections, especially if she had children by her first husband who ate up the food and wore the clothes provided by their stepfather.

587 837 Widows and widowers were permitted by public opinion to live together as though they were married for awhile before the actual ceremony took place. This above all else emphasized the fact that

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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CHAPTER VI

MARRIAGE

585 517 THE BULGARIAN groom settled down naturally into the role of the married man as the embarrassment of the first few days of good-natured joshing wore away. He took less and less interest in the Sunday afternoon promenade, preferring to sit in front of the tavern with the other married men where he liked to be complimented on the woman he had chosen in the same way that he would appreciate compliments on a cow just bought. However, as marriage progressed he began to respect his wife as a person rather than as a possession.

593 851 It was when the first child arrived, in a year or so, that the husband suddenly felt a sense of tremendous importance. He was no longer just a married man; he was a father. Though the beginning of married life had little effect upon his behavior, the fact of parenthood changed even his facial expression, his earnestness in his work, and his whole attitude toward the future. I sensed this often in the requests that people made for photographs. Few young men came to ask for pictures of their brides; but many wanted pictures of their infants, especially of the sons. In the case of the first child they would hold him up squarely in front of the camera so that he would fill up the whole picture if possible. But as children continued to arrive year after year, the fathers often asked, "Could we get our new oxen into the picture too?"

581 Most of the men accepted marriage as they did the weather: inevitable, sometimes balmy and sometimes disagreeable, but utterly essential. They did not go out of their way particularly to adjust themselves to marriage, and spoke little of marriage. They patiently waited for parenthood, which was revolutionary in its effect upon them

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did the most talking. The women found it difficult to say which one helped the others most, because "this depends so much upon one's special knowledge of cooking, caring for the sick, and sewing." Each woman was expert in a different line, but all were willing to help in any way. [476] 571 521

The distinction between age groups broke down when the group was hard at work, as the work was then more important than the flow of gossip. In general, the gossiping groups got together more frequently in the summertime and on Sundays. Women found their chief recreation with women, and men with men, though the men said they needed the stimulation of tavern society. [517]

This willingness of the men to spend money for recreation and to limit their wives to the questionable joys of gossip illustrated the common saying, "Bulgaria is a man's country." A Dragalevtsy peasant saw nothing strange in the sight of a man riding a donkey while his wife trudged along behind carrying their purchases home from market. Or if a man returned alone from market, having ridden all the way in his wagon, his wife, tired from a day in the field, went out to carry in his things, saying, "He's weary and needs my help." She was always careful to make no queries about the day's activities, although she might be bursting with curiosity to know what had happened at market. She went about her work and waited until he was comfortably fed and settled, knowing full well that then she would have a complete report. Usually her husband made himself out to be the hero of each little episode, but "men are like that," she would say. 562 181 593

The well trained wife always deferred to her husband. If ever I asked a question in the presence of both, the woman turned her eyes to see what response her husband made. If he made a gesture as though to say, "You go ahead and answer," then she began to talk, becoming silent whenever her husband wished to interject any comments.

What was even more conclusive proof that Bulgaria was a man's country, and certainly that Dragalevtsy was a man's village, was the obedience of women to their husband's command. I asked thirty wives in the course of my family interviews:

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562 "Suppose you wanted to go to market some Friday and your husband thought you ought not to go, what would you do?"

181 Not a single wife would dare go to market under these cir-
593 cumstances. Two or three said, "I wouldn't even start for the door."

"But suppose you wanted to make some small purchases in the city and your husband disapproved, what would you do?" Only two daring ones out of the thirty said they would make these purchases if they had money.

It paid the women to "behave," because the husband did have the right to beat a disrespectful wife. I never happened upon a wife-beating, but the fact that a few husbands told me with pride, "I never beat my wife," showed me that they considered themselves exceptional.

[208] A wife who received rough treatment, especially if her husband
562 had been drinking, could go to her father's home. She could not stay
593 there very long after her mate had become sober, because her father and the village in general made her feel that her place was with her husband no matter how disagreeable he might be. Usually she waited until her husband came with a meek promise of good behavior to ask her to come back.

In those formal ways a village wife showed respect to her husband. She did not, most of the time, find them burdensome because she knew nothing else. All of her experiences from childhood to
[208] marriage had conditioned her to a subordinate role. Should any woman have tried to rebel against her lot other women would have been her most vigorous critics. They, more than the men, aided in the perpetuation of the existing order.

562 The woman, however, had a far more important place than the
581 social amenities would indicate. Men frankly admitted that they
593 could not make a living without their wives. This feeling of dependence overshadowed the traditional masculine superiority to the extent that a partnership resulted. The man, to be sure, was the senior partner, but he knew that he was a member of a team in which co-operation was essential.

This deeper sense of partnership was best shown by the practice husbands had of consulting their wives on every matter of importance as well as on minor matters. Out of twenty-six representative cases,

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nineteen husbands always consulted their wives before doing anything such as selling a calf, hiring a servant, or building a small stable; four husbands consulted sometimes, and only three were so strong-willed and dominating that they never asked their wives' opinions. Many husbands said that their wives knew more than they did about the management of the farm, though these same wives modestly asserted that they knew very little. One man said: "That's why we are married: to ask each other." Quite a few husbands, having learned that it paid in the long run to consult the women, betrayed this by saying, "We have to ask," or "We have to listen to women."

Consulting, however, was not always the same as catering to the wives' wishes. I asked twenty-six husbands: "Suppose you had set your heart on buying something but your wife objected, what would you do?" Twelve said they would make the purchase anyway, three hedged a little in their answers, but eleven would buy nothing contrary to the wishes of their wives. This last group of eleven showed that to many men the judgment or wishes of the women meant far more than one would expect in "a man's country."

Much of a woman's hold upon her husband came about quite unconsciously on the part of either. The village wife was artless and ignorant of the wiles of a sophisticated society, but she knew that as long as she was efficient, decorous, and dutiful she could count upon continued support from her husband. She also knew that she was not in competition with adventuresses or with women, jaded and disappointed, frantically seeking excitement to enliven their days. Instead, the Dragalevtsy woman felt secure. With her there was a solemn finality about marriage to which her husband and others in the village subscribed.

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She expected no courteous gestures or terms of endearment from her husband. Her name sufficed. Only three couples out of twenty-seven used affectionate names for each other, these taking such forms as *bulka* (bride), *baba* (old woman), and the like, but never *dear*, *darling*, or *sweetheart*. One of the three men who used such names saved them for times when his wife did not listen, and then he used several to get her attention. The occidental practice of kissing was little used by the married couples, though the younger generation was

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beginning to imitate "the people of the world" in this respect. As the psychological aspect of the sexual relationship between husband and wife varied with each couple, no generalization could be made except to point out that sex seemed to be a concomitant of marriage rather than the basis of marriage. Mates were picked by young men more for their potentialities as hard-working farm hands than for their sexual attractiveness. Quite often before marriage a sort of affection had grown up between the couple; more often affection came after marriage and increased as the partnership proved successful and the feeling of mutual dependence deepened.

Most of these couples freely, sometimes jokingly, admitted that they quarreled more or less, even when they were in many respects fortunately adjusted to each other. Nevertheless, in only one-third of the cases did this quarreling lead to a permanent cause of conflict.

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The disciplining of children by the husband frequently aroused the wife to indignation, but perhaps not to such a depth as did his late arrival from the tavern in an intoxicated condition. Few Bulgarian men drank to get drunk. Intoxication, when it came, was often the result of overenthusiastic observance of drinking customs. For instance, when men drank in the saloon all of them ordered drink and food not only for themselves but for the whole table, everybody paying for what he had ordered before leaving; the people always toasted health, long life, or happiness when they raised a glass of wine, beer, or whisky, at home, in the tavern, or in the field; at feasts *rakiya* was served before the people began to eat; during the meal they drank wine. A drunken man was sent out of the tavern at closing time, and it was up to him to get himself home, even though he fell down several times en route. If he was having too great a difficulty, some companions might lead him. If they were not around, the policeman or night watchman might act as guide. At his approach, the children hid and the wife became afraid. The villagers said: "Even an insane man runs away from the drunken." Sometimes in order to sober up the drunken man, people put a little urine or horse manure (substances rich with ammonia) in his mouth. The chief complaint the women made against drinking was economic, The spending of money "for nothing," as they said.

complaint the women made against drinking was economic, the spending of money "for nothing," as they said. 000

Husbands and wives also disagreed frequently over the importance of a certain task, since the husband was likely to order the wife to work in the field when she felt it necessary to complete some task at the house. Money was often a source of conflict. Since all the villagers were members of the same church they rarely argued about religion, the few discussions which did arise being about the desirability or undesirability of church attendance. One of the most significant results of this study of village families was to show how little disagreement there was concerning in-laws, since husband and wife usually stood together as a unit against these outsiders, whether they belonged to her family, his family, or had married their son or daughter. 593 [771] [606]

In spite of these quarrels about discipline, drink, and jobs to be done, most couples considered their marital venture highly successful. I believe that an important reason for the success of marriage in Dragalevtsy was the recognition on the part of husband and wife that even love was not an answer to all of life's problems. They took each day's pleasures and disappointments as they came, rejoicing or sorrowing in quiet unison.

Many times as I listened to the husband or wife gravely narrating with satisfaction and pride the calm and uneventful story of their marriage partnership, details of the room in which we were sitting would strike me with such force that I had to recall myself with an effort to the conversation. We always sat in the best room; sometimes it was the only room. It was always the room where the family lived. The chief furniture was a bed, perhaps two or even three beds. And here two or three couples and their children spent their days and nights. I would try to imagine married life under such circumstances. [342]

Life of any kind became not merely a matter of privacy, but really a problem of where to carry on the necessary daily activities without getting in another's way. And yet, in most of these crowded households the marriage bond had grown strong. If there was no actual happiness, I often saw a friendly contentment and a mutual regard, particularly as the couple grew older and could look back upon years of joint achievement.

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intelligentsia, when it came to the point dared not run counter to the old village sanctions against divorce. 586

More often it was the husband who left the home. When he did and in rare cases interested himself in another woman, the villagers did all in their power to make him return. If he refused at first, they made him feel the indignation of public opinion, treating him as an outcast and sometimes going to the length of beating him. If he remained in the village, he had no choice but to go back to his wife. During the time he was away his wife also was put to shame, getting little sympathy from the general public. She knew, furthermore, that in case of a divorce both parties would be held guilty by the villagers, so she was willing to take her husband back and get along with him as best she could. A divorced man was considered to have loose morals; a divorced woman would have been thought thoroughly bad. There was thus a situation in which everyone was expected to marry, with no sanctioned way out once the marriage contract had been entered upon. Though such an attitude meant that unfortunate marriages had to drag on interminably, it also had the effect of forcing couples to adjust themselves to each other. [208] [558]

Dragalevtsy seemed a curiosity indeed: a village in which marriage was little questioned, where there was practically no marital unfaithfulness, and no divorce. What were the reasons for the family stability? For one thing, life was still lived according to ancient customs. People only recently had begun to wonder about the age-old patterns which they had been following so faithfully. Some writers would call them the "dead hand of the past," others "the cake of custom." Whatever their name, they were conducive to a common understanding of the place of marriage. All the people expected the same things from life and from the home. 581 593 181 829

Then, too, earning their living by farming was a joint enterprise. People got used to putting their shoulders to the wheel as a family group. In addition to what they all did together, women were supposed to do certain things, men other things, and children still other things. As long as every person did his part there was no friction, but quiet efficiency. Furthermore, the presence of a number of relatives made for greater stability. In the case of apparent misunderstanding

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between a husband and wife, the proper relative intervened to suggest a way out. Most of the husband's relatives were in the same locality with him and could keep an eye on his behavior.

One was not only tied closely to the husband's blood kin *(rodstvo)* but had to enter upon a formal relationship with one's in-laws. Families related by marriage felt close to each other, the intensity of the feeling depending upon the frequency with which the families met and the way the young couples got along. Ordinarily, however, the family of the bride was considered by the husband's parents to be as close, at times even closer, than blood relatives. For instance, if there was any sort of celebration to which guests were invited, the family of the bride was the first to be asked. One reliable informant estimated that ninety out of one hundred people in Dragalevtsy felt the force of *svatovstvo,* or this relationship springing up through intermarriage. The young people, who are usually so prone to make a break with the past, maintained it in all its vigor. Here was the way one young man explained the *svatovstvo:*

"If my sister married some man in Simeonovo, even though I had never seen him before, his brother and sister would be my *svati,* and if I met them we would feel like cousins. I would never curse them or quarrel with them and would call their father *'dedo'* and their mother *'baba,'* the same names I use for my own grandparents. My parents and the parents of my new brother-in-law would likewise be *svati* and would treat one another reverently." Two brothers could not marry two sisters from another family, though there was no blood relationship, because the second couple were *svati* after the first couple married, and *svati* could not marry. Two brothers could marry two first cousins, but not two sisters. This feeling of closeness in families related by marriage did not stop with the husband and the wife, nor with the single in-law gained by each family. It included, as well, the in-law's parents and brothers and sisters with whom just dealings and proper behavior had always to prevail.

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More than anything else, however, the shared activities of husband and wife developed an understanding which lasted through thick and thin. Some of these shared activities were the trip to market, the

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Christmas Eve feast, Easter festivities, and the ceremonies on St. George's Day.

Roughly two-thirds of adult Dragalevtsy was in Sofia on an average Friday. On Thursday evenings the village was already bubbling with excitement. The wagons had already been loaded. All that was necessary in the dim light on Friday morning was the yoking of the sleepy oxen. Soon cart after cart would creak heavily down from the village, overtaking those peasants who cheerfully made the long trip by foot. By the time sleepy city-dwellers were breakfasting, the village was well on its way to the outside world.

Once in Sofia there were four possible destinations for the peasant wagon: the cattle market, the mill, the big curb market, or the *Bezisten Pazar* (another smaller market).

The cattle market was located across the city, back of the railroad station, near the municipal cemetery. This market was owned and managed by the municipality. Every peasant before passing into the enclosure with a beast had to pay the tax of ten leva. The sun had already grown warm by the time the Dragalevtsy peasant and his wife passed through side streets to this square, packed with bargaining, shouting men and noisy animals. Usually the women sat outside the square in their wagons loaded with pumpkins and peppers in season, though once in a while a woman accompanied her husband through the bargaining and sale of the animal. The bright blue uniforms of the police were very much in evidence in this dusty confusion, where hard bargains sometimes led to fist fights. At the east end, gypsies raced their not too spirited horses up and down to prove to would-be purchasers the absence of defects. At the northeast side, the red-eyed water buffaloes and their dirty little black calves moved restlessly because of biting flies. To the northwest, along the iron rail the oxen ruminated.

Through the tumult and dust wandered the sellers of *boza* (fermented millet drink) and the vendors of round *gevretsi* (small rings of bread); here a man was eating a melon near a sucking calf. I was always interested in those performing *pazarluk,* which was the method of clinching a bargain. The buyer and the seller of an animal would stand shaking hands as the seller demanded an unreasonably high

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individuals were celebrating their name days with appropriate hospitality. 796

Bulgarian children did not hang up their stockings on Christmas Eve but, if their parents were being influenced by modern ideas, did find a present or two at the foot of their bed when they woke up in the morning. They immediately ran to kiss the hands of their father and mother. They called Santa Claus *"Dedo Koleda,"* which meant "Grandfather Christmas." He did not wear a bright red, white-furred costume but had on a brown homespun outfit that corresponded more nearly to the peasant's manner of dress.

On these ceremonial occasions the father and mother presided with quiet dignity over the celebrations. They were accorded every respect by their children. As the Christmases passed, the couple's feeling of partnership deepened. Each year left its accumulation of memories, about which husband and wife said little, but about which they could feel sure the other was thinking. [593]

Christmas and the holidays that followed were only a prelude to *Velikden*—literally, the Great Day—the day of Christ's resurrection. On the eighth Sunday before Easter, or *Mesni Zagovezni* (meat fast), all those who kept the long Easter fast stopped eating meat. The following Sunday was *Sirni Zagovezni* (cheese fast) after which those fasting gave up all milk products. This Sunday itself was a day of great feasting on all sorts of cheese products. On both Sundays fires were lit; on *Mesni Zagovezni* there was a great fire at night in the village square, and on *Sirni Zagovezni* almost every household lighted a fire in the yard around which the youngsters waved burning straw stuck in the cleft end of a stick and chanted an ancient couplet [785]

> Orata, Kopata!
> Dai mi, chicho, momata

whose significance had vanished with the ages.

On this Sunday, and the three days preceding, all quarrels among the villagers were settled, everyone visiting his neighbors and relatives to beg pardon for real or fancied offenses. The quiet that reigned over the village on the evening of *Sirni Zagovezni* was little short of wonderful. At the break of day the children had risen to kiss their 796 578

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The story of married life, of life in common, could be retold in many ways. Underneath it all was a realistic acknowledgment that marriage had its ups and downs. As long as one felt useful and needed, then it had its satisfactions too. Often people ask, "Are those peasants happy with such a family system?" There is no adequate answer. Happiness is a state of mind, and the meaning of happiness varies from culture to culture as well as from person to person. On the whole, Bulgarian husbands and wives were happy, for they were getting from marriage what they expected and were untroubled by alternatives. Furthermore, life to them was more than a frenzied search for happiness. It was rather the serious fulfillment of customary duties, the performing of daily tasks to keep one's people and one's animals alive, and the taking of sufficient time to cultivate the art, almost lost in our civilization, of forming personal relationships which stood the test of time. Under these circumstances happiness came as it only can, as a by-product of rich life experiences.

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855 people had reconciled themselves to comparative poverty: abundance of children in contrast to the abundance of goods. When I asked her if they gave the children any special food, she answered: "No, certainly not. They eat the same food as the older people. If they want to eat, we let them eat. If they do not want to eat, who is to be blamed?" Children's mealtimes were a matter of convenience. They asked for food when they were hungry, receiving a crust of bread if the adult was not too busy.

The mother-in-law usually took care of the children, especially while they were babies, because she was considered more capable and experienced than the young mother. There were cases in the village where a comparatively young mother-in-law took such complete care of her son's children that the mother of the children did not know what it meant to have children and to care for them.

When people went to work in the fields and there was no woman to remain with them in the home, the children were left by themselves on the streets.

"Doesn't the Village Council do anything to aid these children?" I asked.

"Oh, the *Obshtina* takes care of some children, but what can it do when it is not from the same blood? It is only to shut the eyes and the mouths of the peasants for the very high taxes they pay to the *Obshtina*."

The children were not well dressed. Their clothes were often dirty and ragged. One tired mother of several complained: "Can a child keep anything on his back clean and not torn? Now you put on his back something clean and new, and when he returns from playing in the street it is all wet, dirty, and often torn. So children do not deserve to have good and new clothes." Often their clothes were made out of garments discarded by adults, though they did receive new garments at Christmas.

858 593 But even though the peasants did not "tremble over" their children, they valued them highly. When they first came they were tokens of a successful marriage. The husband and wife had both borne fruit and so had conformed to the expected life cycle. As the children grew older, however, they became important as economic

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assets. They could do hard work; they could run countless errands. 858
Later, they were the heirs to the father's fields and the chief support of the parents in their declining years.

One of the first women I interviewed about family life told me: "I had a little boy but he died when forty days old. Now I cannot help crying every St. George's Day [May 6] and every St. Dimiter's Day [November 8] when my husband goes out to hire a boy to care for our sheep. If my son had lived, he could have taken care of the sheep for us."

Later on in the course of a conversation with a garrulous *baba* I asked her if she did not think her seven children too many for one woman to have. She snorted, pointed out of the window to her sons unloading wood they had gathered in the forest, and said: "If I hadn't had lots of children, who would go to get our wood?"

Sons were greater economic assets than girls but even so would 858
have normally received more attention in this man-centered society. 562
As parents often had to go to some expense to get their daughters 593
married off, they were always jubilant at the arrival of a son. The good-natured priest was occasionally the butt of a number of sly jests because he had three daughters and no son. One man in particular, Stefan, who had been in the same predicament, had recently acquired a son, who was now the apple of his eye. He was fond of his daughters, but made no secret of his particular pride in his boy. I thoroughly enjoyed a conversation between Stefan and the priest in which Stefan fully explained how to be sure the next one was a boy. I have known of fathers who refused to look at the newly arrived infant upon learning that it was a girl. Of course, they eventually acquiesced and simply hoped for better luck next time. Where parents had no sons, village curiosity reached a peak when a new child was expected, and an occasional wager was laid on the possibility of its being a boy. But favoritism was the exception rather than the rule. When you asked a Dragalevtsy parent which child he liked best he responded: "I like them all equally; they are just like the fingers on one's hand." He often added the proverb, "The fingers on one's hand feel pain equally, do they not?"

Whenever a child suffered from a physical or mental handicap 732
Dragalevtsy parents, like most parents around the world, were more 593
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732 solicitous than they would have been if the child were normal. A
● 593 peasant named Vladimir once invited me to his home for what I
758 thought was to be a chat about life in general. We walked through the sturdy gate, slushed through the mud in the yard, and lowered our heads as we entered the house's one large room. The children scurried out of our way while Yurdanka, his wife, offered us each a low three-legged stool. Not far from the stove in the center of the room I saw in the dim light what appeared to be a teen-aged girl, drooling and entirely oblivious to our presence. Vladimir, Yurdanka, and I talked about many things while their younger children sat on the bed and listened intently. Then the father brought up the matter of their feeble-minded daughter:

"*Tova e nashe neshtastie*" (This is our misfortune), he said. And then he told me her story. Some illness, probably meningitis, had arrested her mental development at an early age. Doctors had given them no hope and they wondered if I, a foreigner, knew of something they could do. Their faces showed the suffering that had touched their lives: the comments of misunderstanding, superstitious neighbors, and the constant attention they had to pay to the child's physical needs. Truly she was their misfortune. I knew that the treatment of the mentally deficient and mentally ill in Bulgaria was still in that tragic stage where the unfortunates were confined and given almost no scientific treatment. The parents wanted more than that. It was with a heavy heart that I left them, for their misfortune was not only that of economic loss, but of seeing a wasted life sharing the one living room of the tiny house.

593 The child, whether grown or small, approached the father through the mother. Though not universally the case, most Dragalevtsy children told their mother what they wanted and then asked her to relay this request to the father. The mother did so quite willingly, for she felt much closer to the children than the father. In this way the distance between father and children was traditionally maintained, increasing filial respect.

There were accepted ways for children to show their respect to the parents. The traditional patterns all centered around the father: standing up when he entered the room; waiting for him to eat first;

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kissing his hand and toasting him before drinking *rakiya* at ceremonial 593
dinners. The newer patterns, such as little children giving a goodnight kiss, which had penetrated a few of the homes, centered around the mother.

For instance, in a family where three married sons dwelt in the same room with their parents and three unmarried brothers, one of the married sons said: "Our little children sometimes kiss the hands of the grown-ups before going to bed, and we married sons always kiss our parents' hands before drinking *rakiya* at home. We never quarrel with our father; if we are dissatisfied, we do not dare raise our voices." The married sons are thirty-six, twenty-seven, and twenty-five years old.

But sometimes the tables were turned. There was another case of a sixty-eight year old father who had entrusted the management of the estate to his thirty-four year old son. He had to consult his son before spending any money or doing anything around the place. The household still respected him in many ways though not leaving him much authority. He took comfort in at least one thing: "I am always the one to begin the meal, and all wait for me to begin before they start to eat."

One home which I studied made a great deal out of forms and ceremonies and was one of the best regulated and happiest homes I found. The children were doing excellently at school, and I came upon them studying their lessons even in the pasture while tending the sheep, a most extraordinary thing. The mother had been orphaned at an early age, appreciated a mother's role, and took her task seriously; the father likewise considered his parenthood as a real obligation and was ambitious for his children. When the children got up in the morning they put on their shoes, ran to the street fountain to wash, returned to say their prayers and then to kiss the hands of the elders, the youngest son kissing the hands of his older brothers (aged thirteen and twelve). Every day the mother reminded them: "Today you will be good."

When daughters married, they never returned to live at home 591
except under the most unusual circumstances. If the father was without a housekeeper, he might ask his married daughter, accompanied

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591 by her husband, to come and live with him. Most married daughters
574 liked to visit in their parental homes on Sundays and other holidays, with their children and their husbands. While the frequency of visitation naturally varied with the daughters' sociability, it was significant that the daughters of wealthy peasants returned more often for visits than the daughters of poor peasants. There might have been an economic as well as a filial motive involved in this visitation. Married daughters still living in Dragalevtsy frequently called on their mothers, and helped them through difficult times. In more than half of the homes the married daughter-mother bond was kept intact, a source of comfort to both parties.

● 593 Married sons living with their parents were far more considerate of them than sons who had separated and lived in houses of their own. While in the paternal home they were subject to the authority of the old people, especially to that of the father. Sons living separately had no reason to obey the father if, as was usual in such cases, the property had already been divided. Though he might go to his father for advice, he was just as apt to seek the advice of tavern cronies. Of course, there were many variations of this situation. One thirty-eight year old son, married but not living in the paternal home, consulted his father about everything of importance—buying land, selling animals, building a house.

In another case, where the youngest son and his family lived in the paternal home with the widowed mother, the son got along extremely well with the mother. For instance, when she slapped him resoundingly because he had gone to the drink-shop, he simply smiled and said: "All right, you have the right to do that." He consulted his mother about many things, saw to it that she did not do heavy work and that she had an honorable place in the household.

In one household the twenty-six year old son spent little time at home because of his job as the *Obshtina* courier. He and his father experienced considerable conflict because he did not hand over his earnings to the old man but spent them on his own needs. At the same time he was living and eating free of charge in his father's house, much to the satisfaction of his mother who championed him before her husband. Naturally the son was dissatisfied with staying at home,

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for, in the words of his father, "he does not like the village work and wants something lighter. He wants to go to Sofia." The son obeyed his father most of the time as regards work assigned, but paid less attention to what his mother said. He went with any girl he liked, though his father, who in his youth married a girl of whom his parents had disapproved, insisted that if the son did the same, he would turn the son's wife out into the street. 593

This case was quite typical of most village young men. They performed, though unwillingly at times, whatever tasks their father ordered them to do, but paid little attention to the mother, since "she is a woman and doesn't understand man's work." A smaller number listened to the advice of their parents in the choice of girl friends, but most looked upon that as a personal matter in which parents should not interfere. One father who made a matter-of-fact adjustment to the situation said, "I can't keep a candle for my son in the streets," meaning that he could not go before him to light up his path.

When young men kicked against the traces, the older people did not become particularly disturbed. At times they were annoyed, but there was a general feeling that once the boy got married he would settle down to the conventional routine. This tolerant viewpoint was supported by even the staid middle-aged men, who liked to give the impression that they had been wild and troublesome in their youth. This complacency would have been less widespread if the parents had realized how greatly conditions had changed in one generation.

Unmarried daughters caused little trouble to their parents. They were ordinarily obedient to both father and mother, but, like the sons, quarrelled most often with their mothers, for they were with them more and felt that the mother loved them more than the father. Daughters in three-fourths of Dragalevtsy's homes went with any boys they chose, though some parents were firm in stating that the young man must be suitable before they gave their consent to marriage. It was highly doubtful whether this threat had much effect on the young. One father, apparently devoted to his twenty-year-old daughter, whipped her for going with young men of whom he disapproved and quarreled much with his son of eighteen. [562]

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591 562 If a daughter failed to marry, she spent the rest of her life in her father's home and received sympathy only as long as her mother was alive. Her father and married brothers thought of her as a servant in the home and treated her accordingly. Fortunately there was rarely more than one old maid at a time in Dragalevtsy.

● 593 855 562 The treatment of younger children, of course, varied greatly with the home. Children in Dragalevtsy were accustomed to being yelled at from their first toddling days by displeased older people. As we have already seen, there was no question about boys being preferred to girls in most homes, especially if there was only one boy among several girls. In such homes it was the boy who received the presents when the father returned from town, and who was picked up first; it was the boy whom the parents held when they asked to be photographed.

[861] Whipping, which was usually done by the father, was such an effective check on misbehavior that parents often needed only to threaten it. Another method of punishment was to withhold bread from the child for two or three hours, but, as one father said, "This doesn't always work, especially if the child begins to cry."

[357] Some parents, when they were unable to make ends meet, sent a girl off to Sofia to work as a domestic. One family revealed that five years previously a twelve-year-old daughter had been sent to be a servant in Sofia; she would never return to the village to live, nor did she ever come to visit. In this case the parents could not support an extra person, so chose the simplest way out. The fact that many Bulgarian families in cities sought female servants from twelve to eighteen years of age made such a practice possible. Indeed, on St. Dimiter's Day (November 8) and St. George's Day (May 6) there used to be a "servant bazaar" in Sofia. Village girls went to a certain place and stood in a row where housewives could look them over like heifers and choose a maid. Changes in servants, including shepherds, were ordinarily made only at these two times during the year.

593 857 Should parents find a job for a teen-aged boy, the father might require the boy to accept the job. Most boys wanted work; only a few resented working at all. If a father had more sons than he needed on the farm, he sometimes chose a trade for or with the boy. Such

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boys usually became cobblers, tailors, or tanners. In all cases where the sons remained to work in the village, they were expected to turn over to the father a part or all of their earnings. This practice once more emphasized the economic importance of children. 593 857

As far as I could discover, none of the villagers resented my questions into their personal affairs. More than once, after the routine interviewing was over, a man unburdened himself of some hurt or grievance that revealed more than any questionnaire could. It was through such outpourings that I realized how land could dominate or warp completely otherwise normal family relationships of father and sons or brother and brother. 156 554 593

Lonely old Bai Dimiter held especial interest for me since his wife had earlier told about incidents in his past which helped me to understand better why he began to drink so much that his girls felt ashamed of being called his daughters; to see how he bore his loss of economic and social position in the village owing to bad business methods coupled with a disabling accident. The key to the whole situation was the fact that his own father had tricked him in his early married days. After the son had paid off a heavy debt owed by his father, the father refused to deed him meadows in return but frankly confessed: "I fooled you in order to get money." To make the deception harder to bear, Dimiter inherited no land from his father, all of it going to another son with whom the father had been on better terms. Naturally, Dimiter had a falling out with his brother, and took the matter to the courts where, after long litigation, he failed to obtain any part of the inheritance.

The books I had read about Bulgaria in the old days pointed out the role the older brother formerly played when the father died. One village home was actually operated on the old principle of subordination of the younger brother to the older. Hristo, the older brother, was smaller than the younger brother, standing huge and stooped in the low-ceilinged room in such a way that the kerosene lamp cast a grotesque, mountainous shadow behind him. I knew, of course, about these men, as I knew about most village men, from the talk of tavern groups and other willing informants. I knew that they were ashamed of their family name which meant "the son of a donkey," and I knew

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156 that Hristo had served in the first World War and had been taken as
593 a prisoner to France, which gave him a definite claim to distinction in
554 the village. He talked easily and willingly of the war but just as willingly turned to discuss the arrangement whereby his brother and he, with their large families, lived in the same room in comparative harmony. In the first place, Sando, the younger, submitted to Hristo's authority, but Hristo, in turn, did not make or execute any plans without consulting his brother. Hristo had the task of managing the farm and doing the field work, marketing the products, and laying in the meager supplies; Sando worked as a teamster and as a day laborer if necessary to earn extra funds for the common treasury kept by Hristo. Some idea of the trust that the younger brother had in the older came from the knowledge that the wages of each long day's work, the pay for every laborious haul, went to the older brother. He spent it as it was needed together with the profits from the farm; he gave the money to the younger brother for clothing his children, for buying his wife new *tsarvuli* (pigskin sandals); he also took for his own use whatever he deemed necessary, though never abusing his prerogative. This was the only such relationship which I came across, simply because brothers did not live together as much as they used to, even in Dragalevtsy, ordinarily so tenacious of the older forms of life.

593 The lot of an unmarried brother in the paternal home managed by an elder brother was likewise one of subordination. I visited one home which bore the unmistakable signs of belonging to a dairyman: milky buckets littered the inside; cows hopelessly switched at flies coming from the ever-present manure piles all over the yard. In the course of the conversation I learned that there was little difficulty between the brothers concerning work: the younger together with the wife of the older got up long before daybreak to milk and prepare the milk for Sofia; later on the older brother got up at the same time as his widowed mother to breakfast and started on his daily trek to Sofia and back. Whenever the younger man had extra money he gave it to the older, with the understanding that he could ask for what he needed. There was one source of trouble in the brotherly relationship arising out of the attempt on the part of the older to dictate whom the younger should marry. The inconsistency in this de-

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mand cropped out when the older brother's wife and mother admitted that the older brother had married against the wishes of his parents, and had brought his wife home to a round of constant toil and insufficient sleep. It was not surprising that the younger brother insisted on the right to choose his own friends, probably with the determination that upon marriage he would not live with his older brother, no matter how desperate the financial conditions might be. 593

Married sons living with their father and under his domination usually relied upon one another for mutual sympathy and understanding, at times acting as a unit in dealing with the older people. Between brothers who lived apart the relationship was often cordial, especially if they had been able to clear the greatest, most dangerous hurdle of all, the division of the inheritance. The younger continued to call the older *bate,* "my big brother," and went often to him for counsel, for loans, for aid in the fields, gladly repaying in kind. They saw much of each other in a social way, since they associated with men of the same age; their familial problems were often the same. The bond existed, not crystallizing into a situation where one submitted to the authority of the other, but rather into one in which the brothers felt equal. This type of relationship was growing with the trend toward smaller households.

The relationship between sisters never had to take the definite form which the brother-brother relationship assumed, for there was no situation possible from the village point of view in which a married sister could command a younger married sister. In the first place, married sisters always lived apart, and distance lent enchantment. In the second place, their husbands, and not they, were primarily disturbed if there was any irregularity in the division of their estate; therefore, any ill-feeling developing over a lawsuit was reflected rather than actual. When the parents died, unmarried sisters found refuge in a married sister's home if there was no married brother; normally, however, the unmarried sister went to live with a brother, since he was still living on the father's farm in which she had a right to share. Sisters who lived in the same village saw much of each other when they got together to card and spin wool on weekdays; and they visited together on Sundays. [768]

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●593 Although this insight into the relations between parents and their children, both adult and immature, has taken us beyond the period of childhood, it does show us why the children had to learn obedience and respect and why the village would soon show its dissatisfaction [857] with anyone who flouted the established rules. Children also learned to defer to an older brother or sister, and assumed responsibility for those who were younger. In the main, a child's life was centered about the home and about those activities which he shared with members of his immediate family or the relatives in the neighborhood who were young enough to be his playmates.

527 574 Children became acquainted with their relatives in other villages on the annual *Subor* or "At Home Day" which each village observed. Dragalevtsy families had four village *Subori* which they could attend; on Pantaley Den (August 9) they could go to Boyana; on Spasov Den (the Monday of the eighth week after Easter) they could go to Durvenitsa; on Petkov Den (October 27) they could visit Bistritsa; and on Archangel Day (November 21) they could visit Simeonovo.

I once attended this Simeonovo *Subor* with the Dragalevtsy families. I was told gravely by the old women that on this day everyone must be especially good, for the Archangel Michael was the one who received the souls of the dead into heaven. On the day preceding, the Simeonovo women had gathered to make many loaves of bread from flour previously donated to the church by its loyal supporters. Early on the morning of the *Subor* the church sexton with some helpers killed four sheep for the big meat stews; later he gave terse commands regarding the flavoring of the stews: bean and mutton, cabbage and mutton, and rice and mutton—a somewhat monotonous menu, but one hallowed by tradition.

We started our four-mile walk at an early hour. The air was crisp and so clear that the great Balkan range, miles across the plain, stood out sharply in its rose and blue. By midmorning a large number of people, including the children, had come into the churchyard. Most of them entered the church and attended part of the service; the women carried bread and boiled corn to be blessed by the priest, who received a portion. At noon, the church service was concluded and the priest blessed the meal prepared under the auspices of the church. Then it

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658 government through the Ministry of Education. Parents had no fee
871 to pay, unless the child continued his education in a gymnasium in Sofia.

[593] There was, the director said, a noticeable relationship between the
[861] type of home and success in school work. Uneducated parents did not provide good conditions for study, since the pupils had no tables on which to write, no quiet, and lived in unhygienic surroundings. The more intelligent parents did their best to remedy such defective conditions. Most of the children had a great desire to study, but unfortunately many parents killed this enthusiasm. They either sent their children to tend the cattle, or, if the student gave lessons as an excuse for not doing some task, the parent said, "You don't need all that stuff from books."

876 At times the teachers gave some of the poor but bright students garments, shoes, and caps. The students receiving the mark six (excellent) were taken free of charge on a trip to a theater in Sofia, were given a free bath at the public bathhouse, and a large bowl of soup in a Sofia restaurant. As the director said, "Prizes help a great deal to stimulate study, and those who do not attain them are very disappointed." Five or six times a year the teachers took the older pupils to Sofia to visit the zoological gardens, the museums, a monastery, and sometimes a movie theater.

871 A glance at the list of courses on page 135 shows how the subjects were distributed through the first seven years of school. The tendency had been to follow the conventional courses of Western Europe, without any real adaptation to the needs of the villagers.

872 The textbooks, uniform for the whole Sofia district, were chosen by the Ministry of Education. While most students bought their own paperback textbooks, the school had approximately $245 in its budget for a textbook loan library to aid the poor students. The teachers assigned written work at intervals; for instance, the teacher in history and geography would give homework every five or six lessons, the teacher in arithmetic every day. All students recited daily because of the small number in the class, but written tests and examinations were not employed to the extent they are in American schools. Near the end of the semester one written lesson was required in each

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861 871 ment mark was written on his diploma, thus following him throughout life. Therefore teachers found it more of a trial to lower a student's conduct mark than to fail him scholastically. All discipline cases were sent to the director, who reprimanded the student or sent the child home to his parents. The law did not permit corporal punishment, although many parents would have been glad to give the director the right. The final step, to which the director seldom resorted, was to require the student to attend school in a neighboring village.

658 871 There was little friction between the parents and the local school authorities, probably because the schools were a branch of the government and one seldom protested loudly against the government. If some trouble arose, parents complained to the school director, who passed the complaint on to the mayor.

There was nothing in Dragalevtsy, or in any other Bulgarian village, comparable to our Parent-Teacher Association. The very old peasants still regarded the government school as an outside and, therefore, slightly suspicious innovation—valuable for "the people of the world" perhaps, but yet to be proved indispensable for the village. Most of them agreed that the school widened the already existing difference in attitude between young and old. I once heard a good-humored disagreement between a mother and her twenty-five-year-old son. The woman had been explaining to me that she went to church to pray to God to help with the fields, to send rain and sunshine.

[593]

"But mother," interrupted the son impatiently, "the rain doesn't come from God."

"From where does it come then?"

The son sighed as though he were exhausted by endless repetition of a lesson to a stubborn child.

"From vapors up above, as the books tell us."

The old woman grinned undaunted.

"Well, God gives the vapors."

In spite of the suspicion toward anything new, the peasants were, on the whole, favorable toward education. While they slyly pointed out instances of unemployment among the intelligentsia, they were shrewd enough to see the economic advantages of formal schooling. Many villagers told me of a Dragalevtsy man who got a gymnasium

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Kosharki (Sheep folds). This was a game which had been played extensively a generation ago, but its use was dying out in the village. The children would build miniature sheep folds, houses, and fences out of rocks. This game corresponded after a fashion to our building with blocks. 857 524

The outstanding characteristic of all these games was that they required little equipment and few participants. At home, the play groups were inevitably restricted to the family and nearest neighbors, often relatives. At school, children could choose relatives and other children in the same grade. Play groups in the fields were formed on the basis of family ownership of land and common pasture. These latter groups often gathered in the village and went to the fields together, the youngsters carrying loaves of bread, baked peppers, and fresh tomatoes. Even in play, the family was important, for every type of play group almost automatically included relatives. As was previously pointed out, there was less quarreling among the children who were related. I often heard: "You shouldn't hit him; he's your relative."

The new types of play were still limited. The radio, comic papers, and movies were almost unknown to the village child, just as they were to the average adult. Only twenty-five newspapers reached the village daily, and these had few comic strips. Magazines and books were a rarity. Sofia bookshops had some exquisite children's books, but I never saw one in the village. Sometimes when I came into a village home on a winter evening, I would see an unforgettable picture. Near the fire the father sat quietly, elbows on knees, the mother was spinning near the one dim electric bulb, and in the center, crouched at the low table, a boy, nine or ten years old, was laboriously reading some fragment of a periodical to his parents. Their pride and pleasure was unspoken but obvious. [214] [593]

There was one radio in the village, and the children were of course conscious of it as it blared incessantly in Renaissance Square, but it was not a part of their life, any more than the movies or trains. Only 45 per cent of the total population, including babies, had ever attended a movie, and less than 40 per cent had ever been on a train. [207] [517] 369

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[369] 857 With Sofia, a city of over a quarter million people, only five miles away, the ability of the villagers to resist, however passively, the influence of the "people of the world" was astonishing. It was a remoteness, not to be measured in miles, but in generations.

Such pleasant customs as keeping pets were almost nonexistent. The tiny puppies with which the children sometimes rolled were bred for strictly utilitarian purposes, to guard the sheep, and were taught to be unfriendly to man.

[888] The very young and the very old in the village spent much time together. When I was taken to pay my respects to the oldest man in the village, a venerable figure of over a century, we found him sitting in a sunny corner of the yard under a gnarled pine tree. Tumbling around him were half a dozen tiny children, somewhat hampered in their movements by their clumsy, heavy clothing but very proud to show off their ancient relative.

The older children derived a quiet amusement from their position as spectators at the village ceremonies. There were always little boys making merry along the path of a wedding procession or tramping along wide-eyed beside a funeral. At *Subori* and *hora* mischievous little boys were ubiquitous. The little girls stayed solemnly by their mothers; only their eyes wandered, alternately solemn and amused. The village child had no routine planned for him, either for his physical or his psychological needs. There was no emphasis upon self-expression for the child, only upon conformity to the routine of the family.

858 593 Yet there was warmth and affection for the children. When a child died, the tempo of the household perceptibly slackened. "It is God's will. It is Kismet [Fate]," the family said, but the father grew more taciturn and the mother wept silently as she spun in the evenings. And when a funeral procession reached the cemetery, the new mourners often found there other mothers who had lost their children. These wailed again for the long-departed and begged the spirit of the newly dead to carry messages to their babies.

And when a family grew rich according to village standards, it was on the children that gifts were lavished, perhaps a wish-fulfillment by the elders inherited from their own drab childhood.

178 234 began to compare the cost of feed with their income from milk and realized that they were losing money. As the war progressed the government bought more and more forage for military animals, feed costs went up, and dairying profits went down. Once this fact became evident and was noised throughout the village there was almost a wholesale withdrawal from dairying. Whereas three or four years before 1,300-1,400 kilos of milk were sold daily, by 1945 only 40 kilos were sold. The 1945 situation was aggravated by the excessively dry season and the reduced yield per cow from 15 liters daily down to 4 or 5. In other words, the number of cows fell off by as much as 90 per cent owing to the low prices of milk and feed difficulties. The peasants liked to mention the fact that *boza,* a fermented millet-seed drink which tastes like sour, liquefied chicken feed, sold for 40 leva a kilo and milk for only 22 leva.

178 233 The loss in dairying, temporary though it may prove to be, meant a corresponding gain in sheep-raising, with 1945 estimates of sheep numbers varying from 12,000 to 15,000. Sheep had also become popular because of the wool they made available for garments in the days of clothing shortage during and following the war. A return to sheep had created interesting social problems connected with pasturing. The sheepmen wanted to go back to the days when sheep could graze freely on uncultivated land, but many of the peasants wanted to keep pasturelands for their own use rather than common use.

178 593 As I talked to the peasants and heard the concerns expressed by the parents and the aspirations voiced by the young, I began to realize that the family trends already under way in 1937 had progressed further than I would have anticipated. Parents, although very much interested, had less to say about the choice of mates for their sons and daughters. Some of them were quite skillful in making use of relatives to advise the young people in choices which the older members of the family group considered wise.

583 178 593 Brides were still stolen but, contrary to the case in former years, the girl could return home immediately if dissatisfied with the man desiring to become her husband. Shortly before I visited the village a young man had "captured" the girl of his choice and taken her to his father's home. When the girl's parents came to ask whether she chose

to return or remain, the girl decided to go back to her parents. In 1937 this would have made her ineligible, in a sense, for further consideration as a wife. Now she simply explained that when the boy had asked her in advance if she would marry him she had thought that he was joking and told him "Yes," in what she considered to be a jesting manner. She was greatly surprised two weeks later to find that the boy had been serious. The whole affair turned out happily in the end because within another two weeks the young man had found a willing girl, had become engaged to her, and married her. [583] 178 593

Another evidence that the family system was having to change to meet the stress of new times was the lack of social disapproval shown to widows and widowers who married persons previously unmarried. Heretofore, only widows and widowers could marry each other, and this was chiefly because of economic necessity. Although not yet common, it was a growing practice for a widower to take a fancy to a girl whom he later married. The age of marriage was becoming lower, dropping to 18 and 19 years for many of the couples. The engagement period still lasted only one or two weeks, a time sufficient to allow the girl to make her wedding preparations. [587]

Accompanying these changes was a greater freedom among the young people both in relation to each other and in relation to their parents. The *sedenki* for young people followed practically the same patterns which I had previously observed but had not yet popularized the kissing games which featured *sedenki* in northern Bulgaria. Clandestine love-making was increasing as was the tendency on the part of the young people to pair off. [883]

The changed relationship of sons to their fathers was shown by the failure of many of the sons to turn over their earnings to their parents as part of the common family treasury. Formerly more than half of the young men had followed this practice, but estimates in 1945 placed the number at approximately one out of ten.

Of especial interest was the pattern which younger couples were establishing after marriage. Whereas, ten years ago even the young wife would have given implicit obedience to her husband's orders, today many of the families were becoming equalitarian. The older women, however, still clung to the patriarchal pattern, though they [562]

[i.e in 1945 -- Analyst]

[562] 178 ● 593 were willing to grant that the changes introduced by the young people were a part of the times and might not be so bad after all. In talking to these older women I noted a touch of envy, which I would not have suspected ten years ago.

In contrast to these changes many phases of the family system remained the same. These included the attitude of intolerance towards a childless couple, the role of the mother-in-law in the caring for infants, the parents' preference for boys, the reserve between father and the children, the continued dwelling of many married sons with their fathers, and the importance attached to being an older brother or sister in the family. The godparent relationship and the attitude towards the *svatovstvo* (in-law relationships) were still of major importance.

[848] The moral standards remained relatively rigid, with continuing intolerance toward illegitimacy. The one such case within the past ten years[1] had caused a great amount of unfavorable comment. The mother resolved her predicament by leaving her child with relatives in the village and marrying in another place.

178 183 Many other traditional practices besides those related to the family still maintained their strong grip on the people. The Christmas Horo took place as always and the Sunday afternoon promenade had become more firmly established. The *babi* (older women) were called in whenever illness or childbirth occurred. The smaller families, of course, numbered fewer children these days, but the *babi* were kept just as busy since the state-employed midwife no longer worked for the Obshtina. The dead were buried much the same as formerly, although the priest forbade people to cry messages to the dead while the funeral procession paused at the crossroads on the way from the home to the church.

[527] The people still made much of the mice and wolf holidays. One day after St. Dimiter's Day (November 9) the peasants continued to fast to keep the mice from coming in and eating up not only stored food but even clothes and other prized possessions. Bai Yurdan, the tailor, told me in all seriousness, "When I was in Sofia I didn't observe such holidays but now that I am back in the village I must."

1 [ie. 1935 - 1945 -- Analyst]

178 606 596 A daughter-in-law especially disliked to live as a stranger in her husband's paternal home subject to the will of the parents-in-law. Time and time again I heard this opinion clumsily but definitely expressed:

"The large families started to break up after the wars. The chief reason for that was the daughter-in-law. Many of them come from different places and even if they come from the same village, they begin to care more for their own children and to make things for them without the knowledge of the others with whom they are living. This brings trouble among them and so they quarrel. Then they talk to their husbands; finally the brothers, although they love one another, have to separate in order to be at peace."

178 596 Ordinarily most men felt that conditions were better before the separation, though the women were more content apart. Ill will and distrust also grew up between the members of the family when some of them who worked as day laborers failed to hand over their entire earnings to the common treasury. In the villages around Sofia several brothers rarely lived together with undivided possessions after the death of their father as they would have done in the days of the zadruga. During 1935, a record year for the division of families in Dragalevtsy, there were 9 cases of estates being broken up, 3 of them the result of the separation of son and father and the remaining 6 involving the separation of brothers. When a large family divided, the younger brother usually remained in the old homestead and assumed the care of the parents.

● 594 178 551 This change from the large patriarchal family to the small conjugal family was having consequences which few of the peasants realized.[1] For one thing, in comparison with the larger group, the conjugal family, which consists of parents and their unmarried children, has a short life. It ends, in a sense, with the death of one of the marriage partners. This especially affects the rearing of children, who in the olden days grew up with such a bevy of cousins that a special middle name was useful in identifying each child with his particular parents. More specifically each child received a "small" or given name selected by his godparents; as a middle name he automatically added to his father's given name an *ev* or *ov* ("the son of") or, if a girl, an *evá* or *ova* ("the daughter of"). As a last name he

[1] [Cf. pp. 65-69, category 116--Analyst]

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551 would take the larger family name of his father's kinship group. Thus
178 an outsider could immediately place each child not only in the family
● 594 group as a whole but in the small conjugal group as well. Students of child development have often pointed out the advantage to the child of growing up with a number of intimate contemporaries, as well as having several adults ready to serve as substitute parents whenever occasion demands.

But the change need not be viewed as entirely unfavorable. The smaller family unit was bringing about a more intimate relationship between members, breaking down the formalism between parents and children, and encouraging democratic living.

178 The good old days, if we are to believe the elders of the village,
463 differed not only in the degree of governmental autonomy in community affairs and a patriarchy in which the young respected the old: occupations too were of a different order.

"Half a century ago there were very few educated people, the chief of these being a priest from the monastery and a teacher. The mayor was an ordinary peasant elected by the town council of twelve people. There was a swineherd, as well as other herdsmen, and five merchants, plus a tanner. Practically all of the people were farmers. There was no dairyman; there was no doctor. All dentistry was done by Turks who remedied an aching tooth by pulling it out. We raised no horses, and an itinerant gypsy smith did all the necessary iron work."

When I asked another man about occupations half a century ago, he added this information:

"It was 'simple business' fifty years ago. There was a teacher for boys in the first and second grades; there was no village tailor, and the single tanner had little work. A priest from the monastery min-
652 istered to the people on occasion. We had no tax collector and an
211 illiterate mayor took all the taxes and kept the account on a *rabosh*."

(Here I steered the conversation off the subject of occupations long enough to find out what the *rabosh* was. It was similar to a practice of the Exchequer in twelfth-century England in which accounting was done with pieces of notched wood. Each family had a small piece of wood fitting into another piece kept by the mayor. The notches in the wood told the financial status of the family as far as the tax money was concerned.)

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●594

"The mayor [with his family] was the spearhead in the attack on the old ways." *See page 163.*

291

"Trayko Danev . . . one of the richest peasants in the village." *See page 164.*

[Facing p. 161]

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veniently arranged to be away from home. The villagers occasionally joked about the peasant who climbed a tree to escape the tax collector and had to remain in that uncomfortable predicament for many hours before the visitor left. But the Turks did recognize the traditional form of village government, or government by elders, and let the heads of the zadrugas, or large joint families, run village affairs to their liking. Most of the time, the head of the zadruga had to accept the responsibility for the deeds of all members of his family group.

These zadrugas were little principalities guided by a *stopanin,* usually the oldest male. His word was law; he distributed the work among the men, bought the necessities, sold the produce, and represented the zadruga before the outside world; therefore, the zadruga usually bore his name.[1] Whenever a son, brother, or nephew of the *stopanin* married, he brought his wife back home to become a member of his zadruga. The wife of the *stopanin,* known as the *domakinya,* managed the housework. She kept the women busy making bread, cooking, washing, spinning, and weaving. Everything was owned in common. Work too was done in common, and whatever one earned outside was turned over to the *stopanin* for the common treasury. In return, all the members got clothes and food, which in those days were about all they expected to have.

After the death of the *stopanin,* the members met to select the next most capable male as their leader. At times, the *domakinya* took over the position of responsibility. Such was doubtless what happened in the case of Baba Dragana, or her prototype, since the ending of the word Dragalevtsy would indicate that it had been settled by a zadruga. The old joint family comprised married cousins descended from the same ancestor, with the result that it sometimes numbered as many as one hundred people.

When the older Dragalevtsy peasants talked to me of the zadruga, which persisted as late as 1880 in their village, they showed that wistfulness for the past which runs through the works of many Bulgarian writers. The zadruga was supposed to be a source of plenty and happiness to its members. One aged peasant listed for me the advantages of this joint family over the modern family. First of all, he said, it had great economy. The members had only one lamp,

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596 one stove, and one of everything, but now the same number of people
178 living separately require many of each thing. In the second place,
829 there was obedience. The young people respected the old. This made for efficiency, since the *stopanin* was like "a general in the army, directing the young." Finally, he concluded, all the people worked together and could earn more, thus becoming richer.

596 Even under the Turks the zadruga was passing from the scene
178 because it was too unwieldy to adjust to the economic and social changes taking place. Contributing to its decline was the spirit of independence which stemmed from the French Revolution and eventually reached the Balkans. Greeks, and then Serbs, drove the Turks from their midst and established national independence. In Bulgaria and Macedonia, still under the Turks, the *haidutsi,* or guerrillas, went to the mountains every spring on Annunciation Day to spend the summer warring against their Mohammedan masters. It was this same tradition which the Yugoslav guerrillas followed in their resistance to the Nazis. This spirit of independence and the other influences from the West led one zadruga member after another to ask for a division of the common property. Usually the older men, brothers or cousins to each other, secured their shares and then established semi-patriarchal families of their own which consisted of their own sons and their sons' families. What had been common land now became the property of the individual families living in dwellings of their own. But more important sociologically than the smaller size of the individual family unit was the changed basis of authority in the family circle.

In the zadruga the head had been an overseer who achieved his position on the basis of age, ability, and special influence in the community at large. He constantly had to exercise care to keep in the good graces of the zadruga members upon whose assent his office was dependent. In this way the patriarchal pattern, although it ran through the zadruga system, was tempered by the control vested in an elected as opposed to an hereditary head. The father of an individual family, on the other hand, felt that his right of dominance was God-given. He, allied with God, invested himself with the lordship and so held his own in spite of personal unworthiness and in spite of dissension and revolt of the subject children. The father was

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a *paterfamilias,* with a unique concentration of power in his hands. 596
If his grown children did not submit to his control, then they could 178
leave his house but had no means of removing him against his will. Death alone could do that.

Such was the family situation in Dragalevtsy with the coming 178
of liberation after the Russo-Turkish War in 1878. The changes 642
which have occurred in the family since then have been related in 596
no small degree to the political fortunes of Bulgaria. The Bulgarian constitution was drawn up in Tirnovo in imitation of the constitutions of the West, and made Bulgaria a constitutional monarchy with a national parliament. Unfortunately, the new frame of government disregarded many traditional practices of the peasants and sought to impose upon them foreign ideas and strange governmental processes.

In April, 1879, Alexander of Battenberg, who was an officer 175
in the Prussian army and the favorite nephew of Tsar Alexander II of Russia, was elected Prince over the country. In September, 1885, Bulgaria united with Eastern Rumelia, an area which had been placed back under nominal Turkish control by the Treaty of Berlin. Prince Alexander, because he did not collaborate sufficiently with the Russians in their desire to make Bulgaria completely subservient to Russia, was abducted from Sofia and forced to abdicate in 1886. Then the Bulgarian leaders shopped around Europe for another Prince, and finally in 1887 chose Prince Ferdinand of the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha line. He did much to make Bulgaria a stronger state, but he showed poor judgment in ordering Bulgarian troops to attack Serbia, thereby starting the Second Balkan War in which Bulgaria suffered catastrophic defeat at the hands of her former allies in the First Balkan War. In 1918, because he had been a party to the alliance of Bulgaria with the Central Powers in the First World War, he was forced to abdicate in favor of his son Boris.

From her inception as a state Bulgaria tried to make a success 642
of representative government. Men were urged to vote; in fact, they 666
were fined the equivalent of five dollars if they failed to vote. But in [687]
spite of the dream of Young Bulgaria at Tirnovo, in spite of her

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The attitude of the peasants toward government dates from the days of Turkish rule, when the chief aim of a citizen was to deceive the tax collector. The same spirit was still prevalent in Dragalevtsy in 1937. Furthermore, government had taken such a large share in the affairs of daily life that the peasants had come to feel that government, rather than individual effort, should introduce any reforms or improvements. Typical attitudes were the following: 641

"In general we have enough sense to know that government is necessary, but we do not expect any favors from it except to keep peace and order and to settle disputes."

"Government exists primarily to collect heavy taxes for the purpose of paying high salaries to high officials."

"Laws are things to be written in books and not to be obeyed. There are so many laws that we don't know them. The officials don't even know them. So we don't have much faith in laws."

While these political changes were occurring, things were happening to the large individual family which had come into being with the breaking up of the zadruga. Some of the forces had already been at work before the Liberation but became more evident with the westernization of the country. The impact of westernization was shown by the fact that the Bulgarians still said when they were going to western Europe, "I am going to Europe." That is, psychologically they still felt identified with the Near East, although they were more and more exposed to the material achievements of Euro-American culture. Education, whatever may have been its shortcomings, had spread rapidly and brought many individualizing tendencies; there had been an increase in commerce, which made it difficult for large family units to be as self-sustaining as formerly. The wars also, by quickening social mobility, proved harmful to the large families. One of the younger men listening in on a group of old cronies in their endless discussions of the good old days summed up the change: 178 596

"During the war [1915-1918] and after, people traveled more to other places and saw how people lived there, so we have become more modern and started dividing our estates according to the fashion. We can now live more quietly and peacefully by living separately."

178 A daughter-in-law especially disliked to live as a stranger in her
606 husband's paternal home subject to the will of the parents-in-law. Time
596 and time again I heard this opinion clumsily but definitely expressed:

"The large families started to break up after the wars. The chief reason for that was the daughter-in-law. Many of them come from different places and even if they come from the same village, they begin to care more for their own children and to make things for them without the knowledge of the others with whom they are living. This brings trouble among them and so they quarrel. Then they talk to their husbands; finally the brothers, although they love one another, have to separate in order to be at peace."

178 Ordinarily most men felt that conditions were better before the
596 separation, though the women were more content apart. Ill will and distrust also grew up between the members of the family when some of them who worked as day laborers failed to hand over their entire earnings to the common treasury. In the villages around Sofia several brothers rarely lived together with undivided possessions after the death of their father as they would have done in the days of the zadruga. During 1935, a record year for the division of families in Dragalevtsy, there were 9 cases of estates being broken up, 3 of them the result of the separation of son and father and the remaining 6 involving the separation of brothers. When a large family divided, the younger brother usually remained in the old homestead and assumed the care of the parents.

594 This change from the large patriarchal family to the small
178 conjugal family was having consequences which few of the peasants
551 realized.[1] For one thing, in comparison with the larger group, the conjugal family, which consists of parents and their unmarried children, has a short life. It ends, in a sense, with the death of one of the marriage partners. This especially affects the rearing of children, who in the olden days grew up with such a bevy of cousins that a special middle name was useful in identifying each child with his particular parents. More specifically each child received a "small" or given name selected by his godparents; as a middle name he automatically added to his father's given name an *ev* or *ov* ("the son of") or, if a girl, an *eva* or *ova* ("the daughter of"). As a last name he

[1] [cf. pp. 65-69, category 116--Analyst]

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"The family is the productive, distributive, and consumptive unit . . ."
See page 144.

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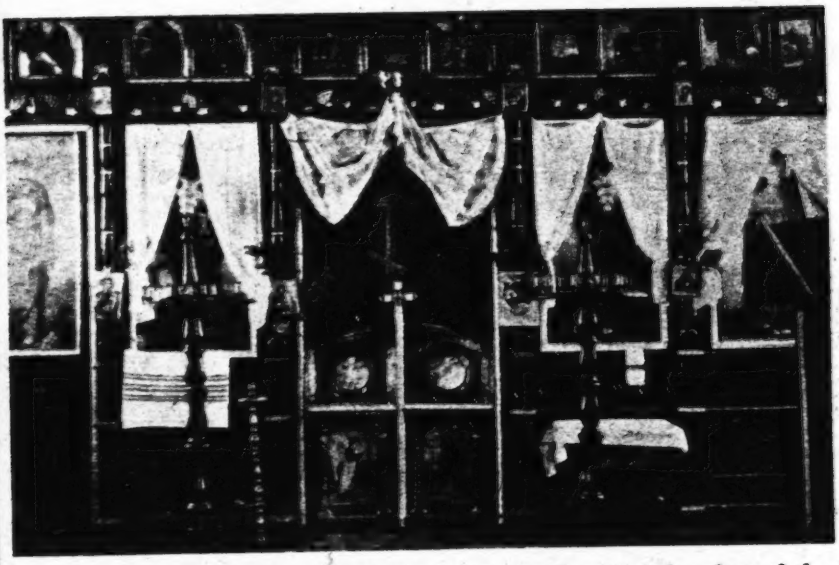

". . . religion . . . has become rigidly institutionalized." (The altar of the church). *See page 145.*

[Facing p. 144]

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CHAPTER VIII

FAMILISM, A CHANGING WAY OF LIFE

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THE DAY at last arrived when I could anticipate the peasants' answers to most of the questions that I asked them. When I inquired what they would do if they had five hundred dollars to spend, I could list in advance the items they would name. The older people, especially, thought and acted largely in terms of the Dragalevtsy of the "good old days," when life was lived in a *familistic* way because the family played the major role in the community. When I understood the characteristics of familism, as a result of observing and reading about peasant life in other parts of the world, the many interesting but isolated facts I had noticed in Dragalevtsy began to make sense and to form a pattern. In a familistic society, whether it is in the Balkans or China, life is largely customary and traditional. Individualism is discouraged because of the crises that the unusual person creates in the daily routine. People prefer a dead uniformity, or a leveling of the best toward the mediocre. The family plays the leading part in this task of molding an individual into the accepted pattern. From childhood to old age the kinship group brings pressure to bear upon any nonconformist, since the family as a whole loses prestige in the community if a member gets out of hand. The family, too, is the chief training ground for the young, and parents cannot blithely transfer any responsibility of this sort to an outside agency such as the school or the church. Village opinion holds the parents accountable.

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Furthermore, economic life is centered about the family. Since family members grow or make for themselves most of the things they need, they depend only to a minor degree upon stores, factories, and other commercial agencies. The family is the productive, distributive, and consumptive unit. This is one reason why village families can weather so many wars and so many depressions: they can satisfy most of their immediate wants at home.

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Visitors suddenly confronted with the familistic way of life for 511
the first time are often shocked at the low level of living which they 181
observe: animals sharing the same dwelling; monotonous diet and low
health standards; waste of time and energy with inefficient tools and 369
methods. Before the peasant is condemned as unambitious, indolent, 829
or stupid, there are a few things the outsider must bear in mind. In agricultural villages throughout the world the land base has been shrinking while the population has been expanding. This has meant decreased economic opportunity. Farms which were once adequate are now divided up strip by strip and handed over to many descendants, with the results that the term "eking out a living" has come to have real meaning for the peasant. The outsider often forgets that the rise in the level of living in the cities through the techniques of mass production and mass distribution has been relatively recent and phenomenally rapid. The villager is not really so far behind the times if one compares his life with that of many cities a few decades ago, or with the blighted areas of these same cities today. But one cannot deny that quite a few [178]
peasants seem to take pride in resisting social change; they are slow to experiment with new methods, and they assume that what was good enough for their fathers is good enough for them. This resistance is based, to a great degree, upon the realization that accepting too much from outside will seriously affect the social organization of their community. Urban society is not nearly so close-knit and can allow for contradictions and inconsistencies on a much broader scale than can the village, where life is still intimate and face-to-face. Dragalevtsy people, for example, in 1937 were conscious of the far-reaching changes brought about by the abandonment of sheep raising in favor of dairying. Sometime ago, a number of the peasants actively resisted this economic trend. In the opinion of many, these conservatives were stupid; at the same time they were bright enough to figure out that changes would result in the economy to which they were accustomed. Because they were accustomed to it, they wanted to preserve it.

In a familistic society religion has usually become rigidly insti- 181
tutionalized and is closely allied with the family. All family events 829
call for the blessing of the religious intermediary; there are usually 596
household shrines; there is considerable emphasis upon observing the

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181 829 596 forms of the religion; and usually the prevailing religion has a monopoly in its field. Where there once existed two or three competing religions, the peasants now have a syncretistic set of beliefs that almost all of the people accept.

[168] The population in a familistic society tends to be stable. The folk legends and religious beliefs stress the importance of remaining at home. Permanence becomes a virtue, for travel outside introduces too much novelty. Separation places a strain upon the family relationships, which must be kept at full vigor in the interest of community self-preservation.

[517] Recreation is personalized instead of being commercialized. Peasants, as far as possible, spend their leisure hours in the company of others, to say nothing of the many hours women spend working with each other within a family or neighborhood circle. Just as the villagers have ceremonial ways of doing many things, they also have formal ways, or proverbs, of saying many things. This we saw earlier in the description of the *Sedenki*. Proverbs reinforce those beliefs that help maintain the familistic society, and serve as convenient means of self-expression. At the same time they are standards of behavior.

[212] Because recreation and economic life are personal, the familistic society has little need for much reading and writing. The priest, the middlemen, the taxgatherers, and a few others who early associated themselves with the village economy needed to "figure," but the rest of the people had little concern with that.

In most family-dominated societies, life is man-centered. In some areas this arrangement is related to religious beliefs; in others, it is related to the economic organization of the family in which somebody has to give orders necessary to the carrying out of the daily activities. A recognized head, conscious of his own importance, acts authoritatively in directing his family group.

The local government is traditionally managed by elders, who represent families rather than political parties or individuals. The village elders make their decisions from the standpoint of what is good for the village as a whole in the light of precedents rather than from a narrow legalism. The religious writings or sacred legends are conveniently cited to justify the actions they take. Such govern-

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mental activity exists primarily to meet crisis situations and to keep 181
the established ways of life moving smoothly. The giving of relief, 829
the provision of education, healing of the sick, insurance of cattle 596
and crops are all left to the family rather than to the government.

It is quite possible for several societies to use the familistic approach, in the sense that the family is the dominant institution, and still differ as to the relative importance of many community values. Most of them would probably respect the heritage from the past, but even here there would be variations. As far as Dragalevtsy was [577] concerned, the chief values or virtues were land ownership, hard work, frugality, premarital chastity, observance of some of the more important religious rites, and being a good neighbor. In connection with the last, the villagers said, "God help those with bad neighbors" and "Without good neighbors life couldn't go on."

The Dragalevtsy people, although their underlying organization and philosophy was primarily familistic, had adjusted themselves to a number of modern ways. Some ways persisted because they fitted in with the established customs, and others because they were kept in vogue by force or by the authority of the mayor.

Commerce, as represented by about ten merchant groups, had 441
become established in the village because it was conducted essentially 596
as a family enterprise. From time to time a local man sold some of 462
his land and started in business for himself. He always employed members of his family rather than outsiders, because he trusted his own. If he needed extra help and had an unmarried son, the normal thing was to urge matrimony. He carried over into his business the same idea of division of labor which prevailed at home and in the field. The men ordered the goods, settled the accounts, sold the liquor in the taverns. The women acted as cooks or clerks. Some of the wives who helped keep the store could not read, write, add, or subtract and had to give whole measurements or else depend upon the customer to hand them the right amount for fractions. A husband explained when I discussed the matter with him, "It is better to lose money through error than through dishonesty." Both men and women co-operated in keeping the place clean. Here the man made a concession which he would seldom have made in the home.

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These merchant groups, with the exception of two or three of the most prosperous, led a precarious, short-lived existence. During the three years in which I knew the village, three successive proprietors managed a business undertaking in one building alone. Bai Penko's tavern, the largest of all, was founded thirty years ago by his father; another tavern which was founded fifty years ago had been owned by the present proprietor for ten years; one grocery store was started in 1935, and another was taken over by its present managers in 1936.

The largest grocery store had stock, which I carefully inventoried, approximating $200 in value. It included many articles which would have been found in an American country store a generation ago. *(See Appendix III.)*

The degree to which the old familistic way of doing things pervaded the local businesses was shown by the nature of the groups that conducted these businesses. In the case of one grocery store two men were in partnership. One partner took care of the cardplaying, which he promoted in a small space at the end of the store, and his wife took care of the grocery section. The second partner, in addition to helping with the cardplaying and the grocery work, mixed bread for the bakery downstairs, and sent his wife up to work in the store when she was not busy in the bakery. The stock of goods in this particular store was very small, and so was the clientele. The proprietor of a second grocery store was usually away from his place of business, leaving his wife in charge. She was quite dissatisfied with the present arrangement, saying, "I have to get up at two or three in the morning to do the housework before coming to the store. I go to bed at night between eleven and eleven-thirty. Life is full of hard work, but life is more sure now because we have food and money." This couple, incidentally, was one of the few childless couples in the village.

Bai Penko, too, made use of members of his family. He himself was the general manager and worked several hours a day in the tavern; his wife was in charge of the kitchen; the older daughter took care of the six or seven upstairs rooms which were rented to the veterinarian and summer guests when not occupied by members of the family. The older son, Pano, was in charge of serving drink and

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food, and of all accounts connected with this service. His younger brother was in charge of the small grocery store next door, though he often turned the store over to his mother while he served drinks at rush hours in the tavern. The younger daughter helped with both housework and the grocery store, while the eighteen-year-old granddaughter did the heavy, disagreeable work. Both sons married shortly before I left Dragalevtsy and their wives spent several hours each day working under the direction of Bai Penko's wife. Because of this large family circle Bai Penko hired two men only on holidays, one as an extra waiter and the other to roast meat freshly killed for the occasion.

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Familistic, or at least personal, reasons determined why families traded with one particular merchant. Reasons such as these were most frequently cited:

"We are close friends."

"We are slightly related."

"He loans me money when I need it."

"We were members of the same political party."

"I had a quarrel with the proprietor of another grocery store, so changed to this one."

Only occasionally did the people say:

"He sells pure and fine goods."

"His prices are cheaper."

Just the same, there did seem to be considerable shopping around on the part of the villagers. They favored those places where they could get credit. But here again family connections helped decide whether or not a man could get credit from a given merchant. Credit was extended with discrimination. A poor risk, when credit was refused, frequently transferred his trade to a different store. The older proprietors were often called upon to give advice, and thus enjoyed an advantage over the younger businessmen trying to establish themselves. One of these young men said to me: "Because of my age, nobody comes to me for advice. That is why my trade is small."

Commerce also made its way into Dragalevtsy through a few commission merchants who regularly visited the peasants to buy eggs, poultry, and livestock. Occasionally they speculated in land.

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441 In Dragalevtsy, therefore, familism had yielded some ground to
● 596 commerce. People did make occasional purchases in the village and
[178] in Sofia. They talked more and thought more about money. They even valued it more nightly than a generation ago, but the basis of their economic life remained self-subsistent, with an emphasis upon goods, not cash.

476 Co-operatives had also come to Dragalevtsy. In a very real sense
596 village life itself was a co-operative enterprise, although it did not possess the specific characteristics of an economic co-operative. The large joint family, which has been widely prevalent throughout the world, also had many elements of the co-operative which have been maintained, at least in the sentiments of the people, even though the family group has become individualized and smaller.

Self-subsistent peasant farmers are accustomed to working together when something needs to be done. Theirs is, after all, a co-operative way of life. They also know that their own hard work and their own planning are responsible for whatever success they achieve. They are suspicious of outsiders who seek to organize them, and are fearful that any tie-up with the business interests outside the village means loss rather than gain. They are not accustomed to using money to make more money, although they know well enough what it means to pay interest on borrowed money.

[369] Agricultural co-operatives often gain adherents more quickly
[423] when there is a feeling of distinction or distrust between city and the country people. This is because co-operatives have been identified in such places with the agrarianism which unites the peasants. The profit motive of capitalism is linked, in the minds of many villagers, with the urban businessman, in spite of the fact that the villager who owns his land is also a capitalist. Perhaps it is this idea which Americans find hardest to grasp in their evaluation of peasant Europe. Land is not something to be bought and unfeelingly sold for money. It is rather a means of livelihood, an extension of oneself and one's family.

476 As the merchant groups in the villages are few and insecure, the co-operatives do not have the opposition of vested interests which they face in a more highly developed economy. I realized from the beginning that co-operatives had made much less headway in Dragalevtsy

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than in many other Bulgarian communities. The secretary of the General Union of Bulgarian Agricultural Cooperatives explained: "The farmers live near the city and prefer to market their goods themselves rather than through the medium of co-operatives. They find that they get higher prices in the Sofia bazaar than they would receive from co-operatives." 476

Nevertheless, the three co-operatives represented in Dragalevtsy gave me some insight into the reasons for success and failure of those which did get off to a start. The co-operative which had made most progress in Dragalevtsy was a purely local affair which arose to meet a definite need. In some respects it was more like a corporation than a co-operative, but it was a "combining together" to get something done.

One of the richer families in the village used to spend twenty-five days threshing its grain with horses. As a result, the family began to think of using a machine to do the work. The idea incubated until Trayko Danev decided to take the initial plunge and persuaded his relatives to plunge with him. Two other men joined them in the purchase of a threshing machine in 1930. Their purpose was to thresh their own wheat and, if possible, thresh the wheat of others for a fair return. The first years of the ring's existence, when the price of wheat was high, were the best years. Between 1935 and 1937 the prices were so low that the group just managed to cover its expenses. However, because of their 400,000 leva ($4,878 at 1937 exchange rate) investment, the men did not think of giving up the ring. 476 243

The structure of this group was simple. Annually, a president, a treasurer, and a manager were elected to control the operations of the ring. The manager, who had technical training, received a salary. Two workers and a machinist were employed from outside and were paid a percentage of the wheat threshed. In 1935 they threshed the wheat of fifty-five farms, including that of the original ten partners. A written agreement existed among all members, who paid in wheat, which was sold for a sum to be divided among the members.

The familistic background of this group was interesting. The originators were all members or cousins of the Danev family except two rich landowners living in the center of the village, who were close friends of the Danevi. After four of the original partners died, 596 476 243

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596 their sons or sons-in-law succeeded to the control of their shares. The
476 five Danevi outnumbered the others, forming a unit around which
243 clustered three other members. There was some friction whenever meetings were held, but the minority was easily suppressed by the majority.

Most of the group considered membership an honor, symbolizing wealth and importance. Generally the village approved its existence, as shown by the increasing number of families who sought its services at threshing time.

476 Twenty-one Dragalevtsy men also belonged to the Animal Hus-
234 bandry-Dairy Cooperative, with headquarters in Sofia. This group had a twofold aim: (1) to enable members to get animal feed on credit and more cheaply; (2) to develop a milk distributing center. Though Dragalevtsy members did not have regular meetings in the village, most of them attended the annual meeting held in Sofia at which the reports of the officers of the co-operative were read. Before this annual meeting the Dragalevtsy men got together in the village and agreed on common action at the Sofia meeting. Dragalevtsy had one representative on the Executive Committee and one on the Control Committee. These men kept the villagers informed as to the condition of the co-operative. Two or three Dragalevtsy people had resigned, recently saying that "there were hidden matters." Most of the men who still belonged said that their membership entitled them to cheaper feed for their animals. I asked ten of the members why they belonged to the co-operative:

"I get cheaper feed through the co-operative."

"I joined in order to work collectively; to have a central depot for milk."

"The co-operative gives credit for food at a lower price."

The agricultural crisis through which Bulgaria had been passing reflected itself in the life of this co-operative. With the hard times, peasants said they did not have enough ready cash for their dues, and so dropped out. However, one could not consider this a true village organization because its physical basis was Sofia, and there was no formal organization operating in Dragalevtsy as a local.

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to a position of importance they answered: "We should choose a new executive committee, put the library in order, lend out the books, have more evening entertainments. To do this we should get in touch with people in Sofia." 575 829

Part of the trouble arose from disagreement among the officers. In the words of one member, "An organization cannot get ahead with that sort of business." But even more of the trouble went back to the fact that the organizers had not convinced the villagers of the importance of the group. Meanwhile, most peasants looked upon it as an importation of interest only to the intelligentsia and their hangers-on.

The experiences of the *Chitalishte* and other organizations in Dragalevtsy revealed that the peasants were not organization-minded. Even if we included the governmental groups to be discussed in the next chapter, we would find that less than ten women in the village belonged to any formal group, and only 107 of the 510 men over twenty years of age had an organizational membership. Where people's homes were so conveniently located one would expect greater participation on the part of the men, at least. But almost four-fifths of them avoided any organizational affiliation, largely because they were not accustomed to using an organization to do what they thought needed to be done. One of the most frequent reasons for failure to join was this: "Why should I pay the fees charged when I would get nothing in return?" 575

In this world of competing *isms* Dragalevtsy represented in 1937 a modification of familism, the oldest and most widespread way of life we know, perpetuated by agricultural villages all over the world. But familism was slowly losing out. In some quarters of the world the commercialism of a capitalistic system was supplanting the older values with money values; in other quarters the collectivism of a communist society was shaking the economic foundations of the large family group. 178 596

As far as Dragalevtsy was concerned, commercialism was in its infancy. Back in 1937 communism might have seemed to the outsider to have a hold on this village as well as on others in Bulgaria

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because of the old affection the Bulgarian peasants had felt for the Russians since the days when the Tsar Alexander II of Russia helped free Bulgaria from Turkish control. Contemporary Russia also was making its appeal through Bulgarian communists who had taken the agrarian, or "rights-for-peasants," aspect of the modern Russian system and expounded it to the peasants as communism. Although it was doubtful whether the Dragalevtsy peasant had any clear idea of collectivism, it was certain that he would have been completely bewildered by the idea of giving up his cherished holdings to the state.

Dragalevtsy, therefore, was something of an anachronism, for the familistic system still had a firm grip on many of the adults. Their ideas had been set a generation ago by parents who subscribed unquestioningly to the familistic way of life. The young people, on the other hand, were receptive to other values and other standards and were ready to look more and more to the "people of the world" for guidance and leadership.

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The *trudova* system existed in principle until Bulgaria joined the Axis, though, she like all countries defeated in the first World War, passed through a period when compulsory labor was gradually replaced by compulsory military service. After the *coup d'état* of May, 1934, various groups of army officers controlled many of the country's policies; so it was not surprising to learn of the strengthening of the military forces of the nation. One sign of the government's changed policy was the fact that in 1935 not a single young man from Dragalevtsy went as a *trudovak,* but sixteen were called to do military service. Those eligible for service were called before a commission of army officers and examined; the successful ones passed on to receive military training, and the rest were returned home. Those who were rejected lost some standing in the eyes of the villagers, because it was thought that they had inherited some family weakness. The *family* rather than the individual was blamed.

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There was undeniably a great influence exercised upon the village by the practice of taking young men, in their impressionable years, away from the village for an interval of several months. They lived in an army barracks or a *trudovak* camp with other young men from different parts of the country. For a time they ceased doing some things which the village thought essential, and they learned to do other things which older family members would perhaps have frowned upon. They went out from a family system where each member worked more or less as a part of the whole; they returned often very conscious of their own individuality, and had to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought once more closed about them. There were some individuals who never again fell completely into line and who turned to Sofia for employment and a more congenial atmosphere.

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Older men who returned to the village as retired noncommissioned officers enjoyed a certain prestige that lingered after brass buttons and clumping boots had been exchanged for the conventional village attire. On the wall of the office of the Village Clerk, the names of all local officials and public employees were posted. There was considerable information regarding each man, but the concluding and perhaps most important item was the statement of the person's service

659 794 a year, the priest asked the board members to assemble at the church, minutes were kept, and no outsiders attended. The government's influence was further felt during the period 1934-1937, when all political elections were suspended, and with these all church board elections too. No one was eligible to vote.

659 869 771 As the national school and church authorities had not been satisfied with the type of religious training that the children had been getting in the average peasant home, they had set up in each village an organization called "The Association for the Orthodox Christianization of Bulgarian Youth." In general, the work of the group consisted in teaching the school children the significance of the iconostas, church ceremonies, and other related matters. School hours were used, and attendance was compulsory. The school director, who had been asked by the Archbishop in Sofia to conduct the work of the association in co-operation with the priest, said that they had had about twenty-five meetings during the year. Parents and others who were interested attended these meetings. This was one activity which the peasants had accepted quite willingly because, as one woman said, "the children are kept off the streets when there is a group gathering, and thus do not learn so many bad things." This was the woman's way of berating parents for failing to take better care of their children. But fundamentally the acceptance was based upon the traditional recognition of the church's importance. In the past, whatever had bolstered up the established church had bolstered up the familistic system.

178 181 596 Such a barrage from the batteries of commerce, government, and education[1] had left the familistic way of life in Dragalevtsy battered but not crumbling. The peasants were still amused at the intense activity of the intelligentsia; the few who were asked to confer with the authorities enjoyed reporting back to their families and friends just what they said and did. The people co-operated in the campaigns for this-and-that only when they knew that the mayor would send the policeman along if they did not co-operate. They attended lectures when ordered to do so, but they joined few of the organizations planned outside. Perhaps the best indication that this beehive of governmental activity was still on the surface was the failure of the peasants to seek advice from the intelligentsia who were supposedly there to help

1 [For a detailed account, see category 116, pp. 161-176 -- Analyst]

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them. An exceptional peasant did; but the vast majority kept an eye upon what was going on without becoming involved in any newly initiated affairs. 178 181

Just the same, changes were in the making. Year after year, within given limits, people would be content to do what the authorities told them to do. This was because their family life, with its emphasis upon obedience and respect, had made them docile. If the commands proved too disruptive, however, or took away the things they counted most dear, their family and their land, they resisted. 596 ●

But the peasants were little interested in fighting for political rights; these were individualistic and not in keeping with familism, which emphasized the welfare of the group rather than the rights of the individual. They did not yet want to have a hand in what went on in Sofia, in Berlin, or Washington. They still were village oriented. To be sure, war affected them, as did the price of grain, but in much the same fatalistic way that a heat wave or a cold snap would. They did not yet feel that they, and millions like them throughout Bulgaria, had the power to control many things affecting their daily life. Some of their fellow villagers in other parts of Bulgaria were alive to this fact, but Dragalevtsy was still politically illiterate.

The leaders in the village were aware of their lack of success. Some of them were disappointed in the peasants for not accepting at face value the words of wisdom they proffered so freely; others cautioned patience. They said, "We can't change things overnight. We will work with the children in the school. Our future lies with them." And they were right. But it was clear that the future they anticipated would be much more distant if the leaders continued to force upon the peasants a way of life imported from "the people of the outside world." Their quickest success lay in evaluating the familistic society that existed, in deciding what should be retained, and what changes should be made. The next step would be to discover by what means, already in use in the village, these changes could be effected. Then, above all, the leaders should have sought to persuade the peasants to help themselves. The governmental paternalism at work in Dragalevtsy created as many local problems as it solved.

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178 The conflict was on, then, between the old and the new, between familism and the forces from the "people of the outside world." It was a stirring struggle when viewed in terms of people I had come to know and respect. It became a significant struggle when I remembered that Dragalevtsy was only one village out of hundreds of thousands where the conflict was even then being dramatically staged.

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000 The new way of life that emerges may be more democratic or it may be the basis for additional authoritarian states. Democracy can be assured only if its representatives, who introduce the new, have an insight into the peasants' way of life, a sympathy that is so genuine that it can be quickly sensed by untutored folk, and a skill that can weave into the fabric of the past the strands of the present, in keeping with a sensible pattern for the future.

DEPARTURE—AUGUST, 1937

000 THE VILLAGE seemed unusually peaceful on that August day in 1937 when I made the rounds to tell my friends in Dragalevtsy goodbye. Many wanted to know how long the trip to America would take, others asked about my future plans. The majority said, *"do vizhdane"* ("till we meet again"), but several of the older people, who had patiently endured many hours of interviews in the previous months, sensed that their "time" would come before I set foot in Dragalevtsy again. They used the other form of leave-taking—*"sbogom"* ("God be with you"), and also asked God's blessing upon my trip. The mayor told me how much he had enjoyed having me study his village, the priest asked me not to forget my many friends, and Bai Penko took great delight in showing off his new grandson whom I had never seen.

The weather was hot. Few people moved through the Square and only occasionally did a wagon creak down the streets to the fields below the village. Even the flies, usually so troublesome, seemed languid. The dogs slept. Vitosha had lost its cap of snow. Storks

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

575 178 taken such an interest, had long ceased to have any importance. This was also true of the Union for Protection of Children, which had had as its chief function the provision of school lunches for the poor children. The Association for the Decoration for Valor was still tottering along, and its members hoped eventually to enroll three or four members who had participated in the recent war. The School Board had become a thing of the past as the control of the school passed into the hands of the Sofia School System. The Church Board, however, was maintaining its existence and was giving its support to a new organization called the Christian Union which had been founded during the Fascist regime as a religious welfare organization. Before the coming of the Russians this Christian Union had collected and distributed to the poor families at Christmas time and the New Year an amount varying from sixty to seventy thousand leva. In 1945 it boasted about seventy-five members and was flourishing.

For the most part, however, the village organizations died at birth or perished in early infancy, as an earlier chapter showed. The [596] Dragalevtsy peasant had not yet become a joiner.[7] He gained his social status by the position his family held rather than by the numbers and types of organizations to which he, as an individual, was elected

183 178 Such, then, was the prelude to Communism. The coming of the National State to the village back in 1934 set a pattern by which each peasant household was later on closely geared in with a totalitarian wartime economy. The majority of traditions were holding firm among the middle-aged and old, while many of the younger people no longer disguised their interest in the fascinating ways of the West. The net effect of the war was to commercialize more fully the village's economic life and make the peasants more money-conscious. Their incorporation into the Sofia municipality as well as the Fascist nature of their state made them feel less responsible as individuals for governmental affairs and drew them farther away from the democratic Slavic tradition inherent in their old joint family system. Religion continued to be accepted as a matter of course, for no one questioned the propriety of having a priest officiate on ceremonial or patriotic occasions.

7 [As of 1945-- Analyst]

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668 nevertheless seemed important to the peasant. I recall one such
178 discussion which dealt with the idea of a shortened work-week at the
626 factories. The peasants disapproved of the whole plan and used it
428 as a basis for condemning land collectivization because "We want to
829 be able to work as long as we want without having people tell us that we have to stop working."

Peasants were greatly confused, therefore, over the farm policies to be pursued in the next two or three years. They planned and schemed and talked endlessly about what they should plant, what they should do about their debts, or whether the aged fathers should distribute their land to their sons before they died. But always there was the great unknown of government policy which upset their calculations and kept them insecure.

668 Another important social change was occuring in the institutional
178 pattern of Dragalevtsy. In earlier chapters we noted how the en-
croachment of the state was making considerable impact upon the
● 596 traditional familistic patterns, while economic life was becoming more commercialized and religious activities were declining in importance. The coming of the Communists had begun to weaken the family ties even further, for the Fatherland Front had given votes to all women and had thus attacked the dogma of male supremacy; it had honored the young at the expense of the aged; and it had turned brother against brother as the struggle for control grew more bitter. As the representative of the central government, the Fatherland Front was affecting an even larger area of life than the prewar regime did, especially when its economic regulations and its threat to the hallowed traditional system of landownership.

668 Another disturbing effect was the substitution of Moscow as
the center of the universe, for the Communist adherents at least, when
771 formerly Dragalevtsy or perhaps Sofia by courtesy was thought to be
178 the center. These innovations of the present government had done
829 much to prejudice it in the eyes of the people, who made decisions not upon the basic issues which the government was striving to champion, but resisted blindly and perhaps fanatically simply because the new regime spelled the end of their way of life. As they realized this, some of the peasants turned more and more to the church, the institu-

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APPENDIX IV

NEIGHBORHOODS AND NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS IN A BULGARIAN VILLAGE*

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During my first three years in Bulgaria, 1929-1932, I became generally acquainted with its rural life. When I returned to Bulgaria in 1934 for another three-year period I chose for special study one village, Dragalevtsy by name, whose 1,669 inhabitants live in houses clustered near the foot of Mount Vitosha four miles from the outskirts of Sofia. I visited the village on frequent occasions and lived there for weeks at a time. Although my investigations led me to consider many things such as the basic institutions, the formal and informal groupings, customs and folklore, along with the operation of the social processes, social control, and social change, one of the most difficult of the social phenomena for me, an outsider, to understand was the *mahala,* or neighborhood.

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THE MAHALA. Dragalevtsy, like the majority of European agricultural villages, is a compact settlement of farmers whose land lies around the village in strips, numbering approximately 16 per Dragalevtsy farmer. The village is at least four centuries old and has grown but slowly during that time. Until three or four generations ago all life was organized around the patriarchal *zadruga,*[1] or joint-family. The members of such a family owned everything in common and worked in harmony under the administrator or *domakin,* the acknowledged head of the *zadruga.* Although their dwellings were crude and overcrowded each *zadruga* needed a large plot of land around the houses for the flocks of sheep and other animals kept at home during the winter months. With the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkey in 1878 forces were let loose which hastened the break-up of the joint-family system.[2] Brothers moved away from the paternal home into dwellings of their own, these usually being

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* This article appeared in *Social Forces,* XVII, No. 4, May, 1939. Reprinted by permission.

[1] Ivan Evstatiev Geshov, *Zadrugite Vu Zapadna Bulgaria,* Per. Spisanie, God. V. Kn. xix i xx, str. 426, Stredets, 1886.

St. L. Kostov and E. Peteva, *Selski Bit i Izkustvo Vu Sofisko,* Sofia, 1935, str. 58.

[2] Some of the factors contributing to this break-up: (a) individualization following Bulgaria's liberation in 1878 and the spread of popular education; (b) fashion of small, individual families in the West; (c) disagreement between the wives of brothers living together under the same roof; (d) unwillingness of men working outside the *zadruga,* either as laborers or professional men, to hand over their whole earnings to the common treasury; (e) woman's newly-acquired right of inheritance.

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constructed on a part of the large plot of ground belonging to the dissolving *zadruga*. It therefore happened after a generation or so that six or seven houses whose heads all bore the same family name were located in a particular section of the village. Such clusters of houses in Dragalevtsy were called a *mahala* and often bore the name of the oldest living member of the family such as "Grandfather Grigor's *Mahala*." This usage of the term grew up quite unconsciously on the part of the peasants, and even today they use the term *mahala* without any clear conception of just what they mean by it.

At first glance it seems that *mahala* means a certain section of the village because it is often referred to in giving directions, but it is more correct to say that the peasant really means "over there in that particular section of the village where all of those related Manchevi live." This means that the *mahala* has both a geographical and kinship nature. On the other hand, if one of the Manchev men should for any reason move to another section of the village, he would still consider himself a Manchev, while admitting that he lived in a different *mahala*, and that the Mancheva *mahala* would not be extended to include him. In other words, the *mahala* is not identical with the term *rodstvo*, which means the large family connections. It applies only to those large family connections living in close proximity plus any other families dwelling among them. And this latter element is becoming of more importance. Today traces of kinship are beginning to vanish because the origins go back too far and because outsiders are slowly moving into Dragalevtsy.

The *mahala* never acts as a unit about anything, because its geographical character is its predominating aspect. Every villager can give the names of the other homes in his particular *mahala* and can even plot the *mahala* boundaries on a map of the village. But this does not mean that he feels any psychological bond connecting him with each of those homes any more than would the people who live on the same street in a small American town. Yet the very fact that they live near one another means that they will tend to interact more with one another than with people living on the other side of the village. This is why the *mahala* becomes important in a sociological analysis: it locates an individual in a given environmental setting.[8]

[8] Louis Petroff in his article "Peasant Primary Groups in Bulgaria" (*Sociology and Social Research*, 13, p. 557) thinks of the *mahla* (so he transliterates the word) as one of the important primary groups of the Bulgarian village. In his article he does not attempt to explain the origin of the *mahala* but thinks of it rather as "A section of the village separated by a small stream, a hill, a main road or a similar boundary. Or it may be a cluster of houses around a centering place, such as an inn or a store, but most commonly around a water fountain or a well." In Dragalevtsy the *mahala* originated as a kinship group, though the land originally owned by a *zadruga* was doubtless determined largely by geographical factors. The kinship origin is also shown by the fact that all the *mahali* in Dragalevtsy bear family names rather than those based on topographical or economic features.

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APPENDIX VI

SOCIOMETRIC WORK WITH A BULGARIAN WOODCUTTING GROUP[1]

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In the late autumn, when all other farm work has been completed, the villagers of Dragalevtsy[2] turn their attention to the gathering of the winter's supply of wood. The scene of their activity is a wooded section of the mountainside, three or four miles from the village, determined in advance by a forester's decree. Most of them toil gladly, since all winter long they must continually feed the wood into the ever-devouring gullet of the sheet-iron stove standing in the center of the living room. No twig is too small to find its way there.

It would be wrong to imagine that the villagers were doing any lumbering, even on the simplest scale. Most of their activity centers around the task of cutting down brush as high as a man's head, or of felling trees so small that a pair of hands could include the trunk in its grasp.

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I. MEMBERSHIP OF GROUP. There are ten wood-gathering groups in the village. Before 1931 individual families went to the section of the forest opened up for the people of Dragalevtsy and took all the wood they could get in the time allowed. This system had two chief faults, according to Yurdan Chalukov, the assistant mayor at the time: in the first place, the members of the political party supporting the mayor learned beforehand at what time the forest would be opened to the villagers and stole the march on the others by going there on the day assigned, although the other villagers did not learn about the opening until two or three days later, by which time the best wood had been collected.

The second chief fault with this system was that families with more able-bodied workers gathered the most wood, although they paid perhaps less taxes than those who got less. In order to eliminate these evils, a new system which is peculiar to Dragalevtsy alone was inaugurated. The near-by villages, for instance, still use the older method of permitting each family to "grab while

[1] This article appeared in *Sociometry: A Journal of Interpersonal Relations*, II, October, 1939, pp. 58-68. Reprinted by permission.

[2] Dragalevtsy, a village of 1,669 inhabitants, located four miles from the outskirts of Sofia, Bulgaria's capital city. The peasants of that region are generally regarded as very conservative by educated Bulgarians.

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the grabbing is good." Now, the *Obshtina*[8] divides the village into ten groups; the part of the forest made available to the villagers is likewise divided into ten sections; each group thus has a limited section in which to work. The *Obshtina* usually divides the village according to neighborhoods, though sometimes one family from a larger neighborhood is assigned to the group of a smaller neighborhood in order to make the number of families average about thirty for each group. The only case of this kind in Group X, which we are studying, is that of Krustan Arnaudski, who lives across the river from the others. 313 476 596

The *Obshtina* lists the names of the family heads in making out its divisions; theoretically these family heads are supposed to go collectively to get the wood for their households. In other words, they are supposed to constitute the group. However, variations occur. Some of the family heads are too old or too busy or too lazy to go. In that case they do one of three things: (1) they send their married sons who live with them, these sons performing the work more capably than the older men could; (2) they hire village youths from other neighborhoods to go and gather the wood for them; or, (3) they send weaker members of their own family, such as younger boys, the older girls, wives, or—in the case of one lazy man—a mother. 313 476 571 596

Thus, in reality, the group of wood-gatherers varies from day to day as regards the actual personnel of those working in the forest. We might say that most of those working there are family heads or able-bodied married sons, though mixed with them are women, girls, and younger boys. Before sending a substitute the family head is supposed to get permission from the group leaders. The failure to do this results in many quarrels and, as one leader says, "makes a man quarrel with his best friend."

The reason why the presence of women and children is frowned upon lies not so much in the objection to women and children working, as it does to the fact that women and children cannot do as much work in a day as a man. Since all the cut wood is piled into thirty different piles, one for each family, and the piles later distributed by lot, those who work hard each day get no more wood than those who do less work or who send weaker substitutes.

The question arises as to the classification of this type of group. On the basis of admission to membership, we can conclude that it is chiefly involuntary since the family heads are assigned by the *Obshtina* and since the family head can order members of his family to replace him in case he does not care to go. Only in the case of outsiders gathering wood for pay does the group seem voluntary. The group is secondary as far as function is concerned, but partakes of certain primary group characteristics when we notice that the *Obshtina* 313 476 571

[8] *Obshtina*—used here in the sense of the local governmental unit under the direction of a mayor appointed from Sofia.

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of the population in 1926 have been returning to Turkey at a greatly accelerated pace.

There are striking anthropological contrasts between the Bulgarian peasant and the Southern white. The most marked of these is the peasant's close identification with a folk culture which is characterized by a consciousness of kind, established patterns of habit and thought, artifacts identified with that culture alone, and a strong exercise of social control. There is also uniformity of dress, agricultural method, and social values.

Among the Southern whites the Appalachian-Ozark area alone possesses the characteristics of a folk, for its people are closely knit together, have mountain handicrafts of which they are proud,[33] and, although differing in economic status, tend to conform to cultural patterns handed from the past. On the contrary, the tenant farmer may have his share of superstitions, folk remedies, and traditional attitudes, but he lacks "consciousness of kind" which would identify him with a folk culture.[34]

The four social institutions which I wish to mention briefly but which I shall not compare in detail are the family, education, religion, and government.[35]

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The Bulgarian family is patriarchal, children are valued as economic assets; there is a strong kinship feeling even unto the third and fourth generation. Marriage is still an arrangement between two families under the sole control of the church. Family disorganization in the form of desertion or divorce is practically unknown; illegitimacy rare.

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There is compulsory education to the fourteenth year in Bulgaria. However, the law is seldom invoked because the parents have recognized the economic value of education. That is why Bulgaria is the most literate country in the Balkans, a testimony to the high value the peasants place upon education and the rigid social control at work in the compact villages. If some

[33] W. T. Couch, *op. cit.*, chapter 15—The Handicrafts by Allen H. Eaten; chapter 19—Appalachian America by J. Worley Hatcher; chapter 26—Folk and Folklore by B. A. Botkin.

[34] The folk culture is quite different from a regional or Southern culture such as Odum describes at length in his Chapter IX in *Southern Regions* on Institutions and Folkways. The Bulgarian peasant is primarily identified with the village culture and secondarily with newer national culture in process of development. The Southern white is identified with a regional culture but not with a folk culture.

[35] Because of space limitations I omitted a section dealing with Psychological Comparisons. This would have compared the race prejudice and regional "inferiority complex" of the Southerner with the nationalism and sensitiveness to criticism of the Bulgarian. Bulgaria, defeated in the World War, has its Lost Cause as does the South. Bulgarians, like Southerners, have gained the reputation for conservatism and hospitality. On the other hand, industry is more a Bulgarian than a Southern trait.

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IV. EFFECT OF KINSHIP ON CHOICES. Twenty-seven of the thirty-four individuals comprising this group are related to some other individual in the group.[1] Therefore, the question naturally arises as to the influence of such relationship upon the choices that the men made. Sociogram II, on the following page, shows seven clusters, each cluster made up of related individuals bearing the same family name. Of course, some of the individuals within a cluster are only distantly related because the joint-family names in Dragalevtsy have a place connotation in addition to the one of relationship. But just the same, the village usually thinks of the Pachevi or the Chalukovi as a definite group in the community bound together by kinship as well as geographical proximity. The sociogram also shows the choices made by each individual for other individuals in the same cluster. A few in-law relationships are not shown in this sociogram, but an examination of the data showed them to be relatively unimportant in this woodcutting group.[4]

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I was interested in my analysis of the group to see what effect a feeling of insecurity on the part of an individual might have upon his choice of a relative. The best measure of this feeling of insecurity seemed to be the failure to receive favorable votes. It does seem significant that every individual[4] shown on Sociogram II who received only one or else no favorable votes from the group at large selected some relative, with whom he naturally felt on more intimate terms. When an individual received as many as two votes from the group at large, then the chances were about fifty per cent that he would name a relative among his first three choices. Of course, the unwanted individual does not know definitely the opinion, expressed on the questionnaire, which the general public has for him, but in a face-to-face society like Dragalevtsy every individual has a rather clear picture of his social status. This was illustrated forcibly when 23, who received the largest number of negative votes, refused to name any individuals which he would reject from a woodcutting group of his own formation. He co-operated in naming those he would like (two of the first three being relatives), but lacked the hypocrisy necessary to name any others as being undesirable; he knew where he stood in the opinion of the community.

Not only was I interested in the position of the person choosing relatives but also in the position of the relatives chosen. I wondered, for instance, if relatives out of kindness or a sense of loyalty would list some kinsman whom the group at large might reject. This did not prove to be the case because only one person named by a kinsman was not listed by someone outside the

[4] The *svatovshtenie*, or in-law relationship, is very important in Bulgarian villages—so much so that two brothers cannot marry two sisters, since the second brother by marrying a sister-in-law would be marrying a relative, something taboo.

[4] The Voynishki (Numbers 36 and 37) are exceptions here, but since they are not on speaking terms one would not expect them to choose each other.

[1] [This refers to a woodcutting group studied by the author, see pp. 250-256, category 116 -- Analyst]

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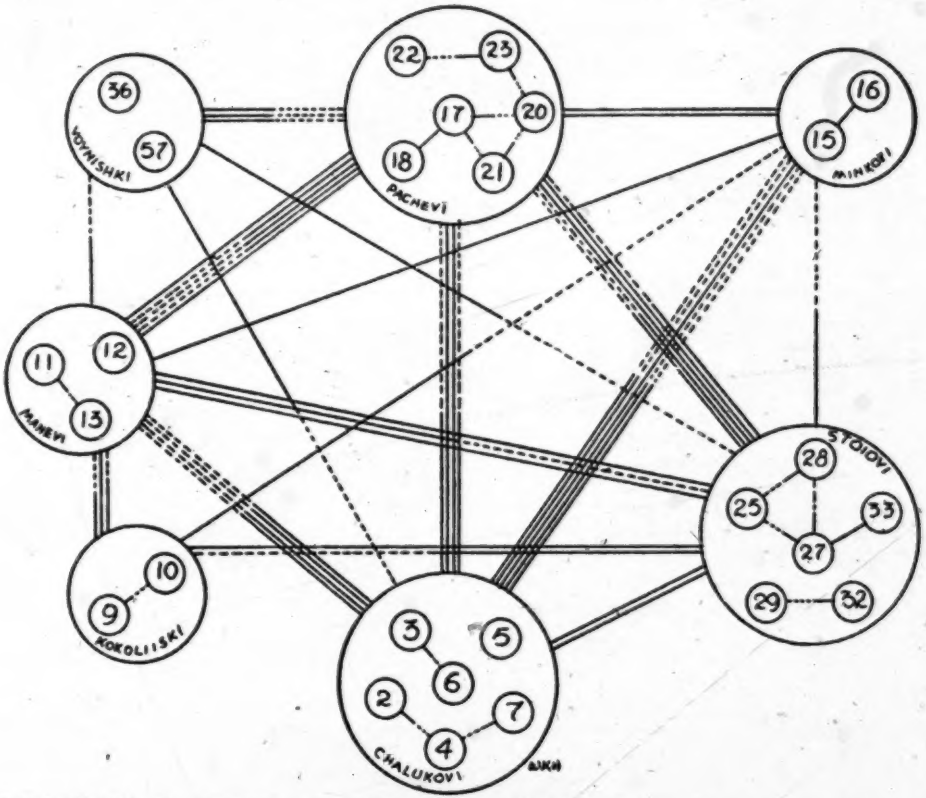

SOCIOGRAM II—EFFECTS OF KINSHIP ON CHOICES. Each cluster is made up of related individuals bearing the same family name. Lines between clusters show the number of times members of one cluster mentioned those in another cluster (first three choices).

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kinship group. That is, individuals who chose relatives chose those upon whom the group at large likewise placed approval. 476 571

Sociogram II likewise shows us the status of the different kinship clusters as far as the woodcutting activity is concerned. The Pachevi, Stoiovi, and Chalukovi, each consisting of six members, are comparable in size but received 16, 9, and 6 votes respectively. The other clusters, made up of two or three members, are similarly comparable but vary considerably: Voynishki, 1; Kokoliiski, 3; Minkovi, 10; Manevi, 15. The size of the cluster has little to do with the number of votes received; it is rather the popularity of certain individuals within the cluster which determines the voting. 554 602 157

My conclusions regarding the effect of kinship as far as this one group is concerned are: (1) the choices of unwanted individuals included a relative with whom they felt some security; (2) the persons chosen were usually those upon whom the group as a whole set its stamp of approval; and (3) family clusters can be said to have a status in the same sense that individuals do, and are rejected or mentioned favorably through the medium of the individuals comprising those clusters.

264 "When we work in the fields we eat five times daily: as soon as we reach the place we have a light lunch *(zakuska)*, at nine we have the *ruchok*, at one dinner, at five another *zakuska*, and in the evening after finishing work we have supper. We older people don't eat between meals but let the children do so if they are hungry."

262 252 From time to time during my stay in the village I tried to teach the tavern cook some simple and uncomplicated western dish to vary the biting peasant food. She tried faithfully but unsuccessfully to comply. After one such hopeless but courteous attempt she read me a little lesson in village menus:

"We Dragalevtsy people are pretty conservative in everything and have added no new dishes to our menu. The western combinations which people eat in Sofia are tasteless and slimy. If one doesn't use lots of salt, hot pepper, and vinegar, then the food has no taste at all."

273 Beverages other than milk and wine made little appeal. Wine was much in evidence on holidays or when there were guests. An average village home would use from 250 to 300 quarts of wine a year. Most of the *rakiya* was drunk either at the taverns or on festive occasions. In commenting on the liquor consumption of the village one man said:

"We are not such fools as not to drink wine, for the wine is transformed into blood and gives strength to man."

.000 Someone has said that a house does not become a home until it knows a birth, a wedding, and a death. In other words, it is more than plaster walls, crude furniture, and steaming food. It is even more an association of memories deeply rooted in family crises.

844 [591] A frequently recurring crisis in Dragalevtsy was childbirth, which always took place in a home, never in a hospital. Usually it was the home in which the couple lived, for only rarely did the wife return to her paternal home for the event. When a woman learned that 843 she was pregnant, she told the fact only to her own mother and to her husband, embarrassment preventing further disclosure. The [606] mother-in-law learned about it a month later, for in the words of one of the older village men:

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"She always looks at the undershirts of the daughter-in-law that are to be washed, and so draws the conclusion that leads her to ask the younger woman in the conventional phrase, 'Something's going to happen, isn't it?' The daughter-in-law becomes very embarrassed and does not say anything until the older woman assures her that it is something perfectly natural and something which she herself has experienced. Then the daughter-in-law will answer, 'Well, I don't know. Maybe there is such a thing as you suggest.' So pregnancy," concluded this informant, "is considered rather immoral and women are embarrassed to tell the others about it." 843 [606]

Because of the shyness and innate modesty of the Dragalevtsy matron, remarkable traits in view of the crowded living conditions, I found it helpful to supplement and check the information given by men in this connection. Miss Petrana Peneva, of the American College, rendered invaluable aid in interviewing the women.

No special prenatal care was given to the mother in spite of the efforts on the part of the doctor to get such women to come for advice. The villagers know that the mother-to-be must not bend much nor lift heavy things. They also told her not to jump over a dog, "because the child would then have a hoarse voice or no voice at all." Generally she was given whatever she asked for on the grounds that "if she is not satisfied, there is danger that the baby in her will die." One day I attended a carding *sedenka,* which was a gathering of about twenty women in one of the homes to help the hostess card her wool. I noticed that one woman, obviously pregnant, tasted the stew being prepared for dinner in the entryway each time she passed it. I was given two reasons for this: "She better than anyone else present could judge the correctness of the seasoning" and "If she did not taste of the food each time she passed, she would have a miscarriage." Yet custom did not allow the expectant mother to eat fresh fish because "the nose of the baby will be closed [adenoids]"; nor could she drink from a pail of water for fear that the baby if a boy would be born with swollen sex organs. But, other than these practices and prohibitions, little fuss was made over the expectant mother. No special prayers were said for her nor were any special services held. "The woman is born

178 A daughter-in-law especially disliked to live as a stranger in her
● 606 husband's paternal home subject to the will of the parents-in-law. Time
596 and time again I heard this opinion clumsily but definitely expressed:

"The large families started to break up after the wars. The chief reason for that was the daughter-in-law. Many of them come from different places and even if they come from the same village, they begin to care more for their own children and to make things for them without the knowledge of the others with whom they are living. This brings trouble among them and so they quarrel. Then they talk to their husbands; finally the brothers, although they love one another, have to separate in order to be at peace."

178 Ordinarily most men felt that conditions were better before the
596 separation, though the women were more content apart. Ill will and distrust also grew up between the members of the family when some of them who worked as day laborers failed to hand over their entire earnings to the common treasury. In the villages around Sofia several brothers rarely lived together with undivided possessions after the death of their father as they would have done in the days of the zadruga. During 1935, a record year for the division of families in Dragalevtsy, there were 9 cases of estates being broken up, 3 of them the result of the separation of son and father and the remaining 6 involving the separation of brothers. When a large family divided, the younger brother usually remained in the old homestead and assumed the care of the parents.

594 This change from the large patriarchal family to the small
178 conjugal family was having consequences which few of the peasants
551 realized.[1] For one thing, in comparison with the larger group, the conjugal family, which consists of parents and their unmarried children, has a short life. It ends, in a sense, with the death of one of the marriage partners. This especially affects the rearing of children, who in the olden days grew up with such a bevy of cousins that a special middle name was useful in identifying each child with his particular parents. More specifically each child received a "small" or given name selected by his godparents; as a middle name he automatically added to his father's given name an *ev* or *ov* ("the son of") or, if a girl, an *eva* or *ova* ("the daughter of"). As a last name he

[1] [Cf pp. 65-69, Category 116--Analyst]

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With women it was quite different, since marriage for them called for major adjustments. Not only did the wife have to become accustomed to the demands and habits of her husband, but she also had to fit into the routine of her husband's parental home. In some cases she had to subordinate herself to other daughters-in-law in the household. Should she and her husband live in a separate dwelling near the husband's childhood homestead, she still was so subject to the scrutiny of the in-laws that she found it expedient to conform to their ways of doing things.

The woman, much more than the man, had to give up the companionship of her former friends to move in the group of the married women of the neighborhood. In these groups she was initiated into much of the folklore about anatomy, conception, childbirth, and child care. The frank discussion by various women of their personal experiences was enough to make any squeamish girl terrified at the very thought of becoming a mother. Continued discussion, however, made the experience eventually seem less of an ordeal; in fact, it was often a source of comfort and encouragement when her time arrived.

These neighborhood gossiping groups did much more than shock the girl into some of the realities of married life; they also informed her of the personal peculiarities of her in-laws and neighbors; they let her know what she should and should not do. And if she was one of the first of her circle of friends to marry, she could look forward to the day when one or two of them would become brides in the vicinity and could join her in the company of these older married women.

The role of these women's groups in the village was interesting and far more important than the surface informality would indicate. Recreation for the older women was generally tied up with work. Distinctions, however, should be made between the women's work groups, such as those for spinning and carding, and women's gossiping groups, in spite of the fact that the membership was the same in both groups and that gossiping was the chief recreation in both instances. In the work groups, the women were invited formally by the hostess, were fed, and were expected to stay most of the day, definitely to work. Gossiping groups, however, were much more informal, since people

complaint the women made against drinking was economic, the spending of money "for nothing," as they said. 000

Husbands and wives also disagreed frequently over the importance of a certain task, since the husband was likely to order the wife to work in the field when she felt it necessary to complete some task at the house. Money was often a source of conflict. Since all the villagers were members of the same church they rarely argued about religion, the few discussions which did arise being about the desirability or undesirability of church attendance. One of the most significant results of this study of village families was to show how little disagreement there was concerning in-laws, since husband and wife usually stood together as a unit against these outsiders, whether they belonged to her family, his family, or had married their son or daughter. 593 [771] [606]

In spite of these quarrels about discipline, drink, and jobs to be done, most couples considered their marital venture highly successful. I believe that an important reason for the success of marriage in Dragalevtsy was the recognition on the part of husband and wife that even love was not an answer to all of life's problems. They took each day's pleasures and disappointments as they came, rejoicing or sorrowing in quiet unison.

Many times as I listened to the husband or wife gravely narrating with satisfaction and pride the calm and uneventful story of their marriage partnership, details of the room in which we were sitting would strike me with such force that I had to recall myself with an effort to the conversation. We always sat in the best room; sometimes it was the only room. It was always the room where the family lived. The chief furniture was a bed, perhaps two or even three beds. And here two or three couples and their children spent their days and nights. I would try to imagine married life under such circumstances. [342]

Life of any kind became not merely a matter of privacy, but really a problem of where to carry on the necessary daily activities without getting in another's way. And yet, in most of these crowded households the marriage bond had grown strong. If there was no actual happiness, I often saw a friendly contentment and a mutual regard, particularly as the couple grew older and could look back upon years of joint achievement.

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between a husband and wife, the proper relative intervened to suggest a way out. Most of the husband's relatives were in the same locality with him and could keep an eye on his behavior.

One was not only tied closely to the husband's blood kin *(rodstvo)* but had to enter upon a formal relationship with one's in-laws. Families related by marriage felt close to each other, the intensity of the feeling depending upon the frequency with which the families met and the way the young couples got along. Ordinarily, however, the family of the bride was considered by the husband's parents to be as close, at times even closer, than blood relatives. For instance, if there was any sort of celebration to which guests were invited, the family of the bride was the first to be asked. One reliable informant estimated that ninety out of one hundred people in Dragalevtsy felt the force of *svatovstvo,* or this relationship springing up through intermarriage. The young people, who are usually so prone to make a break with the past, maintained it in all its vigor. Here was the way one young man explained the *svatovstvo:*

"If my sister married some man in Simeonovo, even though I had never seen him before, his brother and sister would be my *svati,* and if I met them we would feel like cousins. I would never curse them or quarrel with them and would call their father *'dedo'* and their mother *'baba,'* the same names I use for my own grandparents. My parents and the parents of my new brother-in-law would likewise be *svati* and would treat one another reverently." Two brothers could not marry two sisters from another family, though there was no blood relationship, because the second couple were *svati* after the first couple married, and *svati* could not marry. Two brothers could marry two first cousins, but not two sisters. This feeling of closeness in families related by marriage did not stop with the husband and the wife, nor with the single in-law gained by each family. It included, as well, the in-law's parents and brothers and sisters with whom just dealings and proper behavior had always to prevail.

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More than anything else, however, the shared activities of husband and wife developed an understanding which lasted through thick and thin. Some of these shared activities were the trip to market, the

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closely packed in the church as the wedding party entered to face the 585
altar before a table in the center of the church.

The bride and groom had no more than taken their stand when [831]
a middle-aged woman hurried to place dough baked in the form of a male phallic symbol deep in the sash worn by the bride and another piece to represent the female organs around the waist of the groom. This was done half surreptitiously while the priest was busy about something else.

As the ceremony began I realized as never before the important [608] ●
part played by godparents in the ritualistic and spiritual life of the village. They stood behind the bride and groom, who were attended by the groom's brother as *dever,* or best man. The young couple shifted from foot to foot, each holding a bunch of flowers in one hand and a large burning taper in the other. The priest read from the Bible in his beautiful rich tones about the wedding at Cana of Galilee, and then asked God's blessing upon the couple.

At this point the priest stepped out of his role and said to me: "Would you like to take a picture now?" Then when I was set for a time-exposure, he said to the crowd: "Everybody, quiet!" My act done, he told the godparents to assist in the changing of the rings from bride to groom, as well as the fragile, bright crowns previously placed upon the heads of the couple. In addition, the priest, as part of the ritual, passed around the chalice so the young couple, the best man, and the godparents could sip the wine. These same people then followed the priest in a walk around the table on which a cross and the Holy Scriptures rested. Three times around they went, stopping four times during each circuit to symbolize north, east, south, and west. At each of these twelve stops the party bowed over the table and its sacred relics. It was during this walk that the godmother tossed the rice, candy, and coins in the air for the children.

Such a brief account fails to include much of the liturgy which was an important part of the Orthodox Church's ceremony, but the peasant accounts of a wedding skimmed over this as being either unimportant or else a topic about which they were uninformed. In fact, most of the men accompanying the bridal party to the church remained outside during the ceremony. The parents of the groom

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527 857 and provide food and drink for their friends on their name days. Children had to grow into the many practices surrounding holidays just as they had to grow into understanding of how to become a good farmer. It took some time to learn, for example, that on September 11, the Day of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, one should have nothing to do with objects colored red. That color symbolized blood and guilt. On the first of March, however, red was very much in evidence. In the cities the young people exchange *martenitsi*, equivalent to our Valentines. This day was popularly called *Baba Marta* or "Old Woman March," because the weather during March was changeable and whimsical.

Although the villagers themselves paid little attention to the patriotic holidays which had been started within the past few decades, children welcomed them, for they meant a variation in the school routine. Schoolteachers would never think of letting a patriotic holiday go by without some special exercises. Among such holidays were those commemorating the liberation of Bulgaria, the King's birthday, the King's name day, the King's ascension to the throne. A special holiday for students was also becoming firmly rooted. It was the one honoring the missionary brothers, St. Cyril and St. Methodius, who were the patron saints of learning.

[574] These holidays, both religious and patriotic, were often the occasion for relatives to come to the village. The buses, mysteriously held together in places by baling wire, chugged up the hill to the square to disgorge their load of people and grotesque bundles. Children crowded around to greet the newcomers and merrily skipped beside [166] them as they walked toward the house. However, one-third of the homes had *no* visitors from outside the village during the year. Many of the visitors were originally from Dragalevtsy. A record of one year's migrants, twenty-one in all, showed that six had married outsiders and settled elsewhere; four had gone as soldiers, four as students, two as laborers, and the rest as cabmen, watchmen, and a coffeehouse proprietor.

527 857 608 All these holidays meant much to the children: exciting food, observance of age-old customs, and the arrival of guests. A few holidays were of special importance to godparents and godchildren. On

Epiphany the godparent went to the home of his godchild, poured water on him or, in a rare case, pushed him into the river for the sake of his health during the coming year. On Cheese Sunday, however, the godchild went to his godparent's home with a gift and begged forgiveness for all sins committed during the year. On certain other holidays and special occasions the godchild was also supposed to pay his respects. 608 527 857

Some features of this bond between godparent and godchild were strange to one unfamiliar with the Orthodox Church. Behavior in the presence of godparents was highly formalized and correct. A person would not lie to his godparent; nor was he supposed ever to swear in his godparent's presence. These customs emphasized the mystical spiritual union which was supposed to exist between godparent and godchild. 608

Because the office of the godparent was hereditary, the same family provided godparents for the members of another family for generations. Consequently a feeling of strong relationship had come about. A godparent was considered one of the closest of relatives. "The godfather is closer than an uncle, and the godmother is closer than an aunt," the peasants used to say. Children of the two families could not marry even though madly in love, because, in the sight of the village, they were related. The taboo against marriage into the family of the mother's godparents further complicated matters. A woman, upon marriage, adopted the godparent of her husband, who assumed the same responsibility to the children of that couple as he did to the father. If a godparent was called upon to officiate at a wedding or a christening and was unable to attend, he could send one of his children to perform in his stead. [582]

We have already seen the part that the godparents *(kumove)* played in the wedding ceremony.[1] The rite of christening revealed even more of the relationship between godparent and his spiritual ward. He went with a friend or relative to the infant's home, some two or three Sundays after its birth, and took it to the church. He had previously discussed the child's name with the parents and usually followed their wishes, but had the right to give the child any name he thought proper. In the case of the first son he was apt to follow the 608 553 851

[1] [See p. 89, category 116 -- Analyst]

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custom of giving him the "little name" of his paternal grandfather.

After the morning church service a small group of interested people would gather around the priest up near the front of the church. The priest, dressed in his richly decorated robes and with his long auburn hair uncovered, made an impressive figure. The sexton and a woman or two scurried around getting lukewarm water ready in a basin. The air of the room was heavy with the combined smell of incense, used in the church service, and melting tallow, as the tapers in the front candelabra sputtered toward exhaustion. Before they flickered out an attendant doused them in water and threw the stubs into a tin receptacle near the bowl of sand, in which worshipers had placed candles in memory of the dead.

After the layers of swaddling clothes had been removed from the infant the priest quieted the small group by saying: "Let us begin." While the godparent held the baby he listened to the solemn obligation which he was assuming, an obligation made more impressive by the use of scriptural passages and a charge by the priest. Levity quickly replaced any serious thoughts as the godfather jocularly affirmed three times that he "resigned" from the devil, and spat across the baby resoundingly onto the floor to signify that he would keep everything unholy from the child.

The high light of the church ceremony was the immersion of the tiny baby three times in warm water mixed with olive oil. As Father Sava had had ample experience with the three little girls of his own, he deftly balanced the child in palm and forearm while laving it three times in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Then the woman assisting the godfather, usually his wife, dressed the baby in an entirely new outfit. While this was taking place the priest was washing and drying his hands with a bar of soap and towel which the godparents provided and which they expected him to keep as a part of his fee.

[846] The infant's mother had remained at home because her purification ceremony at the church could not take place until forty days after the child's birth. Of course, she was expected to help prepare the christening feast which followed the church ceremonies. The christening party invariably arrived at the home in a gay mood and stood around laughing as the godfather turned the child over to the mother

[From the christening ceremony -- Analyst]

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with these words: "I took the child away a Jew and now I return him to you a Christian." 553 851

There was usually an awkward wait of half an hour or more until the meal was ready and the priest had come to give the blessing so the feasting could begin. The christening dinner was one of the most significant of all family events for both adults and children. A child could not attend school without a baptismal certificate, nor could he later join the army, get a passport, or do anything of real importance without this church record. For a child from an Orthodox home to be unchristened was worse than having him unnamed; he did not exist legally. The national government, however, honored the equivalent of these baptismal certificates given by religious minority groups for their members, and also considered valid their marriages and divorces, be they Moslems, Jews, or Protestants. This religious freedom and tolerance had been a source of pride to many a Bulgarian in the past. 608 [798]

There were times in Dragalevtsy, though rare indeed, when the two families involved felt it best to break off the godparent relationship. If a woman, for instance, had three or four miscarriages, the godparents, who officiated at the wedding, might say: "You're not having very good luck with your children. We've been talking it over, and believe that things would work out better for you if you had different godparents." The husband and wife could then invite another couple to be godparents. 608

There were a few instances where babies did not have godparents at birth. Former godparents for the family might have died, moved away, or been unwilling to serve. In such a case the baby, no matter what the weather happened to be, was left on a street corner near the church just prior to the Sunday morning service. Naturally, the cries of the child attracted the curiosity of some passer-by. At the moment that he went over to look at the baby some elderly woman rushed out of hiding to say: "Congratulations, sir. You have the honor of serving as godparent to this child." So off he was marched to the church, be he foreigner, gypsy, drunk, or on important government business, to participate as godfather in the christening. Should he move to some distant place, he was still expected to keep in touch with his unexpected charge and, if possible, return in due course of time to take part in the 608 553 851

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godchild's wedding. This strange custom illustrated that where there is a *must,* such as *having* to have a godparent, there was a traditional method for correcting any irregularity.

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Another *must* for the children, at least from the government point of view, was school attendance. The child began his formal education at seven years of age. In the "good old days" much ceremony attended this event. The peasants called the teacher *"Kandilo,"* a candle, the one to light the path for the child entrusted to him. As education became more common, the old ceremonies died out. All that remained of that old ceremonial respect was the handful of flowers the children sometimes gathered in the fields for a favorite teacher.

In Turkish times, only boys attended school. Educational activity in Dragalevtsy, however, took a new lease on life with the completion of the excellent building in 1931, made financially possible by the help of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior. The school consisted of four primary grades and three classes which were termed the "pro-gymnasium." Boys and girls were supposed to complete the pro-gymnasium, though they could drop out as soon as they reached their fifteenth year. The director was in charge of all of the school's activity, under the supervision of the school inspectors.

The diagram on the following page illustrates the educational hierarchy of the country.

Few decisions were left to the local school authorities, whose duties had become largely administrative, in the sense of observing the regulations handed down from above. As the school director said, "Everything is controlled from the *Inspection,* though the teachers have much freedom in the classroom." Even this freedom was supervised. At the conclusion of each class the teacher had to go to the office and list the work taken up that hour, the questions asked, and assignments made. The inspector made surprise inspections of the health situation, the records of the director, and, if he chose, of the lesson notebooks of the school children. The purpose of this inspection was to check up and control, not to supervise constructively.

The school was supported financially by the Dragalevtsy *Obshtina,* though the salaries of the eight teachers were paid by the national

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
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tongue in water without salt, and the brothers take three sips of the soup. The rest has to be eaten by the sick person during three days: first the tongue, then the eyes, and then the brain. The carcass is taken by the redeemer and the old woman secretly to the tree. Arrived there, they cross themselves and say: 'Good evening to our NN.' The redeemer digs a hole, and the seeress puts the carcass into it saying: 'To the black earth we give: brain for brain, eyes for eyes, feet for feet, and the earth is to give us: health and joy, laughter and jest, speech and discourse to carry back to our NN.' The brother also repeats this three times and covers up the body, and on this spot they put the water-pot and the basil. They say: 'We kill you, we revive our NN.' After crossing themselves they return taking care not to be seen by anybody. Arrived at the house of the sick person the redeemer knocks at and kicks the door: 'Open the heavy gates!' The mother answers from inside: 'What do you bring?'—'We bring day for night, laughter for tears, jest for sorrow, health in place of sickness for our brother NN.' They go in to the sick person, who has to ask: 'What good news?' The redeemer says: 'We bring you day, laughter, jest, joy and health—here!' and makes as though to hand him these gifts, and they embrace.[1]

In another district of Serbia the doctress (*vračka*) chains the survivor to the cross of a nameless grave or fetters him at a cross-roads or to a grafted tree, and opening and shutting the fetters—the hopples of a horse—repeats the usual question and answer with the brother by adoption ('Do you accept', etc., etc.) three times. The sick person washes with charmed water and 'leaves the sickness behind him'.[2]

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In Bulgaria a stone of the weight of the surviving colunar was put into the coffin with the corpse, and the redeeming 'brother' lay down beside it. As he rose he said: 'I leave

[1] M. Milosavljević, *op. cit.* pp. 261 *passim.*

[2] T. M. Bušetić, *Narodna Medicina*, S.E.Z. XVII, p. 564; cf. footnotes, pp. 89–95. Cf. Miličević, *Život Srba Seljaka*, p. 339.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935

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Bulgaria EE1

Contemporary Macedonians EF8

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you this stone for a brother and I take So-and-So to be my brother.'[1]

Redemption need not always be carried out by a brother by adoption but can be secured by the mother of the person to be redeemed or by a wise woman, e.g. by cutting a silver coin in two on the threshold and burying half in the grave of the dead child,[2] or by putting a stone of the same weight as the survivor on the grave, or a candle of the same length, or by fettering the living to the corpse or on the grave and releasing him.

S 608 755 764

The colunars can be separated while still alive by giving them the yolk of an egg to eat while standing on opposite sides of a stream (Macedonia).[3] The sick person and the redeemer brother are given a sugared egg to eat together on the threshold at Zagubica. In other rites the substitution is carried out by a fiction. While the dead child is still lying in the house, two candles are made to the measurement of the dead and the living colunar, and two bunches of basil are tied, one with red and the other with black thread. The living child lies down beside the corpse. A woman crosses herself, lights the candles and places them and the bunches of herbs at the heads of the children. She strikes the body and says: 'When you two see one another, then love one another.' She reverses the bunches, giving the red one which belongs to the living to the dead colunar. The other is given to the child's mother, who must keep it and never let the living child see it at any time. The same rite can be gone through, after burial, at the grave. The bunch of basil tied with black is left overnight at the grave, and the red bunch is afterwards buried in the grave. The living child is chained and padlocked to the cross at the grave-head. It is yet more curious that a willow tree can take the place of the dead child. Two sticks are cut, one to the length of the living child and the other to the length of the tree's shadow at mid-day. The rest of the rite, including the leaving of the dead

CM [608] [755] [764]

[1] N. A. Načov, *op. cit.* p. 68. [2] S. M. Grbić, *op. cit.* pp. 294–301.
[3] Cf. Sb.N.U. v, pp. 127, etc.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

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In Bulgaria at the feast of the *Rusalje* or *Samovile*, *Vile*—the date varies, but Ascension Day will do as an example—on the eve of the feast a person suffering from a *vila* disease went to a field near water where the *Vila's* plant—*Rosen*, Dittany—grew, with someone of the opposite sex, who was willing to become a brother or sister. An offering of food and wine was made, and one of the flowers was balanced over a new vessel of unbroken water, beside which the sick person lay down and slept while the other watched. After one o'clock the flowers were supposed to fade, and the watcher covered the pot with a new cloth. The next morning before dawn the position of the flower was inspected to see whether it had been visited by the spirit and the sick person drank the water with anything that had fallen into it overnight.[1]

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S 755 769

In Bosnia[2] a person who had fever went down to a running stream with a coal from the fire and a piece of garlic, and called on the name of the last member of the family who had died: 'Oh, So-and-So! When you arise and light a fire from this coal and eat this head of garlic then may fever take hold of me!' and he threw the coal and the garlic into the water. (Similar rites in Serbia repeat the throwing of coals and garlic into water and a similar formula but without mention of a dead relative.) Or, having split a young willow branch and made a hoop of it or of a stem of nettle, he drew it over his head and off at his feet. Then he cut notches in the stem to the number of attacks of fever that he had had, counting: 'One fever, two fevers....' Then counting backwards he cut out the notches, and the hoop was hung up behind the fire to dry, just as in Serbia, after the redeemer has helped his brother through a rose-tree hoop, the latter is hung up in the chimney or under the eaves for forty days and after forty days it is floated away down a river or buried.

S 751 844

It is worth noting that one of the formulae for redemption occurs on other occasions. In order to preserve a new-born child a hole is dug in the ground where its head first touches

[1] D. Marinov, *op. cit.* 1; V. N. Čolakov, *Bulgarskyi narodn Sbornik*, p. 39.
[2] T. Dragičević, in Gl.Z.M. xxi.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5
Bulgaria EE1

755 kept holy for the next year. At some places there are a
731 number of ready-made tunnels kept for this purpose. If it
372 is inconvenient to dig under a river bank or under a tree, a ditch is made which is roofed over with planks and earth. The tunnel may be wide enough to allow a pair of oxen to pass.[1]

S The diseases treated in this way are mainly severe epi-
CM 755 demics such as small-pox, dysentery, etc., skin diseases ('fiery'
751 complaints), *vukojedina*, *zmijojedina* (Hercegovina, Montenegro), and new fire is made as a preventive after the appearance of a mad wolf or a mad dog. Of the various pests among sheep and cattle that can be treated with new fire it is interesting that the popular names for them frequently re-echo the element of fire and thunder.

S Above I have quoted a case where the fire makers had to
608 become brothers. In any case, they are often called upon to embrace or to drink together before and after their work. Although it is probable that to act together in a secret cult creates a special sympathy or intimacy, there is no other indication of its involving a legal tie. On the other hand,
B brotherhood can be made at the hearth, and an instance
372 which occurred in Bulgaria gives an idea of the sacredness
608 of fire. On St John's Day (January 7th), the priest and a few near relatives were invited to the house of the man who made the proposal of brotherhood. The fire on the hearth was raked into two separate heaps and a board was placed across the hearth between the fires. The men who were to

[1] S. Trojanović, *Vatra* (1930), is a compilation of accounts of fire ceremonies with many new descriptions of those witnessed by the author, upon which I have freely drawn. Other sources are E. Lilek, *Vadjenje Žive vatre u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Gl.Z.M. v (1893); V. Titelbach, *Internat. Arch. f. Ethnographie*, XIII (1900), p. 1 *passim*; M. Miličević, *Život Srba Seljaka*, pp. 310, etc.; V. Titelbach, *Roznecovani 'Živého ohňe' u Jihoslovanů*, Česky Lid, v, 4 (1896), pp. 341, etc.; N. Zega, *Volovska Bogomolja*, Glas. Ethnografskog Muzeja u Beogradu, II (1927); F. S. Krauss, *Slavische Feuerbohrer*, Globus, LIX (1891), pp. 140, etc.; I. Zahariev, *Kjustendilsko Kraište*, Sb.N.U. p. 147 *passim*; V. Decev, Sb.N.U. XIX, p. 90; Sb.N.U. XII, 136, pp. 7–9; L. Peco, *Običaji i Verovanja iz Bosne*, S.E.Z. XXXII, p. 48; T. M. Bulatić, *Temnić*, S.E.Z. VI, pp. 287–8.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Croats EF4
Slovenes EF7
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

keep vows of brotherhood stepped on to the ends of the plank with the right foot. Before beginning to read the Gospel and prayers, the priest asked them in turn three times whether they believed in the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and whether they believed in the Fire.[1]

At Planinica for epilepsy, the doctoress visited the patients' house and divided the fire into two parts in the same way and stood over the fires. Other members of the family then pulled the patient in a trough three times under her legs and between the fires. A footprint of a man, or the track of an animal or an insect which was afterwards found in the ashes over which the trough had passed, was given to the patient in water.[2]

Live fire is also carried round the village or round the flocks and herds during an epidemic, and fire is carried in the same way irrespective of immediate needs at a ceremony variously called *Olalija*, *Alalija*, *Lila*, etc., which takes place particularly in pastoral districts, on Ascension, St John's Day, St Peter's Day, or one of the earlier feasts round about Easter. Torches of dried bark (cherry or birch) are borne in forked sticks. In the Holmoljski district the name *Alalija* is given to large fires of straw, etc., lit in or near the village in honour of the dead at the beginning of the spring carnival. People dance round the fires and try to pull one another over them. The shepherds also come down from the pastures bringing their torches which are carried round the village.[3] There are other familiar fire rites on St John's Eve, Easter Eve, St George's Eve, or at Easter. Sometimes the fires are lit on hills all round a

[1] N. A. Načov, *Za Pobratimstvo*, pp. 60–1.
[2] S. Trojanović, *Glavni Srpski Žrtveni Običaji*, pp. 43, 44.
[3] S.E.Z. XIX, *op. cit.* Cf. M. Miličević, *Život Srba Seljaka*, pp. 133, etc.; M. Arnaudov, *Studie vurhu Bolgarskite Obredi i Legendi*, Spisanie na Bolg. Akademia na Naukite, IV (1912), p. 16 *passim*; N. Zega, *op. cit.*; S.E.Z. XXIII, p. 102, XIV, p. 333; Zb. X, pp. 1, 52, I, pp. 247, etc., etc.; Sb.N.U. XII, pp. 7–9; Zíbrt, *Seznam pověr a zvyklostí pohanských z* VIII *věku* (1894), pp. 90–5; Voraček, *Pohanské obřiti u Bulharů*, Slov. Sbornik (1889), pp. 539, etc. Cf. V. Haruzin, *K voprosu o počitanie ognja*, Etnog. Obosrenia (1906); G. Vinogradov, *Samozaženie i skotoloženie*, Živaja Starina, XXIV (1915).

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

296 formation as to wash days: "We wash twice a week: on Monday and Wednesday, or on Wednesday and Saturday."

351 Many of the yards still had the threshing floor, reminiscent of Old Testament days. This could be located by a forlorn post which seemed to be serving no useful purpose. In the fall great quantities of drying wool hung from the clotheslines; and a little later the family piled in the yard the winter supply of wood from the forest.

342 The eaves of the house, deep as they were, sheltered such things as strings of drying peppers and ears of corn; milk utensils hung beneath them practically the year round; even the scythes and wooden hayforks found frequent lodging there. Storks nested in the trees and chimneys. With the coming of the warmer weather the sheep left their folds in the yards for the pastures, and the shepherd took with him his wattled shelter, which he moved on sleds across the grassy meadows.

[789] In many yards a heavy, large-wheeled wagon stood near the
351 primitive sheds for the animals and the ever-present strawstack. If the peasants were unusually superstitious, there would be dabs of blue paint on the wagon to keep the Evil Eye away. When the weather
231 was nice there were usually children at play in the yard. Upon seeing
609 a visitor they added their lusty shouts to the ominous barking of the dogs. They chased the dogs away from the gate by throwing sticks and stones at them, and at the same time warned the visitor to be on the alert. Far too often the dogs sneaked up behind to nip an ankle of the unsuspecting visitor.

247 The yards had few flowers, because chickens of a nondescript
351 variety pecked freely throughout the premises. One or two scraggly trees, from which the children shook most of the fruit before it had
735 time to ripen, stood in a corner wistfully seeking to give a touch of
511 beauty to the scene. In the spring the blossoms of such trees made the village bright, but when the fruit and leaves were gone the bare, black skeletons of the trees fitted in only too well with the poverty and sternness of village life. Poor land, inefficiently tilled, contributed to this poverty. Although the peasants worked hard in their fields, they had little cash on hand after selling their crops and paying their debts. Home improvements were postponed from year to year, but the hard work kept on just the same.

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369 443 back street. I do know that the inarticulate peasant woman who sat for hours crouched on the sidewalk wondered at the strange styles of women's clothing, and that the village man, in his wandering, coveted some glittering object in a shopwindow for his child. In the late afternoon as they went home, and during the days that followed, man and wife talked about this trip to market. For them it had been a shared adventure.

527 Other activities which the family members shared besides the tasks of home and field and the trip to market were the holidays. The traditional holidays were religious, while the ones most recently introduced were patriotic.

796 January sixth was *Malka Koleda,* or Little Christmas. Many Bulgarian villagers would tell you that Christ was really born on the day before Christmas, but his birth was not made known until the following day. For that reason, great emphasis was laid upon the celebration of Little Christmas, or Christmas Eve, with the meal on Christmas Eve as the most important part of the season's festivities.

[609] Each time I spent Christmas in a Bulgarian village home I was deeply impressed with the simplicity and beauty of its symbolism. I was a foreigner and a Protestant nonbeliever. Bai Milush and his family received me as though I were one of their own large family. Carefully and patiently they explained to me each bit of ceremony and tradition and symbolism. Often a ceremony was repeated so I could photograph it. There was not a single appurtenance of the Western Christmas in the household; even the date was different, but the Christmas spirit meant more there than anywhere else I had ever been.

To commemorate Christ's birth in a manger, straw was laid on the floor and covered with a blanket which served as the tablecloth for the evening's repast. The whole family gathered around this blanket after an incense urn had been carried as a good luck symbol from the iconostas to each room of the house and to all of the animal stalls. Because the meal was late in starting, three of the smallest children had gone to sleep, one in a crib and the other two on a wooden bed. In order to get the meal under way without further formalities, the women passed hot, fiery *rakiya* (plum brandy) to each person and stood patiently until the single glass had been emptied

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691 involved, the trial is a big, important event, but the effect upon the village is slight. What does have an effect is the quarrel which leads to the lawsuit, but that is an internal and not an external matter.

THE "OUTSIDE WORLD" VISITS THE VILLAGE

609 369 1. THE MOUNTAIN AND THE MONASTERY. The "white-collar" people of Sofia are enthusiastic hikers. On sunny days, both winter and summer, they start out on an extended hike, usually in the direction of Vitosha, a majestic mountain which towers seven thousand feet above the Sofia plain. If very active, they climb to Hizha Aleko, the mountain hotel below the summit, there to spend the night. Or if interested only in a Sunday afternoon stroll of ten miles, they visit *God's Consecrated Spot on Vitosha,* a historic monastery from which they get a magnificent view of the Sofia plain, the city, and the Balkan peaks twenty miles to the north.

Dragalevtsy, hugging as it does a shoulder of the mountain, is on the main road leading from Sofia to the monastery (twenty minutes' walk above the village) and the mountain hotel far above the monastery. Dragalevtsy's taverns serve, therefore, as resting places for the weary, hungry, and thirsty trampers. Especially in Bai Penko's tavern is there mingling between the village "elite" (intelligentsia and richer peasants) and these Sofia visitors—"people of the world." The peasants laugh at the sight of the women dressed in winter in ski trousers or in shorts in summer. No one ever explains to the peasant that sport styles are extreme.

One evening in Bai Penko's tavern I was with a group of peasants who chortled when they saw a fat betrousered woman attempt unsuccessfully to get her loaded knapsack off. Turning to one of them I asked what he thought of such women, "Oh, we know what they are like," was the answer. When I pressed him further as to what he meant, he said: "They are the worst kind." Then I could not resist asking: "What would you do if your daughter came home dressed like that?" and the retort flared back, "Why, damn it, I'd kick her out of the house."

Estimates vary as to the number of *turisti,* as the Bulgarians call them, who pass through the village each year. Suffice it to say that on holidays and week ends there is a steady stream pouring through unless the weather is too forbidding. On August 28th, the Day of the Virgin, thousands flock to the monastery for the special services there as well as for the setting. Many of these hikers visit Dragalevtsy, whose square has been changed overnight into a lively market lined with temporary restaurants and a ramshackle merry-go-round.

369 The chief influence that these visitors have upon the villagers is to make them think that life in the city is as gay and carefree as the singing groups who

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Three or four lectures, dealing with topics related to the elevation of village life, are given each year by men from outside. Each government inspector from the various departments is required to visit the village once a year and some in the course of this visit take occasion to give an educational address to the people. I do not feel, however, that the peasants take a very vital interest in these talks unless they get into the realm of politics, always a fascinating subject. 544

From the 15th of May until August 1st soldiers in training are encamped in and about Dragalevtsy, but it is only occasionally that they mingle with the young people of the village. Every year, however, three or four village girls become engaged to soldiers and subsequently upon marriage move elsewhere. 609

The outside world is also represented by a few salesmen and speculators in land and cattle, these numbering about fifteen a week. They transact their business with the interested party, perhaps break bread with him, and then go on their way.

4. TELEPHONE, RADIO, LETTERS, PRINTED MATTER. There are two radios in the village, one belonging to the priest and the other standing in the window of the mayor's office to blare forth its music and messages to passersby in the main square. The first program I heard from the public radio was the aria, "My Heart at Thy Sweet Voice," from the opera *Samson and Delila* as played by an orchestra in Amsterdam, although music like this is soon turned off in preference to the folk-music periodically broadcast from the Sofia station. 207

There is one telephone in the village in the office adjacent to the mayor's. There is great pomp about the use of this instrument since one pays two cents and receives a receipt of payment from the telephone operator. Making a telephone call is a serious affair, so serious, in fact, that few peasants ever do so. 206

The post arrives around one o'clock each week-day afternoon, but there is little excitement attached to its coming, for not more than ten personal letters, usually for the intelligentsia, arrive daily for the whole village. A peasant family receives no more than one or two letters a year. Twenty newspapers and twenty magazines come each day for the 279 families. According to data furnished by 279 questionnaires, 21 families bought or received newspapers* to 257 who did not; and 7 families received magazines to 271 who did not. In both cases, 1 family failed to report. 205 204

* Of these, 13 families received a daily newspaper daily; 2 received a daily paper twice a week; 1, once a week; and 5 received a weekly paper regularly.

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APPENDIX IV

NEIGHBORHOODS AND NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS IN A BULGARIAN VILLAGE*

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During my first three years in Bulgaria, 1929-1932, I became generally acquainted with its rural life. When I returned to Bulgaria in 1934 for another three-year period I chose for special study one village, Dragalevtsy by name, whose 1,669 inhabitants live in houses clustered near the foot of Mount Vitosha four miles from the outskirts of Sofia. I visited the village on frequent occasions and lived there for weeks at a time. Although my investigations led me to consider many things such as the basic institutions, the formal and informal groupings, customs and folklore, along with the operation of the social processes, social control, and social change, one of the most difficult of the social phenomena for me, an outsider, to understand was the *mahala,* or neighborhood.

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THE MAHALA. Dragalevtsy, like the majority of European agricultural villages, is a compact settlement of farmers whose land lies around the village in strips, numbering approximately 16 per Dragalevtsy farmer. The village is at least four centuries old and has grown but slowly during that time. Until three or four generations ago all life was organized around the patriarchal *zadruga,*[1] or joint-family. The members of such a family owned everything in common and worked in harmony under the administrator or *domakin,* the acknowledged head of the *zadruga.* Although their dwellings were crude and overcrowded each *zadruga* needed a large plot of land around the houses for the flocks of sheep and other animals kept at home during the winter months. With the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkey in 1878 forces were let loose which hastened the break-up of the joint-family system.[2] Brothers moved away from the paternal home into dwellings of their own, these usually being

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* This article appeared in *Social Forces,* XVII, No. 4, May, 1939. Reprinted by permission.

[1] Ivan Evstatiev Geshov, *Zadrugite Vv Zapadna Bulgaria,* Per. Spisanie, God. V. Kn. xix i xx, str. 426, Stredets, 1886.

St. L. Kostov and E. Peteva, *Selski Bit i Izkustvo Vv Sofiisko,* Sofia, 1935, str. 58.

[2] Some of the factors contributing to this break-up: (a) individualization following Bulgaria's liberation in 1878 and the spread of popular education; (b) fashion of small, individual families in the West; (c) disagreement between the wives of brothers living together under the same roof; (d) unwillingness of men working outside the *zadruga,* either as laborers or professional men, to hand over their whole earnings to the common treasury; (e) woman's newly-acquired right of inheritance.

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constructed on a part of the large plot of ground belonging to the dissolving *zadruga*. It therefore happened after a generation or so that six or seven houses whose heads all bore the same family name were located in a particular section of the village. Such clusters of houses in Dragalevtsy were called a *mahala* and often bore the name of the oldest living member of the family such as "Grandfather Grigor's *Mahala*." This usage of the term grew up quite unconsciously on the part of the peasants, and even today they use the term *mahala* without any clear conception of just what they mean by it. 621 596 178

At first glance it seems that *mahala* means a certain section of the village because it is often referred to in giving directions, but it is more correct to say that the peasant really means "over there in that particular section of the village where all of those related Manchevi live." This means that the *mahala* has both a geographical and kinship nature. On the other hand, if one of the Manchev men should for any reason move to another section of the village, he would still consider himself a Manchev, while admitting that he lived in a different *mahala*, and that the Mancheva *mahala* would not be extended to include him. In other words, the *mahala* is not identical with the term *rodstvo*, which means the large family connections. It applies only to those large family connections living in close proximity plus any other families dwelling among them. And this latter element is becoming of more importance. Today traces of kinship are beginning to vanish because the origins go back too far and because outsiders are slowly moving into Dragalevtsy. 621

The *mahala* never acts as a unit about anything, because its geographical character is its predominating aspect. Every villager can give the names of the other homes in his particular *mahala* and can even plot the *mahala* boundaries on a map of the village. But this does not mean that he feels any psychological bond connecting him with each of those homes any more than would the people who live on the same street in a small American town. Yet the very fact that they live near one another means that they will tend to interact more with one another than with people living on the other side of the village. This is why the *mahala* becomes important in a sociological analysis: it locates an individual in a given environmental setting.[3]

[3] Louis Petroff in his article "Peasant Primary Groups in Bulgaria" (*Sociology and Social Research*, 13, p. 557) thinks of the *mahla* (so he transliterates the word) as one of the important primary groups of the Bulgarian village. In his article he does not attempt to explain the origin of the *mahala* but thinks of it rather as "A section of the village separated by a small stream, a hill, a main road or a similar boundary. Or it may be a cluster of houses around a centering place, such as an inn or a store, but most commonly around a water fountain or a well." In Dragalevtsy the *mahala* originated as a kinship group, though the land originally owned by a *zadruga* was doubtless determined largely by geographical factors. The kinship origin is also shown by the fact that all the *mahali* in Dragalevtsy bear family names rather than those based on topographical or economic features.

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Furthermore, the *mahali* (plural form) differ in size and prestige as well as in location. If the fortunes of two or three homes in a *mahala* rise, then the prestige of that *mahala* rises too. Land values go up in that place and the choice residential sites tend to shift there. This is illustrated in the case of the Daneva *Mahala* where the Danev men because of shrewd business methods have been able to accumulate considerable capital. Just the reverse is true in *mahali* where the families are very poor.

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But the general use of the term *mahala* by the Dragalevtsy villagers is that applied to the smaller neighborhood of from seven to twelve houses. This use will be best understood if we briefly consider one of the village *mahali*: for instance, the Stoiova *Mahala* which consists of eight families living in the following spatial relationships and identified by the names of the family head as follows:

THE STOIOVA MAHALA*

Seven family heads are men, one is a woman.

Ignat and Todorin live with their families in separate divisions of the same house.

The kinship nature of the *mahala* is shown by the fact that Ignat and Sando are brothers and are nephews of Peter, and uncles of Todorin. They

* Subsequent investigation showed this *mahala* to be representative of others in the village.

[cf p. 231, category 116.. Analyst]

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TABLE 11

INTERACTION BETWEEN FAMILY HEADS OF STOIOVA MAHALA, DRAGALEVTSY, SUMMER OF 1937

(Positive Interaction, +; Negative, —; Neutral or None, O)

GIVEN NAMES OF HEADS	MLADENKA	IGNAT	PETER	SANDO	GRIGOR	VITKO	TODORIN	IVAN
1. Mladenka,* a widow		+	—	O	—	—	O	—
2. Ignat, a "peacemaker"	+		—	O	+	O	+	+
3. Peter, an elderly man	—	—		—	O	+	—	+
4. Sando, bro. of 2	O	O	—		+	O	+	+
5. Grigor, an outsider	—	+	O	+		—	O	O
6. Vitko, now retired	—	O	+	O	—		O	O
7. Todorin, nephew of 2, 4	O	+	—	+	O	O		O
8. Ivan, a landlord	—	+	+	+	O	O	O	

* The predominance of conflict in Mladenka's relationships may be attributed to the fact that she is a woman and thus at a decided disadvantage. The peasants think of Bulgaria as still being a "man's country," and so it is.

are very distant cousins of Vitko and of Grigor's wife who persuaded Grigor, an outsider, to move to Dragalevtsy. Mladenka moved in from another *mahala,* while Ivan came from some other part of Bulgaria. Further light is thrown on the nature of the *mahala* by an analysis of the interaction between the family heads of the Stoiova *Mahala* as shown in table 11. The positive interaction* took such forms:

Ignat plowed Mladenka's garden plot for her and received in return permission to keep his sheep in her yard during the winter.

* I made no attempt to work out a complicated classification of social interaction with these simple, peasant folk. I soon learned that a rule-of-the-thumb method *similarly* applied in each case got results which checked with my own observation as well as that of the best informed people in the village. Eliminating from consideration here assimilation, competition, and accommodation I used merely the concepts of co-operation (Positive interaction) and conflict (Negative interaction). Where there is little trace of either positive or negative interaction I used the term Neutral. My description is based on the following questions: Which of the family heads co-operate regularly? Examples. Which have difficulties or quarrel more than they co-operate? Examples. Which have little to do with each other? Why?

The examples presented by the villagers to justify their statements were common knowledge in the whole neighborhood. Therefore, I was little surprised to find that once I had tentatively jotted down the prevailing interaction as given by the first informant every subsequent interview confirmed it. It is the case of anybody's business being everybody's business. Indeed, there is little doubt in the "public's mind" as to the relationship between any two people. I even suspect that two people wanting to better their relationship, for instance, would find the public a handicap due to the fixed conception of their respective roles.

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Families of Ignat and Grigor work together in the field and at home throughout the year. Their children are of similar ages.

Sando and Ignat draw wood from the mountain for Ivan and in return borrow money from him occasionally.

Peter and Ivan, both elderly men, are drawn together by common interests.

Negative interaction can be illustrated as follows:

Peter's dog attacked Mladenka's sow which was about to bear young. As a result the litter was stillborn. Mladenka unsuccessfully tried to recover damages from Peter. Now she says of Peter: "He only speaks to me between his teeth."

A quarrel between Mladenka's daughter and Vitko's daughter, formerly the best of friends, over the question of employment as a domestic.

Mladenka is engaged in a lawsuit with Ivan over the question of property. The dispute arose when a new street was constructed between their houses.

Grigor quarrels with Vitko, and Ignat; Sando, and Todorin quarrel with Peter over land.

A count of the bonds between the family heads shows that the three categories are approximately equal in number: Positive—nine; Negative—eight; Neutral—eleven. Of course, we have not attempted to analyze bonds between the wives of the family heads, but we can be sure that if two men are in a quarrel they will forbid their wives to associate with members of the other's family.

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In other parts of Bulgaria I have found that the word *mahala* has a slightly different significance and is used to describe some large section of the village which is separated because of such physical limitations as a river or a hill.[8] This means that other places would not have the twenty-two *mahali* which we find in Dragalevtsy. However, the Dragalevtsy people themselves use this broader term to describe an industrial community which is springing up between the village and Sofia and which has been assigned to the Dragalevtsy commune. Whenever any resident from there comes to Dragalevtsy to pay

[8] "The *mahala* (Dorfviertelschaft) is an enlarged neighborhood, which is usually determined by the physical features of the village. A river, a hill, or a strip of woods divides the village into two or more parts, localities, 'house complexes,' even *mahali*. If, however, there are no geographical lines of demarcation, 'calling-distance' determines the extent of the individual 'house complexes.' If two inhabitants of separate or distant 'house complexes' greet each other, each speaks when the conversation turns upon it of his *mahala* as of something individual and independent, distinct from the others. To each his *mahala* is a sort of miniature *Heimat*. Every man in the whole village is identified first as a native of his *mahala*, then as a member of his neighborhood, finally as a native of his own home. Neighborhood, *mahala*, and village are three gradually increasing entities, of which only the last two exhibit outwardly defined boundaries." (Wasil Handjieff: *Zur Soziologie des Bulgarischen Dorfes*, pp. 35-36.) Also see Note 3 in this connection.

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taxes or to attend some social function, the villagers say, "Oh, he's from the *mahala*." In this sense, therefore, they are thinking not at all of any family relationship between the people of that settlement. 621

NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS: THE *Susedstvo*. For a clearer picture of social interaction we must turn to a smaller unit than the *mahala*: namely, the *susedstvo** which is a complex of houses whose yards adjoin or face each other across a narrow street. The peasants say, "Without neighbors life is impossible," or "God help those who have bad neighbors" and they are thinking of next-door neighbors. Bulgarian writers especially in reminiscing about their childhood tell of the free interchange of goods between neighbors. In any time of need, whether it be of food, garments, or work, the neighbors were always called upon to render aid. That is still true today, though there are two tendencies setting in: first, many villagers prefer to go to relatives living elsewhere in the village for aid rather than to go to a next-door neighbor; second, nowadays neighbors when they lend live more in expectation of financial remuneration. In other words, the commercialistic spirit is pervading even neighborhood contacts. Some villagers feel this more keenly than others. 621 571 [476]

The *susedstvo* therefore, like the *mahala*, is a geographical unit which is the scene of intense social interaction, though this interaction takes place through ordinary individuals and groups rather than through the *susedstvo* itself, thought of in terms of a psychical entity. It is an interesting fact that personal friendships and preferences sometimes carry women outside of the neighborhood for even the ordinary needs of life. For example, Anna may live next to Gorka but may prefer the companionship of Mara who lives four or five houses down the street. Sometimes this friendship goes to such an extent that Anna will draw water from a more distant fountain in order to meet there with Mara.

However, no number of exceptions can do away with the fact that women who are neighbors depend greatly upon one another. Not only in times of crisis such as birth, death, or marriage are the neighbors' services invaluable, but are especially useful in varying the tedium of everyday life. If a woman has half an hour to spare, she is apt to pick up her knitting or spinning and go to a neighbor's house for a chat while doing her handwork. After a while, visits of such a sort become so habitual that a woman would find it difficult to get along without them. It must be remembered that the Bulgarian woman has no magazines and no radio to entertain her at home. Her only source of entertainment is to share some other neighbor's company. [517]

Newcomers to a neighborhood (and these are usually women) have to go through a period of assimilation. Not only must they bear the embarrassing

* Many of the peasants still use for neighbor the word *komshia*, a Bulgarized form of the Turkish *koms*.

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scrutiny of the neighbors and answer hundreds of questions, but they must also be quick to appreciate the social values and interests of the women of the surrounding houses. This is always so difficult that the villagers have a proverb: "One can't even drink the water from a different village," which they use in the social as well as physiological sense.

In a *susedstvo* we likewise find that there is often a family tie because the yards of married brothers or cousins frequently join. (See diagram on page 232.) If there is harmony between the brothers, such relatives are the closest of all because they are also neighbors; between such houses most of the borrowing takes place.

Since at least three-fourths, if not more, of a woman's recreation is provided in the neighborhood, this unit forms the basis for most gossiping groups. Men cross neighborhood lines because they can go to the tavern, but their wives must stay at home.

In comparing the *mahala* and the *susedstvo* we may conclude that the *mahala* once was the scene of the intimate interaction now characterizing the *susedstvo*. This was back in the days when the *mahala* was a family circle because of *zadruga* ties. As the number of houses increased and the feeling of kinship weakened or became extinct the *mahala* was superseded by the *susedstvo* as an important basis of interaction.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

case his wife needed him, although he invariably grumbled in his native Russian upon being called away from the game. A fourth hand during the summer was a reserve army officer whose intense love for German efficiency and ideology and whose contempt for the "ignorant, unreliable peasant" became bywords in the community. Peasants sitting on the porch of Bai Ivan's tavern on the eastern side of the square could observe with seeming indifference the intelligentsia at play, distracted though they were at times by the fervent temperance lectures delivered by the tavern keeper's daughter-in-law whenever she placed a glass of *rakiya* in front of a customer.

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These intelligentsia proved to be interesting people. The mayor had a good education, completed by the study of law in Russia. His father had been a priest in Boyana, a village just four miles to the west, so the mayor, himself a *Shop,* knew the workings of the peasant mind. When he was sent to the village as mayor back in 1934, after the *coup d'état* of that year abolished all elections and deprived many local officials of their jobs, he issued a flowery proclamation which contained such thoughts as these:

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> Therefore, as I take up my duties, desiring greatly to use the small abilities that I possess for the economic and cultural uplift of the villages included in the commune entrusted to my care, I wish to express my good feelings of loyalty and friendliness and attachment to the population and to certify that I am ready to work for the uplift of our commune and to be the loyal conveyor of its economic and cultural interests and needs.
>
> Imbued with the idea that we are all members of the same family, sons of mother Bulgaria, let us forget the recent past of shameful partisan struggles and begin to live as genuine brothers—Bulgarians filled with mutual love, patience, harmony, respect, and good will.
>
> Let us do our duty to these beautifully situated villages, perched on the slope of Mount Vitosha, and make them attractive gardens, with culture, and places of merriment and songs.

The people soon learned that the mayor when excited talked so rapidly that he failed to enunciate clearly, and they always enjoyed mimicking this mannerism. They did not particularly resent his management of their affairs, despite the fact that he had been sent by the central government which gave local communes no choice in

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the matter. The mayor was happily married to an attractive wife, who dressed *po modata* (in the latest fashion) and kept her children so neat and proper that they contrasted vividly with the peasant urchins who ran up and down the unpaved streets.

The mayor was charged with maintaining law and order with the help of the *strazhar* (police officer), the field policeman, and the forest policeman. The second wandered from field to field to see that cattle did not stray unattended onto strips where there were growing crops; the forest policeman prevented the purloining of wood from the forest lands used by Dragalevtsy people. The mayor also acted as local justice of the peace, and was ex officio member of the school board, health board, and any other village organization he considered worthy of serious attention.

But the mayor, although he enjoyed the spotlight, had to share it with the village priest. For five centuries, while the Bulgarians were subject to the Turks, the priest was often the only person in a village with any formal education. He not only interpreted the laws of God, but the laws of man as well. The Bulgarian monks and priests helped keep the feeling of Bulgarian nationality alive during those dark days, and thereby eventually aided in the achievement of national independence in 1878 at the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish War. Since traditions die slowly in a Bulgarian village, the position of the priest is still very high, although few people attend religious services and fewer people observe the rather rigid fasts of the Eastern Orthodox Church. However, the priest is an essential officiant at christenings, weddings, and funerals. Without him the peasants have no way of meeting life's major crises.

Father Sava was the *sveshtennik* or priest in Dragalevtsy. He wore with dignity his long black gown and high brimless hat, his uncut red hair in a knot at the back of his head, and a long auburn beard. I never failed to marvel at his wide range of interests. One day we would poke around his beehives; the next day he would show me his favorite photographs and competently discuss the relative merits of American and German cameras. But it was after I learned of the man's romance that I began to see him in a clearer light. The young lady whom he wanted to marry was the daughter of a priest

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178 623 Those interested in democracy have much to learn from the story of government in Dragalevtsy. At the outset the informal rule of the elders, which had been recognized by the Turks, was replaced by a commune or *obshtina* with regularly elected officials. At first these units included a number of villages. By 1890 the increase in population necessitated the breaking up of the larger *obshtini* so as to include only two or three villages. In other words, the pendulum was swinging back in the direction of greater local control, the swing being further accentuated after the First World War.

665 Political parties grew like mushrooms in Bulgaria. In 1930 the country had more than sixteen significant parties; in the village of Dragalevtsy, with its total population of about sixteen hundred, there [557] were six important parties with recognized leaders and platforms. To be a party leader in the village meant added prestige; to be one in the city or on a national scale meant power. In order for a Dragalevtsy man to become a local party leader he had to be acquainted with important people in Sofia. Even though he had only one influential friend in the city, he could persuade this man to come out and help organize a party. Other peasants were invited to the organizational meeting and officers were elected. Naturally, the one who took the initiative would be chosen to an important post. Because of the multiplicity of parties and the intense strife among them, many people throughout the country breathed a sigh of relief when the authoritarian government, which came into power on May 19, 1934, abolished by decree all political parties and started the practice of appointing university graduates as mayors in villages. [622] This meant that the head of the government in a village was not dependent upon the will of the populace but had to produce results satisfactory to the officials over him. The breakdown of the party system was associated, especially as far as the conservative peasant population was concerned, not only with forces outside the village but also with the failure of popular education to develop into "a bulwark of people rule."

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Granting then that a personal sampling of public opinion, conversation with both Communists and Agrarians in the village, and the rough approximation of election returns all added up to a fair statement of the case, Dragalevtsy would definitely be labeled an opposition village. In fact, before I had even revisited the village a number of people in Sofia had told me that I would find this to be the case. Therefore, as I went around among the people and watched the government in action, I asked myself how it happened that a minority could so easily gain control of all effective governmental machinery. The chief secret lay, of course, in capturing the central government in Sofia, which since 1934 had more and more become a dominant influence in the country. But there were other methods adopted by the Communists which, when multiplied in the five thousand villages throughout the land, would explain to some degree why Communism's knock on the door might be said to have turned into a banging. Some of these techniques of political power were proving successful in Dragalevtsy, while others were not. 668

Effective party work in the villages would normally be guaranteed and to some extent guided by the organs of the state, such as the controlled militia (police) and the hand-picked mayors and secretaries of the communal councils. But even with this provision all was not smooth sailing in Dragalevtsy for the newcomers back in 1945. The difficulties over the mayor would be a case in point. 668 622

In September, 1944, the Central Ministry of Interior appointed a young Communist as mayor. Because local public opinion was either indifferent or unfriendly his work was relatively ineffectual. The following July the members of the Agrarian party, which at that time still participated in the Fatherland Front, held a meeting to protest against their present mayor. They went even further and elected a mayor of their own choosing, with the backing of the mayor of Sofia who was well disposed toward their cause. Although this election was not declared legal, the new mayor took over and began to function. His status remained unclarified because the Communists in the Ministry of Interior did not feel sure enough of themselves to force the issue at that time. By December, 1945, the situation had become further complicated since the incumbent mayor lacked the education necessary

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622 668 to qualify for governmental retirement benefits and his former supporters were now a part of the opposition. Sofia, too, had a new mayor. It seemed to the village dignitary that all of his trouble was becoming a labor of love for which he would receive little financial return. Upon last report he was seeking a way out of office and was subject to a great deal of jesting in the taverns. The men all laughed one day in December, 1945, when a visitor from Sofia addressed him as "Mr. Mayor," because nobody knew at that time whether he was the mayor or not.

An office more important, however, than that of the mayor was that of the Commune Secretary. In Dragalevtsy this man was a Communist and, although he did not take the public limelight as much as a regular mayor would, he was the key person in the local government. Communist party matters frequently cleared through him, and he was in position to inform higher authorities about all phases of village government. Whereas the mayor's allegiance was primarily to the people of Dragalevtsy and secondarily to the Agrarian party, a luncheon conversation with the Secretary showed me that his loyalty was first of all to his party. Through serving it he felt he was best serving the people.

668 575 883 178 Part of the secret of Communist control in the local community lay in the success which the Communists had in enlisting the aid of many of the young people. In a traditionalistic society, such as one finds in Dragalevtsy, young people have no place of importance. Prestige is reserved for the old; and wisdom is the prerogative of the aged. Therefore a young person is constantly being urged to conform; and whatever idealism may flare up within him in his late teens becomes dissipated in the face of his placid parents and the other apostles of the past. The Communists showed real insight, therefore, in their glorification of the young people, in giving them a place in the sun, as it were. One of the first things they did was to get control of the *Chitalishte,* or Reading-Room Association, and use that as the core for their young people's program. In the house just back of the *Obshtina* they set up clubrooms where members of the *RMS* (Workers Youth Union) could hold meetings, study up on party doctrines, or loaf. The members of this particular organization, although not

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on which they operate. Demonstrations then should be worked out not so much to illustrate the ideal but to show how present practices can be improved with the utensils already at hand. If this is done the village women no longer could say, "Oh, I can't do that, for I don't have all those things the stranger had."

4. *Local leadership would be recognized and used.* A great mistake, too often made, is the assumption that the mayor[1], an outside governmental appointee, is the leader of the village in all respects. Every activity has its own local leaders. By skillful questioning the outsider can learn which women are most respected in their particular neighborhoods. Each of these could be asked to call a *sedenka* together for her neighborhood at a time convenient both to the specialist and the women. Before they sponsored any such novelty the leaders must be convinced of the worthwhile nature of the activity; and can then be taught to assume an important part in the demonstration.

5. *The new proposals could be fitted more easily into the fabric of everyday life.* Not only must the women be given the techniques but they must be given an ideology to accompany those techniques. They must have an answer ready for the doubting husband, the curious neighbor, the pooh-poohing mother-in-law. They must see that what they are asked to do bolsters up rather than tears down those social values which they consider essential to their way of life.

To illustrate, we may return again to the matter of postnatal care. Expectant mothers in Dragalevtsy hesitate to prepare layettes for the infants in advance. They feel that such behavior, presuming as it does that the baby will survive, would anger the powers that be; women must expect the worst because the worst so frequently occurs. This is a fundamental fact to be reckoned with in the teaching of infant care. Most public health nurses recognize this difficulty, but many try to eradicate it by telling the women how superstitious and how silly they are. The more positive approach would recognize the limitations and try to do at least these two things:

a. Insist that clean cloths, soap, and all other available equipment needed at childbirth and in early infancy be prepared and set aside in advance. None of these cloths should require sewing, since all pregnant women are forbidden to sew.

b. Tell the mothers-to-be how they can make simple, hygienic garments as soon as they recover sufficiently from the delivery, for there is no *tabu* against such action then. Once they understand how to make and use such special garments in place of the unsanitary swaddling clothes, some of them

[1] The national government which came into power in May, 1934, sent engineers and lawyers and other educated people into key villages as mayors to supplant the local peasants, who had been elected by their fellow villagers.

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poorer peasant wanted to keep his children home from school he would have to face the withering scorn of his neighbors. I cannot help contrasting this situation with that found in the South where truancy is a major educational problem arising from the mobility of the population, the distance between home and school, and the low place afforded education in the scale of social values. 871 105

Most young Bulgarian men after their eighteenth year are called upon to serve their country as *trudovatsi* (members of the Labor Corps) or as soldiers. The time they spend in the barracks not only widens their social contacts and broadens their outlook but also educates them in the formal sense to the extent that they take advantage of courses offered. In America the Civilians' Conservation Corps is roughly analogous, differing in that it is on a voluntary basis, pays the youth for work done, and is restricted to those young men from families of a low economic level.

The Bulgarian peasant has a dualistic view of the universe. First, there are the forces of good which must be propitiated. The priest is God's intermediary and can intervene with him in the event of a drought, serious illness in the family, or sterility in the wife. The priest christens the baby and sanctifies the marriage tie. In the event of death he performs the liturgy to insure the soul's passage into a heaven thought of in very realistic but not enthusiastic terms. 771 105

There are also the forces of evil whom it pays well to placate. A few old women in every village are the "priestesses of superstition" whose incantations work wonders and drive off the Evil Eye. Peasants do not discuss this white magic when the priest is around, so complete is the dichotomy between the Good and the Bad. Religion as represented by the church consists of form and ceremony rather than a challenge to daily living. Furthermore, the Bulgarian peasant derives little emotional release from an "other worldly" rapture indulged in on Sundays. He is too secure, too stolid, too practical for that. On the contrary, the insecurity of the Southern white is attested to by the increasing numbers adhering to the excitable Pentecostal type of religious expression.[*]

We hear much in the South today about suffrage reforms, abolition of the poll tax, government paternalism, and the failure of democratic processes. Since the same problems are being faced in Bulgaria a comparison may prove helpful.

Fifty years ago the villages were governed by elders, the influential heads of the larger families. After Bulgaria's Liberation from Turkey in 1878 the 622 105

[*] John B. Holt, Religious Secession and Class in the Southeast. A paper read before the Section on Sociology of Religion, annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, 1939.

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right to vote was gradually extended to the village men before these men had had the advantages of an adequate school system. They like ignorant people the world around were more influenced by personalities than by principles, thus becoming an easy prey to politicians who played upon their emotions, catered to their prejudices, and took advantage of their credulity. But vote they must or be fined approximately five dollars for staying away from the polls.

With an electorate so inexperienced in the democratic tradition, great confusion arose. For instance, there were sixteen political parties in a nation of six million, making it impossible for any party to get a clear majority. The only way government could go on was by a bloc composed of several parties, but even this was inefficient. Therefore in 1934 Bulgaria had a New Deal, a *coup d' etat* headed by some military men who initiated numerous agrarian reforms. No longer did the peasants vote and thereby control government policies; instead they were told what to do. Gradually those who had engineered this *coup d' etat* were displaced from power by the King, a dictatorship was averted, and two years ago[*] a semblance of democracy was again restored when the vote was given back to peasant men and mothers. Instead of allowing party affiliations the government organized the electorate on the basis of occupation, following the corporation system in Italy where parliamentary members represent an economic rather than a geographical constituency.

Watching the failure of democracy in Bulgaria has made me gravely concerned about the future of democracy in the South. I am strongly in favor of giving our disenfranchised groups the right to vote, but so many advocates of suffrage reform seem to forget the necessity of training these groups in the meaning and proper use of the ballot. Democracy is not a quantitative process which is better guaranteed by increasing the number of voters; it is a qualitative process which requires increasing understanding of the obligations of citizenship as well as extension of the franchise. Ignorant voters pave the way for demagoguery[*]; demagoguery creates a situation ripe for the dictator; dictatorships doom democracies.

Since 1934 the Bulgarian political philosophers have been floundering between democratic and dictatorial procedures but the peasant has been handed over to a new type of paternalism which has its analogy in the South. The central government in Sofia is represented in the village by a professional man, usually a lawyer, as mayor. This mayor acts as local justice of the peace; he takes advantage of every public occasion to tell the peasants in a fatherly way what they ought to do and think about matters of national importance.

[*] Parliamentary elections were held on the four Sundays of March, 1938 (*The New International Year-Book, 1938, Bulgaria*).

[*] A. F. Raper, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-169.

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The mayor has some influence with the Debt Commissions coming from government banks to relieve the debt burdens of the farmers, he distributes whatever relief is available for needy families, and he has a prominent part in the administration of the school, public health, and village improvements. Because of this he is gradually displacing the priest as the most important personality in the village. In other words, the paternalism of the church is now being supplanted by that of the state. 622 105

We find a similar situation in the South where white farmers are beginning to depend less upon landlords, banks, and advancing merchants, and more upon the grants from governmental units, whether in the form of relief or credit facilities. Plantation or small-town paternalism is yielding to governmental paternalism.

The Bulgarian peasant is not a joiner. He does not use the organizational approach in attacking a problem but prefers to work through informal groups. There are two chief reasons why he avoids membership in the numerous formal groups seeking the villagers' support: first, he is penurious and will pay no membership fee unless he sees some prospect of personal advantage; secondly, he does not understand the purpose or program of the organizations, since most of them originate in the cities and are promoted by the *intelligentsia.* There are no church organizations claiming his support as in the case in most Southern neighborhoods. Living in a village as he does the peasant can visit with friends and neighbors without the necessity of having an organization to provide a rallying place. 575 181

The Southern white thinks vertically; the Bulgarian peasant horizontally —a difference in mental pattern which accounts for the difference in social process.

By "thinking vertically" I mean that traditionally the Southern white is dominated by the attraction of the American ladder of opportunity, although for him it has often proved mythical.[20] That is, success in life is determined by the extent to which one approximates the plane of living enjoyed by those of a higher economic level. Climbing means competition rather than co-operation.[21] Frustration seems to be displacing the traditional, optimistic view among many of the Southern whites. They look up the ladder, but say, "What's the use of starting the climb!" As individuals they are pitted against forces over which they have no control.[22]

[20] H. C. Nixon, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Shows the traditional nature of this mind-set in speaking of the Old South: "Nonslaveowners expected to become small slaveowners, and small slaveowners expected to become large ones." The mythical aspect is shown nowadays by the phrase "once a sharecropper, always a sharecropper."

[21] Odum, *op. cit.*, pp. 585-586, emphasizes the need for county and/or community co-operation.

[22] Perhaps Populism in the late 19th century came as near creating a consciousness of kind among the rural whites as anything else has ever done.

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veniently arranged to be away from home. The villagers occasionally joked about the peasant who climbed a tree to escape the tax collector and had to remain in that uncomfortable predicament for many hours before the visitor left. But the Turks did recognize the traditional form of village government, or government by elders, and let the heads of the zadrugas, or large joint families, run village affairs to their liking. Most of the time, the head of the zadruga had to accept the responsibility for the deeds of all members of his family group.

These zadrugas were little principalities guided by a *stopanin,* usually the oldest male. His word was law; he distributed the work among the men, bought the necessities, sold the produce, and represented the zadruga before the outside world; therefore, the zadruga usually bore his name. Whenever a son, brother, or nephew of the *stopanin* married, he brought his wife back home to become a member of his zadruga. The wife of the *stopanin,* known as the *domakinya,* managed the housework. She kept the women busy making bread, cooking, washing, spinning, and weaving. Everything was owned in common. Work too was done in common, and whatever one earned outside was turned over to the *stopanin* for the common treasury. In return, all the members got clothes and food, which in those days were about all they expected to have.

After the death of the *stopanin,* the members met to select the next most capable male as their leader. At times, the *domakinya* took over the position of responsibility. Such was doubtless what happened in the case of Baba Dragana, or her prototype, since the ending of the word Dragalevtsy would indicate that it had been settled by a zadruga. The old joint family comprised married cousins descended from the same ancestor, with the result that it sometimes numbered as many as one hundred people.

When the older Dragalevtsy peasants talked to me of the zadruga, which persisted as late as 1880 in their village, they showed that wistfulness for the past which runs through the works of many Bulgarian writers. The zadruga was supposed to be a source of plenty and happiness to its members. One aged peasant listed for me the advantages of this joint family over the modern family. First of all, he said, it had great economy. The members had only one lamp,

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642 666 vibrant youth and living hope, her fling at democracy failed, primarily because ballots were given to peasants who were not being taught the meaning of citizenship in a national state.

178 623 Those interested in democracy have much to learn from the story of government in Dragalevtsy. At the outset the informal rule of the elders, which had been recognized by the Turks, was replaced by a commune or *obshtina* with regularly elected officials. At first these units included a number of villages. By 1890 the increase in population necessitated the breaking up of the larger *obshtini* so as to include only two or three villages. In other words, the pendulum was swinging back in the direction of greater local control, the swing being further accentuated after the First World War.

665 Political parties grew like mushrooms in Bulgaria. In 1930 the country had more than sixteen significant parties; in the village of Dragalevtsy, with its total population of about sixteen hundred, there [557] were six important parties with recognized leaders and platforms. To be a party leader in the village meant added prestige; to be one in the city or on a national scale meant power. In order for a Dragalevtsy man to become a local party leader he had to be acquainted with important people in Sofia. Even though he had only one influential friend in the city, he could persuade this man to come out and help organize a party. Other peasants were invited to the organizational meeting and officers were elected. Naturally, the one who took the initiative would be chosen to an important post. Because of the multiplicity of parties and the intense strife among them, many people throughout the country breathed a sigh of relief when the authoritarian government, which came into power on May 19, 1934, abolished by decree all political parties and started the practice of appointing university graduates as mayors in villages. This meant that the head of the government in a village was not dependent upon the will of the populace but had to produce results satisfactory to the officials over him. The breakdown of the party system was associated, especially as far as the conservative peasant population was concerned, not only with forces outside the village but also with the failure of popular education to develop into "a bulwark of people rule."

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623 Local administration of justice was not the only thing the mayor had changed. Upon his arrival in Dragalevtsy he had replaced the traditional Village Council, composed of peasants, with an Advisory Council, made up of other public officials. Later, when the national authorities wanted to restore the appearance of representative government they worked out a scheme for establishing a new Commune Council. They took care, however, to rid it of any candidates that they did not like.

666 623 On March 28, 1937, six councilors were elected for the Dragalevtsy commune: three from Dragalevtsy proper, two from Simeonovo, and one from the "quarter" near Sofia. In addition to these six, the following were ex officio members of the council: the mayor, the representative of merchants, the representative of the agricultural zadruga, the director of the school, the physician, and the veterinarian. To obtain its three members, the village of Dragalevtsy was divided into three districts, from each of which one representative was chosen. Any man over thirty and with an elementary school education who signed the following petition could nominate himself as a candidate for office.

To the Judge of the Commune
in the village of_____
County _____

PETITION

With this I wish to declare:

1. that I wish to offer my candidacy for a village councilor in the elections which will take place on _____ 19__ for the purpose of electing members of the commune councils.
2. that I offer my candidacy in _____ elective district of _____ commune _____ county.
3. that I do not belong to any secret or open organization forbidden by the laws of the country.
4. that I do not have ideas against the government, that I am not in favor of communist, anarchist or violent methods for social and political struggles.
5. that if I am elected as a commune councilor I will not favor any class, society, groups, nor will I serve my personal interests, and in my work I shall be guided by the common interests of the commune of which I am a member, and

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6. that I have been registered under No._____ in the election list of the commune. 666
I wish to have my candidacy recognized as legal and confirmed. 623
I enclose certificate No._____ from _____ 19__ year issued from _____ commune, which shows that:
(a) I have the right to elections (commune elections)
(b) that I am 30 years of age and have completed my military service (or the regular labor service)
(c) that I have completed _____ (education)
Village, City _____ year 19__

Respectfully:_____

The names of those wishing to run were posted publicly by the mayor; all the villagers had the opportunity to contest the fitness of any candidate; afterwards the mayor sent the names to Sofia with his own recommendations. The final decision was in the hands of the judge in Sofia. Thirteen Dragalevtsy men decided to stand for election. Three of these were rejected by the authorities. People from each district voted only for a candidate from their district. Mothers were the only women permitted to vote.

Before the election, with the permission of the mayor, the candidates were allowed to make speeches. After the election, as is frequently the case in countries elsewhere, some people were dissatisfied with the results and demanded a new election. However, everything seemed to go off in an orderly way and the voting was fairly done. This election, though, was the prelude to the national elections which were later held, resulting in the restoration, after a fashion, of the *Subranie,* or National Parliament.

Re-establishing a commune council seemed to be a very complicated affair to the average peasant, and afforded quite a contrast to his usual way of getting things done. In order to fulfill the law requiring ex officio members to represent the merchants and the agriculturists, two new organizations had to be started in the village before the time of the election. The merchants organized a Merchants' Association, had one or two meetings, elected a representative, and discussed general policies for the future. Although nothing definite had taken shape by the time I left the village, the merchants hoped to 623 441 241

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623 441 241 practice price-fixing, standardization of products, and the like. The representative appointed by the merchants was Ivan Katsarov, previously mentioned as a manager of one of the village taverns who appeared as a plaintiff in court. Furthermore, the farmers had to organize themselves into an association called a zadruga (which had no connection with the old form of joint family known by that name). Such organizations followed the Italian system of corporations under the Fascist regime and insured representation in government on the basis of occupation rather than political preference. These agricultural zadrugas worked well in theory around the council tables in Sofia, but met with resistance in the village. In the opinion of many leaders of co-operatives, the zadrugas ran counter to the strong co-operative movement which had already made such headway in Bulgaria. Their critics point out they not only struck at the very foundation of this movement, but also had the fault of being handed down from above instead of springing from natural needs in the village itself.

623 Should there have been a number of industrial laborers in the village they too would have had an ex officio member on the council. The presence of the other ex officio members on the council was easily understood. The doctors, the school director, and the mayor were expected by the national authorities to take an active part in deciding the policies of the village government. Such a council, in spite of the great furor connected with its formation, was still an advisory rather than a governing body.

In order to get a better understanding of the way government affected the life of the individual peasant, I sought answers to several questions.

651 *How were the taxes paid?* On February 25, July 25, and October 25, people were supposed to come to the *Obshtina* and pay taxes. Those who did not show up were summoned by the courier. If this summons went unheeded, the individuals were sent red notices reminding them that they had to pay within three or four days. If they failed to do this, the *Sekretar Birnik* made out a list of their possessions for a public sale which was held if the taxes remained unpaid. There had been several instances where goods were actually sold for failure to pay taxes, much to the shame of the people involved.

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622 the matter. The mayor was happily married to an attractive wife,
159 who dressed *po modata* (in the latest fashion) and kept her children so neat and proper that they contrasted vividly with the peasant urchins who ran up and down the unpaved streets.

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which always seemed picturesque to me, a foreigner. It was Zdravka 000
who told me how the women made their garments.

"Women's clothing is made chiefly by hand and of homemade 294
cloth. In the homes we have very few sewing machines, which only the young girls know how to run. Most of the outer garments for men are made by the village tailor. All of us can do the traditional [531]
embroidery patterns which make our dresses so pretty, but we do not have as much embroidery now as formerly; the old women cannot see to do it and the young people want modern things."

Then Yurdan told what clothing the peasants bought:

"The women buy *zabradki* [pieces of cloth for the head]; every 291
once in a while they also buy some flannel or silken goods, and shoes. The old women wear *kozhusi* [sheepskin coats], for which they provide the hides or buy them ready-made. Men also have to buy these *kozhusi* in addition to headwear called *kalpatsi* [pointed brimless caps], or cheap cloth caps. Many men buy ready-made suits, especially if they are unmarried, for use on holidays. Even they, when working in the fields, go back to the more durable homemade garments which do not tear so easily. They also buy some shirts and sweaters, or *shubi* [short overcoats with fur inside], and shoes. In general the tendency of the younger people is toward city dress."

I asked them why everybody dressed so much alike. Both of 626
them chuckled and told me about the time the daughter-in-law from 291
the wealthiest peasant household, who had spent some time in Sofia, 178
tried to appear in a distinctive style at a Sunday promenade, only to find that the next Sunday many other girls were wearing the same innovation. Zdravka concluded from this incident:

"No, there is not much individuality in dress, for whenever someone gets something new the others copy it. Especially the young unmarried girls try to buy or to make something new so as to attract attention. But all the rest, as soon as they see it, won't take time to eat until they have made the same thing so that the one possessing it will not feel that she is in a higher position than others. It is this which makes the richer girls most angry."

This led to a discussion of how changes of style had come to the village. This is what Yurdan said:

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"Since the World War there has been much change. Men stopped wearing their narrow white trousers which belted below the hips because they saw during the war that pants that belted above the hips were better. The women changed to lighter clothes because a woman from Vladaya [another village] came with others to visit here, married a Dragalevtsy man, and settled here. Other women saw that the clothes she wore were more convenient and began to adopt the new style."

The tailor's customers brought their own cloth. Five or six of the more fashion-minded young women brought dresses from other villages to be copied. A girl before marriage accumulated about twenty black *sukmani* (jumper dresses), all of the same pattern. She wore out about three of these a year. The men had one black and one rough everyday suit.

Much of the cloth was dyed at home by the peasants with the use of commercial dyes. Black was the universal color for men except in the case of the old style white trousers. If any man deviated from this fashion, people said mockingly, "You are a gypsy," thereby reminding him that he had better act like other people or run the risk of additional social disapproval.

291 565

Shoes in Bulgaria were definitely a sign of social rank. *Tsarvulin* or "sandal-wearer," once a common term for farmer or peasant, has been somewhat displaced by *selenin* or "villager." As a matter of fact, most men in Dragalevtsy continued to wear the pigskin sandals, whereas all self-respecting village women possessed a pair of cheap western shoes. Comically enough, they frequently walked barefoot and carried these uncomfortable badges of status. Just the same, these shoes periodically needed the services of a cobbler, who in Dragalevtsy happened to be the youngest married son of Bai Milush, a highly respected peasant proprietor. Three sons, their wives and progeny comprised part of the twenty people living in Bai Milush's patriarchal dwelling. As the land which will someday be divided up among the sons was limited, each son agreed to specialize along some particular line: the oldest was the dairyman, the middle son was the crop expert, and the youngest married son (and, incidentally, the most delicate in health) was a cobbler, whom the family agreed to send to a trade school in Sofia. Because he drove in his wooden pegs with the best of them, he was building up a profitable business in the village.

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CHAPTER VIII

FAMILISM, A CHANGING WAY OF LIFE

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THE DAY at last arrived when I could anticipate the peasants' answers to most of the questions that I asked them. When I inquired what they would do if they had five hundred dollars to spend, I could list in advance the items they would name. The older people, especially, thought and acted largely in terms of the Dragalevtsy of the "good old days," when life was lived in a *familistic* way because the family played the major role in the community. When I understood the characteristics of familism, as a result of observing and reading about peasant life in other parts of the world, the many interesting but isolated facts I had noticed in Dragalevtsy began to make sense and to form a pattern. In a familistic society, whether it is in the Balkans or China, life is largely customary and traditional. Individualism is discouraged because of the crises that the unusual person creates in the daily routine. People prefer a dead uniformity, or a leveling of the best toward the mediocre. The family plays the leading part in this task of molding an individual into the accepted pattern. From childhood to old age the kinship group brings pressure to bear upon any nonconformist, since the family as a whole loses prestige in the community if a member gets out of hand. The family, too, is the chief training ground for the young, and parents cannot blithely transfer any responsibility of this sort to an outside agency such as the school or the church. Village opinion holds the parents accountable.

[626]

Furthermore, economic life is centered about the family. Since family members grow or make for themselves most of the things they need, they depend only to a minor degree upon stores, factories, and other commercial agencies. The family is the productive, distributive, and consumptive unit. This is one reason why village families can weather so many wars and so many depressions: they can satisfy most of their immediate wants at home.

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668 attempted assault was an experience which would be told and retold
186 generation after generation, with some such bitter moral at the end as "And those were our brother Slavs."

668 Perhaps the most important technique of control was the effective
●626 play upon the fears of the people. Fearful people are a paralyzed people, and it was this creeping paralysis which was beginning to wear down the opposition and make possible Communism's eventual triumph. Sometimes events reached such a climax that fear was turned into action, but matters in December, 1945, were not reaching such a climax. Little by little the people were being made more fearful of the future, especially with the decline of British and American prestige. One never knew when the walls might have ears, or whom one could trust, or when one's home would be invaded and searched. One woman Communist spread a story about a neighbor's hoarding; he was twice arrested and his house searched three times, although the rumor was apparently unfounded. Grudges were sometimes "settled" when one of the parties tipped off the authorities to the failure of the other party to follow some unpopular regulation. Accompanying this fear was the belief that one would not have due protection of the law at a trial, since the new law was being written as cases came up, with little reference to prewar statutes or precedents. One was at the mercy of the court where the all-important question too often had become, "Did you or did you not fight against the Fascist German hordes?" Conceivably in the not-too-distant future the "sixty-four dollar question" might be, "Have you ever been sympathetic to Anglo-American interventionists and reactionaries?"*

When I asked my Communist acquaintances how they justified the interpretation of justice which I have been describing, they flashed back, as though well drilled: "But in America does the Negro or the poor man get justice? Don't the courts serve the interests of the rich? Here in Bulgaria our courts do not serve the interests of the privileged, but rather the good of the masses." I already knew that some of these Communist converts had been motivated by the highest idealism, that they felt they had a remedy for the economic and political evils of their country, and that any means they used to correct those evils would

* An observation made in 1946, which has become only too true in 1948.

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be justified in their opinion. They argued further that all social change was costly, and they firmly believed that the time was ripe for change, their kind of a change.

Many of them felt confident of the future, but some qualified their anticipation by saying, "It all depends upon America and England. If we are left alone, we can work matters out. We want no interference." And as I reviewed the methods by which they attained their present dominant position nationally in the face of hostile opinion in many quarters, I could see that if left alone for a long enough period, they would succeed in instituting the changes they wanted, whatever might be the cost. They controlled the national government and could rely upon Russia for help whenever needed; they were making headway with the young people; they increasingly directed the chief decisions made by village councils and through these councils and secret police knew what was happening throughout the land; they had control over the radio and were biding their time until they could also control the press completely; education was a function of the national government; economic dependence of the peasants upon the local and national authorities was increasing, and there were both tangible and intangible rewards for Communist party membership; fears could be aroused or played down as the government desired, and courts had become not the servant of abstract justice but the instrument of the state.

The time element was of utmost importance. Before the Russian armies left Bulgarian soil upon the conclusion of the peace treaty, the Communists had to have everything well in hand or face the possibility that dissatisfied cliques in the old Bulgarian army could step in to throw the Communists out and set up a military dictatorship which, while anti-Russian, would certainly have few of the earmarks of the democracy known in the West. It would be a recrudescense of irredentist nationalism, and Bulgaria would be on sale to the highest bidder promising to keep the Russian bear at bay. Without the army the Agrarians, who had a realistic, well-thought-out program, would be powerless; but reliance upon the army for a long period would negate most of their plans and make them the bulwark of a dictatorship which they professed to abhor. Such was the unfortunate dilemma

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668 do. Owing to the Communistic agitation in Dragalevtsy, lines were
578 more sharply drawn between the peasants on the one hand and the
554 artisans on the other. Most of the artisans had learned their trade in
178 Sofia, had been subjected to city influences, and many of them had become acquainted with Communist ideas there before the war. Even Bai Milosh, the village patriarch so frequently mentioned in this account, had a son who had become an ardent Communist. This son was not the one who took over the management of field crops, nor the one responsible for the livestock. Instead he had become a cobbler. He thought of himself as a worker, whereas his brothers thought of themselves as farmers.

668 Quarreling between the young and old also characterized the
578 factionalism. Although the Agrarian young people opposed the
178 Communists, they were certainly influenced by the actions of their
[888] more progressive or radical contemporaries. The older peasants who were opposed to the present regime emphasized time and time again the danger of having young people run the affairs of the land. This displacement of the aged rather than the indifference of Communists to God seemed to be causing the gravest concern to those who had been steeped in the traditional way of life.

But factionalism was not the only pronounced change which I
668 noted. I found everywhere an insecurity which was foreign to the
178 Dragalevtsy I had once known. The opposition supporters could be
126 expected to feel insecure, for they had to face the possibility that Communism would carry the day. But even the Communists who were definitely in the good graces of the party were having many troubled moments. The wife of one Communist was active in the opposition, and when I asked him why he tolerated such political division in his family he simply laughed. I continued to question him: "Aren't you the boss in this family? Why do you let your wife have such independence?"

He then became deadly serious and sought to lead me out of my cloud of ignorance. "You see, it's this way. Suppose the Communists are overthrown. Where would I be then? But if my wife is active in the Agrarian group, she can then speak for me and get me out of trouble."

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But some of the peasants who turned Communists were having 668
their days of religious doubt. They asked quite frequently, "Can we 178
be Communists and still believe in God?" They voluntarily sent 626
their children to the priest's class in religion held in the schoolhouse. "And the Communist children know their lessons better than the children of the opposition," was the opinion of a member of the intelligentsia.

The ideas of many new converts to the Marxist doctrine had been [789]
rudely shaken the previous summer at the time of the church processional for rain. The drought had been devastating. Corn was drying up; pastures were turning brown. So a band of villagers, with some Communists who went along for old times' sake, accompanied the priest on a circuit of the fields. The boys carried the church relics and the priest walked faithfully along in his hot, black vestments. No rain came and the Communists thoroughly enjoyed scoffing at those who had started out with such bright hopes. Conditions grew worse and worse, so the religious leaders thought another processional in order. The whole performance was repeated, with Communists along again. This time the priest went up high on the mountainside, so as to include village properties not previously visited. His prayers were efficacious, for a shower which later turned to steady rain burst forth upon the band of villagers, wetting them to the skin before they could return to shelter in the village. The religious people thus had the last word when atheism was discussed.

The prevalent feeling of insecurity included more, however, than 668
beliefs and basic attitudes about religion and politics. It stemmed 178
also from the economic uncertainty which characterized the period. 626
Always lurking in the peasant's consciousness was the fear that his 423
holding, his precious acres, would be collectivized as was done in 829
Russia. It mattered not to him that his farming was inefficiently done or that such inefficiency was no solution for the overpopulation which characterized his land. He wanted no part of a great impersonal *kolkhoz* where in the long run he would become a worker instead of an owner, or where he would work land which he could not call his own. That to him was serfdom; it was not freedom. And discussions of these topics trailed off into many beside-the-point objections, which

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668 nevertheless seemed important to the peasant. I recall one such
178 discussion which dealt with the idea of a shortened work-week at the
● 626 factories. The peasants disapproved of the whole plan and used it
429 as a basis for condemning land collectivization because "We want to
829 be able to work as long as we want without having people tell us that we have to stop working."

Peasants were greatly confused, therefore, over the farm policies to be pursued in the next two or three years. They planned and schemed and talked endlessly about what they should plant, what they should do about their debts, or whether the aged fathers should distribute their land to their sons before they died. But always there was the great unknown of government policy which upset their calculations and kept them insecure.

668 Another important social change was occuring in the institutional
178 pattern of Dragalevtsy. In earlier chapters we noted how the en-
596 croachment of the state was making considerable impact upon the traditional familistic patterns, while economic life was becoming more commercialized and religious activities were declining in importance. The coming of the Communists had begun to weaken the family ties even further, for the Fatherland Front had given votes to all women and had thus attacked the dogma of male supremacy; it had honored the young at the expense of the aged; and it had turned brother against brother as the struggle for control grew more bitter. As the representative of the central government, the Fatherland Front was affecting an even larger area of life than the prewar regime did, especially when its economic regulations and its threat to the hallowed traditional system of landownership.

668 Another disturbing effect was the substitution of Moscow as
771 the center of the universe, for the Communist adherents at least, when
178 formerly Dragalevtsy or perhaps Sofia by courtesy was thought to be
829 the center. These innovations of the present government had done much to prejudice it in the eyes of the people, who made decisions not upon the basic issues which the government was striving to champion, but resisted blindly and perhaps fanatically simply because the new regime spelled the end of their way of life. As they realized this, some of the peasants turned more and more to the church, the institu-

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
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ration. At any rate, the Holy Synod was soon reechoing every 659 783
banal attack on Anglo-American imperialism and applauding every appeal for the Moscow version of "peace." In the summer of 1949, its official journal expressed regret that the center of Roman Catholicism (the Vatican) and the heartland of Protestantism (the United States) had of their own free will blessed a new war and sung the praises of the atomic bomb.

These various attitudes received final binding expression 659
in the series of resolutions on relations between Church and 793
State which the Holy Synod adopted on September 20, 1948: 626
the clergy were authorized to join pro-Communist organizations and to support the collective farm system; government decrees prohibiting the teaching of religion in the schools were endorsed; all priests were warned not to make any statement from their pulpits which might be considered to be political. The Synod assured the government that it stood ready to cooperate in any measure "for the reform of society in accordance with the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity." For the seventieth birthday of Stalin it addressed a letter, dated December 12, 1949, to all pastors urging them to conduct Divine services for the welfare of the great Russian leader. It also formally endorsed the peace plea with all its might and main.

Yet all this does not mean that the rank and file of the Bulgarian Orthodox clergy betrayed their faith without a struggle. It took the pro-Communist Union of Orthodox Priests a long while to recruit members. Watched constantly by the security police, removed from office for dissident attitudes, often sent to slave-labor camps, the clergy witnessed with foreboding the working out of policies designed to seduce youth, secularize all welfare activity, and subject all preaching, whether oral or written, to censorship by an uncompromisingly Marxist ideological authority. Eventually only one theological school, at Plovdiv, was permitted to remain open. Two theological jour-

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
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659 nals, one of them the organ of the Communist-dominated
793 Synod, made propaganda at the government's behest. Every-
626 one who gave any indication of fidelity to the Christian creed in its true significance and glory had to reckon with the possibility that he would speedily be sentenced to one of the dreaded prisons—Kolarovgrad, for example—which were always crammed with the unfortunate victims of tyranny.

659 The Orthodox Church having been transformed into an ab-
798 ject lackey of the State, Communist wrath descended on the religious minorities. Protestants were the first victims. Missionaries had come to Bulgaria from Turkey, and had established schools which, despite wars and upheavals, gave a good education to boys and girls. An exemplary woman introduced the kindergarten system and trained native teachers. By the close of World War I, hostility to Protestants had pretty largely died down; and although the small congregations did not grow rapidly they successfully maintained their identities. Their pride and joy was the American College, situated near Sofia. It was closed by the Nazis in 1942 and has not been reopened. The work of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. was suppressed at the same time, and the Communist regime has not lifted the prohibition.

The legislation adopted during February, 1949 (often re-
ferred to as the Canonical Purity Laws) contained a number
648 of provisions designed to render impossible any religious activity under the auspices of a Church or institution with headquarters outside Bulgaria. It stipulated, for example, that any Church or any clergyman desiring "canonical relations with or aid or gifts from" institutions, organizations, or official personages abroad must secure permission in advance from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. It was presumably under this legislation that fifteen Protestant pastors were brought to trial for high treason during 1949. It was the first large-scale action

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trees above, pitiful reminders of a once-proud forest. A hurried mountain stream called Dragalevtsy River passes through the village and, in doing so, turns the grist mills and assists with the washing of clothes. 133

A mile to the east of Dragalevtsy is Simeonovo, a settlement decidedly run-down at the heel. It was here that I spent a busy morning trying to explain to two villagers that the earth was really global rather than flat. Farther on around the shoulder of the mountain is Bistritsa, where the people are said to sing as they dance the *horo:* 186

> "There is no city more populous than Sofia,
> There is no river more majestic than the Iskar,
> There is no mountain more lofty than Vitosha."

This is an accurate illustration of ethnocentrism, or the belief prevalent among most people that they, and they alone, are the center of the universe and God's chosen children.

My usual approach to the village was across the unfenced fields and up the mountainside. Sometimes I came along the dull road from Sofia. By either way, the great mountain, changing color from hour to hour, was a rest to the eyes. The way across the fields led one gently into the village through patches of vegetable gardens and clumps of overhanging fruit trees. Upon entering the village from the direction of Sofia I passed the cemetery and then was closed in between whitewashed walls which lined the curving streets. Animals also felt much at home in these streets. Just before sunset the village goatherd headed the two hundred animals in his care toward the settlement. Into Renaissance Square they trotted, a capering mass of gray, black, and white. At each street several goats detached themselves from the rest to run unguided into their respective dwellings. The same scene occurred when the pigs came squealing home. At other times of day peasant girls passed by carrying washing to be pounded on rocks and dipped into the icy water of Dragalevtsy River. Hikers, many of them, lounged around Bai Penko's, or tramped through the streets obviously amused at the manners of the peasants. 631 ● [231]

Few things were as dependent upon the weather as the state of the village streets: muddy beyond description in the autumn and spring, 132

669 Bulgaria and keep them in readiness for an eventual military invasion of their native country. It is this latent danger which incited the neighbouring Balkan States to make such persistent efforts at Sofia for the dissolution of the Macedonian organisation. The removal of this ever present peril of war through the sudden incursion of Macedonian bands in Yugoslav, or Greek territory, has vastly increased the chances of a Bulgaro-Yugoslav rapprochement and promoted the work of pacification in the Balkans. Even if the Gheorghiev Cabinet had left no other record of its activities than this suppression of the Macedonian organisation, this would be sufficient for it to have secured a valid claim to the gratitude of all peace loving men and of the Bulgarian people above all. For the activities of the revolutionaries made themselves felt in Bulgaria far more than abroad, frequent murders, blackmailing, terrorism, flouting of justice, disregard for the prestige of the State's authority by the adherents of the revolutionary organisation, rendered its survival in Bulgaria a public danger and a factor of demoralisation, since the crimes and abuses its votaries committed were but very rarely punished.

•631 663 Another laudable reform was the reduction of the administrative districts from sixteen to seven, while the rural communes, numbering 2552, were reduced to 800 approximately. This change will not only effect a diminution in the administrative staff and an economy in expenditure, estimated at between 80 to 100 million leva annually, but will also permit of a more rational economic organisation of the country. By regrouping the rural communes 632 and lessening their numbers, more resources will be avai- 663 lable for the communal autorities to carry on their work with more effectively. The perpetual feuds between villages over the possession of communal lands over which so much treasure and time was spent have ceased as if by

NEW BROOMS SWEEP CLEAN

enchantement, since by this reform rival villages have been incorporated in the same commune. These rivalries were encouraged and promoted by the politicians who hitherto made themselves indispensable to the villagers as intercessors with the authorities in their judicial disputes, and constituted a large source of revenue for all political partisans to the detriment naturally of the rural population. Communes henceforth are to have a population of at least 5000 and they will be governed by mayors appointed by the central government, on whom all authority will devolve. Mayors will choose their advisers from amongst the local notables, teachers and priests. The Government has decided to appoint as mayors, men with a university training in law, active and capable who by their example and by their knowledge will be able to raise the cultural level of the villages. They will be empowered to settle all disputes involving sums less than 2,000 leva among the villagers, thus expediting the course of Justice and settling quarrels rapidly. The perpetual drain of intellectual forces from the country to the towns, which had tended to deplete the rural districts of most intelligent forces, and which accounts for their relative backwardness, has now been fortunately reversed and one may hope for a certain improvement in rural conditions as a consequence of this reform. 632 663 [369]

This administrative reform had been advocated by many social thinkers but never carried out, for it did not suit the political parties to curtail official posts and functions in which they could accommodate their partisans. M. A. Yaranov in his „Bulgaria to-day and to-morrow," a book published in 1928, recommended for instance the suppression of at least four administrative districts, as likely to secure an economy of some 100 million leva per annum and to render 550 government posts superfluous. Even the Radical party had advocated similar curtailments, but 631 663

631 663 no government had ever decided to apply such a programme of retrenchment voluntarily and deprive itself of the privilege which the dispensation of posts brought to it. For it must not be forgotten that the politicians held the electorate by the hope of office and the civil service by fear of dismissal from their posts.

645 663 Another administrative reform was a decrease in the number of Ministries. That of railways, posts and telegraphs, has been merged with that of Public Works into a Ministry of Communications, while those of Agriculture, and of Commerce and Industry have been fused into the Ministry of National Economy. This change will not only effect an economy in the personnel, but will obviate the necessity of duplicating similar work and services and generally simplify and expedite the work of the institutes. While the placing of the Ministries of Industry and Agriculture under the same management will greatly facilitate the work of reconciling rival and often contradictory policies, which hitherto prevented the adoption of a rational general plan. Cuts and economies were effected in all branches of the administrations, the Ministers themselves setting the example by reducing their salaries by 50 %, an example which was followed by managers of both State and private banks and other institutions.

663 475 316 On July 12, 1934 less, than two months from his assuming power, M. Kimon Gheorghiev announced in a public speech that his government had licensed 6220 public functionaries and effected economies in the budget amounting to a minimum of 385 million leva. The efficiency with which the work of overhauling the functioning of the administration was carried out may be gauged by the report on the management of the Pernik coal mine, which is an autonomous institution under State control. The new directors found that the former Agrarian Minister Ghitsev, under whose province came the supervising of

669 Bulgaria and keep them in readiness for an eventual military invasion of their native country. It is this latent danger which incited the neighbouring Balkan States to make such persistent efforts at Sofia for the dissolution of the Macedonian organisation. The removal of this ever present peril of war through the sudden incursion of Macedonian bands in Yugoslav, or Greek territory, has vastly increased the chances of a Bulgaro-Yugoslav rapprochement and promoted the work of pacification in the Balkans. Even if the Gheorghiev Cabinet had left no other record of its activities than this suppression of the Macedonian organisation, this would be sufficient for it to have secured a valid claim to the gratitude of all peace loving men and of the Bulgarian people above all. For the activities of the revolutionaries made themselves felt in Bulgaria far more than abroad, frequent murders, blackmailing, terrorism, flouting of justice, disregard for the prestige of the State's authority by the adherents of the revolutionary organisation, rendered its survival in Bulgaria a public danger and a factor of demoralisation, since the crimes and abuses its votaries committed were but very rarely punished.

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The attitude of the peasants toward government dates from the days of Turkish rule, when the chief aim of a citizen was to deceive the tax collector. The same spirit was still prevalent in Dragalevtsy in 1937. Furthermore, government had taken such a large share in the affairs of daily life that the peasants had come to feel that government, rather than individual effort, should introduce any reforms or improvements. Typical attitudes were the following: 641

"In general we have enough sense to know that government is necessary, but we do not expect any favors from it except to keep peace and order and to settle disputes."

"Government exists primarily to collect heavy taxes for the purpose of paying high salaries to high officials."

"Laws are things to be written in books and not to be obeyed. There are so many laws that we don't know them. The officials don't even know them. So we don't have much faith in laws."

While these political changes were occurring, things were happening to the large individual family which had come into being with the breaking up of the zadruga. Some of the forces had already been at work before the Liberation but became more evident with the westernization of the country. The impact of westernization was shown by the fact that the Bulgarians still said when they were going to western Europe, "I am going to Europe." That is, psychologically they still felt identified with the Near East, although they were more and more exposed to the material achievements of Euro-American culture. Education, whatever may have been its shortcomings, had spread rapidly and brought many individualizing tendencies; there had been an increase in commerce, which made it difficult for large family units to be as self-sustaining as formerly. The wars also, by quickening social mobility, proved harmful to the large families. One of the younger men listening in on a group of old cronies in their endless discussions of the good old days summed up the change: 178 596

"During the war [1915-1918] and after, people traveled more to other places and saw how people lived there, so we have become more modern and started dividing our estates according to the fashion. We can now live more quietly and peacefully by living separately."

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with a relationship as deep-rooted as that of the Balkan peasant to his land, he is also creating the seeds out of which a spontaneous resistance movement could grow. There is little evidence of collectivization at present, but the peasants are not convinced that it is not just around the corner. 668 423 471

Then too, the Balkan peasants, especially in the settled agricultural areas, have not taken kindly to Communism because they characterize it as an urban movement. When seasoned Communists try to converse with peasants about the merits of the Russian system their factory-oriented dialectic falls flat. Nor have they developed an agricultural vocabulary with which to communicate intelligibly with the rural people. The more the Balkan Communists talk, the more the peasants are convinced of the urban orientation of the new government. They consider it anti-Agrarian and anti-peasant. In an attempt to overcome this reserve to their program the Communists organize deputation teams of artisans who spend Sundays out in carefully selected villages helping the peasants repair their wagons, mend their pots and pans, or they even bring along a corps of barbers to cut the villagers' hair. The spirit behind such a move is to have the artisans show by their deeds, "You see, we are your friends. We're all brother Bulgarians [or Yugoslavs, as the case may be]." But it takes more than this to sell such a radical program as Communism to the capitalistic-minded peasant. 668 369 829

The rural villagers elsewhere in the Balkans, as well as in Dragalevtsy, resent the term worker. Newspapers studiously attempt to get the worker ideology accepted by the rural citizens, but the social statuses of the peasant and the worker are such that the government is asking the former to step down a rung, in the peasant's estimation. So Communism is thought to represent a backward rather than a forward move, and is related to the all-important matter of land: the peasant generally possesses it, whereas the worker is usually landless.

Many analyses of the Balkan problems play up rightly the role of the church, whether it be Eastern Orthodox or Roman Catholic, in the peasants' lack of enthusiasm for Communism. Others stress the generations-old nationality antipathies which have some influence. Certainly Pan-Slavism is not paying high dividends in rural areas in 668 641 186

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spite of heroic efforts by Russian ballet and athletic troupes who tour the provinces of all the Balkan lands. Other writers seek to show that modern Communism is merely a fulfillment of the traditional Communism of the zadruga, but they fail to point out that the zadruga was built around the family and land owned by that family, whereas modern Communism is centered around an impersonal state and ideology. To shift their loyalties from the family to such a state or to replace their religion with a new ideology is asking a great deal of the relatively inelastic peasant mass. State loyalties in the past were built upon joining the army and fighting, even to death, when one's country was threatened, but in times of peace one returned to the native village and had as little as possible to do with the national government after that. But the new turn of events in the Balkans seeks to whip up enthusiasm for the government, morning, noon, and night, when all that the peasants ask is "Please leave us alone."

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The future seems to hold little peace for the landed peasants. Russia is in the Balkans to stay. Granting no American armed intervention, only some great upheaval in the heart of Russia itself could weaken the grip of the present National Front governments to the point that the opposition in the Balkan countries could take over the control. Given enough time, the Communists can coerce compliance and can train up a new generation which would enthusiastically repudiate the past, thereby consolidating the Communist position.

The process will, however, not be one-sided. The peasants of the Balkans will in turn influence Communism and indirectly help fashion a type which, like Chinese Communism, is somewhat different from that imported from the Kremlin. (Since this was originally written, Tito's failure to push the collectivization of the Yugoslav peasants has gotten him into trouble with Moscow.)

Americans then must more and more regard the area as Russian-occupied, a conquest of war, which the Reds will continue to dominate because of their advantageous diplomatic and geographic position. Out of their occupation Russian sympathizers have argued that two decided gains would come: the lessening of the nationality and ethnic differences, which have heretofore been such a fertile field of ex-

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crime against the state and put within the proscription of Communist criminal law. Any transgression on the part of a worker is, therefore, a direct offense against the state authority. It is easily understandable why Communist criminal law has engulfed the great part of matters which usually pertain to labor legislation, and why even the latter is punitive rather than protective in character.

The basic legal documents related to labor law and relations in Communist Bulgaria are the constitution,[7] the Code of Labor[8] and the Statute of the Trade Unions.[9] They, of course, are supplemented by various acts which, according to the Communist doctrine of "normative acts,"[10] can and do supersede previous legislation, no matter what governmental body originated them.

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According to the constitution, labor, besides being "a right," is "a duty and a point of honor for every able-bodied citizen. It is the duty of every citizen to engage in socially useful labor and to work according to his powers and ability."[11] Of course, it is the government which enforces the observance of this constitutional norm and establishes the "social utility" of the work done. In practice, "the duty to work" is exemplified in the complete regimentation of Bulgaria's labor force.

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Two governmental agencies, the Office of Labor Cadres and the Main Board of Labor Reserves, are especially entrusted with the registration, distribution, recruitment and complete control of all available manpower from 14 years of age upward. Their basic tasks are, in Communist language, "to register the available labor force by finding and keeping at hand, through registration, all employed and unemployed workers; to find them appropriate jobs and, with respect to the fulfillment of the Five-Year Economic Plan, to meet the needs of the industrial, constructional, and other enterprises by guaranteeing to them the necessary manpower . . . . Workers who leave their jobs arbitrarily and without excusable

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[8] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year II, No. 91, November 13, 1951, in Bulgarian.

[9] *Ustav na Professionalnite Suyuzi v Narodnata Republica Bulgaria* (Statute of the Trade Unions in the People's Republic Bulgaria), approved by the Third Congress of the Bulgarian trade unions, December, 1951 (Sofia: *Profizdat*, 1952), in Bulgarian.

[10] In Communist jurisprudence, any act of a central governmental authority prevails upon preceding legislation, without distinction of formal superiority. The "doctrine of normative acts" is summarized in United States Department of Labor bulletin cited at footnote 1, pp. 5 and 6.

[11] Art. 73.

an amnesty commuting or completely abrogating such sanctions as had been inflicted on their partisans for the illegalities committed by them. The Minister of Justice pointed out on December 29, 1931, that since 1881, 35 amnesties had been voted. There was no deterrent to crime, and this is why crime is more prevalent among the State functionary class than among any other in Bulgaria, since the Bulgarians are certainly the most moral and honest people in the Balkans, and it was the perversity, short-sightedness and cynical selfishness of the politicians, which was leading them astray. This deplorable state of affairs was the inevitable consequence of the malevolent foreign influences to which Bulgaria was subjected, and of the too-advanced political Constitution, with which she suddenly found herself endowed; for centuries of slavery do not constitute a good training for the rational exercise of liberty. This combination of adverse circumstances has led to a catastrophe, which is at once political economic and moral, and which seems almost complete, for the Bulgarians are beginning to lose faith in themselves.

The same portents that heralded the downfall of the first and second Bulgarian empires, became again visible. Antagonism between the people and the State was increasing, the people had lost faith in their leaders, who were incapable of sacrificing their private ambitions for their nation's welfare, or of emerging from that stifling atmosphere of personal squabbles and intrigues, in which they lay enwrapped. The counterpart of the rascally boliars of yore was supplied by the demagogues of the Agrarian party, who, like the tyrant in Plato's „Republic" considered „that it is easiest to rule over a hard pressed community for the taxes they have to pay will impoverish them, so that they will be compelled to give their minds to getting their daily bread, and not to conspiring against him," and who do not scruple to instigate the masses to appropriate

661 the hard-earned property of their political opponents, the-
641 reby driving the more stable elements to aggressive re-
action. The problem of renovation is all the more difi-
cult owing to the national psyche having been perverted
181 by centuries of slavery. It turned the Bulgarian peasant
into an extreme egotist, into a man who had no notion
of what social solidarity connoted. Excluded for so long
from participation in public affairs, he came to view them
with extreme suspicion, as something separate from his
existence and antagonistic to his private interests. Being
treated by the Turk as he was previously by his own
nobles, and actually by the inteligentsia as an inferior, he
came to consider himself as a being apart, in opposition to
all the world.

Experience taugh him that wealth was the only means by which he could improve his position, and ensure for himself a measure of respect. Hence his grasping and individualistic propensities. His extreme individualism makes him refractory even to Socialism, for he feels that his instincts are in harmony with anarchism, rather than with the methodical theories of Karl Marx.

641 The Bulgarian has further developed another lamen-
181 table characteristic: that of a boundless disrespect for the
law. The law was looked upon as an instrument of extor-
tion, to be used by those in power for their own ends and
to be modified or broken by them at their own pleasure.
The law has never been for the Bulgarian a system under
which the rights of the individual were safeguarded. The
widely-diffused notion among members of advanced com-
munities that the law embodies the common conscience
and the common interest, not only has not percolated into
the depths of the nation, but has not even penetrated the
superficial strata of its leading circles, and until recently
one witnessed the most iniquitous illegalities being com-
mitted by the party in power, which abuses, though they

rouse to fever-heat the indignation of the foreigner, leave the Bulgarian indifferent. It is this lack of public spirit and an extreme self-centredness which renders him apathetic to the wrongs inflicted on others, and which prevent the creation of an alert public opinion capable of checking such misdeeds as the country has been suffering from. 641 181

Such is the social inheritance of the Bulgarian. It is with such a mentality that he has emerged to free life. It would be erroneous however, to assume that psychically the Bulgarians stand at a lower level than their neighbours, or that being a backward people they deserved the dismemberment they sustained by the Treaties of Berlin and Neuilly, to the profit of the other Balkan peoples who are more or less of the same mentality, and what is worse, do not excel by those stirling household virtues of the Bulgarians, that go some way to counterbalance their shortcomings, which could be eradicated by a proper system of education. 181

The high level of the spate of demagogy which submerged Bulgaria was attained soon after the termination of the world war, when her enemies had disarmed her and when, through the weakening of the military factor, the peasant politician Stambuliiski, secured complete control of the state machine. The country then experienced all the horrors of a jacquerie. The evils engendered by the Agrarian regime are tersely set forth by Kosturkov, the capable and outspoken leader of the former Radical party, in a speech delivered in the Sobranye on Sept. 4, 1925: „With few exceptions every Bulgarian government had sown the seeds of corruption and demoralisation, they also however left some positive creative work to their credit. Stambuliiski's regime, however, has left behind an indelible furrow of corruption which it will take scores of years to remove; it is a moral scar that will be most difficult to cure. Moral perversion has been disseminated by the authorities along 661

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village and start inundating them in a spate of demagogic rhetoric. The orators of each political group would start vituperating and abusing their rivals, thus undermining completely the prestige of the intellectuals until the peasantry came to look on all with undisguised hatred and contempt. There has not been an example of such a deep cleavage within a people in recent times except in Tsarist Russia, with the well-known consequences, and if something is not done to assure the peasantry that the State will henceforth uphold and protect their interests, and instil in them the conviction that the abuses of the past are definitely over, we may well be anxious as to the future, for however self-sacrificing and patriotic the rulers of Bulgaria may be, the task they have shouldered is a stupendous one and the organs they must depend on for carrying it out are not as reliable as could be wished. And yet it is through the efforts of this „intelligentsia" that the country will have to work its way upwards, for the salvation of countries, the evolution of which has been retarded, depends on the predominance of urban civilisation over rural backwardness.

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It is of undoubted interest to record the views of one of the leaders of the sole political party which was actuated by a true conception of democratic principles and which persistently upheld them, but which failed to rally round it sufficient supporters to impose them because the Bulgarian elector expected to get some direct advantages in exchange for his vote, a practice the Bulgarian Radicals always denounced and fought against.

Thus M. Kosturkov speaking in the Sobranye on December 21, 1926 said among other things:

„We are with servile souls. A nation impregnated with a sense of freedom and having a sense of self-respect does not allow the authorities to usurp its liberty and its rights. It is always ready to place its rulers in their due place. I am not indignant at the servi-

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lity of the masses but at that of the greater part of the intelligentsia, and it is in disgust that I hear their servile speeches when in presence of influential men. According to me none can equal our average man for his envy and our demagogues exploit to the utmost this sentiment. Instead of combatting this inherent defect we make capital out of it in our political struggles. Another national defect is our greed which we exploit and excite. We lack all sense of measure, we are extremists with an anarchic individualism that has no equal. All these defects are being fostered by our politicians and the Bulgarian who is by nature most peaceful is being made pugnacious by our dremagogues who rouse his low instincts and incite him against his brethren. Bulgarians love science and knowledge and they should be guided towards this goal, for while absorbed in creative work their bad instincts will slumber. Although very suspicious, if once confidence is instilled they become extremely credulous. So long as a government uses force there will be no pacification in Bulgaria. Only democracy will give a government of order. Violence and hatred does not create anything lasting but on the contrary will further deepen the existing chasm between rulers and ruled".

Unfortunately M. Kosturkov's prognostication as to the efficacy of democracy was wrong. Bulgaria secured in 1931 a really democratically elected government which to all appearance was perfectly democratic in its composition yet it brought and engendered disorder, and what was most surprising, it encompassed the overthrov of M. Kosturkov himself, who as all will admit, was the only true representative of democracy in the Cabinet. M. Sakuzov, the veteran leader of the Social-democrats was apparently better inspired when he admitted in the Sobranye on December 24, 1926: „Such popular forces as come to the surface are incapable of coordination and harmonious co-operation The Agrarian regime dealt a stuning blow to the conception of a government by the popular masses".

The Bulgarian is characterised by a sense of fairness and honesty in his dealings with his fellow-men, this is in striking contrast with his attitude towards the State which he does not scruple to cheat or despoil because he believes

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181 641 that he need not stand on ceremony with it since it has mercilessly exploited him. He is generally a man who will abide by his promise but he expects that others will likewise do so, and it is very often disregard for assumed obligations that leads the Bulgarian to wreak savage vengeance on the person who breaks a compact.

181 157 In spite of the fact that the Bulgarian people have been subjected for centuries to a rigorous negative selection, for all outstanding personalities were either exterminated by the Turks with whom they necessarily entered in conflict, or became denationalised by offering their services to more advanced nations, in the midst of which they alone could exert their talents, they, nevertheless may be considered as intellectually one of the most gifted of the Balkan peoples.

The value of a people is not gauged by the level of the average individual, but by that of the exceptional men belonging to it; such at least is the opinion of leading sociologists such as Dr. G. le Bon, and Wm. Mc. Dougall so that in this respect Bulgarians have little cause to envy their neighbours. The appearance of exceptional individuals amongst the Bulgarian people has been noted even by Prof. Jovan Cvijić, who writes in his „La Peninsule Balkanique", p. 479:

„De cette très ancienne histoire il y a un fait à retenir, c'est l'apparition d'individus doués d'une volonté extraordinairement puissante. . . La prépondérance de ces fortes individualités nous frappe encore dans les époques plus récentes de l'histoire bulgare, même après la liberation. Le personnage le plus representatif à cet égard fut Stefan Stambulov. Les politiciens bulgares paraissent doués d'une force de volonté plus agissante que ceux des autres types yougoslaves etc"

If in one generation from amongst five million Bulgarians, arose at least three men of genius such as Slaveikoff, Vazoff and Mihailovski this proves that the Bulgarians are a stock worth conserving, not only for

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becoming premier in October, 1919, Stambolisky's first task was that of signing the peace terms drawn up by the victorious Allies.

The Treaty of Neuilly, November 27, 1919, reduced Bulgaria to a smaller area than it had held before the First Balkan War of 1912 and imposed new burdens. Bulgaria lost the Aegean coast (Western Thrace) to Greece, southern Dobruja to Romania, and strips of land on the west to Yugoslavia. The army was limited to a total of 20,000. Reparations amounting to $450,000,000 were to be paid in thirty-seven years, beginning in 1921. The existence of Bulgarian minorities in all the neighboring states furnished a basis for revisionism which steadily grew, particularly after the rise of fascism throughout Europe in the thirties.[2] The provision for an exchange of populations with Greece greatly heightened the volume of refugees who streamed into Bulgaria, adding to the political ferment and economic burdens of the country. In these and other ways, the settlement exacerbated conditions under which radicalism throve.

Stambolisky won a commanding position in the parliamentary elections of March, 1920, and proceeded to ride roughshod over both the middle class and conservative parties on the right and the Communists on the left. He instituted a number of reforms, including a land law designed to break up the crown lands and larger estates, the imposition of a heavy income tax, and the establishment of a compulsory labor service which in the first four years of operation secured the equivalent of five million wage days of work for the Ministries of Public Works and Railways. In foreign policy he sought to fulfill the treaties and to effect a reconciliation with Yugoslavia among whose Communist and Agrarian parties his concepts of Slavic federation found support. His dictatorial methods, however, won him enemies on all sides, not least among them being the Macedonians who opposed his policy of rapprochement with Yugoslavia. In June, 1923, he was overthrown by a *coup d'état* organized by a group of intellectuals, led by Professor Tsankov, and the League of Army Reserve Officers, among whom Colonels Velchev and Georgiev were leaders. A few days later Stambolisky was assassinated.

Following the Stambolisky regime, the Tsankov government (1923-26) represented a swing to the right. "Communist" insurrections and violence were suppressed with great severity. The increased activity of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) caused difficulties at home and abroad, although after the assassination of its leader Alexandrov (1924) it was split into two factions under Protoguerov and Mihailov who became bitter rivals. A threat of war with Greece arose, but was averted by the action of the League of Nations. A more conciliatory government

[2] See G. P. Genov, *Bulgaria and the Treaty of Neuilly* (Sofia, 1935).

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under Liapchev (1926-31) sought to reduce party strife and international friction. It secured a loan from the League of Nations to help in the settlement of refugees, but seemed powerless to prevent raids upon neighboring states by the IMRO which, after the assassination of Protoguerov in 1928, was dominated by Mihailov who openly defied the Sofia government and virtually reigned supreme in some frontier districts. The elections of June, 1931 brought a shift again to the left. The cabinets of Alexander Malinov and his successor, Nikola Mushanov, both of whom were Democrats representing middle class and intellectual groups, were supported by the Agrarians. This coalition found itself threatened by the rise of the Communist party which nearly captured a majority in the Sofia municipal elections of September, 1932. In the communal elections of November, however, the Agrarians and Democrats won a victory which emboldened them in an attempt to suppress both the Communists and the Macedonians in the following year.

Meanwhile Tsar Boris III, had steadily gained in authority and influence. The rapprochement with Italy signalized by the marriage of Boris to the daughter of King Victor Emmanuel III in 1930, and the part played by the Tsar in steps taken toward reconciliation with Yugoslavia and Romania (1933-34) helped to bring him to the fore. Then a series of domestic events enabled the Tsar to make himself a virtual dictator. Colonel Velchev, secretary of the Military League founded in 1930, and Kimon Georgiev, prominent in *Zveno* which was a fascistic civilian organization working for reform and a "strong" government, again helped to stage a *coup d'état,* May, 1934, ousting the Democratic-Agrarian Coalition and making Georgiev premier of a dictatorial government with Velchev as his principal adviser. Parliament was dismissed and political parties dissolved by decree. Vigorous action was taken against IMRO, forcing Mihailov to flee. Most of the promises of the new government, however, and especially the solution of the financial crisis, remained unfulfilled. Velchev's known hostility toward Boris III and his alleged republicanism alienated older army circles which helped to supplant Georgiev by General Zlatev who had the backing of the Tsar. Continued financial mismanagement and a reaction within the army itself to its political activities paved the way for a return to civilian government and the dissolution of the Military League after several of its members, including Velchev, had been convicted of conspiracy. This left Boris III master of the situation, although he proclaimed his intention of restoring constitutional rule.

Since the anomolous political situation within the country brought an inevitable reaction against the regime, elections for a new *sobranie* were

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The War of 1939-1945

Jockeying for Position

When the European war broke out in September, 1939, the conditions in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were not dissimilar. In each country a semi-dictatorial government, primarily responsible to the monarch, ruled with the assent of a subservient parliament. The predominantly agrarian masses were discontented with both political and economic conditions but were inarticulate and ineffectively organized. While all former political parties had been officially dissolved, their members continued to carry on a half-concealed activity beneath the eyes of the censor and the political police. The economy of each country was tied, in the main, to Germany's; although in Bulgaria, Great Britain and France made a pretense at counteracting German influences, they had apparently abandoned Yugoslavia to the Axis. In foreign relations both governments officially pursued a policy of neutrality, while their ministers and rulers made open or surreptitious visits to Hitler or his henchmen. German "tourists" ceaselessly worked in each country for the benefit of the German Reich.

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Beneath the surface, however, there were forces which caused Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to take different courses when the crucial test came. In Yugoslavia resistance to collaboration with the Axis sprang up the minute the government capitulated. In Bulgaria, on the other hand, the government was able to swing the country into the Axis camp and keep it there until the triumph of the United Nations and particularly Russia made it clear that the Axis was losing the war.

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As late as February, 1940, the Bulgarian government[5] assured the members of the Balkan Entente that it would not press its revisionist claims while the war lasted. With the dismemberment of Romania, however, in the summer of 1940, Bulgaria considered itself absolved of this pledge and in September obtained Southern Dobruja, thus regaining the boundary of 1912. Although Romania and Hungary were persuaded in November to adhere to the Tripartite Pact of Germany, Italy, and Japan, and despite the fact that over 80 per cent of Bulgaria's trade was now being carried on with Germany, the tsar and his government refused to join the Axis. Russia, whose agreement with the Reich in August, 1939, had undoubtedly helped to confuse the Bulgarian people, may have had something to do

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[5] In well-managed elections, January, 1940, the government obtained a *sobranje* composed of 140 supporters and 20 opponents of whom 9 were Communists. A new government, organized on February 16, was headed by Bogdan Filov who remained premier until he entered the Regency Council in September, 1943.

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of Yugoslavia" (AVNOJ), established at Jayce, November, 1943. Following the Teheran decision, pressure was put upon King Peter in London to make an agreement with Tito. This was accomplished in the summer of 1944 by Ivan Subašić who had been appointed premier of the government-in-exile for that purpose. As the Germans were gradually cleared out of the country after the surrender of Italy and Bulgaria, the further step of setting up a provisional government on Yugoslav soil was taken in March, 1945, when a new regency council was appointed, Tito was made premier, and Subašić became foreign minister. Though the story of the next few months was to be scarcely less exciting than that of the war period, it belongs to the era of peacemaking and reconstruction where it will be discussed.

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Bulgaria

Even though Bulgaria shared in the early triumphs of the Axis, occupying Thrace as well as most of Macedonia, its position was little better than Yugoslavia's. The Bulgarian government had to adopt a policy of severe repression, especially after 1941, in order to keep in line the mass of the population whose traditional sympathies for Russia and the United States were aroused after their entry into the war against Germany. Moreover, the Third Reich made ever increasing demands upon the country as the initial Nazi victories were turned into defeat in both Russia and the Mediterranean. Reports from Bulgaria of insurrections, sabotage, student demonstrations, Communist terrorism, and disaffected public servants including army officers were common throughout 1942 and 1943. The Nazis found it necessary not only to direct all police work but also to interfere frequently in the administration of important government departments until the German Minister, Beckerle, became virtually a *Gauleiter* in a hostile land. Apparently Boris III and his governments did their best to resist the most distasteful demands, and it may well be that the tsar met his death in August, 1943, because of his refusal to yield to Hitler's requests. Some indication of the temper of the people may be gleaned from the fact that Premier Filov arranged a pro-German Council of Regency for young Tsar Simeon II without taking the risk of seeking authorization from a specially elected *sobranje* as required by the constitution.[8]

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By late spring, 1944, reports began to appear concerning "Partisan" activity in Bulgaria and the formation of a "Fatherland Front" composed of

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[8] Very little reliable information concerning Bulgaria since 1941 has been published. For the handiest summaries of news reports, see the references cited in footnote 6 above and also the *Bulletin of International News*, XXI XXII (1944-45). Foreign newspaper correspondents were admitted to Bulgaria only in the middle of 1945.

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Communists, Agrarians, Democrats, and republicans. In the summer the Soviet Union, against whom Bulgaria had not declared war, began to press for the ousting of the Germans and a reversal of the policy pursued since 1941. On September 2, a new Bulgarian government, headed by a former secretary of Stambolisky, Konstantin Muraviev, and including former Premier Mušanov, announced the full restoration of democratic freedom and rights, a return to neutrality, and the nullification of the Tripartite Pact. It also dispatched representatives to Cairo to negotiate an armistice with Great Britain and the United States and, on September 8, declared war on Germany. In the meantime, however, Russia, not fully satisfied with the course being pursued, declared war on Bulgaria on September 5. This confusing situation was clarified four days later when Muraviev was succeeded by a new government which had the full support of the "Fatherland Front." It was led by Kimon Georgiev, who was alleged to have experienced a change of heart since his participation in the *coup d'état* of 1934, and included his former colleague, Colonel Velchev.

Before the end of September Russian military forces had moved into the country and were rapidly turning the Bulgarian army, now placed under the command of a Russian General, Tolbukhin, against the fleeing Germans. By the formal armistice terms, signed in Moscow on October 28, 1944, Bulgaria promised to withdraw from all territories occupied in Greece and Yugoslavia, to restore all properties of the United Nations and make reparation for damages, to rid Bulgaria of all pro-Axis organizations, to coöperate in the arrest and trial of war criminals, and to accept an Allied Control Commission which would regulate and supervise the execution of the armistice. Since Russia held a dominant position in the Commission and since Bulgaria was prepared to follow Communist leadership, her lot as an ex-Axis satellite differed little from that of Yugoslavia.

Reconstruction and Peacemaking

Reconstruction in both Yugoslavia and Bulgaria took the form of a revolution led by Communists and was patterned after the policies and practices of the Soviet Union.

The National Front in Yugoslavia

The Tito government, established in Yugoslavia in 1945, promised that it would "comply with the fundamental and general principles of constitutional government" and that it intended to found a democratic, federative state. This was to consist of Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia. Provisional governments were formed in each of these units in April and May, 1945. While Tito's ter-

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Y 648 fusing to attend the conference called at Paris to consider the Marshall Plan for European reconstruction, Yugoslavia manifested her determination to stand by Soviet Russia economically as well as politically.

B *The Fatherland Front in Bulgaria*

642 648 665 In attempting to fulfill the terms of the armistice and to prepare for parliamentary elections, the Georgiev government in Bulgaria, like that of Tito in Yugoslavia, was accused of pursuing totalitarian tactics. The United States and Great Britain entered protests against the conduct of the elections of November, 1945, in which 88 per cent of the vote was reported to be in favor of the Fatherland Front. The effort of the two powers to bring about the admission to the government of two representatives of "other democratic groups" proved unavailing, despite the agreement of Soviet Russia to the proposal at the Moscow Conference in December. [666] The National Assembly which chose Vassil Kolarov, a Communist, to be its president, arranged for a plebiscite, September 9, 1946, on the form of government. When the results went overwhelmingly in favor of a republic, the Assembly on September 15, declared Bulgaria to be a People's Republic. Elections in October, following the drafting of a constitution, returned an Assembly less predominantly Communist than Yugoslavia's, though whether this outcome was designed or came about because of a failure to crush the opposition effectively is not clear. The Fatherland Front majority of 366 deputies was made up of 279 Communists (Workers' Party), sixty-nine dissident Agrarians, nine *Zveno* members, eight dissident Social Democrats, and one Radical; while the opposition of 99 was composed of ninety Agrarians under the leadership of Petkov, and nine Social Democrats led by Lelchev.[10] In November Georgiev resigned as premier and was succeeded by Georgi Dimitrov, an eminent Communist who had been made famous by the Reichstag Fire Trial in 1934 and had been living in Russia until the end of the war. Like Yugoslavia, Bulgaria had entered upon the path of a Soviet-orientated state.

Peacemaking and Foreign Relations

Y-B 648 Beginning with the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco in 1945, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, whenever represented or discussed at international conferences, have been led or supported by Soviet Russia. Thus they are both aligned with the "Eastern"

[10] For a brief description of the elections and the policies of the Dimitrov regime by a sympathetic observer, see Commander Edgar P. Young, "People's Republic Bulgaria," *Contemporary Review*, CLXXI (March, 1947), 162-66.

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a *paterfamilias*, with a unique concentration of power in his hands. 596
If his grown children did not submit to his control, then they could 178
leave his house but had no means of removing him against his will. Death alone could do that.

Such was the family situation in Dragalevtsy with the coming 178
of liberation after the Russo-Turkish War in 1878. The changes 642
which have occurred in the family since then have been related in 596
no small degree to the political fortunes of Bulgaria. The Bulgarian constitution was drawn up in Tirnovo in imitation of the constitutions of the West, and made Bulgaria a constitutional monarchy with a national parliament. Unfortunately, the new frame of government disregarded many traditional practices of the peasants and sought to impose upon them foreign ideas and strange governmental processes.

In April, 1879, Alexander of Battenberg, who was an officer 175
in the Prussian army and the favorite nephew of Tsar Alexander II of Russia, was elected Prince over the country. In September, 1885, Bulgaria united with Eastern Rumelia, an area which had been placed back under nominal Turkish control by the Treaty of Berlin. Prince Alexander, because he did not collaborate sufficiently with the Russians in their desire to make Bulgaria completely subservient to Russia, was abducted from Sofia and forced to abdicate in 1886. Then the Bulgarian leaders shopped around Europe for another Prince, and finally in 1887 chose Prince Ferdinand of the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha line. He did much to make Bulgaria a stronger state, but he showed poor judgment in ordering Bulgarian troops to attack Serbia, thereby starting the Second Balkan War in which Bulgaria suffered catastrophic defeat at the hands of her former allies in the First Balkan War. In 1918, because he had been a party to the alliance of Bulgaria with the Central Powers in the First World War, he was forced to abdicate in favor of his son Boris.

From her inception as a state Bulgaria tried to make a success 642
of representative government. Men were urged to vote; in fact, they 666
were fined the equivalent of five dollars if they failed to vote. But in [687]
spite of the dream of Young Bulgaria at Tirnovo, in spite of her

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

642 666 vibrant youth and living hope, her fling at democracy failed, primarily because ballots were given to peasants who were not being taught the meaning of citizenship in a national state.

178 623 Those interested in democracy have much to learn from the story of government in Dragalevtsy. At the outset the informal rule of the elders, which had been recognized by the Turks, was replaced by a commune or *obshtina* with regularly elected officials. At first these units included a number of villages. By 1890 the increase in population necessitated the breaking up of the larger *obshtini* so as to include only two or three villages. In other words, the pendulum was swinging back in the direction of greater local control, the swing being further accentuated after the First World War.

665 Political parties grew like mushrooms in Bulgaria. In 1930 the country had more than sixteen significant parties; in the village of Dragalevtsy, with its total population of about sixteen hundred, there [557] were six important parties with recognized leaders and platforms. To be a party leader in the village meant added prestige; to be one in the city or on a national scale meant power. In order for a Dragalevtsy man to become a local party leader he had to be acquainted with important people in Sofia. Even though he had only one influential friend in the city, he could persuade this man to come out and help organize a party. Other peasants were invited to the organizational meeting and officers were elected. Naturally, the one who took the initiative would be chosen to an important post. Because of the multiplicity of parties and the intense strife among them, many people throughout the country breathed a sigh of relief when the authoritarian government, which came into power on May 19, 1934, abolished by decree all political parties and started the practice of appointing university graduates as mayors in villages. This meant that the head of the government in a village was not dependent upon the will of the populace but had to produce results satisfactory to the officials over him. The breakdown of the party system was associated, especially as far as the conservative peasant population was concerned, not only with forces outside the village but also with the failure of popular education to develop into "a bulwark of people rule."

175 The Exarch's office continued to be maintained in Constantinople while the churches in Bulgaria were administered by the Holy Synod in Sofia.

World War I failed to yield the above-mentioned Macedonia and Thracian territories to Bulgaria; what is more, it sanctioned the loss to Romania of Southern Dodrudja (retroceded to Bulgaria in 1940).

In 1921, a Bulgarian National Church Council convened in Sofia in order to revise the Statute of the Exarchate. The Council established the procedure for the election of the new Exarch by the Bulgarians in Bulgaria alone without the participation of the Bulgarians in Thrace and Macedonia that the elections were continuously postponed. They were held at last in 1945 under the Fatherland Front government (infra).

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III. Status of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church within Bulgaria until 1944

A. Relationship between State and Church

The basic principles regulating the status of the Bulgarian Church are stated in Article 39 of the Constitution of 1879;

Article 39

The princedom of Bulgaria, which constitutes an integral part of the Bulgarian ecclesiastical area, shall be under the religious administration of the Holy Synod, the supreme spiritual authority of the Bulgarian Church, wherever that authority may be located. Through the latter, the

Princedom preserves its link with the Ecumenical Eastern Church in all matters concerning the dogmas of the faith. 659 642.

The opening phrase suggests that the Bulgarian Church is something of a higher authority than the State authority of the Princedom of Bulgaria. However, this has never been observed and the Bulgarian State has always striven to control the Church. There existed, however, an apparent linkage and close cooperation between the Church and State.

In the broad sense of the term the Church was a state institution and its officials, agents of the public authority.* 659 642 73 The budget of the Church was part of that of the State, viz., of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Denominations, which represented the state in all religious matters. All bishops, priests and administrative employees in the various parishes and dioceses received from the government modest salaries which supplemented their income from fees received for religious rites and services performed by them. Aside from that, the churches, and especially the monasteries, disposed for their subsistence, of valuable properties, such as fields, forests, or buildings, either bought by them or willed to them by parishioners. All that netted a sizable income.

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* Ivan Altinov, Divrece in Bulgaria: Brakorazvodnite Conflicti v Bulgaria (Sofia, 1929), p. 9.

793 communist initiative the Exarch in 1948. He was banished to a remote villa in the province town of Karlovo. At the present time the Bulgarian Church is again administered by the Holy Synod.

659, 642 The general principles of the communist policy toward religion were finally embodied in the so-called "Dimitrov Constitution" passed on December 4, 1947. Its Article 78 states:

> Freedom of conscience and religion, as well as freedom of performance of religious rituals is guaranteed to all citizens.
>
> The Church is separated from the State.
>
> A special law shall determine the legal status, the question of material support, and the right of internal autonomy and self-government of the various religious communities.
>
> The misuse of church and religion for political purposes and the creation of political organizations on a religious basis is forbidden.

There is no mention of the status and functions of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. All questions pertaining to this Church, as well as to the minority denominations in the country, were left in abeyance until February 1949, when a general law on religious denominations was passed on the strength of the cited constitutional provision (<u>infra</u>, B). This law did, among other things, mention the Bulgarian Church. This law is analyzed and translated in the next Section B.

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

THE PASSING OF DEMOCRACY

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The announcement that Bulgaria had abandoned on May 19, 1934 the Parliamentary and democratic system of government and set up in its place a military semi-Fascist dictatorship was received with undisguised regret in countries where the democratic traditions were deep-rooted and traditional. This act of Bulgaria, which was considered as the most democratic country in the Balkans, was viewed with disappointment and vexation, it was considered as an open defection of a minor member of the same confraternity of liberal-minded peoples, to the triumph of whose conceptions and principles of government is due, in the main, the progress achieved by the Western nations.

Such an opinion, however it might appear concordant with outward appearances. does not seem to be justified. For Bulgaria was never a democratically governed country, in spite of its Parliament and Constitution. And as for M. Kimon Gheorghiev and his colleagues, who effected the coup d'état, no one can uphold that they resemble in the least Plato's tyrant who, serves as prototype to modern dictators. This model tyrant was characterised by effecting „Just the reverse of medical purgation. For doctors remove the worst and leave the best; he does the opposite." (G. Lowes Dickinson, „The dialogues of Plato" p. 155). The Gheorghiev government far from putting into practice such precepts, has on the contrary administered the most salutary „purges" to Bulgaria, which effected a true catharsis, delivering the State from such disintegrating elements as the Macedonian Revolutionary organisation and the political coteries. The military who planned, car-

•642 669 ried out and imposed the change of government did this much against tneir will, and only after repeated warnings and objurgations to the politicians to mend their ways, had failed to call the latter back to reason and to duty. Far from assuming sole control of the ship of state, they have appealed to men of character and integrity and sought their co-operation and they have even confided to these civilians the direction of some of the most important branches of the administration. This liberal attitude is again in direct contradiction with the traditional behaviour of the model tyrant of Plato, for „he must have a sharp eye also for the man who is courageous or high minded or wealthy; and it is his greatest happiness to have to be the enemy of all such whether he like it or not, and plot against them until he purge the city of their presence.... Apparently he must do it if he is to rule". It is obvious therefore that the semi-military oligarchy which has assumed the reins of power in Bulgaria differs radically from the traditional enemy of democracy. In justice to the men who effected the coup d'état, it must be admitted, that they have never declared themselves admirers or exponents either of Fascism or of Hitlerism, and that they have never impugned democracy for faults which sprang from the abandonment of democracy. Their overt aim was to stave off corruption which was threatening the State with dissolution and to implant civic duties among their countrymen which will eventually render them fit for self-government. In fact by conforming themselves to Lysistrata's recipe they attempted to inculcate among their compatriots the idea of Good Citizenship, (this was according to Meredith the dominant idea of Aristophanes comedies.).

> „ . . . Next, for the clubs, the cabals, and the coteries,
> banding unrigtheously, office to win,
> Treat them as clots in the wool and dissever them,
> lopping the heads that are forming therein.
> Then you should card it, and comb it, and mingle it,

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all in one basket of love and unity,
Citizens, visitors, strangers, and sojourners,
all the entire, undivided community."

The first effect of liberty on those who are unprepared for it is often confusion, if not license, and the Bulgarian people were never trained to make a judicious use of the rights which the ultra-liberal Constitution prematurely foisted on Bulgaria, conferred on them. So far, Bulgarian political leaders, with some very rare exeptions, though they have masqueraded under every conceivable brand of democracy, ranging from social-democracy to make-believe Liberalism („Conservative" was too unattractive a party name for the astute and cunning Bulgarian demagogues to parade under and even those of conservative tendencies preferred to disguise themselves in the garb of the progressive, or of the populist) have miserably failed to educate the Bulgarians as to the elementary duties of citizenship; on the contrary all they did was to cultivate among them an inordinate sense of their rights, which was fostered by intensive appeals to their egoistic instincts. It is only those who are superficially acquainted with the inner working of parliamentary and democratic forms of government in most European countries that can remain intransigent supporters of all forms of self-government. For the latter often assume the most repulsive aspect of government, that leading to wholesale corruption and to the undermining of the moral fibre of a nation. The unlimited vista of putridity recently revealed in France and Rumania by the Stavisky scandal, and the Scoda affair, which impelled even a former Rumanian Premier, Dr. Vaida-Voevod to make on March 23, 1933 from the tribune of the Rumanian Chamber the astounding admission „that thare was something rotten in the organism of his country which must be amputated and cleansed before it could aspire to health", show that it is paying lip service to

661 517 hungry office-seekers, ready to offer their support to any politician, who would hold out to them a promise of a State or municipal office. It is from this class, reckoned to number some 300,000 strong, that every party entrusted by the Crown with the task of government, recruited its staff, dangerously depleted during the lean years the party had passed in Opposition, and replaced all organs of authority, in order to influence and doctor the will of the electorate. A Cabinet would seldom owe its appointment to office to any other consideration than royal favour, for rarely indeed could it prove that it enjoyed the confidence of the people, since such a majority as it secured in the new Chamber was obtained by methods which were a negation of parliamentarism, and a clear violation of the national will.

[642] 661 Party government in Bulgaria was always a disguised dictatorship, which imposed itself by artifices that barely permitted it to save the outward forms of parliamentarism. Except on three occasions; in 1879, 1901 and 1931, there was never a free expression of the national will. The Chamber was maintained merely to save appearances, and in order to give to the people the illusion that it participated in the government of the country. The chief aim of a party, when in power, was the enrichment of its partisans and the constitution of some reserves for the lean years it had to remain in opposition. The more the rapacious instincts of partisans were satisfied, the more would a party prosper and grow powerful. An attempt to restrain the greed of its adherents would inevitably have led to its disruption. Corruption, therefore, was the basis of party life. Such an atmosphere paralysed every spiritual activity, and thwarted every noble initiative. Idealism, in fact, became an obstacle to the progress of a party, and law-breaking and peculation the main springs of its success. Before abandoning office, almost every government would vote

military decided much against their will to assume control of State affairs. This was done by the coup d'ètat of May 19, 1934, which met with the apparent approval of the bulk of the population, heartily sick of the disgusting squabbles of the political parties. 668 701

The military had warned in time the politicians that they should sink their quarrels and attend to the proper governing of the country; they had insisted on the necessity of the civilians combining to form a decent government, and seeing that their objurgations remained unheeded they had taken at last the task in their own hands. Even when they assumed power and in contrast with the politicians, they manifested no anxiety to fill the public offices with their adherents; they still appealed to certain civilians who enjoyed the reputation of being honest and capable men and entrusted them with responsible positions in the Government. The new Cabinet presided over by Kimon Gheorghiev had a distinctly civilian appearance, the military contented themselves with back seats, but they kept vigilant and alert and for once the rusty State machine began to function at a pace it had not experienced for years. In a manifesto to the people, drawn up in concise and blunt terms, the Government made known the reasons for which the army had decided to act, and exposed the programme it was intent on applying. The Government had learnt from the experiment of Tsankov that it was futile to seek the fusion of political parties in order to work with their support and by prescribed parliamentary methods; it therefore proceeded to dissolve both the Chamber and the political parties, declaring that the latter had outlived their usefulness. It made it known that it contemplated working out a scheme for the creation of a corporative Parliament in which all professions would be represented as well as certain political currents, but this was a matter for the future and in the meanwhile 668 642 701

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the Cabinet would govern by decrees. The Gheorghiev Cabinet fully justified the hopes placed in it. Never since its liberation did Bulgaria have such and efficient government; the reforms, improvements and innovations accomplished were most commendable and efficacious, and for this reason when its resignation was announced on January 22, 1935 the news caused deep disillusion and painful surprise to all those who had Bulgaria's well-being at heart.

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General Zlatev, the new Premier, was Minister of War in the Gheorghiev Cabinet; in a public speech delivered on February 24, 1935, while affirming that the programme of the Government remained identical with that proclaimed in the manifesto of May 19, he explained some of the reasons which had brought about his predecessor's resignation. According to him, his predecessors had somewhat swerved from the wishes of the army which had set them in power. Instead of prosecuting and suppressing indiscriminately all Macedonian organisations they had dissolved only the Michailovist wing (alleged to be subsidised by Italy) while the Protogerovist section (pro-Yugoslav) was allowed full liberty of action M. Kimon Gheorghiev was alleged to have sought inordinate powers for himself, wishing to wield an authority like that of Signor Mussolini! For this purpose he had demanded that certain prerogatives of the Crown should be curtailed These views had hurt the loyalist feelings of the army which was profoundly attached to Tsar Boris, and it had therefore decided on the Cabinet's reconstruction as a measure likely to cement the unity of the army which was threatened by the enunciation of such views. Those who know M. Kimon Gheorghiev and his colleagues, all of whom are distinguished by their extreme modesty have some difficulty in believing that either he, or any of his collaborators aspired or contemplated to don the mantle of a dictator. What they de-

only disciplined force outside the army. And the communist conspiracies and cells which are almost daily discovered among all layers of Bulgarian society, are convincing proofs that communism is a theory which exerts an irresistible attraction for this long suffering people. An effective antidote to this doctrine is not conservatism, but an enlightened liberal policy which would release the community from the restrictive legacies and entanglements of the past. Such a forward looking policy was the one inspiring the colleagues of Kimon Gheorghiev who constituted a group of public-minded men, courageous enough to break with tradition, and capable of creating common interests with Bulgaria's western neighbour to replace the separate interests which had hitherto divided the two States. They tried to release Bulgaria from the crippling tradition of national sovereignty, from the economic exploitation of her parasitic industrialists and from the strangulation of her crushing and inelastic debts. Vested interests, local and foreign, leagued themselves to plot their overthrow. But Bulgaria is at the cross-roads, the path which she has just engaged herself in leads backwards to the past. A living society cannot afford to live on the past, it has to face new situations, it must evolve new ways of thinking, forge new instruments for new struggles, it has to adapt itself to new circumstances otherwise it is apt to go under. If Bulgaria wishes to go forward and ahead she must retrieve her steps and stride along the road indicated by Kimon Gheorghiev and his colleagues, or choose the only alternative course, the broad avenue leading to Bolshevism.

Since the above was written owing to the lack of unity among the officer corps, their attempt at reform missed fire. General Zlatev, having resorted to the high-handed measure of arresting Colonel K. Gheorghiev and

11: Legio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

642 Prof. A. Tsankov, was disavowed by his colleagues, who tendered their resignations and this brought about the fall of the Cabinet.

Tsar Boris entrusted on April 1935 M. A. Tochev, a close associate of ex-Tsar Ferdinand, whose former activities are recorded at length in the Bulgarian Orange book, and who had not a little share in precipitating the second Balkan war and encouraging the subsequent pro-German attitude of Bulgaria, to assume office. That T. Tochev has not wavered in his pro-German sympathies is proved by the enthusiastic welcome his Government extended to General Göring during the latter's visit to Sofia. Simultaneously a proclamation was issued promising the Bulgarian people a new Constitution more in harmony with national traditions and with the views set forth by the army in the manifesto of May 19, 1934. The proclamation ended with a formal assurance that no return to the party system would be tolerated. This was merely to allay the susceptibilities of the military, for everything points to a gradual return to the old system under a modified form.

648 The appointment of one of the most dexterous rope-dancers of the old Ferdinand circus as chief counsellor to the Crown was not a judicious act, and it has certainly not enhanced the prestige and authority of the State, nor contributed to the promotion of concord in the country. Much of the good work initiated by the Gheorghiev Government has been undone and the principles of its foreign policy are being gradually abandoned. The close association of Bulgaria with Yugoslavia was the cardinal aim of the colleagues of K. Gheorghiev and would have eventually aided the political union of the two countries, since Bulgaria in her present amputated form is unable to maintain the costly administrative mechanism of a modern State.

This ideal is now in grave danger of being frustrated.

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
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871/794 was idyllic, in spite of a rather constant exchange of uncomplimentary remarks with the Greeks.

C59 The first approach to the Church by the Communists was made rather gingerly and was not unfriendly. They seemed, indeed, to regard this venerable institution as a political instrument worth keeping in repair. True enough, religious instruction was banned from the public schools, and the control of marriage legislation was reserved to the State. Previously the Church not only had married aspirants to wedlock, but had maintained an elaborate system of marriage counseling and of divorce courts—courts with rules far more lenient than those recognized by either Catholic or conservative Protestant Churches in Western Europe. But the State budget continued to provide for the support of the clergy, and the prosecution of priests and prelates for alleged subversive activities was minimal.

[642] A drastic change took place when the Communist Party assumed complete control during December, 1947, following the return of Georgi Dimitrov from Russia. The Constitution signed on the fourth day of that month dealt with religion in the customary Soviet manner: guaranteeing freedom of conscience and religion, and specifically endorsing freedom of worship; on the other hand, decreeing separation of Church and State, and prohibiting political organizations based on re-
659 ligious belief and political activities by the Churches. During
671 February, 1949, statutes were decreed which outlined in detail the relationship of the Churches to the government. Control over ecclesiastical matters was lodged in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which could hold the recognized authorities of each Church responsible. All such authorities had to be Bulgarian citizens, and to register with the Ministry, which might insist upon the removal from office of any clergyman it deemed undesirable. These laws, which subjected the Church to the

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
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usually fared better in the "People's Courts" than liberals; having compromised successfully with one dictatorial régime they knew how to compromise with another to save their skins.

The Agrarians, Socialists and others had joined with the Communists in forming the "Fatherland Front" to take over from the Nazis. It was a mistake—the same mistake being made by liberals in all countries of supposing that they could collaborate on fair terms with Communists. The Bulgarian democratic elements also erred in not recognizing that American and British policy in the Balkans was chaotic and could not be depended upon after the war to prevent the spread of Soviet power in Eastern Europe. The first to pay for these mistakes were the leaders of the old Agrarian Party founded by the peasant hero, Alexander Stambuliski. As they had always worked to raise peasant living standards within the framework of the general welfare, they were the most dangerous rivals of the Communists and became their first targets. The head of the Party, Dr. G. M. Dimitrov, ceded his place to Nikola Petkov under Soviet pressure in January 1945 and escaped abroad. Petkov, who had been one of the four signers of the 1944 armistice, still trusted the word of the Communists that the Fatherland Front would be a real coalition and that the Agrarians would be permitted to carry on independent political activity. He was executed September 23, 1947. The State Department protested that his trial was a "travesty on justice" and contrary to the rights guaranteed to Bulgarian citizens at Yalta. Kostov personally prepared the case against Petkov.

With the last of the powerful and avowed opponents of dictatorship out of the way, the Communists were free to proclaim Bulgaria a one-party state. They did so on February 4, 1948, securing for their country the honor of being the first satellite to abandon the pretense of a popular front. This was the period, one recalls, when Dimitrov was being rebuked by *Pravda* for favoring a Balkan or Danubian federation, and was issuing his denials, and when Moscow was beginning to talk secretly inside the Cominform about expelling Tito. The connection of these events is not to be missed.

Ordinarily Dimitrov might not have gotten off so lightly, but there were reasons for not sullying the name of such a great Communist luminary, the hero of the Reichstag fire trial, at the very moment

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[For the economic and political position of Bulgaria under Soviet control since the death of Stalin, see 85: Zinner, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, Pp. 157B-163B.]

1: Lee H-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
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XXVII

BULGARIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

DWIGHT E. LEE

Introduction

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BULGARIA and Yugoslavia emerged from the war of 1914-1918 in contrasting positions—the one a defeated power and the other a victor. This situation, a repetition of that following the Second Balkan War only six years before, helped to perpetuate a feeling of rivalry and bitterness toward each other. Both nations, however, faced serious political and economic problems at home which were far from satisfactorily settled when the war of 1939-1945 caught them up again and threw them once more on opposite sides of the struggle.

Bulgaria[1]

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The military collapse of Bulgaria in September, 1918, was followed shortly afterward on October 4 by the abdication of Tsar Ferdinand and the succession of Boris III. Although the pro-German premier, Radoslavov, had resigned some months before, his successors who signed the armistice were unable to stem the current of discontent and disillusionment caused by wartime suffering and the prospect of a severe peace. Accordingly, in the elections of August, 1919, the leftist Agrarian party won a significant victory under the leadership of Alexander Stambolisky who had gone to jail for three years because of his opposition to entry into the war and, upon his release in 1918, had sought to set up a republic. Of peasant stock, he was the embodiment of the hopes for a new era held by the Bulgarian farmers who constituted nearly 80 per cent of the population. After

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[1] The best studies on contemporary Bulgaria are the following: A. Bulatsel, *Ocherki sotsialno-politicheskoĭ zhizni Bolgarii* (Moscow, 1925); K. Dimitriev, *Bolgariya* (Moscow, 1941); A. Girginov, *Ot voĭnata kŭm mir* (Sofia, 1937); T. Girginov, *Istoricheski razvoĭ na savremenna Bŭlgariya* (2 v.; Sofia, 1934-1935); N. Iliev, *Boris III, tsar na Bŭlgaritĕ* (Sofia, 1936); A. P. Malinov, *Stranichki ot nashata nova politicheska istoriya* (Sofia, 1938); N. D. Peshkov, *Aleksandŭr Stambolĭĭski. Lichnost i idei* (Sofia, 1930); N. Stanev, *Istoriya na nova Bŭlgariya, 1878-1928* (Sofia, 1929); K. Todorov, *Politička istorija savremene Bugarske* (Belgrad, 1938). Sources in Slavic languages have been supplied by Professor C. E. Black of Princeton University.

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After
becoming premier in October, 1919, Stambolisky's first task was that of 728
signing the peace terms drawn up by the victorious Allies.

The Treaty of Neuilly, November 27, 1919, reduced Bulgaria to a [131]
smaller area than it had held before the First Balkan War of 1912 and imposed new burdens. Bulgaria lost the Aegean coast (Western Thrace) to Greece, southern Dobruja to Romania, and strips of land on the west to Yugoslavia. The army was limited to a total of 20,000. Reparations [701]
amounting to $450,000,000 were to be paid in thirty-seven years, beginning in 1921. The existence of Bulgarian minorities in all the neighbor- [668]
ing states furnished a basis for revisionism which steadily grew, particularly after the rise of fascism throughout Europe in the thirties.[2] The [167]
provision for an exchange of populations with Greece greatly heightened the volume of refugees who streamed into Bulgaria, adding to the political ferment and economic burdens of the country. In these and other ways, the settlement exacerbated conditions under which radicalism throve.

Stambolisky won a commanding position in the parliamentary elections 643
of March, 1920, and proceeded to ride roughshod over both the middle 185
class and conservative parties on the right and the Communists on the left. 656
He instituted a number of reforms, including a land law designed to break 648
up the crown lands and larger estates, the imposition of a heavy income tax, and the establishment of a compulsory labor service which in the first 669
four years of operation secured the equivalent of five million wage days of work for the Ministries of Public Works and Railways. In foreign policy he sought to fulfill the treaties and to effect a reconciliation with Yugoslavia among whose Communist and Agrarian parties his concepts of Slavic federation found support. His dictatorial methods, however, won him enemies on all sides, not least among them being the Macedonians who opposed his policy of rapprochement with Yugoslavia. In June, 1923, he was overthrown by a *coup d'état* organized by a group of intellectuals, led by Professor Tsankov, and the League of Army Reserve Officers, among whom Colonels Velchev and Georgiev were leaders. A few days later Stambolisky was assassinated.

Following the Stambolisky regime, the Tsankov government (1923-26) 642
represented a swing to the right. "Communist" insurrections and violence 668
were suppressed with great severity. The increased activity of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) caused difficulties at home and abroad, although after the assassination of its leader Alexandrov (1924) it was split into two factions under Protoguerov and Mihailov who became bitter rivals. A threat of war with Greece arose, but was averted by the action of the League of Nations. A more conciliatory government

[2] See G. P. Genov, *Bulgaria and the Treaty of Neuilly* (Sofia, 1935).

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642 under Liapchev (1926-31) sought to reduce party strife and international
668 friction. It secured a loan from the League of Nations to help in the settlement of refugees, but seemed powerless to prevent raids upon neighboring states by the IMRO which, after the assassination of Protoguerov in 1928, was dominated by Mihailov who openly defied the Sofia government and virtually reigned supreme in some frontier districts. The elections of June, 1931 brought a shift again to the left. The cabinets of Alexander Malinov and his successor, Nikola Mushanov, both of whom were Democrats representing middle class and intellectual groups, were supported by the Agrarians. This coalition found itself threatened by the rise of the Communist party which nearly captured a majority in the Sofia municipal elections of September, 1932. In the communal elections of November, however, the Agrarians and Democrats won a victory which emboldened them in an attempt to suppress both the Communists and the Macedonians in the following year.

● 643 Meanwhile Tsar Boris III, had steadily gained in authority and influ-
669 ence. The rapprochement with Italy signalized by the marriage of Boris to the daughter of King Victor Emmanuel III in 1930, and the part played
642 by the Tsar in steps taken toward reconciliation with Yugoslavia and Romania (1933-34) helped to bring him to the fore. Then a series of domestic events enabled the Tsar to make himself a virtual dictator. Colonel Velchev, secretary of the Military League founded in 1930, and Kimon Georgiev, prominent in *Zveno* which was a fascistic civilian organization working for reform and a "strong" government, again helped to stage a *coup d'état,* May, 1934, ousting the Democratic-Agrarian Coalition and making Georgiev premier of a dictatorial government with Velchev as his principal adviser. Parliament was dismissed and political parties dissolved by decree. Vigorous action was taken against IMRO, forcing Mihailov to flee. Most of the promises of the new government, however, and especially the solution of the financial crisis, remained unfulfilled. Velchev's known hostility toward Boris III and his alleged republicanism alienated older army circles which helped to supplant Georgiev by General Zlatev who had the backing of the Tsar. Continued financial mismanagement and a reaction within the army itself to its political activities paved the way for a return to civilian government and the dissolution of the Military League after several of its members, including Velchev, had been convicted of conspiracy. This left Boris III master of the situation, although he proclaimed his intention of restoring constitutional rule.

646 Since the anomolous political situation within the country brought an
666 inevitable reaction against the regime, elections for a new *sobranie* were

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The War of 1939-1945

Jockeying for Position

When the European war broke out in September, 1939, the conditions in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were not dissimilar. In each country a semi-dictatorial government, primarily responsible to the monarch, ruled with the assent of a subservient parliament. The predominantly agrarian masses were discontented with both political and economic conditions but were inarticulate and ineffectively organized. While all former political parties had been officially dissolved, their members continued to carry on a half-concealed activity beneath the eyes of the censor and the political police. The economy of each country was tied, in the main, to Germany's; although in Bulgaria, Great Britain and France made a pretense at counteracting German influences, they had apparently abandoned Yugoslavia to the Axis. In foreign relations both governments officially pursued a policy of neutrality, while their ministers and rulers made open or surreptitious visits to Hitler or his henchmen. German "tourists" ceaselessly worked in each country for the benefit of the German Reich.

Beneath the surface, however, there were forces which caused Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to take different courses when the crucial test came. In Yugoslavia resistance to collaboration with the Axis sprang up the minute the government capitulated. In Bulgaria, on the other hand, the government was able to swing the country into the Axis camp and keep it there until the triumph of the United Nations and particularly Russia made it clear that the Axis was losing the war.

As late as February, 1940, the Bulgarian government[5] assured the members of the Balkan Entente that it would not press its revisionist claims while the war lasted. With the dismemberment of Romania, however, in the summer of 1940, Bulgaria considered itself absolved of this pledge and in September obtained Southern Dobruja, thus regaining the boundary of 1912. Although Romania and Hungary were persuaded in November to adhere to the Tripartite Pact of Germany, Italy, and Japan, and despite the fact that over 80 per cent of Bulgaria's trade was now being carried on with Germany, the tsar and his government refused to join the Axis. Russia, whose agreement with the Reich in August, 1939, had undoubtedly helped to confuse the Bulgarian people, may have had something to do

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000 to force, may be relied on for the process of government, then it will be time to revert to democratic forms. As L. T. Hobhouse remarks: „If the institutions are sensibly above the intellectual and moral capacity of a people they will break down; if below, they will be broken up." The former phenomenon has occurred of late in most European countries which have adopted too prematurely Parliamentarism They are reverting to simpler forms more in harmony with their mental standing and degree of social development, both of which have markedly deteriorated since the world war. We may be confident that when these communities recover their former psychical health, or attain a more mature state of development and find that dictatorial forms of government are sensibly below their mental capacity, they will break them up and regain a just equilibrium.

643 It would be apposite to add a few lines on some of the patriotic men who undertook on May 19, 1934 the Herculean task of cleansing Bulgaria's Augean stables, for all are equally unassuming and modest, with a profound aversion for the limelight. M. Kimon Gheorghiev had already acted as Minister of Railways in the Liaptsev Cabinet (1926-1931) and owing to his strong disapproval of the financial policy of the government, resigned in protest. This, for a Bulgarian Minister is something untoward; usually their consciences are so elastic that they always manage to jog along together however much they may differ among themselves. It is they, who long before their British colleagues of 1932, evolved the doctrine of the Cabinet's agreement to differ! They only resign in a body and when such resignation is imposed by force of circumstances. In the political annals of Bulgaria there are remarkably few instances of Ministers resigning on a question of principle. The explanation which M. Gheorghiev gave in the Sobranye on Feb. 19, 1929, as to the reasons which

•643 compelled him to take this step is characteristic not only of the high spirit of public duty which inspires his acts, but also of the consciousness of his responsibilities when in charge of public affairs. One or two sentences of the speech, suffice to portray the man. „It is," M. Gheorghiev declared, „a nefarious act to allow the public to perceive that the State shows partiality in its treatment of its subjects, and to favour some unduly at the expence of others... The sense of justice is being blunted, and such acts must cease"... and as they did not cease, M. Gheorghiev turned his back on his former colleagues and resigned, while the latter persevered in their campaign of spoliation and embezzlement.

645 663 As for M. Peter Todorov, the writer has nothing to alter in the opinion he expressed of him in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* on Oct. 6, 1923, the object of which was to correct and mitigate the erroneous impressions the British public was forming of events in Bulgaria owing to the reports of some three misinformed Labour members of Parliament, who had then visited the country. This appreciation of M. Todorov was couched in the following terms: „No words would adequately express the esteem in which he is rightly held by those who have the privilege to know him. His unsparing denunciation of the abuses committed by the former Agrarian government and his scathing exposures of shady affairs are the best proof of his unswerving devotion to high ideals. As long as M. Todorov remains in the Cabinet there can be no fear of Bulgaria pursuing a reactionary policy". To the above may be added M. T. G. Vlaikov's appreciation, so that it may not be thought that such flattering remarks are inspired by the personal esteem the writer cherishes for one of the most stalwart champions of true radicalism in Bulgaria. M. Vlaikov is a distinguished writer, and a political thinker who until lately had played an active and reputable part

lace favourite, and General Russev, the Minister of the Interior. Impartial politicians in Bulgaria generally absolve Tsankov of this violence. Thus, M. Muchanov speaking in the Sobranye on April 1, 1926 stated: 661

„1924 and 1925 were not normal years. Never before had we such internal unrest and such fratricidal struggles in Bulgaria. I understand the mentality of those who were administering the country at the time. In many cases they carried out their duty in a worthy manner, but at many placed certain exaggerations occurred, but I personally, shall abstain from blaming the Minister of the Interior for these."

And the Radical leader Kosturkov, who was one of the most outspoken critics of the Tsankov administration equally admitted in the Sobranye on December 21, 1926: „The Tsankov Government had been provoked by the Agrarians and Communists and the blood it shed was in self-defence".

The advent of the Liaptchev administration coincided with the temporary exhaustion of the Agrarians and for some time relative tranquillity prevailed which permitted the Government to devote its attention to the pursuance of its financial programme and the raising of loans, which can hardly be said to have aided the country, as may be inferred from a perusal of the chapter devoted to the story of the League of Nation's loans.[1] 643

Another act by which this administration is likely to be remembered was the voting in 1929 of a large amnesty which included Radoslavov and Tontchev, rightly condemned by a State Court for violating the Constitution and facilitating Tsar Ferdinand's efforts to plunge Bulgaria into the war on the side of the Central Powers in opposition to the manifest desire of the people. The other colleagues of Radoslavov had already benefited from a previous amnesty, but public opinion at the time was utterly opposed to the inclusion in it of these two ex-Ministers. By granting an amnesty to these two discredited politicians who 643 697

[1] Cf. cat. 110, pp. 84–118 — Analyst]

643 had stopped at no crime in order to further their nefa-
697 rious designs, the Government dealt a heavy blow to the prestige of Justice and undermined among the people confidence in law and morality. The real aim of the Goverment in passing this measure was to emancipate itself from the threat of finding itself placed in a minority through the defection of its more idealistically minded supporters, who very often disapproved of its policy By winning over the partisans of Radoslavov by the grant of an amnesty to their leaders, the Government was hoping that it would ward off such a threat by eventually replacing their disgruntled followers by the Radoslavovists. Apparently the moral code of the trinity at the head of the government was not a very strict one as is manifest from the financial policy it foisted on the country and the liabilities it so lightheartedly assumed.

669 The commuting of punishments, and the granting of amnesties does not seem to have appeased either the Agrarians or the Communists, for towards the end of 1929 there was a distinct recrudescence in their activities. Armed bands penetrated from Yugoslavia and committed depredations and murders. A train was stopped and the passengers robbed, a number of judges were arrested and brutally shot near Sevlievo, the leader of the criminal band, responsible for these crimes, the notorious Dontso Uzunov, later took refuge in France, and though the Bulgarian Government applied for his extradition, this was refused on the pretext that the crime committed was of
661 a political character. The Government and its supporters paid little heed to the needs of the country, they were too intent on dividing among themselves the spoils of office. The booty was abundant, as it had been increased by the foreign loans recently concluded and there was enough for all their hungry followers. Millions were being showered upon prominent supporters of the Government

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in the social life of his country, and which may be likened to the role of the late much-regretted Charles Masterman in England. In his latest book, „Functionaries and Rulers" in which he related the rich and variegated experiences of his defunct brother in his capacity of a public functionary, and depicts in vivid colours the gradual deterioration of public morals, he lays stress on the fact, that, M. Todorov, on becoming Minister of Finances in 1923 startled all those about him by resolutely insisting that all functionaries in his department should be protected against dismissal and replacement by favourites and friends of the regime in power. That he worked with all possible zeal to render tenure of office secure for functionaries; this uncertainty as to their stability of employment being a veritable bane, and the main cause of maladministration in all Balkan countries. For a whole year there were no changes in the staff and the law relative to the appointment of functionaries in the Ministry of Finance was altered so that no one could be dismissed without the decision of a special disciplinary committee. Thus a dam against favouritism and political corruption had been effectively erected, but, M. Vlaikov, adds, no sooner had M. Todorov evacuated his post, that vents were made in the dam and soon the whole good work was undone. This shows how essential it is to have good men at the top, and all Bulgarians will readily agree that M. Todorov, in his capacity of Finance Minister has so far shown himself a very Cerberus on guard before the public purse, ready to defend it tooth and nail against dilapidations. Changes have occurred during this year (1935) in the composition of the Bulgarian Government, but the successors of M. Gheorghiev have all declared that their programme is identical to that of their predecessors and that they will pursue unflinchingly the task of purifying public life. All good-wishers of Bulgaria should wish them therefore success, for this is a pressing need.

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631 663 no government had ever decided to apply such a programme of retrenchment voluntarily and deprive itself of the privilege which the dispensation of posts brought to it. For it must not be forgotten that the politicians held the electorate by the hope of office and the civil service by fear of dismissal from their posts.

645 663 Another administrative reform was a decrease in the number of Ministries. That of railways, posts and telegraphs, has been merged with that of Public Works into a Ministry of Communications, while those of Agriculture, and of Commerce and Industry have been fused into the Ministry of National Economy. This change will not only effect an economy in the personnel, but will obviate the necessity of duplicating similar work and services and generally simplify and expedite the work of the institutes. While the piacing of the Ministries of Industry and Agriculture under the same management will greatly facilitate the work of reconciling rival and often contradictory policies, which hitherto prevented the adoption of a rational general plan. Cuts and economies were effected in all branches of the administrations, the Ministers themselves setting the example by reducing their salaries by 50 %, an example which was followed by managers of both State and private banks and other institutions.

663 475 216 On July 12, 1934 less, than two months from his assuming power, M. Kimon Gheorghiev announced in a public speech that his government had licensed 6220 public functionaries and effected economies in the budget amounting to a minimum of 385 million leva. The efficiency with which the work of overhauling the functioning of the administration was carried out may be gauged by the report on the management of the Pernik coal mine, which is an autonomous institution under State control. The new directors found that the former Agrarian Minister Ghitsev, under whose province came the supervising of

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642 under Liapchev (1926-31) sought to reduce party strife and international
668 friction. It secured a loan from the League of Nations to help in the settlement of refugees, but seemed powerless to prevent raids upon neighboring states by the IMRO which, after the assassination of Protoguerov in 1928, was dominated by Mihailov who openly defied the Sofia government and virtually reigned supreme in some frontier districts. The elections of June, 1931 brought a shift again to the left. The cabinets of Alexander Malinov and his successor, Nikola Mushanov, both of whom were Democrats representing middle class and intellectual groups, were supported by the Agrarians. This coalition found itself threatened by the rise of the Communist party which nearly captured a majority in the Sofia municipal elections of September, 1932. In the communal elections of November, however, the Agrarians and Democrats won a victory which emboldened them in an attempt to suppress both the Communists and the Macedonians in the following year.

643 Meanwhile Tsar Boris III, had steadily gained in authority and influ-
669 ence. The rapprochement with Italy signalized by the marriage of Boris to the daughter of King Victor Emmanuel III in 1930, and the part played
642 by the Tsar in steps taken toward reconciliation with Yugoslavia and Romania (1933-34) helped to bring him to the fore. Then a series of domestic events enabled the Tsar to make himself a virtual dictator. Colonel Velchev, secretary of the Military League founded in 1930, and Kimon Georgiev, prominent in *Zveno* which was a fascistic civilian organization working for reform and a "strong" government, again helped to stage a *coup d'état,* May, 1934, ousting the Democratic-Agrarian Coalition and making Georgiev premier of a dictatorial government with Velchev as his principal adviser. Parliament was dismissed and political parties dissolved by decree. Vigorous action was taken against IMRO, forcing Mihailov to flee. Most of the promises of the new government, however, and especially the solution of the financial crisis, remained unfulfilled. Velchev's known hostility toward Boris III and his alleged republicanism alienated older army circles which helped to supplant Georgiev by General Zlatev who had the backing of the Tsar. Continued financial mismanagement and a reaction within the army itself to its political activities paved the way for a return to civilian government and the dissolution of the Military League after several of its members, including Velchev, had been convicted of conspiracy. This left Boris III master of the situation, although he proclaimed his intention of restoring constitutional rule.

●646 Since the anomolous political situation within the country brought an
666 inevitable reaction against the regime, elections for a new *sobranie* were

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eventually held in March, 1938, under a changed electoral law which permitted married women to vote but forbade candidates to run as members of the old political parties. In May, 1938, the *sobranie* met for the first time since 1935, but found itself reduced to the position of a consulting body. 646 666

The political crises of the period after 1933 were but outward expressions of the serious economic condition in which Bulgaria, along with all other predominantly agrarian countries of eastern Europe, had found itself as a result of the world-wide economic depression. At the same time both Italy and Germany sought to bring Bulgaria into their political and economic orbits. Bulgaria for several years seemed to waver between them and their rivals in power politics. Although its refusal to join the Balkan Entente, because of its revisionist territorial claims, seemed to align Bulgaria with Italy, a tense situation was avoided by the signature of a Pact of Friendship with Yugoslavia on January 24, 1937. In 1938 when the east European atmosphere had become clouded because of Germany's annexation of Austria and the developing Munich crisis, Bulgaria gained recognition of the right to rearm by means of an agreement in July with Greece who acted on behalf of the Balkan Entente. This was followed by an Anglo-French loan amounting to ten million dollars to assist in Bulgarian rearmament, although Germany had already supplied much material toward this end. Nevertheless, Germany had two advantages over its rivals. One was its freedom to encourage Bulgarian revisionist ambitions which, after the Bulgar-Yugoslav pact, tended to create greatest tension with Romania over the Dobruja. The other was the powerful economic tie developed between the two countries by means of trade agreements. After Austria and part of Czechoslovakia had been incorporated in the Nazi Reich in 1939 about 52 per cent of Bulgaria's exports went to Germany and about 63 per cent of its imports came from there. 648 [439]

It is doubtful, however, if the developing ties with Germany influenced the feelings of the Bulgarian people. Tsar Boris and his governments, even though they sanctioned agreements by which the political police cooperated with the Gestapo in pursuing "Communists," sought to keep down native fascism. There was, moreover, very little antisemitism in Bulgaria. The political opposition composed of the former Agrarian, Liberal, Radical, Socialist, and Democratic party elements, was by its nature antagonistic to Nazism. And, finally, the people had always retained a deepseated feeling of sympathy and respect for Russia against whom the Nazis were ostensibly aligned. Indeed, right down to 1941 there was much ground for believing that Bulgaria might well maintain neutrality in the second World War. 648 186 665

there were more educated persons in the countryside there would be less inducement for the educated to congregate in towns. 871 369

It is an erroneous view to believe that Bulgaria is suffering from overeducation. What Bulgarians have a right to complain of is rather of a maldistribution of educated forces. It was the political system which rendered politics the best and easiest career to earn a livelihood, and thereby attracted the intellectuals to this mode of life. Politicians in their turn fostered this tendency since they utilised this intellectual proletariat from which to recruit their partisans. 871

M. Iordan Tabakov in his book "The political situation of Bulgaria after June 9", affirms that on questioning fifteen deputies elected while Stambuliiski was Prime Minister, it was found that eight had not read the Constitution and seven had read it partly, and yet all had taken the oath to govern after its spirit and to defend it! None knew what the capitals of Czechoslovakia and Switzerland were. When asked whether they considered themselves fit to be deputies, some admitted that they were not, for they had not received the requisite education, while some considered themselves worthy of the posts they held since "the people had chosen them". Dr. D. Gabrovski in his Illiterate Bulgaria," affirms that: the percentage of illiterate voters in 1920 was 52 %, and that the statistics of 1928 show that the percentage of illiterates in the country was 40 %. Many who have been to school, and had later lived in an uncultured environment could no longer read. Of the total population, only 2000 to 3000 read books, and about 30,000 nothing else save newspapers. School attendance was not very satisfactory. In the year 1929-30 there were 727,670 children of school going age, but of these only 670,872 attended school, while another 37,139 dropped off during the course of the year. Those who 871 646 212 871

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

to the State, either as a soldier or a *trudovak*. All had served in one of these capacities, else they would not have been employed.

The young men were the only ones called to leave the village. As for the rest of the people, the national government went to them in the persons of its civil servants, who comprised most of the intelligentsia. Even the priest was a government employee, since the state supported the church. The doctor received most of her salary from public funds, since private practice in a village would have been financially unrewarding. In addition to these, the veterinarian, the schoolteachers, and an occasional lecturer from outside formed the advance guard of the national State. All of these public servants knew that they would be held accountable by their supervisors or inspectors, and identified themselves much more readily with the national bureaucracy than with the peasants whom they were supposed to help. Of these, the mayor was the spearhead in the attack on the old ways. One of his duties was to preside over the village court, where he stood for the law and order of the land.

One day as I was leaving the office of the mayor he asked me to stay and attend court. I sat in the corner of the room next to a bookcase jammed with documents. The mayor sat behind his desk, covered on such occasions by the white, green, and red Bulgarian flag, on which there was a stack of folders, one for each case to be heard. On the wall over his head were pictures of the King and Queen, a beautifully colored coat of arms of Bulgaria, and a patriotic calendar. Through the window I could see the small memorial garden in which forty-four fruit trees had been planted in memory of the forty-four local sons killed in the battles of Bulgaria's several wars. Two rifles for use when the policemen were on patrol stood in the gun rack not far from the desk. A bench lined another wall close to the small cast-iron stove. Near me there was a hat rack, and a spittoon less popular than the floor. A muddy, unshaven policeman stood at the door to bark people in and out.

The first man to come in was Iliya Trunin, a thirty-two year old villager in a *kozhuh* (sheepskin coat), who was being sued by Ivan Katsarov, a tavern keeper. Iliya, instead of going to the expense of running an electric line from the main electric cable, had arranged

BUREAUCRATS AND POLITICIANS

647 There are few such morally refreshing writings on Bulgarian politics as the opening chapters of M. T. G. Vlaikov's book „Functionaries and Rulers" in which the self-sacrificing efforts and the devotion of the freshly appointed civil servants in the newly liberated Bulgaria are depicted. Touching incidents are related which illustrate the high pitch of patriotism and sense of public spirit then prevailing among the more educated classes, who hastened at the time to abandon lucrative professions in order to assume public functions, because there were no other persons capable of carrying on the work of administering the country. If the blight of politics has succeeded in perverting such austere and exemplary virtues, the removal of the baneful influence politicians have so far exerted, may equally result, under proper guidance, in a reversion to the simplicity and austerity which characterised the first appearance on the political stage of their country of the passing generation of Bulgarian public men. Easy is the descent into Avernus, while the path leading to virtue is steep and beset with obstacles, nevertheless when its existence is known, and has been trodden before, there is some hope that it may be travelled on again.

647 661 Since the discarding of democratic forms of government on May 19, 1934 this stupendous problem, on the satisfactory solution of which will depend the success or failure of the new system of government, has only received superficial treatment. The Gheorghiev Government was absorbed in other more pressing matters, and it only issued a decree inflicting draconian sanctions on all public functionaries involved in peculation. A radical overhauling and simplification of the bureaucratic machinery is the most pressing problem at the pressnt time and it remains with M. Gheor-

647 661 ghiev's successors to grapple with it and destroy root and branch this foul growth which has so far poisoned public life and undermined morals in the country. By their abillity to deal with this pressing question cabinets will be judged and their fate decided. The urgency of the matter may be gauged by the following illuminating article which appeared in the *Mir* on November 24, 1933, and a summary of which is given below:

[674] „Official statistics show that criminality has increased from 426 per 100,000 inhabitants in 1910, to 631 in 1923 and to 726 in 1929. Crime has been much more frequent in the urban districts and the class which has been most indicted, excluding that of people without a fixed occupation, is that of State and municipal functionaries. The percentage of crime among this category has been 470 per 100,000 in 1910, 751 in 192-, 1936 in 1926, 2169 in 1927, 1995 in 1928 and 1718 in 1929. The percentage of increase in crime for the whole population between 1910 and 1929 has been 64%, while that for public functionaries, has been 435% during the same period. In 1928, 22.6% of all crimes in Bulgaria had been committed by functionaries of the State or of municipalities (excluding officials in the railway and post-office administrations, whose misdeeds if accounted for would have further increased this figure of 22.6%) and it becomes obvious that our functionaries are corrupt to a frightful extent. The causes are not only the bad economic conditions, but also our political manners.

When a manager of an autonomous institute appoints capable and fit persons in possession of the required training prescribed by the regulations, the Minister in charge dismisses them and appoints in their stead his partisans. Inculpated functionaries who ought to be dismissed and arraigned before a court are maintained and even promoted if they belong to the same party as the Minister in charge".

Instability in tenure of office must equally tend to render officials remiss in their functions, there is no incitement for them to display zeal since they know that they will be evicted as soon as their party is driven from power. According to a statistical table prepared in 1911, the average period of service of State functionaries was only seven and a half years. Out of a total number of

•647 661

49,683 officials, only 830 had served thirty-one years and over.

A former Minister, M. Madjarov, writing in the *Mir* on October 11, 1934, affirmed that the reason for the increased corruption among functionaries is that the culprits are not found out. The fear of punishment is no longer a deterrent when 90% of the delinquents are not discovered. The well known author, M. T. Vultchev, also wrote on this theme in the *Mir* on October 30, 1933. He opined that the economic crisis was intensified owing to the vices of the administration, and cited in support an article published by a functionary who enlarged on the losses caused to the exchequer through the lack of control and the non-application of fiscal decrees by mayors and functionaries when they were dealing with their partisans. Even conscientious functionaries can not proceed to collect such taxes as are due by partisans of those in power for fear of being dismissed. In February 1934, the organ of certain functionaries in the Finance Ministry, the *Finansova Zastita*, wrote saying that excise controllers were hindered from doing their duty by the partisans of those who were in power and that consequently contraband was increasing. The *Mir* on November 17, 1933 affirmed that financial inspectors had ascertained that during the preceding seven months malversations amounting to 500 million leva had taken place. The *Sofiiska Tribuna* on October 14, 1933 revealed in full detail how the excise had been defrauded of some 2 million leva at Burgas through the complicity of certain State functionaries. The *Narod* on August 1933 reported that a certain sugar refinery was owing 134 million leva to the State, but that with the collusion of certain influential deputies this debt would be written off. The loss to the Bulgarian Exchequer through the pandering to the wishes and whims of partisans had attained tremendous figures. The former

BUREAUCRATS AND POLITICIANS

Minister of Finance, Stefanov, stated in the Sobranye on June 17, 1932 that in 1930 there were 2800 million leva of uncollected taxes, 75% of which could have been duly collected by the authorities if they had properly attended to their duties! The culpable remissness of the autorities has thus had two results, the disorganisation of public finances and the corruption of the public service. 647 661

The bureaucracy is not a native institution. It was set up and organised by the Russians and has inherited all the defects and corruption of its prototype.

M. Symeon Radev, in his most informative work „Creators of Contemporary Bulgaria", pp. 114/5 cited some instances of the deplorable example of corruption set up by the first Russian administrators in Bulgaria. The Russian commissary, Prince Dondukov-Korsakov, farmed out the tithe to a Frenchman at a price which was reported later by the financial authorities as derisively low. According to the contract, the Frenchman bound himself to pay as an advance 3 million gold francs, but this sum was never accounted for in the State acoounts, it had simply been pocketed by the Prince.

In connection with this contract it had been reckoned that there ought to be in the Government warehouses 290,000 bags of wheat and 100,000 bags of other cereals, but when the stock came to be checked, some 100,000 bags were missing. The financial official could get no satisfactory explanation from the Russian authorities in charge, and this colossal robbery had to be passed over in silence.

In Tsarist Russia, the functionary considered himself as all important, a very delegate of the almighty Tsar; he could take any liberty with the public, and the Russian organisers seem to have imparted this spirit to their young Bulgarian colleagues. The latter being inexperienced and uncritical, readily assimilated these vices, believing 647

647 they would thereby gain in self-importance. They thus took the habit of looking down upon the civilians with undisguised contempt and often did not hesitate to express resentment at being pestered with requests for advice or guidance. The tribulations of the average Bulgarian in his dealing with the authorities are insufferable, and one may marvel at the remarkable patience which this long-suffering, people displays. An idea of how tax payers are dealt with in Bulgaria will be formed by a perusal of the following excerpt from the *Mir*, published on May 10, 1934: „I went to the office of the Tax-collector to check the figures of an impost I had been asked to pay. The functionary was not there. I returned the following day, he took note of the matter. and asked me to call next day at 11 a. m. I was then informed that details had not yet been obtained from the archivist, and that I should call again at 4 p. m. When I presented myself in the afternoon, I was told that the details could not be found and that I had better go to the Ministry of the Interior and seek there the elucidation I needed. On calling at the Ministry I was asked to visit the Ministry of Public Health. From that department I was sent to a department of the Ministry of the Interior. There they attempted to make me call again at the places I had visited, but when I remonstrated and affirmed that I had visited these places already, one of the controllers took up the matter and was able to give me the information I was after. However this proved insufficient for my purpose and I had to prepare further petitions and start anew on my quest. It appears that all these difficulties are purposely created in order to compel people te disburse without asking for any explanations".

How indispensable it has become to challenge and destroy the existing bureaucratic system, a veritable Laernean Hydra and nightmare to the average Bulgarian, a

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system which has alienated him more than anything else from public affairs, will be gauged from the following opinions expressed recently by Bulgarian politicians of all parties on the prevailing methods in the public services and the administration. 647

These excerpts are culled from speeches in the Sobranye as recorded in the Parliamentary minutes and made by both supporters and opponents of previous Governments, all however are equally unhesitating in their condemnation of the system.

T. Kojuharov. June 6,1928, Government deputy:

„People are subjected to much suffering in their everyday dealings with the officials of the administration who torture and harass them. One may be a no-party man and well disposed towards the authorities, but it will be enough for one to have to seek a certificate that one's taxes have been paid in order to come to detest them. For in order to obtain such an indispensable document one will be forced to hang on in turn before twenty box-offices, urged from one office to another and waste fifteen to twenty working days. These are everyday facts, the conviction has become rooted among the people that without the personal intervention of a deputy at a public office it is useless to aply even when it is a case of quite legitimate business. Corridors of public administrations are congested with people, but the functionaries who are being waited for are not busy. On opening the door leading to their offices you will see them drinking coffee while the people outside curse the Government. It is such daily contact of the people with the administrative staff which causes bitterness and undermines the authority of all Bulgarian Governments. Our bureaucracy is frightful, its indifference to public affairs and State interests is simply revolting. It is repugnant even to us deputies who are obliged to be in contact with it."

D. Todorov. March 9, 1927, Government deputy:

„If you go at 8 a. m. (Shops and public offices open at this time in Bulgaria) to a Government office and ask for a functionary, you will not find him. If you ask for an assistant manager, you will be told to call at 9 a. m., if for a manager, at 10 a. m., if for the head, at 11 a. m. It would be an insult to working men if I were to say that these people work. You will see them reading newsparers,

•647 illustrated magazines, novels, or talking with friends. Complete chaos rules in the administrations and this will continue as long as Bulgaria can survive with this gangrene in her organism."

St. Kosturkov. June 15, 1932. Minister of Railways:

„There is nothing more terrible in Bulgaria than its bureaucracy; it is a greater plague even than partisanship, for if the latter is not overconfident as to its future, bureaucracy feels deep-rooted and secure, obeys no one, and respects nothing."

Dr. Beshkov. July 10, 1928. Opposition deputy:

„The registers of the financial administration present a veriable chaos. It is impossible to check their figures. Thus properties which have changed hands, still figure in the names of the original owners who are called upon to pay taxes on them. In order to recover their money the latter have to institute proceedings against the new owners. It occasionally happens that the properties have changed hands a third time, in which case the process has to be taken up further. In Sofia alone there are some 842 million leva of overdue taxes which have not been collected "

Unfortunately the situation has not improved in the least since the coup d'état, for the *Mir*, October 25, 1934, in a leader reported:

„The Sofia Tax collecting office is typical of the prevailing disorder reigning in the bureaucracy and illustrates our incapacity to organise a public service. Though great efforts have been made since May 19th to correct the inherent vices in this department there are no signs of any amelioration yet, though it must be admitted that it is impossible to redress in a few months the consequences of years of incapacity and remissness. Fantastic things occur at this office. Citizens can not receive a positive answer as to how much they owe to the State; at every inquiry a divergent answer is given. A few weeks ago taxes on the estate of a man who had died ten years ago were being collected and to the surprise of the heirs, buildings belonging to them for years were included among the property of the dead. For ten years these matters had not been verified! The system is vicious, incompetent and creates a current of dissatisfaction against authority."

The administration seems to take pleasure in creating difficulties and obstructing every branch of activity.

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The experience of an acquaintance who attempted to send a consignment of Bulgarian cigarettes to some relatives of the author's in Nigeria, is worth relating. He had to order special tin containers from England to hold the cigarettes. According to the existing customs regulations, all packing materials imported in the country and used as such for goods exported from Bulgaria pay no duty on entry. On the arrival of the tin containers an over-zealous official opined, that they were not, properly speaking, packing material, for they would themselves be packed in cases, and that therefore they were subject to duty. As the duty was prohibitive and amounted to a preposterous figure a petition was lodged with the Ministry of Commerce soliciting that a more liberal interpretation should be given to the existing law. Six months later the answer came, intimating that the matter was in the competence of the Finance Ministry. Another petition was then draffed and submitted. Another problem then arose, namely, which of the various departments in the Ministry was the competent one to deal with this subject. No one would assume responsibility. A whole year elapsed and finally the wiseacres in the Ministry decided that the Minister of Finance himself should cut the Gordian knot. But he too quaked before a matter of such stupendous importance, and he referred it to the Ministerial Council, which decided at last that the containers should be considered as packing material and be exempted from duty. Over a year and a half was needed to solve this complex problem, and in the meanwhile most of the tins had rusted and become useless. 647•

These difficulties and obstacles one meets when dealing with organs of the administration are not due to mere red tape or to the proverbial bungling of the bureaucracy, they are often created purposely in order to embarass, bewilder and paralyse the applicant and thus 647 661

•647 661 force him to have recourse to an intercessor, in important cases a deputy, whose services have to be remunerated, and who usually shares with the functionaries the spoils he has squeezed out of his hapless victim.

Thus we find D. Daskalov, July 18, 1928, an opposition deputy, declaring:

„Unparalleled chaos reigns in the Pension Administration. Pensioners living in the provinces have to employ and pay intercessors in order to have their affairs attended to and settled. In many instances and though all the necessary documents have been submitted, cases drag on for two or three years. I know of a teacher from Vidin, who after waiting for a whole year without obtaining satisfaction came specially to Sofia. On inquiring at the Pension Bureau he was told to call again in a week's time. When he retorted that he had specially come to Sofia for this matter and could not afford to wait, he was informed that such was the prevailing order and that it could not be changed."

A Government supporter, N. Padarev, then continued in the same strain:

„I know of an unfortunate widow with four children, whose pension book has been kept back for six months and not returned. Such a state of affairs is as inexcusable as it is unbearable."

G. T. Vlaikov, March 5, 1929, a supporter of the Government, after a long speech on the civil services related the following experience of a friend of his who had the greater part of his estate expropriated, and to whom a compensation of three million leva had been awarded. Though he was in urgent need of the money to pay his taxes and cultivate the remainder of his land, all his efforts to secure payment proved unavailing for eight years. At last he had recourse fo an intercessor who demanded a commission of 12%, but finally he accepted 7%, and in a very short time the money was paid.

Another deputy, H. Baraliev, January 28, 1927, a supporter of the Government, discoursed on the lapses prevalent in the Financial administration. Income-tax declara-

tions of wealthy and influential people went usually astray in tax collectors' offices. A committee of control had unearthed twenty such declarations in one tax-collector's office. A special commission had been appointed to examine the amount of taxes imposed at first hand, and in many instances had made undue reductions from millions to thousands. Obviously bribery had been resorted to. 647 661

The name of a well known Gabrovo manufacturer was given whose tax had been assessed at 800,000 and the amount afterwards reduced to a very small sum. The committee of control was able to prove the partiality of the special commission but its report on these abuses had been kept back by a head of a department whose name was given. Cases of income-tax collectors who had absconded after appropriating public moneys were also cited, and M. Baraliev explained that unworthy individuals were being nominated as tax-collectors owing to their close relationship with those in power. In Sevlievo a conscientious financial inspector was removed from his post because he inflicted a fine on an influential partisan and the fine had not been collected. The services were being demoralised when dutiful men were reprimanded and unprincipled men protected.

Ts. Tabakov, March 14, 1929, an independent deputy, decried the custom of creating sinecures which are filled by partisans. There was not a single chancery where abuses were not committed, bribes openly received, and embezzlements in which the big bosses of the party were participating. Responsible posts were entrusted to unworthy persons.

Another opposition deputy, Dr. N. Dumanov, March 8, 1929 was yet more outspoken: „Our treatment of functionaries is criminal, we choose them mainly as pioneers in electoral struggles, and consequently nominate men who are not fit to serve as civil servants."

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And the following statement made by another Government deputy, V. Marinov, on September 8, 1926 is not devoid of humour owing to its extreme artlessness: „What God gives is for all, but the blessings which the State may confer are first for our kin. That is how we understand democracy. So it was yesterday, is to day and will be tomorrow. It is we deputies who intervene to dismiss or nominate officials. Why should some criticise the system when they did the same thing when in office."

In the customs too, serious abuses occur, and the State loses millions every year by prevarications and collusions between customs officials and importers. One may secure illustrations of these shady transactions by perusal of a pamphlet recently published by a former customs official, C. S. Dobrudjaliev, and also in the above mentioned book of M. G. T. Vlaikov. This will explain the rocket-like ascension of certain commercial firms in Bulgaria. Such a practice is not only prejudicial to the State, which sees its revenues dwindle, but it is also devastating to the commercial community at large. Honest traders are being undersold and ruined by such unscrupulous competition.

Parliamentarism had become a travesty, and democratic institutions served as decoys to hoodwink the people and impose upon them. The public services were purposely demoralised in order that politicians should become the supreme dispensers of all power. Instead of appointing to public functions men suited by their accomplishments and training, servility became the best credential. Far from seeking to stabilise the civil services and render them immune to political influence, functionaries on the contrary were made to feel that both their appointment and promotion depended on the politicians. They therefore obeyed them in everything and looked up to them rather than after the interests of the State which they were supposed to serve.

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Another natural consequence was the undue multiplication of public functions in order to provide for an increase in the number of such docile retainers, who served to strengthen the politicians' hold on the State machinery. The increase in the personnel necessitated the finding of some additional occupation and this was secured by an undue complication of the administration. This too was to the advantage of the politician, it made him indispensable to his electors. The transaction of business in a Government office having been rendered as intricate and puzzling a procedure as possible, the average citizen was forced to resort to the services of a politician to settle such affairs. Political bosses made an easy living by the dispensation of such services, which were far from being gratuitous, and even public functionaries had often to compensate their patrons for the posts to which they had been appointed by sharing with them their meagre salaries.

This explains why, when conscientious deputies like G. Yurtov, who on February 22, 1927 remarked in the Sobranye that half of the functionaries could be dispensed with by simplifying the civil services, or when A. Kantardjiev (November 5, 1931) criticised the system and declared that Bulgaria had the greatest number of functionaries in proportion to her population, namely, 17 per 1000 inhabitants, while England, Switzerland and France had only 3½ to 7 per 1000 inhabitants, such remarks fell on deaf ears.

It may seem strange, yet it is among the higher strata of the bureaucracy that one finds its most perverted members; the rank and file, though wretchedly underpaid are on the whole honest and conscientious, which shows that if a more efficient control was exerted and stricter discipline imposed, the demoralising influence set by those at the top would cease. So far this was not attempted because the top layers of the bureaucracy were in the

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647 661 main recruited from the ranks of the politicians. Only twice have efforts been made to stabilise the civil services and put a stop to the abuses it was giving birth to. The first attempt was made in the early years of Tsar Ferdinand's reign and the initiative was due to the then Prime Minister, Dr Danev. But such a measure did not suit the views of the Crown, and the National Liberal party, which was next in office, hastened to rescind it with the approval of Ferdinand who refused to interfere when appealed to by several leading political leaders.

The second attempt was that made by M. Peter Todorov, which has already been mentioned.

000 It is easy to realise that when the Executive and the Legislature become bound by a community of private interests and either fails to control the other then Parliamentarism goes bankrupt. This is what has happened in European countries which have adopted Parliamentary institutions, with the exception of the Scandinavian countries, Holland and Switzerland where its proper functioning has been rendered possible owing to the citizen's high conception of his civil duties. Democratic government is the outcome of a long evolution and there is no room for blind imitation. It took some seven centuries to reach its present state of development in Great Britain, and even there, it is open to lively criticism. Dean Inge has defined modern democracy as "the organised plunder of minorities"; but even this constitutes a vast advance on the level attained in the Balkans where it is still at the stage of the organised plunder of the majorities, judging from the following striking deliverance of Mihailovski: "We are a predatory people ... Bulgaria is divided into two halves which have adopted this *modus vivendi:* – one day the first half plunders the second half; the next day, the second half despoils the first". One should admit, however, that it is not reasonable to

expect that in two generations new countries should tread the road to constitutional progress up to the point reached by England.

With the advent of an authoritative government this work of reform should be vigorously taken in hand, for those in power can no longer justify themselves by stating that they have their party attachments to satisfy. A radical simplification of the system should be aimed at, and drastic cuts should be applied. M. T. G. Vlaikov admitted (*Radical* March 8, 1929) that though the Liaptchev Government had assumed the obligation towards the League of Nations to reduce the number of functionaries by 10,000, nothing had been done. He further affirmed that directors of departments and superior officials hardly work more than two to three hours a day, and that out of every 12,000 public functionaries there are 1500 who do absolutely nothing and who nevertheless draw the biggest salaries. When the budget for the financial year 1934-5 came up for discussion, an open letter addressed to M. Stefanov, the Finance Minister, appeared in the *Mir* on March 21, 1934 from which it is worth citing the following remarks: "Excessive sums have been provided to defray travelling expenses, commissions etc, Functionaries who are delegated to participate at special conferences should not be entitled to receive additional emoluments. For instance, the Prime Minister who receives remuneration amounting to 665,000 leva a year, can surely afford to travel abroad in order to take up the defence of the country's interests there if this be necessary. Why should he be awarded a supplementary sum of 5000 or 6000 leva a day for this purpose? Other Cabinet Ministers receive 364,000 to 440,000 leva a year and they enjoy many other privileges. They travel in special railway cars and in State-owned automobiles, they even have free boxes at the National Theatre . . . My aim is to draw attention to the

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directors in the Ministries, to the "collaborators" of Ministers, those occupying "key" posts. In certain departments one is impressed by the fact that there are no subordinate officials. All are directors or inspectors. It appears that every Minister on assuming office creates new posts for directors, and matters have reached such an extreme, that in the ministries only managers are installed, and there are no officials to attend to routine work. In the General Direction of Public Works, the Minister is surrounded by a jurisconsult, a general manager, twelve chiefs of sections twenty six managing engineers and architects who receive monthly salaries of 6000 to 13000 leva. For the entire personnel of this institution a credit of seven millions a year is provided, out of which five millions are affected to the payment of emoluments of the higher members of the staff, who moreover are delegated to participate in conferences and therefore receive extra bonuses.

In the Directions of Public Health, and that of the Home Office, out of the affected credits of 1,976,400 and 1,784,400 leva some 1,200,000 and 1.484,000 are respectively assigned for the remuneration of the "directorate". In the Ministry of Finances out of the 16 million leva of expenditure voted for it, 12 are absorbed by the salaries of the higher staff and the real workers have to be content with the remaining 4 millions etc. It is these "directors" who inflate the budget. They constitute an intolerable burden because they do nothing and in most cases they come and go together with the Minister and the party which has appointed them, for on the whole they are altogether unfit for the posts they occupy. The Bulgarian administration does not require such "budgetivorous directors". Once upon a time each Ministry had only one secretary and the Ministers attended mostly singly to the affairs of the State. Minister Stefanov has

declared that the crisis is now beginning for Bulgaria, curtail therefore M. Stefanov your emoluments and the number of your "directors" to the minimum etc". 647 661

According to the budget of 1934-5 the number of public functionaries was stated to be 88,000, but obviously without reckoning the supernumeraries. The Gheorghiev Cabinet revised the budget and in August 1934 the number had been restricted to 82,583. In 1933 there were only 35,920, so that there is yet ample scope for further reductions. In Greece, which has about the same population, the number of public servants numbered only 45,523[1]) in 1930 and only 12% of the budget was charged with their remuneration. In Bulgaria, 35·15% of the budget for 1930-1 was earmarked for the wages of some 85,250 functionaries. The *Archive for Economics and Social Politics* in its second fascicule for 1933 contained the following table as to the numbers and salaries of the civil services for the year 1931-2.

DEPARTMENT	Number of functionaries	Total amount of salaries	% of total	Average salary per functionary
Supreme administration	674	33,447,000	1.1	49,625
Ministry for Foreign Affairs	2,750	82,886,000	2.8	30,140
" of Interior	9,858	247,943,000	8.5	25,151
" of Education	24,259	798,260,000	27.4	32,905
" of Finances	4,113	133,484,000	4.5	32,697
" of Justice	3,843	132,288,000	4.5	34,423
" of War	6,953	298,806,000	10.2	42,975
" of Commerce etc	1,833	69,837,000	2.4	39,099
" of Agriculture	4,432	151,144,000	5.2	34,103
" of Public Works	2,584	118,769,000	4.	45,963
" of Railways, Post & Telegraphs	6,800	203,228,000	7	29,886
Administration of Railways.	18,047	616,794,000	21.6	34,266
Commissariats for supervising Treaty. . .	8	486,000	0.1	60,780
Various funds	457	20,827,000	0.7	45,572
Total	86,611	2,908,198,000	100	Average annual salary 33,642

[1] This figure does not include railway employés who are not State functionaries in Greece.

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An accurate idea however, can not be formed by these figures, for while the hierarchy is well retributed, the lower grades are wretchedly paid and by averaging up the salaries as had been done above, one is likely to infer that the position of the public functionary is satisfactory, this unfortunately is far from being the case. The rank and file are miserably underpaid. Thus according to the figures available concerning the revised budget of 1934-1[1] out of 82,583 functionaries, plus the 26,189 volunteers employed in the army,

26,303	were receiving	emoluments	of	1000 leva	and under		a month,
55,992	"	"	"	"	between	1030	and	1940
11,194	"	"	"	"	"	2020	"	2510
1,867	"	"	"	"	"	2590	"	2940
5,316	"	"	"	"	"	3020	"	3980
1,862	"	"	"	"	"	4060	"	4940

while the number of those drawing wages over 5,000 leva a month and rising to a maximum of 20,500 leva, which is the salary of a minister, was only 6,438, while the total sum in the budget affected to salaries amounted to 2,753,946,864 leva. Bulgarian critics are at one to point out that there is a plethora of public functionaries and that the better remunerated posts are really sinecures. It is imperative to reduce the number of functionaries not for the purpose of effecting economies, but in order to increase by the saving thus made the salaries of those who remain, since the State has no other resources from which to retribute the services of its servants adequately. How can a functionary with a family in Sofia, live on a monthly salary of 2000 or 3000 leva, when he needs at least 1000 to 1500 leva a month for rent alone? Is it surprising if he tries to supplement his scanty salary by devious ways since it does not suffice to keep him alive? M. Vlasakov writing in the *Mir* on June 13, 1933 stated that between 1925 and 1932 in those State departments the

1 [Errata: should be 1934-5. —Analyst]

BUREAUCRATS AND POLITICIANS

accounts of which have been controlled by financial inspectors, it was found that 435,792,881 leva of public money had been misappropriated. He further affirmed that for the last 15 years not a single custom-house, tax-paying office, excise office or industrial enterprise had its accounts properly audited, and if they were subjected to a strict inspection the number of discoveries of peculations which would ensue would be astounding. 647 661

What is needed above all is a simplification of the system which can surely be easily attained, for up to the present those in power aimed at complicating the State machine in order to justify the creation of more posts for their adherents. The semi-military government now in power is not handicapped by such an incubus and it is to be hoped that its sense of duty and patriotism will give power to its elbow to carry out this indispensable reform. Should it succeed in carrying this through it will have deserved the undying gratitude of its fellow-citizens.

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871 should have attended the secondary school (progymnasia) aged 12 to 14 were 185,394 but of these 74,885 did not attend and some 12,433 attended only partly. Only 98,076 completed the course, and of the latter 62,855 were successful at their examinations. During the same year 5,016 college graduates applied for entry to the University, of these 4,392 were admitted and 624 failed to pass the tests, and this, according to Dr. Gabrovski, was a conclusive proof that there was too little education in Bulgaria, since out of some 700,000 attending the elementary schools less than 4,500 complete their secondary education.

The Minister of Education explained on June 11, 1932, the causes of non-attendance at school. Of the 56,788 children who had absented themselves from the elementary schools in the year 1929—30, 22,777 were living at places difficult of access and there were 1999 abnormal children. Turkish children provided the greatest percentage of non-attendance (26%), that relative to the Bulgarian being 5·5%. Deputy G. P. Ghenov speaking at the same date, affirmed that the annual contingent of graduates from colleges and higher training schools numbered about 10,000 of those only some 1500 are admitted to the University and the rest are unable to find situations. College graduates consider themselves as intellectuals and refuse to become farmers or craftsmen. In another speech 871 delivered in March 1934, he laid stress on the fact that 647 youths graduating at the University were not sure about securing Government employ; thus for sixty to eighty qualifying for judges, only four or five posts are available and the number of candidates to the public services thus increases yearly. Politicians take advantage of the situation, and secure recruits for their parties by promising posts to those who have not been appointed public functionaries.

If the number of aspirants to Government employ is

now so greatly in excess of the available posts, it is not owing to the system of education, but rather owing to the fact that all the intellectuals from the Dobrudja, Macedonia, and Thrace have been driven to seek refuge in Bulgaria, and through the League of Nations abstaining from interfering on behalf of the Bulgarian minorities in the adjoining Balkan countries in order to secure the repatriation of these people. 871 647

Education is free and obligatory for all children between the ages of seven and fourteen. Approximately, 1/6 of the population is attending schools and about 8% of the children liable to compulsory obligation evade it for some reason or other. The urban population provides proportionally a greater percentage of school children, 25% as against 75% for the rural. The number of girls attending school is as large as that of boys. The following table shows the number of various educational establishments functioning during the year 1932 - 3, the number of professors and students: 871

		Pupils	Teachers
Kindergarten Schools	155	7,649	174
Elementary "	5518	705,443	18,478
Secondary " (progymnasia)	1933	207,795	7,189
Colleges "	105	42,217	2,901
Special "	25	2,854	408
Professional "	321	25,261	1,821
Higher training	4	667	55
" " Colleges	7	10,419	500
Scools for abnormal chirdren	5	252	42
	8,073	1,002,555	30,758

Of the 8073 educational establishment, 7093 were State schools and 980 private institutions, practically all belonging to various ethnic minorities and foreign missions, the number of pupils attending them, was 82,342 and that of the teaching staff 2,705. These last two figures are ncluded in the total shown in the above table. The

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XXVII

BULGARIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

DWIGHT E. LEE

Introduction

B-Y 727 648 BULGARIA and Yugoslavia emerged from the war of 1914-1918 in contrasting positions—the one a defeated power and the other a victor. This situation, a repetition of that following the Second Balkan War only six years before, helped to perpetuate a feeling of rivalry and bitterness toward each other. Both nations, however, faced serious political and economic problems at home which were far from satisfactorily settled when the war of 1939-1945 caught them up again and threw them once more on opposite sides of the struggle.

Bulgaria[1]

B 727 643 668 The military collapse of Bulgaria in September, 1918, was followed shortly afterward on October 4 by the abdication of Tsar Ferdinand and the succession of Boris III. Although the pro-German premier, Radoslavov, had resigned some months before, his successors who signed the armistice were unable to stem the current of discontent and disillusionment caused by wartime suffering and the prospect of a severe peace. Accordingly, in the elections of August, 1919, the leftist Agrarian party won a significant victory under the leadership of Alexander Stambolisky who had gone to jail for three years because of his opposition to entry into the war and, upon his release in 1918, had sought to set up a republic. Of peasant stock, he was the embodiment of the hopes for a new era held by the Bulgarian farmers who constituted nearly 80 per cent of the population. After 000

113 [1] The best studies on contemporary Bulgaria are the following: A. Bulatsel, *Ocherki sotsialno-politicheskoĭ zhizni Bolgarii* (Moscow, 1925); K. Dimitriev, *Bolgariya* (Moscow, 1941); A. Girginov, *Ot voĭnata kŭm mir* (Sofia, 1937); T. Girginov, *Istoricheski razvoĭ na suvremenna Bŭlgariya* (2 v.; Sofia, 1934-1935); N. Iliev, *Boris III, tsar na Bŭlgaritĕ* (Sofia, 1936); A. P. Malinov, *Stranichki ot nashata nova politicheska istoriya* (Sofia, 1938); N. D. Ivanov, *Aleksandŭr Stambolĭĭski. Lichnost i idei* (Sofia, 1930); N. Stanev, *Istoriya na nova Bŭlgariya, 1878-1928* (Sofia, 1929); K. Todorov, *Politička istorija savremene Bugarske* (Belgrad, 1938). Sources in Slavic languages have been supplied by Professor C. E. Black of Princeton University.

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Yugoslavia

After
becoming premier in October, 1919, Stambolisky's first task was that of 728
signing the peace terms drawn up by the victorious Allies.

The Treaty of Neuilly, November 27, 1919, reduced Bulgaria to a [131]
smaller area than it had held before the First Balkan War of 1912 and imposed new burdens. Bulgaria lost the Aegean coast (Western Thrace) to Greece, southern Dobruja to Romania, and strips of land on the west to Yugoslavia. The army was limited to a total of 20,000. Reparations [701]
amounting to $450,000,000 were to be paid in thirty-seven years, beginning in 1921. The existence of Bulgarian minorities in all the neighbor- [668]
ing states furnished a basis for revisionism which steadily grew, particularly after the rise of fascism throughout Europe in the thirties.[2] The [167]
provision for an exchange of populations with Greece greatly heightened the volume of refugees who streamed into Bulgaria, adding to the political ferment and economic burdens of the country. In these and other ways, the settlement exacerbated conditions under which radicalism throve.

Stambolisky won a commanding position in the parliamentary elections 643
of March, 1920, and proceeded to ride roughshod over both the middle 185
class and conservative parties on the right and the Communists on the left. 656
He instituted a number of reforms, including a land law designed to break 648
up the crown lands and larger estates, the imposition of a heavy income
tax, and the establishment of a compulsory labor service which in the first 669
four years of operation secured the equivalent of five million wage days of work for the Ministries of Public Works and Railways. In foreign policy he sought to fulfill the treaties and to effect a reconciliation with Yugoslavia among whose Communist and Agrarian parties his concepts of Slavic federation found support. His dictatorial methods, however, won him enemies on all sides, not least among them being the Macedonians who opposed his policy of rapprochement with Yugoslavia. In June, 1923, he was overthrown by a *coup d'état* organized by a group of intellectuals, led by Professor Tsankov, and the League of Army Reserve Officers, among whom Colonels Velchev and Georgiev were leaders. A few days later Stambolisky was assassinated.

Following the Stambolisky regime, the Tsankov government (1923-26) 642
represented a swing to the right. "Communist" insurrections and violence 668
were suppressed with great severity. The increased activity of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) caused difficulties at home and abroad, although after the assassination of its leader Alexandrov (1924) it was split into two factions under Protoguerov and Mihailov who became bitter rivals. A threat of war with Greece arose, but was averted by the action of the League of Nations. A more conciliatory government

[2] See G. P. Genov, *Bulgaria and the Treaty of Neuilly* (Sofia, 1935).

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eventually held in March, 1938, under a changed electoral law which permitted married women to vote but forbade candidates to run as members of the old political parties. In May, 1938, the *sobranie* met for the first time since 1935, but found itself reduced to the position of a consulting body. 646 666

The political crises of the period after 1933 were but outward expressions of the serious economic condition in which Bulgaria, along with all other predominantly agrarian countries of eastern Europe, had found itself as a result of the world-wide economic depression. At the same time both Italy and Germany sought to bring Bulgaria into their political and economic orbits. Bulgaria for several years seemed to waver between them and their rivals in power politics. Although its refusal to join the Balkan Entente, because of its revisionist territorial claims, seemed to align Bulgaria with Italy, a tense situation was avoided by the signature of a Pact of Friendship with Yugoslavia on January 24, 1937. In 1938 when the east European atmosphere had become clouded because of Germany's annexation of Austria and the developing Munich crisis, Bulgaria gained recognition of the right to rearm by means of an agreement in July with Greece who acted on behalf of the Balkan Entente. This was followed by an Anglo-French loan amounting to ten million dollars to assist in Bulgarian rearmament, although Germany had already supplied much material toward this end. Nevertheless, Germany had two advantages over its rivals. One was its freedom to encourage Bulgarian revisionist ambitions which, after the Bulgar-Yugoslav pact, tended to create greatest tension with Romania over the Dobruja. The other was the powerful economic tie developed between the two countries by means of trade agreements. After Austria and part of Czechoslovakia had been incorporated in the Nazi Reich in 1939 about 52 per cent of Bulgaria's exports went to Germany and about 63 per cent of its imports came from there. 648 [439]

It is doubtful, however, if the developing ties with Germany influenced the feelings of the Bulgarian people. Tsar Boris and his governments, even though they sanctioned agreements by which the political police cooperated with the Gestapo in pursuing "Communists," sought to keep down native fascism. There was, moreover, very little antisemitism in Bulgaria. The political opposition composed of the former Agrarian, Liberal, Radical, Socialist, and Democratic party elements, was by its nature antagonistic to Nazism. And, finally, the people had always retained a deepseated feeling of sympathy and respect for Russia against whom the Nazis were ostensibly aligned. Indeed, right down to 1941 there was much ground for believing that Bulgaria might well maintain neutrality in the second World War. 648 186 665

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The War of 1939-1945

Jockeying for Position

When the European war broke out in September, 1939, the conditions in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were not dissimilar. In each country a semi-dictatorial government, primarily responsible to the monarch, ruled with the assent of a subservient parliament. The predominantly agrarian masses were discontented with both political and economic conditions but were inarticulate and ineffectively organized. While all former political parties had been officially dissolved, their members continued to carry on a half-concealed activity beneath the eyes of the censor and the political police. The economy of each country was tied, in the main, to Germany's; although in Bulgaria, Great Britain and France made a pretense at counteracting German influences, they had apparently abandoned Yugoslavia to the Axis. In foreign relations both governments officially pursued a policy of neutrality, while their ministers and rulers made open or surreptitious visits to Hitler or his henchmen. German "tourists" ceaselessly worked in each country for the benefit of the German Reich.

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Beneath the surface, however, there were forces which caused Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to take different courses when the crucial test came. In Yugoslavia resistance to collaboration with the Axis sprang up the minute the government capitulated. In Bulgaria, on the other hand, the government was able to swing the country into the Axis camp and keep it there until the triumph of the United Nations and particularly Russia made it clear that the Axis was losing the war.

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As late as February, 1940, the Bulgarian government[5] assured the members of the Balkan Entente that it would not press its revisionist claims while the war lasted. With the dismemberment of Romania, however, in the summer of 1940, Bulgaria considered itself absolved of this pledge and in September obtained Southern Dobruja, thus regaining the boundary of 1912. Although Romania and Hungary were persuaded in November to adhere to the Tripartite Pact of Germany, Italy, and Japan, and despite the fact that over 80 per cent of Bulgaria's trade was now being carried on with Germany, the tsar and his government refused to join the Axis. Russia, whose agreement with the Reich in August, 1939, had undoubtedly helped to confuse the Bulgarian people, may have had something to do

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[5] In well-managed elections, January, 1940, the government obtained a *sobranje* composed of 140 supporters and 20 opponents of whom 9 were Communists. A new government, organized on February 16, was headed by Bogdan Filov who remained premier until he entered the Regency Council in September, 1943.

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648 with the refusal, for the Soviet plainly indicated its disapproval of a Bulgarian alliance with Germany. In January and February, 1941, however, German pressure upon Bulgaria was greatly increased as the Nazi regime prepared for the conquest of Greece, with whom Italy had been at war since the previous October. The United States and Great Britain sought to warn Bulgaria against repeating the mistake of the first World War, while the opposition within the country likewise voiced its disapproval of a pro-German policy. But German "tourists" and German propaganda gradually won the upper hand, until finally, on March 1, Premier Filov signed the Axis pact at Vienna. He had undoubtedly been offered the fulfillment of Bulgarian revisionist claims against Yugoslavia and Greece. German troops immediately poured into the country from across the Danube and German economic experts, who had already gained experience while turning Romania into a "purely primary producer," began to prepare Bulgaria for its role as a "first-class exporting country."[6]

Yugoslavia

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648 The adherence of Bulgaria to the Axis meant that Yugoslavia was all but surrounded by German satellites, for only on the south, where the Greeks were more than holding their own, was there a gap in the Axis system. Obviously Germany's plans for a quick conquest of Greece in preparation for an attack upon Soviet Russia required the coöperation of the Yugoslavs. Accordingly the familiar pressures were now exerted upon the Belgrad government. Although Yugoslavia's economy was not quite as dependent as Bulgaria's on the Reich, the country was in a more vulnerable geographical position. Moreover, the dissident nationalities offered a fine opportunity for Nazi propaganda, while Prince Paul and other men of the government and of leading business circles had established close con-
[625] tacts with the Fascist and Nazi regimes. If wartime revelations are to be trusted, it would appear, for example, that beginning in 1937 Yugoslav political police entered into a working agreement with the Gestapo to help
648 eliminate political undesirables. It is not surprising, therefore, that Premier Cvetković and Foreign Minister Činčar-Marković were persuaded to sign
669 the Tripartite Pact at Vienna on March 25, 1941, and at the same time agreed, apparently, to permit the passage of German troops to Greece. But here the parallel with Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria ends, for the Yugoslav people made such a prompt and unmistakable protest against

[6] For convenient summaries of events and of Bulgarian and German aims, see "The German Threat to Bulgaria," *Bulletin of International News*, XVIII (February 22, 1941), 191-197; "German New Order Reappears," *ibid.*, XVIII (November 29, 1941), 1912-14; and "Bulgaria and the War," *ibid.*, XX (November 13 and 27, 1943), 989-94 and 1031-39.

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of Yugoslavia" (AVNOJ), established at Jayce, November, 1943. Following the Teheran decision, pressure was put upon King Peter in London to make an agreement with Tito. This was accomplished in the summer of 1944 by Ivan Subašić who had been appointed premier of the government-in-exile for that purpose. As the Germans were gradually cleared out of the country after the surrender of Italy and Bulgaria, the further step of setting up a provisional government on Yugoslav soil was taken in March, 1945, when a new regency council was appointed, Tito was made premier, and Subašić became foreign minister. Though the story of the next few months was to be scarcely less exciting than that of the war period, it belongs to the era of peacemaking and reconstruction where it will be discussed.

Bulgaria

Even though Bulgaria shared in the early triumphs of the Axis, occupying Thrace as well as most of Macedonia, its position was little better than Yugoslavia's. The Bulgarian government had to adopt a policy of severe repression, especially after 1941, in order to keep in line the mass of the population whose traditional sympathies for Russia and the United States were aroused after their entry into the war against Germany. Moreover, the Third Reich made ever increasing demands upon the country as the initial Nazi victories were turned into defeat in both Russia and the Mediterranean. Reports from Bulgaria of insurrections, sabotage, student demonstrations, Communist terrorism, and disaffected public servants including army officers were common throughout 1942 and 1943. The Nazis found it necessary not only to direct all police work but also to interfere frequently in the administration of important government departments until the German Minister, Beckerle, became virtually a *Gauleiter* in a hostile land. Apparently Boris III and his governments did their best to resist the most distasteful demands, and it may well be that the tsar met his death in August, 1943, because of his refusal to yield to Hitler's requests. Some indication of the temper of the people may be gleaned from the fact that Premier Filov arranged a pro-German Council of Regency for young Tsar Simeon II without taking the risk of seeking authorization from a specially elected *sobranje* as required by the constitution.[8]

By late spring, 1944, reports began to appear concerning "Partisan" activity in Bulgaria and the formation of a "Fatherland Front" composed of

[8] Very little reliable information concerning Bulgaria since 1941 has been published. For the handiest summaries of news reports, see the references cited in footnote 6 above and also the *Bulletin of International News*, XXI XXII (1944-45). Foreign newspaper correspondents were admitted to Bulgaria only in the middle of 1945.

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Communists, Agrarians, Democrats, and republicans. In the summer the Soviet Union, against whom Bulgaria had not declared war, began to press for the ousting of the Germans and a reversal of the policy pursued since 1941. On September 2, a new Bulgarian government, headed by a former secretary of Stambolisky, Konstantin Muraviev, and including former Premier Mušanov, announced the full restoration of democratic freedom and rights, a return to neutrality, and the nullification of the Tripartite Pact. It also dispatched representatives to Cairo to negotiate an armistice with Great Britain and the United States and, on September 8, declared war on Germany. In the meantime, however, Russia, not fully satisfied with the course being pursued, declared war on Bulgaria on September 5. This confusing situation was clarified four days later when Muraviev was succeeded by a new government which had the full support of the "Fatherland Front." It was led by Kimon Georgiev, who was alleged to have experienced a change of heart since his participation in the *coup d'état* of 1934, and included his former colleague, Colonel Velchev.

Before the end of September Russian military forces had moved into the country and were rapidly turning the Bulgarian army, now placed under the command of a Russian General, Tolbukhin, against the fleeing Germans. By the formal armistice terms, signed in Moscow on October 28, 1944, Bulgaria promised to withdraw from all territories occupied in Greece and Yugoslavia, to restore all properties of the United Nations and make reparation for damages, to rid Bulgaria of all pro-Axis organizations, to coöperate in the arrest and trial of war criminals, and to accept an Allied Control Commission which would regulate and supervise the execution of the armistice. Since Russia held a dominant position in the Commission and since Bulgaria was prepared to follow Communist leadership, her lot as an ex-Axis satellite differed little from that of Yugoslavia.

Reconstruction and Peacemaking

Reconstruction in both Yugoslavia and Bulgaria took the form of a revolution led by Communists and was patterned after the policies and practices of the Soviet Union.

The National Front in Yugoslavia

The Tito government, established in Yugoslavia in 1945, promised that it would "comply with the fundamental and general principles of constitutional government" and that it intended to found a democratic, federative state. This was to consist of Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia. Provisional governments were formed in each of these units in April and May, 1945. While Tito's ter-

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fusing to attend the conference called at Paris to consider the Marshall Plan for European reconstruction, Yugoslavia manifested her determination to stand by Soviet Russia economically as well as politically.

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The Fatherland Front in Bulgaria

In attempting to fulfill the terms of the armistice and to prepare for parliamentary elections, the Georgiev government in Bulgaria, like that of Tito in Yugoslavia, was accused of pursuing totalitarian tactics. The United States and Great Britain entered protests against the conduct of the elections of November, 1945, in which 88 per cent of the vote was reported to be in favor of the Fatherland Front. The effort of the two powers to bring about the admission to the government of two representatives of "other democratic groups" proved unavailing, despite the agreement of Soviet Russia to the proposal at the Moscow Conference in December. [666] The National Assembly which chose Vassil Kolarov, a Communist, to be its president, arranged for a plebiscite, September 9, 1946, on the form of government. When the results went overwhelmingly in favor of a republic, the Assembly on September 15, declared Bulgaria to be a People's Republic. Elections in October, following the drafting of a constitution, returned an Assembly less predominantly Communist than Yugoslavia's, though whether this outcome was designed or came about because of a failure to crush the opposition effectively is not clear. The Fatherland Front majority of 366 deputies was made up of 279 Communists (Workers' Party), sixty-nine dissident Agrarians, nine *Zveno* members, eight dissident Social Democrats, and one Radical; while the opposition of 99 was composed of ninety Agrarians under the leadership of Petkov, and nine Social Democrats led by Lelchev.[10] In November Georgiev resigned as premier and was succeeded by Georgi Dimitrov, an eminent Communist who had been made famous by the Reichstag Fire Trial in 1934 and had been living in Russia until the end of the war. Like Yugoslavia, Bulgaria had entered upon the path of a Soviet-orientated state.

Peacemaking and Foreign Relations

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Beginning with the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco in 1945, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, whenever represented or discussed at international conferences, have been led or supported by Soviet Russia. Thus they are both aligned with the "Eastern"

[10] For a brief description of the elections and the policies of the Dimitrov regime by a sympathetic observer, see Commander Edgar P. Young, "'People's Republic Bulgaria'," *Contemporary Review*, CLXXI (March, 1947), 162-66.

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side of the East-West division that seems to have split Europe and the world. Y-B 648 •

With respect to boundary settlements, Yugoslavia failed to get Trieste and an additional slice of Carinthia, although she won most of the Istrian Peninsula and much of Venezia Giulia which she had demanded. At the same time Bulgaria retained the part of southern Dobruja awarded her in 1941, but failed to get an outlet to the sea through "Aegean Macedonia" as she desired. Although both governments, along with Albania's, were guilty of permitting, if not fostering, attacks upon Greece by armed bands in support of Greek Communists and refused to coöperate fully with the United Nations investigating committee, it is not yet clear whether they hoped to wrest part of Macedonia from Greece by force or looked forward to a secession by a Communist group which would join the Yugoslav federation. 728 [721]

It is certain, however, that Bulgaria's relations with Yugoslavia were conducted in the spirit of the declaration of January 10, 1945 in favor of "the closest possible collaboration with the peoples of the new Yugoslavia." Tito more than once reciprocated this sentiment, raising the conjecture that perhaps the federal structure of Yugoslavia might be extended to embrace Bulgaria. Until August, 1947, however, collaboration took the form of an agreement, completed on August 2, upon a mutual assistance pact and full cultural and economic coöperation, described in the announcement as virtually wiping out the frontier between them. At the same time Yugoslavia made a series of agreements with Albania that integrated its economy closely with Yugoslavia's. Thus the century-old dream of Balkan Slavic leaders came close to realization by means of the binding force of Communism. In this and in many other respects Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are experiencing a revolution still at full tide. What the ultimate ebb and flow may bring still remains obscured by the uncertainties and imponderables not only within their boundaries, but perhaps even more by those in the world around them. 648

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* The author wishes to acknowledge the valuable assistance of Miss Ruth Savord, Librarian of the Council on Foreign Relations, in compiling this bibliography.

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CHAPTER X

PRELUDE TO COMMUNISM (1937-1944)

RETURNING to Bulgaria in the fall of 1945 meant returning to a defeated, occupied enemy country. Because I had followed the political events only from a distance, I was anxious to see how native Bulgarians, and particularly my Dragalevtsy friends, would interpret what had happened during the intervening years. Overshadowing all, of course, had been their active collaboration with the Germans. 000

Germany's entrance into Bulgaria proved a comparatively easy achievement. Basic to the plan was the conviction on the part of the Bulgarian people that Germany would actually win the war and give them a safe way of profiting at their neighbors' expense. Economic penetration had come first. Gradually Germany bought more and more of Bulgaria's goods and by 1939 was taking almost seventy-five per cent of all of the country's exports. Even before I left, Bulgarian friends were deploring the anti-Semitism of the Nazis, but when I asked them why Bulgaria seemed to be receptive to German propaganda they usually replied, "But Germany is our best customer. And one always humors one's best customer." Ideological penetration accompanied the economic. The German School in Sofia was managed by ardent Nazis. The greater part of the student body was composed of loyal Bulgarian boys, but any boy of German parentage (and there was a fairly large German colony in Sofia) had to belong to the Nazi Youth organization to remain in the school. Bulgarian army officers came back from trips to Berlin ardently pro-German. A few highly placed officials acquired an opulence that made people raise their eyebrows, until these same officials acted friendly toward the Germans; then people understood. A large contingent of Bulgarians made a trip to the 1936 Olympic games held in Berlin and returned with increased admiration for German efficiency. Inept British and French diplomacy made the German success even more outstanding. 648

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648 But the Germans had fertile soil. Defeated in the second Balkan War and in the first World War, the Bulgarians were quick to grasp what seemed to be a sure thing. They had built up a chauvinism in their educational system that made the end of getting back what they considered former Bulgarian territory more important than the means chosen. As the smaller countries fell one by one, the Bulgarians began to squirm. Then came the debacle in the West illuminated only by the shining stand of Britain. The satellites, Hungary and Rumania, had fallen into line. While Hitler helped Bulgaria obtain South Dobrudja from a badly disrupted Rumania, Russia, Bulgaria's former champion, was still bound by a nonaggression pact with Germany. Over and over again the Germans showed moving pictures of their European conquests to groups of Bulgarians. Thus the idea of German invincibility took root and was in full bloom when the Nazi armies crossed the Danube to join the hundreds of German "tourists" already filling up the country's hotels and inns. Bulgaria had been duped, but this, like ignorance, afforded no justification, and certainly little comfort, in the days of Allied Victory.

The tragedy of Greece and Yugoslavia, to which Bulgaria was a party, made plain to all what the "New Order" actually meant, as if Poland and Norway were not evidence enough. Bulgaria took over the job of policing some of these occupied territories and officially annexed part of them to the Greater Bulgaria. Millions of leva went into the building of highways, railways, school buildings, and land reclamation projects in these new territories, and enthusiastic attempts were launched to make "good Bulgarians" out of all of the newly acquired citizenry.

Bulgarians traveled in great number through Skoplje and Ochrid of Eastern Macedonia in order to see these places which one-sided history and geography books frequently said should belong to Bulgaria. Then clouds, black for the Bulgarian nationalist, began to appear on the horizon: Stalingrad, El Alamein, Italy. As the Allied might grew, the Bulgarians became restless; as they became restless, the secret police became more active, and the handshake of their German ally proved to have the strength of steel, at least for a while.

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Anglo-American bombings of Sofia and of strategic railway yards helped pave the way for eventual Russian occupation on the heels of German evacuation. September, 1944, saw the arrival of the Red Army and the beginning of a new phase of Bulgaria's history, to be described in the following chapter.

All of these facts were running through my mind when, with a feeling of genuine excitement, I went to Dragalevtsy one mild November morning in 1945. I had little idea of what my investigation would uncover. The village had a tidiness I had not remembered, a tidiness noticeable despite the mud from the previous day's rain which, as I sought firm earth on which to step, slowed down my brisk gait to the easygoing tempo of former years. A flood of memories came over me as I went through one street after another: in this house I had attended a funeral; there Yurdan with considerable merriment had told me about his second courtship and marriage; around this corner had lived the only "old maid" in Dragalevtsy; and the Obshtina, or Municipal Building, now completely done, had settled down to being a definite part of Renaissance Square.

Bai Milush, I knew, would tell me about the Germans, so I stopped at his big wooden gate, and one of his sons escorted me to the house. Vicious dogs still protected the place and had to be kept at a safe distance, but these belied the warm greeting I received once I was within the house. First, I heard the story of the three oldest sons who no longer lived with their father but, true to their intent, had built homes of their own not far away. The other two married sons, who had been in the Army during much of my previous stay in Dragalevtsy, now lived with their wives and children in the old ancestral dwelling. Then, I looked over the score of pictures which I had taken in earlier, happier years and which were mounted on the wall as part of the family's most important mementos.

"We were foolish to declare war on America," he declared, before I got around to asking anything about the Germans. As he talked I knew that he was afraid Bulgaria had forfeited America's friendship. Like the old man that he was, he began to reminisce about the last World War and to recite how America had helped his defeated nation then.

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648 "We would have starved," he said, "if America had not sent that ship of food to Varna on the Black Sea." Truly such an accomplishment by one ship would necessitate a cargo legendary in size, but nevertheless symbolized to Bai Milush and others of his generation the humanitarian America, the land of plenty, opportunity, and democracy. And then he told me of the work that Dominic Murphy, an American State Department representative in Bulgaria, had done in the wake of the last war to meet the relief needs of the people. And even Bai Milush knew that a street in Sofia bore Murphy's name transliterated into the Cyrillic alphabet.

000 Bai Milush's wife, his helpmate through the years, had survived the war too. She proffered food and drink and seemed relieved when I suggested that instead of eating then I would like to take a little of the cheese away with me to use in rounding out my meager hotel breakfasts in Sofia. Later, when I was photographing her outside, I realized that she was unsteady on her feet because she had taken too much *rakiya* as a medicine for a racking cough. *Rakiya* remained the cure-all for every ailment as well as the solace to every sorrow.

178 362 511 Wherever I turned, whether to look at the new houses Bai Milush had erected, or to talk with the peasants about the past few years, I was impressed by the prosperity that the war had brought. Since I had last seen Dragalevtsy, almost one hundred new houses had made their appearance, constituting a decided boom for a village which had boasted only three hundred earlier. Some of these houses had been built as villas by people from Sofia because the city law prohibited any new construction there. The various bombardments had caused so much destruction in the city that nothing but repairs were allowed. Nevertheless, the peasants of Dragalevtsy themselves were replacing old homes with new ones simply because they could afford it now.

178 465 511 I had already learned that during the war the peasants had been the favored element of the Bulgarian population; they had been paid good prices as incentives to increased production; earlier in the war they could use that money to buy articles which they had always wanted but had not been able to afford. For example, the number of radios in the village rose from three or four in 1937 to more than a hundred in 1944.

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CHAPTER XI

COMMUNISM KNOCKS AT THE DOOR

668 COMMUNISM came in the dead of the night. Dragalevtsy people awoke on September 6, 1944, the morning after Russia had declared war on Bulgaria, to find big posters proclaiming throughout the village such slogans as "Welcome to the Heroic Red Army" or "Long Live Stalin."

The peasants realized in retrospect how well organized everything must have been, for these signs showed that the local Communist sympathizers had been ready for this big event. One or two had fought in the mountains against the Germans as Bulgarian Partisans and had been schooled in the part they were to play when the Germans were finally driven out.

668 648 186 On September 16, 1944, at least eighty villagers from Dragalevtsy had gone to Sofia to welcome the Russians. Traditions live long in Dragalevtsy, and especially the tradition of brotherly Russia and its overwhelming contribution in emancipating Bulgaria from the Turks in 1878. So this demonstration of admiration for the Russians was genuine and spontaneous. Many parents took their children along so the youngsters could describe to their children and their children's children the excitement and greatness of this day. And the spectacle was one that was memorable, not like the arrival of the Nazis for whom there had been admiration mixed with fear, but rather the arrival of brother Slavs who would help Bulgaria grow great and strong. Thus the peasants had thought.

But news travels fast in Bulgaria and usually becomes altered in the traveling. Within five days, the people of Dragalevtsy heard so many rumors about the Russians that they soon had become afraid. They were especially nonplussed by the Russians' disregard for property. They heard about a man from another village who had been

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hauling corn in his oxcart. Russian soldiers told him to stop, get out, and give them the oxen, the cart, and the corn. He insisted that they must pay him, at which they laughed. Stubborn as only a *Shop* peasant can be, he sat rigidly in his cart to protect his own. From this point on versions differed: some said he was pulled out and beaten, others that he was shot and left dead by the roadside. And always the tale ended with, "The Germans always paid us, but the Russians never did."

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But the Communists offered an explanation for the differences in the behavior of the two armies. The Russians invaded in battle order, which necessitated eating off the land on a catch-as-catch-can basis. The Germans, on the other hand, had sent large staffs ahead to make preparations for the coming of their troops. The net effect upon the peasant mentality was radically different, since property rights seemed violated by the Russians and respected by the Nazis.

Eventually a detachment of Russians had been established around Dragalevtsy. They frequented the taverns so constantly and with such enthusiasm that the peasants had a new saying: "There's nothing worse than drunken Russians." They began to judge the Russian nation by the off-time indulgences of its soldiers.

Although the "great disillusionment" regarding Russian soldiers had begun soon after their arrival, the people still hoped that all would go well politically. Most of the major political parties—the Agrarians, the Zveno, and the Democrats—joined with the Communists in September, 1944, to form a coalition, which they called the Fatherland Front. It was this government that conducted the purge, or the sentencing of about three thousand men and women by the people's courts on the grounds of collaboration with the enemy. About two thousand of these were executed. Some observers now feel, in the light of later developments, that the real basis of selecting victims for trial was not only their complicity with the Germans but also their danger as potential rallying points for a counterrevolution against the Fatherland Front. Two Dragalevtsy young men were tried and executed for collaboration with the Nazis. According to village reports, Communist sympathizers tried to exert pressure upon the new priest in the hope of preventing his officiating at any funeral ceremonies or memorial services for these men. According to the Com-

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[661] 668 munists, they were traitors. The priest still considered them children of God and officiated anyway, although they were not buried in the local cemetery.

[665] 648 By the New Year, 1945, many of the political leaders in the Fatherland Front discerned the handwriting on the wall. The Agrarians and the Democratic party especially recognized the Front for what it was—a Communist screen for actual control. All the while, the Communists—a minority party—had been growing stronger and were nurtured by the Red Army officers who really directed Bulgarian affairs. British and American army officers were represented in the Allied Control Commission which was under arbitrary Russian direction. American and British diplomatic representatives were somewhat more effectual, but only within a rather limited sphere of activity. With the cards stacked in their favor, the Communists controlled the key ministries, chief among them being the Ministry of Interior which had charge of the police and local administration. Therefore, early in 1945 there was a gradual loss of popular enthusiasm for the Fatherland Front, with the real defection coming in May. At that time the leading representatives of the Agrarian and Democratic parties, as well as a section of the Socialist party, withdrew from the Front to form an opposition. In Dragalevtsy, this move met with tremendous support, for there the Agrarian was the major party. The Zveno group, which had engineered the *coup d'état* of 1934 against the king, stayed with the Fatherland Front in which they held the premiership and other prominent positions.

A few former acquaintances of mine had joined the Communist party and were sincerely trying to win their fellow countrymen to their cause. They were inclined to be impatient with those who differed from them, and still felt very much on the defensive. Their condescending attitude toward members of other parties co-operating with them in the Fatherland Front was expressed in a comment making the round: "Oh, these other members of the Front are our water boys.' They'll carry the water to the top of the hill for us and then we'll take it over."

[666] The next political crisis arose in August, 1945. The government had scheduled an election through which it had planned to obtain a

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parliament, whose first duty would have been to approve the previous actions of the government and to give the Front broad powers to continue on its way of reform and reconstruction. Because of the claims by the opposition—those who had withdrawn from the Fatherland Front—that they were not being given a fair chance for representation in the elections, the American and British governments insisted that the elections be postponed and threatened to recognize no government coming into power under the proposed arrangements. The elections were postponed. Most Dragalevtsy people again wholeheartedly approved.

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But that was the heyday of the opposition. Those who did not like the way matters were moving put their faith in America and expected her to stop further Communistic consolidation within the country. In the taverns of Dragalevtsy the buzzing must have reminded one of bees in a swarm when the Agrarian leader of the opposition, Georgi M. Dimitrov, sought refuge with the American Political Representative, Maynard B. Barnes, and spent part of the time in Barnes's villa near the Sofia-Dragalevtsy highway, with a handful of American soldiers on guard to protect Dimitrov whose life was endangered. The American authorities assumed some personal risks in sheltering him, and eventually secured his departure from the country. Thus, in the minds of the people as well as in the minds of the Bulgarian authorities, America more and more became identified as the chief support of the opposition and as an enemy of the new state being created. Because lines of antagonism had been drawn so sharply, the peasants of the opposition asked, "When will the war between America and Russia take place?" Those favoring the government asked in an uncertain tone, "Will there be a war between America and Russia?"

News of the atomic bomb gave the opposition increased hope since many of them expected America to use the bomb immediately as a threat in the bargaining and jockeying going on between the Western and Eastern powers.

American popularity rode another high wave when Secretary of State Byrnes sent Mark Ethridge to Bulgaria and Rumania to make a study of the situations in these two countries. Mr. Ethridge, a well known Louisville, Kentucky, newspaperman and a keen student of in-

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648 668 ternational affairs, conducted himself with such astuteness that he became almost a legendary figure in a short time. In fact, he enters this account in an authentic way because he visited Dragalevtsy quite unexpectedly, ate meat balls at the tavern with the peasants, and endeared himself in particular by treating the crowd to two or three rounds of drinks. "Setting up the house" was a practice none too common in the frugal economy that characterized the village. Most of those present spoke quite freely, but two Russian soldiers, definitely ill-at-ease, remained stolidly silent. One old villager did throw caution to the winds and sidled up to tell the distinguished guest, "We are not satisfied, Mr. Ethridge. Don't believe all of the things these young fellows have been telling you." Mr. Ethridge, upon leaving the tavern, was surprised to see Renaissance Square filled with enthusiastic villagers, who cheered him and presented him with many bouquets of flowers.

[666] Later the Secretary of State's special emissary wrote a critical report on the existing Bulgarian government and pointed out what he judged to be its undemocratic features. The American representatives were unable, however, to persuade the Bulgarian authorities to postpone the elections for a second time, so the voting went off as scheduled on November 18, 1945, with the opposition groups abstaining from the balloting.

[687] In spite of these political developments, the peasants in the Agrarian party (the majority in Dragalevtsy) continued to regard Mr. Barnes and Mr. Ethridge in a favorable light. They like to tell stories of the way these Americans supposedly outwitted the Bulgarian authorities. One of these stories, with no foundation in fact, shows how rumors rise in the Balkans. Mr. Ethridge and his small party were said to have visited a concentration camp for political prisoners near Dupnitsa. Since they were planning to visit the historic and beautifully situated Rila Monastery, they obtained permission to stop off en route at this particular camp. According to the peasants' version, when the party arrived they found comparatively few people in the camp, the place was clean, and the prisoners seemed well cared for. That was that; farewells were said and the party moved on to the Monastery. Late in the afternoon, instead of going to the provin-

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cial town of Somokov as originally scheduled, Mr. Ethridge asked his driver when they reached a crossroad to take the fork of the road which circled back past Dupnitsa. Once more at the camp, he asked to be admitted and saw for himself the conditions of overcrowding all too evident when the prisoners who had been sent to the woods for the day were back in their quarters. Without wasting any words Mr. Ethridge merely smiled to the attendants, got back into the automobile, and returned to Sofia.

But stories of camps for political prisoners took my mind back to the 1930's when the government then in power was fearful of Communism and conducted frequent raids upon Communist-operated printing presses. Much doctrinaire literature was seized and the offenders were given heavy prison sentences. A member of an opposition group has never felt very safe in the Balkans. The Zveno group, which has already been mentioned, came into power in 1934 and which still was co-operating with the Fatherland Front, worked out a new wrinkle in the treatment of political prisoners. On March 19, 1935, I wrote in a letter to America:

> Just a little sidelight on political life in Bulgaria. Students who make radical speeches or editors who print little articles opposed to the *status quo* are forcefully invited to leave Sofia for a rest-cure in one of the provincial towns of Bulgaria. They go, for instance, to Karlovo and are "put up" by the government. They are perfectly free with the exception that they must stay in Karlovo, must report to an official at eight each morning, at noon, and must be in their room by eight in the evening, and cannot venture forth until eight the next morning. Such an "invitation" usually holds good for one month, after which the chastened individuals are permitted to return to Sofia, the political cauldron of Bulgaria.

More and more, Balkan governments must be judged not only in terms of the four freedoms which we publicize in America but also in terms of the governments which have preceded them. That is, they must be interpreted, although not justified, in the light of the cultural setting out of which they have sprung.

There was another apocryphal Ethridge story, which illustrated the use of humor as a weapon of the opposition groups to make their life more endurable. The scene was laid around Kyustendil, the chief

659 the Communist Government in 1949, sought to establish a uniform regime for all religious denominations in the country. Nevertheless, some of its provisions, especially Section 3, recognize the historic role of the Bulgarian Church and attempt to use the established tradition for the purposes of the communist policy.

Thus, the present status of the Church in Bulgaria cannot be properly evaluated without a survey of its past.

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I. Christianity in Bulgaria, 865 -1870

A sizable Bulgarian Kingdom came into being in 680 A.D. in the area between the Danube and the Black Sea bordering on the Balkan territories of Byzantium.

Seeking international recognition, one of its kings, Boris I, agreed in 865 A.D. to the conversion of his people to Christianity under the auspices of the Byzantine emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople, Byzantine missionaries and priests were swiftly dispatched to Bulgaria to evangelize the country. Five years later, the Patriarch conceded, on insistent Bulgarian demands, the right of the Bulgarian King to have a Bulgarian archbishop with authority to crown kings and ordain bishops, retaining, nevertheless, supremacy over the new ecclesiastic hierarchy.

The extension of the Patriarch's authority to Bulgaria was disliked in Rome, and contacts were soon established between Boris and Pope Nicolaus I. However, the territorial proximity of Byzantium prevailed as a factor and Boris' original orientation

175 797 648 toward the East stayed. It became solidly rooted when in the ensuing years he patterned the organization of his State after Byzantium and introduced to Bulgaria adaptations of Byzantine law, such as the "Statute of Trial of Men", the "Nomocanon", etc.

[793] The new church strongly tended to emancipate itself from the primacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople and rid itself of Byzantine clergy. A fortunate chance presented itself when an alphabet was devised to suit the peculiarities of the Slavic tongues. A wave of Slav awakening hit Bulgaria during the reign of Boris' son, Simeon I, and soon scriptures and prayer books, in Bulgarian, displaced the media of Byzantine influence. The process was so rapid and his military victories so promising that Simeon proclaimed the archbishop of Preslav a patriarch independent of the Patriarch of Constantinople and himself Czar of the Bulgarians and the Greeks. Seven bishoprics were established, of which those of Preslav and Ochrida (Macedonia) became important centers of enlightenment.

Bulgaria turned again toward Rome in the 13th century. Desirous of international recognition which had been lost during the Byzantine domination of Bulgaria (1018 - 1186), the Bulgarian King Kaloyan contacted the Pope with an offer to accept the Pope's primacy over the Bulgarian church in exchange for an imperial crown. In 1204, a Catholic cardinal arrived at the Bulgarian capital Tirnovo to hand a crown to Kaloyan on behalf of the Pope and ordain a Bulgarian prelate. This Western orientation caused by the Crusades and dictated by political expediency was rather 000 short-lived. In 1232, Kaloyan's successor, Ivan Asen, denounced

was ready to proclaim autocephalous under an Exarch or a Patriarch, as the Bulgarians would have it. 795 798

On such a basis, an agreement was soon reached, and on February 23, 1945, a protocol was signed by the Patriarch and the Bulgarian delegates, and ratified by the Holy Synods of the two churches. The schism separating the Bulgarian Church from the Patriarchate since 1871 was eliminated.

This result was greatly facilitated by the favorable attitude of Patriarch Benjamine himself. Sensing the end of his days was drawing nearer, he was determined to carry out the task of reconciliation and pacification before his death. He came from the southern part of Macedonia (incorporated into Greece in 1913), and there are good reasons to consider him as a Bulgarian. He had not lost his national feeling and wanted to express that feeling by taking the intiative of the rapprochement between the Greeks and the Bulgarians. His moral strength is all the more outstanding in view of his weak physical condition. The Apostolic Nuncio in Constantinople has said of him and his ideal: "that old man rises above the contingencies of everyday life in the pursuit of a great ideal in the service of God and of Humanity."

The protocol of February 23 was to recive a solemn confirmation by a visit of Exarch Stefan to Patriarch Benjamin. that visit was delayed by events until the second half of October 1945. In the meantime, the Patriarch suffered two heart attacks, and the composition of the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate had- 795 798 648

been altered by one of the periodical re-shufflings, which had removed precisely the most zealous supporters of the reconciliation. The Patriarch had enough strength to impose the continued adherence to the decisions which had been made, but the atmosphere was not at all the same. Stefan's visit to Alexis and the fact that he arrived in Constantinople (Istanbul) as it were directly from Moscow, were widely exploited to cause alarm and suspicion in the old Ottoman capital where a Russian-Bulgarian maneuver aimed at gaining moral control of the city was always feared. These fears were tacitly shared by the Turkish Government, and consequently, there were many obstacles to be removed. Nevertheless, Mgr. Stefan's visit was very successful in the outcome. 795 798 648

Sofia tried to exploit that success and to widen the work of reconciliation to the peoples themselves, and not only to the churches. On October 30, 1945, Exarch Stefan handed to the Patriarch a short memorandum, in which the Bulgarian Government was asking the Patriarch to intercede before the Regent of Greece, Mgr. Damaskinos, in favor of the normalization of Greek-Bulgarian relations. Bulgaria decalred her readiness to repair all damages effectively caused by Bulgarian occupation authorities, taking into consideration, however, the public utility projects which the Bulgarians had undertaken in Greece. Bulgaria asserted that she had no purpose other than to establish friendly conditions of cooperation between the two countries. 648

To that Mgr. Damaskinos, then head of the Greek State, gave an evasive reply. He approved the lifting of the schism

but refused to let himself be drawn into political matters by 648
his religious superior. Besides, the latter died three months
later, and his healthy influence on Greek-Bulgarian political
reconciliation ceased. The U.S.S.R. supported this reconciliation
very energetically, as the E.A.M., the Greek equivalent of the
Bulgarian Fatherland Front, still thought it had a good chance
of seizing power by peaceful means after its rebellion in the
fall of 1944 had been bloodily and decisively repressed. The
maneuver, if it had been successful, would probably have been
~~of~~ profit to the E.A.M.. But it would also have helped Greece
and prevented the bloodshed of the three following years. In
any event its failure caused the Soviet Government and the
Bulgarian Communists to scrap the ecclesiastic policy which
they had drawn up in 1944, and the central figure in which
had been Mgr. Stefan. The latter immediately lost all the
value which he had held for the communists which would enable
him to maintain some independence of action as Head of the
Bulgarian Church. Now the communists no longer had any use for
him and still had all the old reasons to distrust him because
of his autoritarian attitude.

In effect, his election to the Exarchate and his 793
visit to Istanbul had inflated his ego to a point where he began
to believe that he had become a great factor in the life of the
country, and he wanted to play a part proportionate to that
importance. But, since it was the Fatherland Front who had
elected him, he was confronted with overgrowing demands from the

above all have the principle of discipline and that of respect for his superiors inculcated in him, for no well-ordered State can survive without the existence of some form of hierarchy in it.

It must be admitted that the circumstances with which Bulgaria has had to contend were exceedingly adverse to the development and uplifting of the mass, necessary preliminaries to the exercise of democracy. The nation, dismembered at Berlin, directed all its energy to its reunion. To effect this purpose, it expended the greatest part of its resources on military preparations, and scant attention was given by the governing classes to cultural enterprise. Though many far-seeing Bulgarians, amongst whom Stoyan Mihailovsky, maintained that the policy pursued was wrong, and that a cultural development was the indispensable prerequisite to territorial aggrandisement. Bulgaria's ethnic unification being more easily attained by a process of evolution, and the establishment of a Balkan federation — these views naturally found little favour or encouragement with the classes which wielded power.

Moreover, the ruling classes succumbed to foreign influence, Russian or Austrian, whose object was to keep the Balkan nations in as backward a state as possible, in order to turn them more easily into blind tools for themselves. So that the moral ascendency which the outward world, and especially those great empires with which Bulgaria was in close touch, exerted on her, instead of being edifying and elevating was, on the contrary, demoralising and pernicious in the extreme, Dr. D. N. Popov, the biographer of Kosta Arseniev (1864-1899), an exemplary honest democratic politician, alluded in the following terms to that stormy period of Bulgaria's history. „Demagogy created immorality. Electoral abuses, brigandage below, and corruption above, became endemic. Some would have tied Bul-

648 garia to St Petersburgh, others wanted her chained to London, another party preferred Vienna, while a certain section had preferences for Berlin, and yet another group insisted that Bulgaria's foreign policy should be conducted from Constantinople. Unhappy land, her leaders endeavoured to tie her simultaneously to several mutually antagonistic protectors, and thus unwittingly acted against the interests of their country. Bulgaria suffered not so much from the treason of her neighbours, as from the shortsightedness and lack of scruples of those directing our foreign policy, in association with foreign consuls, whose protégés they were". (Kosta Arseniev, pp. 35-6.).

177 What moral forces remained, having survived Bulgaria's Europeanization, a process which was tantamount to the elimination of the patriarcal traditions of the Bulgarians, and their replacement by what was nothing but a thin veneer of civilization — were wholly absorbed in their confict with Tsar Ferdinand, that great factor of evil in their country.

661 He, in a true Machiavellian spirit, spread corruption broadcast, and vitiated the intelligentsia, in order to render 517 all opposition to him impracticable and impossible. The diabolical refinements with which that process was pursued were set forth by Stoyan Mihailovsky, in his „Book for the Bulgarian people", published in 1897. The ease with which the intelligentsia succumbed to the malign influences which surrounded it, is chiefly due to its extreme poverty. Having sundered all connection with the peasant, artisan or trading class, from which he sprang, the intellectual scorned the idea of obtaining his livelihood by any other means than that of state employ. This desire to get employment under the Government, which is almost a passion among the Bulgarians, could not be satisfied in respect of every claimant owing to the limited number of public posts, and led to the formation of a legion of

652 655 object being mainly to effect a better control and levelling of prices in all parts of the country. The one for school text books has been created in order to reduce prices and to prevent the too frequent change of the books made use of in schools, a practice much in vogue in Bulgaria and by which students were exploited to the advantage of certain publishers closely connected with political circles.

Minister P. Todorov took the initative to fuse into one under the title of „Bulgarian Credit" all the provincial banks of the country in order to strengthen their position and reduce their running expenses. The State provided for this purpose a sum of 50 million leva, while the capital of the amalgamated banks amounts to about 100 millions. Eventually it is proposed to increase the capital to 250 million leva. The two State banks, the „Agricultural" and „Central Co-operative bank" have likewise been merged into one to the great advantage of the State and of the co-operative societies as may be inferred from the writer's notes on the co-operative movement.

654 The Ministry of Finance began to tackle also the problem of the excessive protection granted to the local industry which rendered the prices of all industrial products unapproachable to the impoverished agrarian masses. The advantages and prerogatives hitherto enjoyed by industrial establishments have been curtailed in many directions and the preference they enjoyed over their foreign rivals in so far as supplies to government institution is concerned has in fact been removed.

652 648 Other reforms, having as an object the stabilisation of the civil service, the simplification of judicial procedure, the transformation of the educational system etc, were being studied and would have been shortly applied when unexpectedly the Cabinet of M. Gheorghiev was asked to resign and cease its creative action, on the alleged pre-

NEW BROOMS SWEEP CLEAN

tence that some of its members and supporters entertained republican sympathies. Bulgarians who for the first time in their modern history had been at last privileged to witness at home how a decent government should function would if they were free to express their opinion probably demur at the change invoking in support Pope's dictum: 652 648

„For forms of government let fools contest,
What e'er is best administered is best".

What is not devoid of a certain piquancy is that the Financial Committee of the League of Nations „which had just rapped the late Government smartly over the administrative knuckles" (as stated in an editorial in the *Manchester Guardian* at the end of January 1935) should have provided the opportunity for this stroke. And yet the Financial Committee should above all have been thankful to M. Peter Todorov for his financial measures. Thus the creation of the monopoly of alcohol will vastly increase the revenues affected specially to the service of the Refugee Loan which was issued under the sponsorship of the League of Nations. But of course, the interests of the unwary investors in League of Nations Loans are no longer considered. Those of others take priority. M. Todorov's financial projects apparently were not to the liking of some oil magnates, and of the French, Belgian and Swiss capitalists who have respectively some 377·3, 568·4 and 533 million leva invested in banking and industrial enterprises in Bulgaria. His threat to reduce the tariff, and his creation of a powerful credit institution which would be in a position to compete with the foreign banks naturally provoked a certain amount of wire-pulling and log-rolling as a consequence of which M. Todorov has lost his portfolio.

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

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Categories aud numbers of farmsteads		Area owned Hectares	Area devoted solely to cereals. Hectares	Percentage
Self-sufficing in cereals	41,297	1,125,443·7	818,798 9	3·64
Buying cereals	236,047	3,050,087·6	2,259,841·1	9·76
Having a surplus of cereals	439,235	28,845,318·9	20,064,752·3	86.70

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What has so far been advanced is, it is to be hoped, enough to show that on one hand the lesser farmsteads are scarcely self-supporting and that on the other hand the larger farms, owing to the fall in the price of cereals, are unable to meet their liabilities. If 80% of the population is therefore in such a state of indigence and unable to pay any taxes, one can easily surmise in what poverty the whole nation must be struggling since its entire economic structure is based on agriculture, which has ever been its mainstay. This most regrettable state of affairs is largely due to those who drafted the Peace Treaties. Obviously, it was nothing short of a crime to deprive Bulgaria of such land as was indispensable for her population, and which had been in her possession, or was mainly inhabited by a Bulgarian population, and transfer it to her neighbours, all of whom had received vast increases in territory, and were in no need of further land. This wilful pauperisation of a people which was not only despoiled of its most fertile provinces, but obliged to house and feed some 400,000 destitute refugees, driven away from the territories so thoughtlessly transferred to the neighbouring States, is undoubtedly one of the causes which led the American people to wash its hands off European affairs in disgust, and this may be easily understood, for the American delegation at the Peace Conference in its desire to secure a just and enduring settlement, most sturdily upheld the cause of Bulgaria. Nor can the politicians responsible for these obtuse arrangements of the Peace Treaties plead in extenuation that they were actuated in their drafting by the biblical

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499 661 furnish the means wherewith it could be carried out. Which shows that all financiers will not play the part of Mephistopheles to the Bulgarian Faust by tempting him with endless loans, as has happened quite recently and as holders of League of Nations' Loans have learnt to their loss. This whimsical scheme caused the fall of the Stoilov Cabinet in 1899 and was mainly brought about by the intervention of Ferdinand who overtly accused his Finance Minister of realising seven million leva out of these dubious transactions. It must not be thought that Ferdinand was prompted in this act by a desire to safeguard from dilapidation the public purse. He must have certainly been coaxed on by the avidity of the Minister in question who probably wished to keep most of these seven millions for himself.

499 648 With regard to inter-Balkan communications, it may be said that all the palaver of the Balkan conferences has not led to any practical decision. The Bulgarian proposal for the construction of a bridge across the Danube at Rustchuk, to link up the Bulgarian and Rumanian railway system, has been repeatedly rejected by the Rumanians and it was only at the end of 1934 that they made a slight concession by acquiescing to the plying of a ferryboat between Rustchuk and Giurgiu. As navigation on the Danube is suspended during the winter and the level of the river varies very considerably when in spate, the utilisation of the ferry boat will only be possible for a few months in the year, and the advantages to be derived proportionately restricted. The Greeks too have not responded to the Bulgarian suggestion of linking up their railways through the valley of the Struma, though the Bulgarians are pushing on with the construction of a broad gauge railway which will shortly reach Gorna Djuma. The extension of this line to the Greek frontier is estimated as likely to cost 328.7 million leva. It is only the Yugoslav Government

499 which has shown more consideraton to Bulgarian requirements and has agreed to join up its railways at two
648 other points besides Tsaribrod, namely at Vidin and at Giushevo, the present terminus of the Sofia-Kustendil line which will be prolonged to Kumanovo. When the construction of this line will be achieved, the present railway journey Sofia — Salonica will be shortened by a third of its present duration by the avoidance of the long way round through Nisch.

Roads

491 The total length of semi-permanent or macadamised
652 roads in Bulgaria in 1934, was of 17071 klm. and there were another 7,125 klm. in construction. Of the existing milage, 8,397 klm. were reported to be in good condition, 4,991 klm. in medium condition, and 4,103 as in a bad condition. The new Government planned to construct another 4000 klm. of roads and contemplates spending a sum of two milliard leva on this project, completing every year some 400 klm. of new roads. It has created new taxes in order to provide the necessary funds, among which is a special road tax of 140 leva a year to be levied on all males between the ages of 20 and 55. Owners of motor cars will also contribute to the maintenance of the roads by paying increased sums for their driving licences, It is expected that some 300 million leva will be raised annually by these special taxes, $^{2}/_{3}$ of which are proposed to be spent on the building of the new roads and $^{1}/_{3}$ for the upkeep of those already existing.

499 It is proposed to construct at once an arterial road of 300 klm. between Sofia and Orhanie, trying different systems and materials in order to find out which is the most suitable for local conditions. It is aimed to have the new roads laid out properly, in order that they may not need repairing for the first ten years. The compulsory

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guarantee certain elementary human rights, the enjoyment of which the League of Nations has never attempted to secure for these minorities.

At the elections of 1931, in spite of the fact that the Communist party had been outlawed and the endless persecution it was exposed to, yet it succeeded in sending 12% of the deputies elected to the Sobranye camouflaged as working men.

The extreme wretchedness of the bulk of the nation and the mass of destitute refugees have created new foci for Communist proselytism, and the country is to-day literally honeycombed with Bolshevism which only awaits a favourable opportunity to break out. Until quite recently, Communism was openly professed to be the coming form of government, and both peasant families and bourgeois, hastened alike to enroll officially some of their members in this party in order to secure an eventual protector on its advent which was considered imminent.

FERDINAND AT THE HELM

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Having with the support of the united Opposition got rid of the man who brough him to Bulgaria and who consolidated his throne, and having in turn made use of its services in order to reconcile himself with Russia, Ferdinand hastened to sow discord and suspicion among the members of the Stoilov Cabinet, so as to get rid of them now that with their help he had achieved his purpose. He thus intrigued against Gueshov, Madjarov and Stoilov, complaining alternatively to each of his other colleagues. using insinuations, slander and insult.[1]

In 1899 Grekov was entrusted with the formation of a new Ministry with the support of the Radoslavovists who far outnumbered his adherents. At the elections the Rado-

[1] Cf. V. T. Veltchev's: „Pages of our new political history".

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slavovists secured a big majority and they insisted on Radoslavov becoming Prime Minister. Ferdinand however, in order to disunite the party insisted and obtained the nomination of Todor Ivantsev to the post. This administration was characterised by the boisterous atmosphere it created both internally and externally. By its financial measures it provoked the peasantry to revolt, while in its foreign relations, Bulgaria was involved in a very severe conflict with Rumania which brought the two countries to the verge of war. The dispute arose through the activities of the Macedonians in Rumania. They murdered in Bucarest a Rumanian propaganda agent who worked in Macedonia against the Bulgaro-Macedonians. Another incident provoked by these same Macedonians intensified the dispute. In order to raise funds for their revolutionary campaign in Macedonia they rifled the safe of a wealthy Rumanian, but were unable to utilise the stolen banknotes and bonds in Rumania. They then hit on an ingenious though sacrilegious device for smuggling their booty out of the country. They approached the Bulgarian Government and persuaded it that it was highly desirable that the remains of the revolutionary Rakovski which were lying in Bucarest should be transported and interred in Bulgaria. This demand when formulated by the Bulgarian authorities was readily conceded by the Rumanian Government. The Macedonians hid in the coffin under the remains of Rakovski the stolen valuables and safely transferred them to Bulgaria, whence they attempted to negotiate them, but were found out by the police and arrested. The Bulgarian Government, by refunding the amount involved, finally put an end to the incident.

Early in 1901 this Ministry was dismissed, and Ferdinand confided to General Ratso Petrov the task of supervising the holding of elections in order that a new

661 government should be formed. Petrov attempted to form a party of his own, but his right hand man, Yovev, became compromised in a shady affair together with other would-be supporters who had organised the emission of spurious revenue stamps and the evolution of this highly „progressive" party was thus nipped in the bud. Thus unable to elect his own men, Petrov thought it expedient to allow full liberty to his opponents, and for once free elections were held in Bulgaria. They resulted in the formation of a coalition government composed of the followers of Karavelov and Danev, the two most numerous parties. Owing to the opposition which the projected creation of a tobacco monopoly aroused, Karavelov resigned and Danev assumed sole control after holding fresh elections which secured for him a majority in the Sobranye. He instituted proceedings against the Radoslavov administration and secured the condemnation of Radoslavov and of several of his colleagues for the abuses they committed during their short term of office. He enacted a law guaranteeing stability in the tenure of office for public functionaries, a measure which had it been maintained would have rendered the parliamentary regime operative in Bulgaria by eliminating most of the disadvantages it otherwise gave rise to.

648 During Danev's tenure of office, a military convention was signed with Russia in 1902, clearly defined as a counter measure to the one concluded between Austria-Hungary and Rumania in 1901. It was stipulated that the convention was not aimed against any other State save the above two, Russia guaranteed the integrity of Bulgarian terrritory and Bulgaria agreed that the Commander-in-chief, and chief of the general staff, of the Bulgarian army, would be nominated with the approval of the Tsar, while a Russian staff officer would be attached to every Bulgarian army corps.

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FERDINAND AT THE HELM

The 25th anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation was celebrated with great ceremony, and a magnificent church erected at the Shipka Pass, was consecrated in the presence of Russian dignitaries and veterans of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, in honour of whom an extensive concentration of Bulgarian troops had taken place. The Macedonians were hoping that after the Shipka ceremonies the signal would be given for the troops to invade and liberate Macedonia, but Danev at the instigation of the Russian Minister, Lamsdorf, took measures to repress this agitation since Russia was unable to lend her help while entangled in the Far East. 648

The unconditional subjection of Danev to Russian guidance was not requited by Russian support to the Bulgarian cause. Lamsdorf attempted to win over Serbia by pressing the Sultan to nominate a Serbian bishop at Uskub and this was considered in Bulgaria as a formal abandonment by Russia of the programme she had set forth in the Treaty of San Stefano. When the edict announcing the appointment of the new Serbian bishop was issued, mass meetings were held all over Bulgaria and Danev was forced to resign in May 1903, having lost much of his popularity. Ferdinand, perceiving that besides his recognition he could not extort any other advantage from Russia, executed a complete political somersault by placing the Austrophile Stambulovist party in power, then under the leadership of Stambulov's lieutenant, D. Petkov, though for the first few years Ferdinand imposed as Prime Minister his favourite, General Ratso Petrov. The Stambulovists unable to secure a majority at the polls now that the police and State functionaries could not be dismissed without cause, thanks to the law passed by Danev, rescinded this measure with the approval of Ferdinand, and after filling the administrative posts with their nominees, proceeded to carry elections according to the old system.

648 At the request of Ferdinand, the new Sobranye hastened to vote an amnesty, exonerating Radoslavov and his colleagues of the delinquencies for which they had been condemned. Hardly had the elections taken place than a revolution broke out in Macedonia. Measures had been taken by the Powers to introduce certain reforms in Macedonia and by 1903 the Sultan appointed Hilmi Pasha as inspector-General. These concessions made by the Turks brought no amelioration and in July 1903 the Macedonians rose in revolt, in the hope of forcing the hand of Europe for they were conscious that without outside support they stood no chance against the Turks. This decision was taken by the revolutionaries in the absence, and against the desire, of the great Macedonian chief, Gotse Deltsev, who considered such an insurrection as inopportune. Some 12000 Macedonians and 2000 Thracians took up arms, and after obtaining certain initial successes were completely crushed by the Turkish troops. The outcome was that 201 villages and 12,444 houses were burnt, 4694 people killed, 70,835 rendered homeless, and 30,000 forced to seek shelter in Bulgaria. (Cf. Chr. Silianov: „The 1903 Revolution in Macedonia"). After this disaster, the Powers decided to impose the so-called Mürzsteg programme of reforms in Macedonia, which was divided into five zones each of which was placed under the surveillance of a great Power.

661 The turmoil in the Turkish provinces provided an unprecedented opportunity to Ferdinand for indulging in his petty scheme of creating an enriched class on whose support he might count in exchange for the favours bestowed on them. Large orders for war material were placed, out of which the favourites of Ferdinand reaped big profits in the form of bribes or commissions. The chronicles of those years are filled with the echoes of a resounding affair known as the „Charles-Jean" trial, which revealed the

reinforced by the countless derelictions committed by the Government, brought about the creation of a strong coalition block composed of the greater part of the Opposition forces, which finally succeeded in bringing about the fall of the Stambulovist regime a few months after the assassination of the Prime Minister, Petkov in 1907. 661

Except for the Macedonian revolution and the ensuing straining of Turco-Bulgarian relations, the only other event with regard to Bulgaria's foreign policy was the conclusion of an agreement with Serbia in 1905. Both countries feeling isolated while Russia was engaged in a war with Japan, sought to protect themselves mutually. Bulgaria facilitated the access of Serbian goods to the sea through her territory, and in exchange obtained a mitigation of Serbian propaganda in Macedonia. Austria-Hungary however, did not at all approve of this rapprochement between the two Balkan States and persuaded Serbia to abrogate the convention with Bulgaria in exchange for facilities for her imports of cattle in the Danubian monarchy. 648

Early in 1908 the Democratic party under Malinov, who had succeeded to the leadership after Karavelov's death, assumed power. This party though it formed part of the Opposition block, which had pledged itself not to accept office direct from the palace forgot all about this solemn pledge when it was invited to assume power. The most noteworthy occurrences during its stay in office were, the Young Turk revolution which was precipitated by the Anglo-Russian agreement at Reval, and the emergence of a nationalistic government in Turkey which stultified all efforts at a rapprochement between it and its Balkan neighbours. By their arrogant attitude and by threatening to incorporate anew both Bulgaria and Bosnia within the Ottoman Empire, the Young Turks forced Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria to concert together and decide on the formal annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria and on

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648 Bulgaria declaring its independence. This course of action was probably decided on between the Emperor Francis-Joseph and Ferdinand at a meeting in Budapest on September 22, 1908, where Ferdinand had been received with royal honours.

The slighting of the Bulgarian envoy at Constantinople furnished a pretext for Bulgaria to proclaim her independence at Tirnovo on October 5, 1908, when Ferdinand assumed the title of Tsar of all Bulgarians. The Turkish Government at the instigation of its French creditors demanded that the tribute payable by Bulgaria should be paid in order that her independence should be recognised. This brought on a retort by Malinov that "one's independence is not purchased with money". Ferdinand hastened to disavow his Prime Minister by instructing his envoy in Paris to declare that "Bulgaria was a good payer". This calmed the Turks, and negotiations were opened as to the amount to be paid. The divergence of opinions seemed unbridgeable, Turkey began demanding territorial concessions and Bulgaria decreed a partial mobilisation of her army, fearing a Turkish attack. It was then that Russia intervened in Constantinople agreeing to pay to Turkey the sum she was claiming from Bulgaria and reducing the Turkish debt to Russia by an equivalent amount, while accepting from Bulgaria the sum the latter was offering, namely 82 million leva. The incident was thus settled, and Bulgaria's independence acknowledged first by Russia and then by all the other Powers. The service rendered by Russia encouraged the Malinov Ministry to make overtures to the Russian Foreign Minister, Izvolsky, for an understanding between the two countries which would eventually facilitate the realisation of Bulgaria's aspirations. Izvolsky submitted a scheme according to which Bulgaria bound herself to place at the disposal of Russia all her military forces in case of Russia being

at war with Germany, Austria, Rumania and Turkey. In case Rumania or Turkey attacked Bulgaria, she was to be succoured by Russia. In the event of a successful war against Austria and Rumania, Russia bound herself to help Bulgaria to recover all the Dobrudja, in case of a war against Turkey, Bulgaria could count on Russia's support for securing territorial expansion within the limits fixed by the San Stefano Treaty. 648

In the beginning of 1910 Malinov visited Izvolsky at St. Petersburg and the negotiations were pursued. Malinov demanded the inclusion of Adrianople and Salonica within the territory claimed by Bulgaria. Izvolsky, while agreeing to the inclusion of Salonica, rejected the demand for a Bulgarian expansion to the east, and this caused a hitch in the negotiations which were not resumed. The Bulgarian Government desired that a date should be fixed for declaring war on Turkey as it could not wait indefinitely and see its co-nationals exterminated in Turkey. Russia however, was not prepared for a war in the near future and demanded that the moment should be chosen by her. The Malinov Cabinet simultaneously made efforts to come to an understanting with Greece and Serbia about Macedonia, but without any practical results. Serbia wished for its partition, while the Bulgarian Government aimed at merely securing autonomy for it. Subsequently, Ferdinand attempted to negotiate on his own accord with Austria, but as these dealings were violently denounced by Izvolsky in the Duma, they were discontinued.

Internally there was an improvement in the administration, though the partisan spirit was alway manifest.* 661 The Minister of the Interior, Takev, did not hesitate to tout electors with such promises as: "Vote for us and we shall give you free access to the forests to cut down as much timber as you like". An incident of small impor-

* [During the administration of the Malinov Cabinet — Analyst]

661 tance which occurred at Rustchuk in 1909 led to the army being ordered to fire and sabre the civilian population, over thirty innocent people being killed and a hundred wounded owing to the crazy orders issued by the Government. A strike which occurred on the Oriental Railways was taken advantage of by the Government to take over the lines in south Bulgaria and henceforth these were exploited in common with the State railways. The elevation of Bulgaria to the rank of a kingdom postulated certain alterations in the Constitution of the country which had to be legalised by an extraordinary Sobranye, and a coalition Cabinet presided over by Gueshov and Danev was entrusted with the task of convoking it in the summer of 1911 in order to approve of the changes and simultaneously to concede to the King the right to conclude secret treaties with foreign States. This last measure was deemed necessary for a satisfactory conclusion of the negotiations the Balkan States were pursuing amongst themselves for the purpose of putting a stop to the persecution of their co-nationals in Turkey. For since the advent to power of the Young Turks who aimed at the forcible denationalisation of the Christians in Turkey, the lot of the latter had become intolerable and had convinced the rulers of the Balkan States that it was imperative to arrive at a common agreement whereby their interests might be properly safeguarded.

THE BALKAN ALLIANCE AND WARS

•648 Bulgaria had always been a partisan of the indivisibility of Macedonia and as she was unable to annex it without coming to a clash with her neighbours, she staunchly supported the plan of creating an autonomous Macedonia in which the prepoderance of the Bulgarian element would

assure her mastery. This was the reason why the repeated advances made so far by Greece and Serbia as to undertaking a joint action against Turkey had always been cold-shouldered by Bulgaria, who preferred instead to be on good terms with Turkey and to cultivate friendly relations with the Sultan in order to secure for her Bulgarian co-nationals in Turkey fair treatment and better chances for their cultural development. 648

The change of regime in Turkey and the Bulgarian declaration of independence rendered the pursuit of the policy hitherto followed, almost impossible. The close commercial relations between vassal and suzerain were sundered. Turkey, which was the best market for Bulgarian produce was closed, while persecution to which Bulgarians in Turkey were subjected grew daily worse. The Greeks who were among the most numerous ethnic minorities in the Ottoman Empire were likewise oppressed, and with the advent of Venizelos to power in Athens, who had taken an active part in emancipating his native Crete from the Turkish yoke, it was not surprising that he should have done his utmost to approach Bulgaria in order to convince her of the advisability of united action against a common foe. Taking advantage of the presence in Athens of Mr. Bourchier, the *Times* Balkan correspondent in the spring of 1911, Venizelos submitted to Ferdinand and Gueshov a proposal for a defensive alliance between Bulgaria and Greece. Serbia, since the Bosnian crisis had repeatedly sought the support of Bulgaria, but it was only in October 1911 that Gueshov responded to the advances made by the Serbian Premier Milovanovitch. The two rival theses, autonomy and partition, each stubbornly supported by Bulgaria and Serbia seemed irreconcilable, though Milovanovich did his utmost to win Gueschov to his view by holding out to him the assurance that Bulgaria would only have to cede the Uskub district to Serbia and would retain

648 for herself the larger part of Macedonia and the whole vilayet of Adrianople. It was then that another factor, the influential Russian Minister at Belgrade, Hartwig, intervened and made agreement possible after months of stubborn negotiations. Russia, through her ambassador Tsarykov had proposed to Turkey in the autumn of 1911 a scheme under which she would influence the Balkan States to maintain friendly relations with her and would equally guarantee her capital in return for which she asked of Turkey to open the Straits to Russian warships. This proposal had been turned down by Turkey, and this prompted Russia to seek another solution by furthering an understanding between the Balkan States wherely she might reach a more favourable settlement of the question of the Straits. A treaty between Bulgaria and Serbia was signed in March 1912 promising mutual support and providing for common action against Turkey. The distribution of territorial gains was specified.

All territory to the east of the Struma was to revert to Bulgaria, and that west of the Shar mountains to Serbia, while Macedonia proper was divided into three zones; two zones respectively Serbian and Bulgarian, and a contested one which would be subject to the arbitration of the Tsar. A Treaty with Greece was concluded in May 1912, but the mutual claims of the two contracting parties were not defined. These arrangements were completed by an agrement with Montenegro, Bulgaria engaging herself to pay for the upkeep of the men Montenegro would mobilise. It appears that the conclusion of this Balkan league was not to the liking of Tsar Ferdinand owing to the fact that it was distinctly anti-Austrian, and he had to be cajoled into accepting it by the granting of a solatium in the guise of an advance of 3,000,000 francs by Russia, which were secured by a mortgage on his country estate at Vranya. This was revealed by deputy N. Harlakov in the Sobranye on

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March 3,1918, and reiterated by a communist deputy on May 25,1932. Ferdinand did not sign the mobilisation order until the money was advanced to him.[1]

The Powers to whom the existence of the Balkan Alliance had become known, made a belated attempt to impose the acceptance of reforms on Turkey in order to avoid the threatened war, and even Sazonov, at the instigation of France ,did his best to restrain the combative mood of the Balkan States which he had encouraged, but an Albanian revolt, and a massacre of Bulgarians in the Macedonian town of Kotsana, followed by tbe massing of Turkish troops in Thrace, forced the hands of the Balkan States, which replied by hurriedly mobilising their armies. On October 8, Montenegro declared war on Turkey, the Porte followed by declaring war on Serbia and Bulgaria on the 17th, and finally Greece declared war on Turkey on the 18th. The Bulgarian victories in Thrace were not utilised to the full owing to tne mutual jealousies of the commanding generals. General Kutintchev, the commander of the first army refused to lend his support to the third army under General Radko Dimitriev at Lule Burgas because he had been frustrated in his hopes that both the first and third army

[1] A few years ago a Communist interpellated the German government in the Reichstag as to the disbursements which were being made to Ferdinand, and it was then revealed that this modern Judas had received thirty million marks in order to involve Bulgaria in the world war on the side of the Central Powers, and that moreover he was drawing a yearly allowance. In a resounding interview published in the Austro-German press immediately after his abdication, Ferdinand had boasted that for thirty years he had faithfully served the interests of the Central Empires so that there is nothing untoward if the Germans are now granting him a pension.

Madol in his "Ferdinand of Bulgaria" p. 233 attempts fo dispel the depressing impression caused by these revelations of the contemptible behaviour of his patron by offering what could only be a very lame apology.

THE BALKAN ALLIANCE AND WARS

"Those who are willing to sign without any alterations should do so immediately. Those who are not disposed to sign had better leave London". 728

On May 30 the Treaty was signed, Turkey ceding all territory to the east of the Midia-Enos line to the Balkan Allies.

Long before the settlement with Turkey was arrived at, it became evident that there was a serious threat of conflict breaking out among the Allies over the spoils. The Serbians had first excited the distrust of Bulgarian circles when Passitch sent a circular letter on September 28, 1912, to Serbian representives in the European capitals, urging them to make known to the governments to which they had been accredited, that the term "Old Serbia" included the towns of Uskub, Kumanovo, Tetovo, Deber, Prilep and Ochrida. The first four of which were in the contested, and the last two in the incontested zone. It was a clear indication that certain Serbian circles did not mean to abide by the treaty and this propensity was intensified when it became evident that Austria-Hungary and Italy would not permit Serbia to secure an outlet on the Adriatic. The Serbians when they found that Bulgaria was harbouring the ambition to enter Constantinople and was for this purpose unduly protracting the war instead of concluding an advantageous peace with Turkey, suggested a revision of the Treaty in their favour. So justified did they consider their demands, and in this they were encouraged by Mr. Hartwig, the Russian Minister at Belgrade, that they proceeded to expel the Bulgarian priests and schoolmasters in that part of Macedonia which according, to the Treaty was to revert to Bulgaria.

This behaviour of the Serbians naturally incensed the Bulgarians, who, though hard bargainers, are in contrast with other Balkan peoples, most scrupulously strict in fulfilling any undertaking they assume, and naturally expect 648

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648 that others should carry out their part of the bargain. Passions would certainly not have flamed up as they did if it had not been for the Macedonian immigrants in Bulgaria, who exerted themselves to their utmost to incite the Bulgarians against their allies, rejecting every idea of compromise and insisting on the integral attribution of [563] their native country to Bulgaria. It should be remembered that the Macedonians formed a most influential element in the political life of Bulgaria. They occupied commanding posts in all the branches of the administration and in the army, in which were some 800 officers of Macedonian origin, while the number of those who enlisted for service in the war against Turkey reached 15,000. They had always carried on a persistent propaganda in favour of involving Bulgaria in a war for the liberation of their country and the most arduous task of Bulgarian governments has been to bridle their attempts to brew trouble with the suzerain Power in Macedonia. Fanatically inspired by the idea of liberating their native country, they were utterly deaf to all counsels of prudence. Having been driven away from their native land their sole aspiration was to see it liberated so that they might return to it. Their uncompromising spirit may be gauged by the attitude of D. Rizov (the Bulgarian diplomatic agent in Rome at the time, and later nominated to the same post in Berlin), which is revealed in the Report of the Parliamentary Commision of Inquiry, vol. I p. 455. He wired to Gueshov on April 25, 1913, not to concede anything to the Serbs and repulse them to the north of the Shar mountains even though this was to be achieved through a war with both Serbians and Greeks. Other Macedonians did not hesitate to threaten both Danev and Ferdinand with death whenever the former showed himself inclined to accept Russia's arbitration. There were hotheads even among the Bulgarians, like the national poet

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Vazov, who published a fiery poem invoking eternal damnation on "the hand which would sign away Macedonia."

The unpardonable error of the Bulgarians was in neglecting to come to an understanding with the Greeks, especially since Venizelos showed himself most conciliatory towards the Bulgarians and repeatedly offered to cede Cavalla to them, and only insisted, on retaining Salonica for Greece. Even Sazonov warned Bulgaria to hasten and conclude an agreement with Greece as this would facilitate him in his efforts to render Serbia more amenable to reason. The Greek Government, as early as November 18, invited Bulgaria to submit the question of the repartition of territories to the Entente Powers, but Bulgaria answered evasively. Before the dispatch of the Balkan delegates to London, Venizelos offered to meet Gueshov, but the latter declined. When the Greek Premier learnt in London that Bulgaria was claiming Salonica, he endeavoured to meet all the Bulgarian demands, and only refused to yield up that town. But the Bulgarians were unyielding on this point and not only refused to negotiate with the Greeks but even rejected Sazonov's expostulations to allow this matter to be arbitrated on. The pig-headed Danev threw all restraint to the winds and dared declare to Sazonov at St. Petersburgh on March 13, 1913, „that we shall take Salonica in spite of the opposition of Greece and Serbia." (Report of the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry vol. I. p. 590.) In a conversation with Izvolsky in Paris, T. Todorov, the then Minister of Finance, declared that the Bulgarian Government had decided not to resort to the services either of Russia or of the Entente Powers for arbitration with Greece, while Danev informed Isvolsky that Bulgaria would accept to resort to arbitration only in case Russia would guarantee beforehand the award of Salonica to Bulgaria. (Op. cit. vol. I. p. 481 and 493). Such intransigeance on

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648 the part of the Bulgarian Ministers is explained by the fact that Ferdinand having lost all hopes of capturing Constantinople had set his heart on securing Salonica which hs declared to be the Mecca of the Bulgarians. This helped to throw the Greeks into the arms of the Serbians, to the despair of Venizelos, who was ready to make the utmost sacrifices in order to maintain the Balkan League. [1]

The secret Greco-Serbian protocol signed on May 19, which resulted, stiffened the obduracy of the Serbians and further exasperated the Bulgarians who looked on it as an open plot to deprive them of the fruits of their victory. Each side made feverish preparations for war. Gueshov in his deposition to the Commission of Inquiry (op. cit. vol. I. p. 145), asserts that prior to deciding as to whether Bulgaria was to accept arbitration the Ministerial Council convoked early in April the military chiefs in order to consult them as to whether the Bulgarian army was in a position to overcome the united forces of the Greeks and Serbians. All answered affirmatively, except General Fitchev. Venizelos likewise sounded the Greek Staff as to the chances of Bulgaria's success in a struggle against the united Serbian and Greek army and it is reported

[1] Prince Nicolas of Greece who is a confirmed adversary of Venizelos wrote in his "My fifty Years": The intolerable arrogance of Bulgarian pretentions, experienced by Greece and Serbia, brought about as a natural consequence a closer understanding between Greece aud Serbia, and these cordial relations grew stronger as the Bulgarian attitude grew more agressive. Baluktsitch (the Serbian Minister in Athens) came to see me and stated the necessity of an alliance. When Venizelos returned from London he was painfully surprised. Though desiring to ward off a rupture he was averse to any secret intelligence with Serbia and was disposed to make all kinds of concessions to Bulgaria in the hope of appeasing her insatiable demands. Venizelos had shown considerable reluctance to the idea of a secret alliance with Serbia; his one desire was that of maintaining at all costs a permanent Balkan coalition". p. p. 236—244.

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that these were assessed at 60%, which may account to a certain extent for his moderation. The Bulgarian Premier, from the first, did nothing to curtail the interference of the Crown in the conduct of the military operations and in the diplomatic negotiations. Instead of taking advantage of Kiamil Pasha's offer of peace on October 29, to put a stop to the war, he allowed Ferdinand to intervene and protract it needlessly, wasting thereby Bulgaria's manhood and encouraging her allies and neighbours in their desire to despoil her. He did not react when Ferdinand sent secretly a delegate to treat with the Turks in December 1912, behind the backs of the Government and without consulting it.[1] He did nothing to bridle the warlike incitings of Ferdinand to prolong the war with Turkey even when Rumania was threatening to invade Bulgaria. On December 28 1912 Ferdinand grandiloquently declared to his ministers: "the threats of Rumania may frighten you, but not me . . . salvation lies in our renewing military operations against Turkey", etc. All this proves that the Ministers were mere puppets in Ferdinand's hands. Even the quiescence of Gueshov did not suffice to placate Ferdinand and was tolerated only up to a certain time.

When he could not be coerced into emitting more strident war cries in harmony with the diapason adopted by the military orchestra under the command of the Tsar of the Bulgarians, the latter and General Savov intimated to Gueshov that he had better get out of the way and make room for an instrument capable of vibrating in response to the tunes emitted by them. Gueshov retired without uttering a warning or a protest, apparently pleased at being relieved of such responsibilities for which

[1] It would appear that Ferdinand offered to sign an alliance with Turkey in order to chain down the Serbs, and this was mentioned by the German Emperor in a telegram to the German Foreign Office.

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648 he was obviously not cut out, and with the advent of Danev, whose intractability and pig-headedness have seldom been equalled, every moderating influence in Bulgaria disappeared. The perusal of the books [1] which best describe how Bulgaria was driven into the maelstrom of the second Balkan war under the direction imparted to her policy by her maleficent ruler and his crew of hellhags, makes exceedingly sad reading. Such utter lack of αἰδώς (moderation), and consideration for the feelings, claims, and rights of other men, such ὕβρις (arrogance) was bound to bring on the inevitable νέμεσις (retribution) and the denouement was a tragedy worthy of Aeschylus and his immoral theology, for the ire of the Gods vented itself on the innocent, while the culprits escaped scatheless in order to repeat their sinister exploits. Hardly had Danev been nominated as Premier on June 2, than he started bombarding the Russian Government with his impudent notes:

"The full application of the Treaty by Serbia is the sole means of avoiding war". If Serbia does not accept the Treaty, war is inevitable". "If Russia does not force Serbia to accept the terms of the Treaty, Bulgaria declines all responsibility for the consequences".

The culminating point of this spate of insolence was reached on June 22 when the Tsar of Russia was informed that he was given seven days within which to issue his arbitral decision. Dr. A. Ghirghinov in his "National Catastrophe", p. 352—366 unequivocally recounts how the attack of June 29 which precipitated the second Balkan war, was staged. It was an effort to Copenhagen" the Serbian and Greek armies, somewhat after the manner Canning dealt with the Danish fleet in 1807. A paralysing blow was to be dealt simultaneously at both the adver-

[1] Peter Todorov's: The Pogroms of Bulgaria.— Dr. Alexander Ghirghinov's: The National Catastrophe, — V. T. Veltchev's: Towards the Pogrom.

saries and certain strategical points seized on the very day the Tsar of Russia was timed to issue his verdict which naturally would be influenced thereby, but if contrary to expectations, the award had gone against Bulgaria, then the situation created would be such that she could dispense with the necessity of bowing to an unfavourable decision. On June 28, Danev was still undecided as to his going to St. Petersburgh. On the 30th, he handed the Bulgarian memoir to Nekludov, the Russian Minister in Sofia, with the request that it be forwarded at the earliest, and made it known that he was ready to leave for Russia on the following day. This was wired to the Bulgarian Legations in Paris, London, Vienna, Berlin and St. Petersburgh. It was a diplomatic move to mask Danev's real intentions and minimise his responsibilities for the starting of military operations. The order to begin the attack was issued on June 28 with the consent of the Cabinet, otherwise Danev's change of view within two days concerning his visiting St. Petersburgh is incomprehensible. He only decided to go when he had made sure that the attack had been launched, and that the successes he was discounting would force the Tsar of Russia to support Bulgaria's standpoint. For this reason the Cabinet, which knew what was going on took no action when the Greek and Serbian verbal notes of protest against the Bulgarian attack were delivered to it on June 30, and it was only on the following day when it was advised that the 4th Bulgarian army did not attain its objectives that it took notice of them. Dr. Ghirginov depicts how Danev spent the day of June 30 in hiding a few miles out of Sofia at the headquartes of the 3rd army corps.

Danev entered the office of General Dimitriev where Colonel Jostov was also present, smiling and exclaimed: 'Be glad, the advance has started this morning, and in two days I shall accompany Tsar Ferdinand to Salonica. There, let the Greek and Serbian Pre-

648 miers come and meet me, instead of their dragging me to Petersburgh... I have come here, because I am hiding to day from the representatives of the foreign Powers, because we wish to deceive them and make them believe that we did not start a war against the Greeks and Serbians, and that it was the commander-in-chief who began it without the consent of the Government".

There were no divergences between the views of General Savov and those of the Cabinet, for on July 1 the latter wired to Savov in most polite terms, instructing him to stop the military operations without addressing him a single word of reprimand. .The Bulgarian Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry, in spite of its desire to whitewash the responsible persons, had to conclude that the fatal order to attack was issued *Not without the knowledge of Danev.* General Savov testified that Ferdinand had commanded him to order the attack, and as the latter was, according to the Constitution, irresponsible, no one was prosecuted. It must not be thought that the wily Ferdinand embarked on this adventure without having received certain assurances and encouragements from Austria. General Savov affirmed to Von Mach, (Op. cit. p. 235) that Ferdinand had assured him that as soon as Bulgaria declared war on Serbia, an Austrian army corps would cross the Danube into Serbia. This is why Ferdinand made light of the Rumanian threat of invasion, and scoffingly remarked to his ministers "this may frighten you, but not me". Nor should it be forgotten that on the eve of the second Balkan war the Hungarian premier, Count Tisza, declared that Austria-Hungary stood for the independence of the Balkan States, that they were "free to choose their own methods of settling their differences and that no other State would be allowed to acquire special prerogatives in the Balkans". This resounding speech further confirmed the warlike in their decision to have recourse to the sword. M. P. Todorov, in his "The Pogroms of Bulgaria vol. I p. 182/3, narrates at length

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the efforts of Austria[1] to convince the Bulgarian Cabinet that she would support the Bulgarian claim to Salonica, that Rumania would take up a friendly position, that in case of a conflict with Serbia some 50,000 Albanians would invade the latter country and that if Bulgaria showed herself disposed to cede Ochrida and Struga to Serbia, Austria would proceed to include them in Albania. On June 28, Tochev, the Bulgarian ambassador at Vienna wired to his government: „From a most authoritative source I learn that Rumania will not mobilise against Bulgaria nor will she act conjointly with Serbia and Greece against Bulgaria". That Austria was premeditating an attack on Serbia conjointly with Bulgaria becomes evident from San Giuliano's (the Italian foreign Minister) telegram to Giolitti, the Prime Minister, who was absent at the time from Rome. „Austria has informed us and Germany of her intention to take action against Serbia and describes it as defensive, hoping to establish the *casus foederis*, which I consider inapplicable I am trying to concert with Germany to prevent this action". etc.

When Austria perceived that her allies were not supporting her she was obliged to postpone her reckoning with Serbia and could not do otherwise than leave Bulgaria in the lurch That Bulgaria was following the bid of Austria had become evident from the arrogant demeanour of the upstart Danev, for obviously he was not of the stuff to hold such provocative language to

[1] „Shortly before resigning, Gueshov sounded the Austrian Minister in Sofia, Count Tarnowski, as to what would be Austria's attitude in case of a conflict breaking out between Bulgaria and Serbia. On June 2 the same question was put to the Minister. Tarnowski read a report from Vienna according to which Austria would support Bulgaria to take all lands in Macedonia, but that she should come to an understanding with Rumania, For some of our responsible governing circles this assurance was sufficient", (op. cit. vol. II p. 91).

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648 Russia if he felt himself unsupported, and Sazonov readily sensed this when he replied on June 25 to Bobtchev, the Bulgarian Minister in St. Petersburgh:

„You are following Austria's counsels, you are free... The Emperor did not expect an ultimatum as to a time limit in his decision in the dispute. After your declaration, expect nothing from us, forget that some responsibility may devolve on us through the Treaty of 1902".

In fact Russia had clearly intimated to Bulgaria as late as June 24, that she would not arbitrate in the Bulgaro-Serbian dispute so long as Bulgaria refused to submit to arbitration her difference with Greece (Russian Orange Book, document No. 251). Danev as late as June 28 wired to Bobtchev: „I shall negotiate alone if I come. Please do not talk of any arbitration concerning Greece." This shows that Danev had never accepted Russia's conditions and that he was playing for time. In fact the Bulgarian Cabinet had agreed on June 22 that it would accept Russian arbitration provided the Tsar agreed to issue his verdict by June 29, and within the stipulations of the Bulgaro-Serbian Treaty, and these conditions Russia declined to comply with, so that Gueshov's contention that Bulgaria had accepted the arbitration of the Tsar of Russia can not be upheld. Events would certainly have taken another turn if the arbitrator had been a more energetic person that the late Tsar Nicolas II and if he had interceded firmly and not allowed the quarrel to drag on and become envenomed.

648 721 In a public lecture delivered in Sofia on April 23, 1933, General Kovatchev, the commander of the 4th Bulgarian army, which attacked the Serbians on June 29, 1913, gave some striking details which illustrate the morbid ambition which haunted Ferdinand concerning Constantinople, his abnormal treatment of his subordinates, and a narrative of the events which led to the issuing of the

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fatal order to attack Though his version does not agree in all particulars with others. General Kovatchev also concluded that Danev was bound to know of what was brewing. The lecture may be summarised as follows:

The General began by narrating how Ferdinand attempted to excite the anger of the officer corps against Russia, presenting the latter as the sole obstacle to Bulgaria's securing an outlet on the sea of Marmara. In an interview which Kovatchev had on February 8, 1913, Ferdinand complained to him of Generals Savov, Nikiforov and Fitchev and made most disparaging remarks about them. At a Cabinet meeting held after the Easter holidays, all the army commanders save Fitchev expressed the opinion that the Bulgarian army was in a position to wage war on Serbia and Greece, and that while Gueshov's partisans were for a peaceful solution, Danev's supporters were warlike. General Savov related to the speaker that the conflict which arose between him and Tsar Ferdinand was due to the latter's resolve not to end the war without securing Rodosto on the Marmara Ferdinand ordered him on April 8 to write to the Prime Minister, Gueshov, in the name of the army, that it refused to conclude peace until the above object had been attained. Savov answered that he could not agree to this demand and expose the army's prestige needlessly. Ferdinand reiterated his demand which Savov again categorically rejected, whereupon Ferdinand convoked him in his presence and began reprobating him for his insubordination reviling him and accusing him of ingratitude, since he had taken him out of the dock and placed him in this high post, and instead of showing gratitude, he was discrediting him in the eyes of the army. This flow of invective put Savov out of humour and he coolly replied that when he would be tried he would not hesitate to unravel matters which would clearly reveal who of the two was responsible for the misdeeds which were being ascribed to him, after which Savov bowed and withdrew. Kovatsev met Savov again on May 31 and was told that the army was now being moved to the west in order to impress Russia, France and England into coercing Serbia to accept the Treaty stipulations, as these three Powers were most anxious to maintain the Balkan Alliance. Concerning the issuing of the order to attack, General Kovatsev affirms that both Ferdinand and Savov did not want to provoke war, but that they were seeking to impress not only the Serbians and Greeks, but also the Tsar of Russia, in order that the latter might arbitrate in favour of Bulgaria. Savov had not informed Danev of the intended attack, but he supposed that

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Tsar Ferdinand had done so. Savov could hardly assume that the two had not acted in concert, for Danev was kept imformed of matters of even a more delicate nature, so that he could not be ignorant of what was happening, since Palace circles were cognisant, and they would have reported it to him. Another proof that Danev was acquainted with what was occurring, was the telegrams which he addressed on the morning of June 30 to the Bulgarian representatives abroad to the effect that the attack had been started by the Serbians and Greeks and not by the Bulgarians, and secondly the order Danev transmitted simultaneously to the military censors to prevent the publication of any news concerning what was happening at the front.

When the attack miscarried, the Cabinet attempted to disculpate itself by showing that it knew nothing of the attack. After consulting with the Russian Minister in Sofia, it ordered the suspension of hostilities, without making sure whether the Serbian and Greek armies would condescend to do likewise. Russia promised to put a stop to the fratricidal war if Bulgaria would accept the territory between the Bregalnitsa and Vardar, the Belassitsa Mountains and the Struma, with the towns of Kotshana, Radovitch Pehtsevo, Drama, Cavalla and possibly Serres, but Danev refused and resigned, declaring that „his policy had gone bankrupt". His resignation and the advent of the Austrophile Cabinet of Radoslavov brought about the failure of Russia's effort to help Bulgaria out of the mess she had got in. Tsar Ferdinand immediately suspended General Savov from his functions for having obeyed the injunctions of the Government. The Serbians who were so long spoiling for a fight, now that they had been offered an excellent justification for doing so [1] rejected all offers for

[1] The Serbian military circles had formally declared to the Serbian Government that they had definitely resolved to retain the lands they occupied and that they would not yield them up. Proclamations declaring war on Bulgaria in which the date was left blank were seized on Serbian prisoners and this shows that the Serbians were contemplating to declare war on Bulgaria and were waiting for a favourable occasion; the Bulgarians merely forestalled

an armistice, and turned a deaf ear to Russia's injunctions counterattacked the Bulgarians who had been ordered to cease fighting and badly mauled them. It took some time for the Bulgarian army to recover from these initial rebuffs, but in a few weeks under the able leadership of general R. Dimitriev, the situation had been retrieved. The Bulgarians were advancing on Nisch and threatening to cut the communications of the Serbian army in Macedonia, while the Greek army seemed as if it would suffer a Sedan in the Kresna defile but all these efforts of the troops were unavailing. The Rumanian army unrestrained by Russia, which could not allow Serbia to be crushed, had invaded Bulgaria and was advancing unopposed on Sofia, while Turkey, following the example set by Rumania, reoccupied Adrianople. Bulgaria was forced to capitulate and throw herself on the mercy of her vindictive enemies.

By the ensuing Treaty of Bucarest signed on August 10, Bulgaria was deprived of all share in Macedonia save the upper part of the valley of the river Struma, and received as her share of the spoils wrung from Turkey, a short stretch of coast line of the Aegean, between the rivers Mesta and Maritsa with its hinterland, the mountainous region of the Rhodopes. She was obliged to cede to Rumania the whole of the southern Dobrudja in spite of the fact that this region of 7609 sq. klm. with a population of 290000 souls contained only 2.2% of Rumanians One would have expected that both the Balkan States and the Great Powers would have at least exerted themselves a little in order to secure for Bulgaria that part of Thrace up

an attack on their allies. Sazonov in his „Fateful Years", p. 95, admits that it was Russia who prevented Serbia from opening hostilities: „The army was confident of success. I replied that I did not consider myself in a position to offer strategic advice, but from a political no less than a moral point of view.such a policy would cause irreparable damage to Serbia, damage for which no military success could compensate her.

bly, in order to win the goodwill of Turkey, advised in August 1913 the Turkish representative at Berne that it would be politic to take advantage of Bulgaria's difficulties in order to expel from Thrace the Bulgarian element which would always be a menace to the retention of this province by Turkey. This „humane" advice was communicated in code from Berne on August 21 to the Grand Vizier, Said Halil, and promptly acted upon; a large section of the Bulgarian population being uprooted and driven out from Eastern Thrace into Bulgaria.

The indifference shown by her former Allies and the Powers of the Entente for Bulgaria's rights in Thrace, constrained her to come to terms with Turkey and even to begin negotiations with her for the conclusion of a treaty of alliance, the object of which was to attack Greece. In the autumn of 1913 General Savov was dispatched to Constantinople to conduct these negotiations and arrive at an arrangement concerning the delimitation of the Bulgaro-Turkish frontier. It may be affirmed that the disregard of Bulgaria's rights in Thrace imparted the first impetus to the policy of collaboration between Bulgaria and Turkey. Had Russia, on the other hand been supported in her attempt to champion Bulgaria's claims against Turkey, it is certain that there would have been little cause for Bulgaria being drawn into Turkey's orbit, which paved the way for her adhesion to the Central Alliance.

Tsar Ferdinand hastened to replace Danev by Radoslavov, supported by Tontchev and Ghenadiev. Radoslavov on June 22 had convoked a big public meeting, which passed a resolution in favour of declaring war on Serbia

Greece", also refers to „the mischievous tendency to distortion which characterised that gentleman". p. 103. The advice Politis so readily proffered to Turkey, was acted upon not only in connection with the Bulgarians, but later also with regards the Greeks, and Greece has to a certain extent to thank Politis for the million and a half of hapless refugees who were dumped a few years later on her soil.

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648 and Greece. These three politicians, in an open letter dated July 5, 1913, addressed to Ferdinand, had declared: „We think to-day, as we thought then. that the salvation of our State can only be found in a policy of intimate friendship with Austria-Hungary" This was a clear avowal that Bulgaria would henceforth pursue an Austrophile policy. This was rendered possible by the lack of coherence among the remaining political parties, which at that critical moment declined to sink their differences and impose on Ferdinand a national policy

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The mischievous and equivocal declaration made by Danev on resigning, namely „that our policy has gone bankrupt" was interpreted by all in Bulgaria as a public avowal that the friendliness displayed to Russia was the cause of the disaster which befell Bulgaria. Such a statement coming from the leader of the most Russophile party in the country helped to lend colour to the insinuations circulated by the circles devoted to Tsar Ferdinand, to the effect that Russia had sought to thwart the realisation of Bulgaria's aspirations. Danev's policy, it is true, had failed disastrously, but the cause was that he had swerved from the Russophile policy he had always declared to have pursued. This deviation, however, he would not acknowledge, as it implied his assumption of a great share in Bulgaria's catastrophe. In order to exculpate himself, he preferred to throw the onus of the disaster on the pro-Russian policy which he pretended to have followed devotedly. This pusillanimous attitude helped to intensify the eclipse which the Russophile elements suffered after the Balkan wars, and facilitated Tsar Ferdinand's task of maintaining in power the Radoslavov Cabinet, composed of some of the

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worst blackguards Bulgaria had produced. This Ministry was entirely out of sympathy with the nation, and in spite of all the terrorism it exerted repeatedly at the elections, was unable to secure a majority at the polls. Thus at the elections, which took place in December 1913, the votes cast for the Government and the Opposition numbered respectively 202,363 and 329,320. Unfortunately the Opposition was divided into seven antagonistic groups and was unable to impose itself, in spite of the fact that it had 110 deputies against 94 belonging to the Government in the Sobranye. Radoslavov took advantage to dissolve the Chamber and to hold fresh elections early in March 1914, after having recourse to an artifice, that of extending the franchise to the inhabitants of the territories allocated to Bulgaria at the conclusion of the Balkan wars. This was a clear infringement of the Constitution, for the incorporation of this territory had not yet been voted by the Legislative Assembly. This stratagem permitted Radoslavov's supporters to secure the return of 126 deputies to the new Sobranye, while the Opposition deputies numbered only 119, though the votes cast were 345,730 for the Governent and 418,058 for the Opposition. Among the Goverment deputies were forty Moslems, thirteen of whom had been returned from the newly annexed territories in Thrace and who were subservient tools of the Young Turkish party holding power in Constantinople, and who naturally were able to exert their influence on Radoslavov and impose on him the adoption of a pro-Turkish attitude. The conclusion of a loan in Germany, further strengthened the ascendancy the Austro-Germans were beginning to exert, and though it has been repeatedly asseverated that no political clauses were attached to the conclusion of the loan, yet it may be assumed that certain tacit assurances were given. This is corroborated by a statement made by von Tschirsky to the Bulgarian Ambassador in

Vienna, which is recorded in the Bulgarian Orange Book (Document 735): „Even when the loan was advanced to you, it was understood that your policy would assume an unhesitating course". A similar affirmation is ascribed to Radoslavov who assured the German ambassador in Sofia on July 15, 1914, after the voting of the loan, that the Cabinet felt itself secure and that it would begin to plan Bulgaria's attachment to the Triple Alliance. („Kautsky's documents vol I. p. 162). While Peter Todorov affirms:

„The political character of the financial assistance secured from German capital is emphasized by the instructions sent by our Finance Minister when he directed our Minister in Vienna (in 1913) to request the Austrian Banks not to charge more that 8% interest because the service rendered was also of a political character". (op. cit. vol II p. 229).

The new Chamber[1] hastened to appoint a Parliamentary commission to inquire into the activities of the Gueshov and Danev Cabinets. The government accused them of being responsible of the misfortunes which befell Bulgaria in the late wars This was clearly a clever ruse of Radoslavov aimed at discrediting his political opponents and curtailing their activities, for he himself being devoid of all popular support, was fearful lest his opponents by arousing the slumbering consciousness of the nation should come to dislodge him from office in which he was maintaining himself uniquely with the patronage of the Crown. Radoslavov was not even sure of all his supporters. The Stambulovists, comprising 28 deputies, and the second group in numbers supporting the Goverment, was headed by Ghenadiev, one of the most clever and unscrupulous politicians Bulgaria has had, who was playing a double game. The Stambulovists had been indicted for a series of illegalities committed by them while in office during the period 1903—8, and were awaiting trial. Radoslavov, whenever Ghenadiev showed any sign of resisting the pro-German policy which was being foisted on the Bul-

[1] Elected in December 1913, see col. 116.

661 throne lay in sowing discord among his subjects, and he devoted himself wholeheartedly to achieve this aim by encouraging mutual distrust and enmity both in political and military circles. He incited General Fitchev to murder General Savov, he upbraided Minister Ghenadiev for not permitting the murder of Minister T. Todorov, while he condemned the war Minister K. Naidenov for not arranging the assassination of Ghenadiev. (Protocols of State Trials pp. 596-601-979) While he[?] thus set his politicians and officers by the ears, he applied himself to come to a close understanding with the Central Empires, these being the sole Powers which would condescend to support him in his morbid desire to wreak vengeance on Serbia and Russia, which in his imagination had dared interfere with the realisation of his ambitious aims. During the prolonged stay he made in Austria-Hungary in the autumn of 1913, it seems that the Emperor Francis-Joseph must have given him assurances that he would soon have an opportunity of retrieving his ill-luck. Ferdinand in exchange pledged himself to support the policy of the Central Powers. This accounts for his determination to persist in the pro-Austrian policy he had initiated, and in maintaining the Radoslavov Cabinet, the only one amenable to such a course, in spite of the repeated rebuffs it suffered when the electorate was consulted. On March 1, 1929, the *Mir* published an article signed by I. St. Gueshov, a former Bulgarian diplomat, who affirmed that in the autumn of 1913 Ferdinand at Vienna, and General Savov and Natsevitch at Constantinople, had promised Francis-Joseph, and the Grand Vizier, that whatever would happen, Bulgaria would support the Central Powers and Turkey, and Gueshov even affirms that draft treaties to this effect were signed. That the Emperor of Austria fully relied on these promises of Tsar Ferdinand becomes obvious from the handwritten letter the former addressed to the Kaiser

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[?] [i.e. Tsar Ferdinand — Analyst]

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on July 4. 1914. and which he entrusted to Count Hoyos to convey to Germany. In it an important role was assigned to Bulgaria as a thoroughly reliable element in the impending struggle with Serbia[1]. (Austro-Hungarian Diplomatic Documents 1919 № 1) As soon as Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, the Emperor called upon Ferdinand to co-operate at once with him as if he were a trusty ally, and Ferdinand hastened to instruct Radoslavov to begin negotiations for the conclusion of an alliance with the Central Empires, as is confirmed by a report addressed to the German Government by the German Minister in Sofia on August 2, 1914. (Die deutschen dokumente zum Kriegsansbruch Vol. III and IV Nos. 673 and 697) These negotiations were pursued and Bulgaria given a free hand to annex all territory she claimed from those of her neighbours who had not adhered to the Central Alliance; while Radoslavov and his colleague Tontchev, gave assurances that Bulgaria would not undertake anything against Rumania if the latter performed her duty to her allies. (Kautsky's Diplomatic Documents Vol. III. pp. 55 & 143) On October 9, 1914, Radoslavov sounded the War Minister, Fitchev, as to the conclusion of a military convention which was to complete the Treaty of Alliance, and a few weeks later Ferdinand hinted to the same person that he ought to learn German because Bulgaria's place was with the Central Alliance. (Protocols of the State Trial of the Radoslavov Cabinet p. 453.) The reason why Bulgaria was not involved in the struggle at that early date may be inferred from a telegram addressed by Radoslavov to the

[1] The following passage from it is indicative of the reliance Austria placed in the Radoslavov Cabinet: „The efforts of my Government must in future be directed towards the isolation and diminution of Serbia. The first step in this direction should be to strengthen the position of the present Bulgarian Government, in order that Bulgaria whose real interests are identical with our own. may be preserved from a relapse into a Russophile policy".

Bulgarian Minister in Berlin in December 1914. (Bulgarian Orange Book, Document No. 593)...

„It is not yet time for Bulgaria to infringe her neutrality, because materially she is weak, and also because our military supplies are not being delivered, even Austria-Hungary having placed an embargo on our rifles. Greece and Rumania, as in 1913, are awaiting our intervention in order to attack us".

Though no formal alliance was signed until September 6, 1915, Bulgaria's adhesion to the Central Alliance was a foregone conclusion, and this is confirmed by her Government's divergent attitude towards each of the two groups of Powers. While everything was done to facilitate the passage through Bulgarian territory of army supplies destined to Turkey, Russian requests for dispatching help to Serbia through Bulgaria were rejected on the plea that they would constitute an infringement of Bulgarian neutrality. The protocols of the State Trial of the Radoslavov Cabinet abound with evidence as to the systematic smuggling through of armaments to Turkey. The act of accusation itself cites an official letter of Radoslavov in which he affirms that at the beginning of 1915 relations between Turkey and Bulgaria were not only friendly but those of two allies. Richard Von Mach in his „Aus Bewegter Balkanzeit", affirms that these States had bound themselves to assist each other against an attack by any Balkan State, on August 1914. And minister Pechev in his diary, notes, August 7, 1914:

„My colleagues remained in the Ministerial Council until after 1. a, m. and together with Talat and Halil Bey signed a treaty between Bulgaria and Turkey".

Diplomatist of the Central Alliance in their conversations with their Bulgarian colleagues refer to a concluded pact between their respective countries, much to the surprise of the latter who ignore, or pretend to be ignorant of it. (Bulgarian Orange Book. vol. I. Documents 772,

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782, 799, 860, 998) Both Ferdinand and Radoslavov did 648
their utmost to withhold from the public all knowledge of the contents of the offers the Entente Powers were making, while they persistently magnified any corresponding offer the Central Powers would put forth.

In spite of the pro-Russian feelings of the masses, which Savinsky, the Russian Minister in Sofia repeatedly alludes to in his „Recollections of a Russian Diplomat", pp. 203 and 250, the national will remained voiceless, for the political parties, the function of which was to give expression to it, were too disunited and too absorbed in the campaign they were conducting of mutual recrimination and vituperation. Whatever a politically untrained community could do[1] to prevent itself being drawn into a struggle against its will, appears to have been accomplished, but the masses, devoid of capable leaders and receiving no outside support, had to bow down before the organised forces of the State and follow meekly along the path that was being traced for them. Only on one occasion did Bulgaria's rulers vacillate in their resolution to side with Germany, and that was in the spring of 1915, when there was a fair prospect of the Dardanelles being forced, and when the Russian successes in Galicia made even the most Germanophile among them begin to entertain serious doubts as to the invincibility of the Central Powers. At that crucial moment Radoslavov intimated unequivocally to Savinsky that Bulgaria would side with the Entente if she were aided in taking this step.

„I sent to Sazonov a personal telegram on April 7, stating: Radoslavov assures me he was only waiting for a favourable moment to join in with Russia.... he then gave me to understand that he

[1] For a fuller narrative of the events leading up to Bulgaria's intervention in the World War and after, see the writer's, „Bulgaria, problems and politics", and his contribution to „Bulgaria and Rumania", in the Series of the „Nations of To.Day", published by *Hodder and Stoughton.*

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would prefer Bulgaria to be forced into action and the Government to be placed before an accomplished fact. Seeing what he was driving at, I asked him what the Bulgarian Government's answer would be if a definite reply-„yes or no" was now demanded from them by the Allies? To this he said that he would answer 'yes'. I then asked him to what extent the words of his brother-in-law, (a member of the Nationat Assembly) had heen correctly reported to me. namely, that if the Russians landed on the Black Sea coast .and the French and British at Dede-Agatch, Bulgaria would immedietely join them? To that Radoslavov answered: „Two landings would be unnecessary, the Russian landing should suffice. Knowing it was not directed against us, we would accept it gladly and leave the details to be settled later on of a common accord.'" (Recollections of a Russian Diplomat. Op. cit. p. 259/61).

What was most symptomatic was that Ferdinand repeatedly dispatched his private secretary and Count Marshal to affirm to Savinsky that „Bulgaria was only waiting for the moment she could repay to Russia her debt of gratitude". The Russian Minister further wrote:

„Seeing the reversal of attitude that had taken place both in the Palace and in Government spheres, I telegraphed to Sazonov on April 10, that just now we have reached the psychological moment when it is necessary to act,,., I believe that further hasitation might be dangerous to success... the position of the King and of the Government would be made easier by the accomplished fact, whereas the people and the army would enthusiastically hail the appearance of Russian uniforms. The presence of a comparatively small contingent would draw out the whole country against Turkey". etc. Op. Cit.).

Unfortunately Savinsky's recommendations were not followed. Sazonov at the prompting of his western Allies requested his Minister in a telegram dated April 20, to shut off steam: „Conforming to the desire of Delcassé refrain from the prescribed action pending further instructions".

At that critical period Radoslavov even approached the late Mr. Bourchier and commissioned him to transmit to the British Foreign office an offer for Bulgaria's co-ope-

ration on terms remarkable for their moderation. The draft of this telegram was published in Lady Grogan's „The Life J. D. Bourchier", p. 165: 648

„If three Powers give mandate Bulgaria occupation Serbian Macedonia to line treaty 1912 with guarantee against molestation part Rumania Greece Bulgarian premier declares Bulgaria would place forces our disposal would acquiesce similar guarantees to Rumania Greece (against Bulgarian aggression) thus liberating respectively Rumania for invasion Transylvania Greece for operations Asia Minor".

Instead of taking the bull by the horns however, the propitious moments were allowed to pass by irremediably:

„Entente diplomacy was placing great hopes on the impending Italian intervention and on the success of the Dardanelles campaign. Under these circumstances it felt in a position to dispense with the help of the Balkan States, and accordingly treated them with scant courtesy. The prospect of acting without the co-operation of these greedy, clamorous, intemperate, would-be customers must certainly have proved alluring to many politicians". (the writer's „Bulgaria, problems and Politics", p. 117.)

According to an article which appeared in the *Revue de France* (September 15. 1933) „L'intervention Bulgare dans la Grande Guérre" Russia had decided to land troops at Burgas, this plan having been approved by Sazonov and Delcassé, but Sir Edward Grey expressed himself on March 19, 1915, that this was undesirable without Bulgaria's explicit consent, and that Sir Edward persisted in his opposition even when Radoslavov had declared to the Russian ambassador in Sofia that Bulgaria would close her eyes to such action. The attitude of Sir Edward at this period is indefensible, his angle of vision must have been utterly distorted if he came to consider that it did not matter substantially on which side Bulgaria threw her weight. And to all appearance he displayed supreme indifference for Bulgaria when she came knocking at our door. A few phrases from the note he transmitted to Sofia

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•648 on April 15 1915 (Bulgarian Orange Book vol. I No. 801) could hardly be surpassed in effectiveness as a damper:

„Le Gouvernement Britannique avait reçu des indications que Sa Majesté Ferdinand regardait la Triple Entente avec malveillance et il ne pouvait ni inviter le concours de la Bulgarie ni formuler des offres précises avant de recevoir une assurance définitive que le roi des Bulgares et le Gouvernement bulgare étaient prêts à s'allier avec la Triple Entente sous des conditions raisonnables."

The Bulgarian Minister in London having expressed certain apprehensions as to an eventual hostile attitude of Greece and Rumania towards Bulgaria, Sir Edward concluded his dispatch with this patronising assurance:

„L'Angleterre désirait une entente balkanique: elle ne désirait pas une nouvelle guerre balkanique. Tant que le Gouvernement bulgare se montrerait bien disposé envers l'Angleterre, le Gouvernement Britannique refuserait de s'associer à des dispositions hostiles à la Bulgarie".

Prior to the receipt of this impressive diplomatic missive, Ferdinand had sent an autograph letter to King George, probably in order to confirm Radoslavov's overtures, but according to Dr. Seton Watson, it was not answered, and the distinguished historian appositely depicts what ensued by remarking:

„For the next six months Sir Edward Grey played with the idea of a Serbo-Bulgarian Agreement; and after the Russian retreat and the Suvla Bay disasters, the Bulgarians responded by playing with Sir Edward Grey". (Europe in the Melting pot. 110).

It was a great misfortune for Great Britain that at this critical period of the war her Foreign Secretary should have been so ill advised as to have deliberately cold-shouldered both Bulgaria and Greece when they were most anxious to join us, and from prospective willing allies to have turned them into open or covert enemies. When reading Sir Edward's „Twenty five Years", a student of history is astounded at the lameness of the de-

fence he puts in for his policy towards these two States. 648
(Vol. II pp. 172 and 197) and marvels at the utter ignorance of local conditions which he displays. A Minister of Foreign Affairs should know better than affirm that:

„Bulgaria had in 1913... been deprived of any outlet on the Aegean", (vol. II p. 174). „Bulgaria wanted a port on the Aegean and her claims in Macedonia". (vol. II p. 194).

For Bulgaria had a stretch of coast line on the Aegean at the time. One however, can not help admiring Sir Edward's frankness when he proceeds to admit that the inducements offered to Bulgaria at a later period for her participation in the war on our side were inadequate:

„The utmost, then, that we could say to Bulgaria was, that if it came to be in our power to win great gains for Serbia, we should make it a condition of her acquiring those gains that she should concede what we thought fair claims of Bulgaria. This still left it open to Serbia to say that she would rather not have the new gains that give up Monastir". Vol. II p, 197.

Serbian intractability, however, to which allusion is made in the above text should to a large measure be ascribed to the concessions which were being made to Italy at the time. Lloyd George in his „War Memoirs" Vol. I p. 400 cites a letter of Mr. George Trevelyan dated Sofia Jan. 15 1915, in which that eminent historian affirms:

„In general, however, we can say from numerous conversations with Serbians from the Crown Prince downwards that the more Yugoslavia and Adriatic expansion are dwelt upon the more Serbians will be willing to concede to (in?) Macedonia".

An Sazonov likewise. wrote on the subject in his „Fateful Years". p. 264:

„It cost me a great effort to sacrifice to the advantage of the Italian Alliance the interest of the Serbian people, whose desires could be realised only through the Great War. Serbia would, in any case have an outlet to the sea, but a considerable part of the Serbian population would be excluded from their own country"

•648 Had the Entente, early in 1915 attempted to win over Bulgaria and even Greece instead of Italy, it would have found that this could have been done with less concessions, fewer difficulties, and incomparably more conclusive results. Within a week of its conclusion, the Treaty of London, signed on April 28 1915 became known to the Serbians, and they were justly furious at the transfer of Jugoslav territory behind their backs. M. Passitch declared that Serbians were being treated worse than Africans.

The coolness with which the Bulgarian advances were received in London confirmed the Bulgarians in their doubts as to our sincerity concerning our alleged readiness to award Constantinople and the Straits to Russia. They came to infer that our aloofness was dictated by duplicity, and that secretly we were doing our level best to prevent such a consummation, and that we really did not wish to see them intervene on our side. This view probably gained ground also through the attitude of our official representative, Sir Henry Bax-Ironside, of whom Lieut. Colonel the Hon. H. D. Napier wrote in his „Experiences of a Military Attache in the Balkans" (p. 28): „was of opinion at this time that it was not only impossible but also undesirable to win her (Bulgaria) over to our side." Minister Pechev. the only honest person in the Radoslavov Ministry, has two entries in his diary concerning Sir Henry Bax-Ironside, which throw much light on the mentality of Bulgarian official circles and which permit us to grasp the beliefs they were then entertaining about British official policy, February 4 (O. S.) 1915:

„Bax-Ironside stated to Radoslavov that Sir Edward Grey was content with Bulgarian neutrality, and he added that personally he considered that Bulgaria should not let herself be influenced by advice emanating from Russia and France aiming at involving her in the war".

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June 26, (O. S.) 1915: „Bax-Ironside leaves for England. After expressing several times England's desire to see Bulgaria participate in the war, he privately, and intimately spoke to Radoslavov that Bulgaria did well to remain neutral. He gave the same advice to Agrarian deputies who came to visit him".[1] 648

From this it was easy for the Bulgarians to infer that so far as England was concerned, Byron's exhortations still held good: —

„Better still serve the haughty Mussulman.
Than swell the Cosaque's prowling caravan;"

The Bulgarians who had seen their country dismemberd in 1878 at the instigation of Great Britain, in order that Russia might not secure an outpost towards Constantinople, could not come to believe that in 1915 England would so completely alter her point of view as to permit and even facilitate her rival's instalment at such a post of vantage. Even the failure of the Dardanelles expedition was not interpreted as such in Bulgaria, and to-day there are intelligent Bulgarians who still uphold that it was a staged up affair and that the British really never seriously tried to force the Straits, because they did not wish to hand them over to Russia.[2]

[1] Madol in his „Ferdinand of Bulgaria" p. 285 writes: „Ironside feared Anglo-Russian complications on account of Constantinople if the Bulgarians were to aid in the conquest of Turkey. Thus to the surprise of Radoslavov, Ironside advised him, when the Entente issued their ultimatum to Bulgaria, not to make a rash decision as no one could foretell the issue of the war; he added that Bulgaria was not in a fit state to undertake a war. Radoslavov, who was unable to explain the Briton's visit, consulted the leaders of the Opposition. The latter mobilised the French and Russian representatives who protested against Ironside's action, and obtained his recall. Whether Ironside's attitude has been dictated by Downing Street or not, this incident shows the nature of British thoughts and misgivings with regard to Constantinople".

[2] It seems strange, but the attitude of certain British circles towards Turkey during the war had something mysterious about it.

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This conviction which was largely held in Bulgaria, and which we were unable to shake subsequently, when we started rather late in the day to win over Bulgaria with offers, explains how we helped to pour grist into Ferdinand's mill and facilitate his task of involving his country on the side of Germany. Far from being justified in charging Bulgaria with duplicity, as some persons have done, it is rather the Bulgarians who with some apparent justification might accuse us of inducing them into a fatal error. This belief in our insincerity was further confirmed by an article in the organ of the Russian War Ministry, the *„Ruski Invalid"* in August 1915, in which bitter complaints were made against the British and French for their inactivity at a time when the Russian front in Poland was collapsing under the hammer blows delivered by Hindenburg and Ludendorf. Russia, it was declared had sacrificed the flower of her troops in Masuria, in order to prevent the fall of Paris in 1914, but now her allies did nothing to succour her in her hour of need. This was an excellent opportunity offered to the pro-Germans and they made the most of it to convince the Bulgarians that the Western Powers were leaving Russia to exhaust herself in order that at the end of the war

Mr. Lloyd George in his War Memoirs, Vol. IV, p. 2247 writes: „It was part of the War Office game to pretend that the Turks had formidable forces with ample reserves and if they were attacked seriously the Germans would rush to their succour and beat us off. They may have believed it, but if so, either their information was defective or they were easily taken in. In either event it was a failure of intelligence". Mr. Lloyd George lays stress on his affirmation by publishing a report by the military council at Versailles drawn up at the end of 1916, in which it was stated that the condition of Turkey was one of almost complete material and moral exhaustion etc. The Bulgarians naturally were quite aware of Turkey's weakness and inability to defend herself, and they could not interprete the Allies lack of enterprise in the Near East except by ascribing it to England's unwillingness to hand over the Straits to Russia.

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they might deprive her of Constantinople. And if Russia was thus left in the lurch it was easy to infer what would happen to Bulgaria if by misfortune she joined the Entente and was simultaneously attacked by both the Austro-Germans and her neighbours. 648

The first concrete offer to Bulgaria was made on May 29, but it was an aleatory one since in exchange for her intervention, the territorial gains promised in Macedonia were to materialise only when, and if, Serbia received Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Central Powers responded by a counter offer of the whole of Macedonia in exchange for Bulgaria's neutrality. A further offer by the Entente was made on August 3, and a final one on September 14. The latter guaranteed the 1912 incontested zone in Macedonia to Bulgaria at the end of the war, the Enos-Midia line in Thrace, and diplomatic support for the transfer of the Cavalla region and southern Dobroudja; but when Serbia's consent to these concessions became known, it was found that they were hedged in with certain reservations which robbed the offer of most of its value. However, it came too late, for Ferdinand had already signed on September 6, an alliance with Germany and pledged himself jointly with the Central Powers to attack Serbia. If this Bulgarian attack was staved off for so long it was solely owing to the doubts the Bulgarian Government entertained as to the attitude of Greece and Rumania, both of which had at first declared that they would not countenance a Bulgarian aggression on Serbia. Later, however, their attitude radically changed, and both encouraged Bulgaria to attack her western neighbour. (Cf. Bulgarian Orange Book vol. I. Nos. 347, 381, 577. 1099, 1107). King Constantine's assurances that he would allow a free hand to Bulgaria were transmitted through German official circles; he had telegraphed to the Kaiser that he would not attack Germany's allies unless they attacked him, but

648 subsequently his messages to Bulgarian representatives were marked with such cordiality that Ferdinand annotated one with the significant words: „La conduite du roi Constantin est vraiment irreprochable". (Bulgarian Orange Book vol. II, No. 108. In an interview with Major Kableshkov, the Bulgarian military attache in Athens, Constantine affirmed:

> That he was not opposed to the entry of Bulgarian troops in Greece, that their conduct was excellent and that he had complete confidence in the Bulgarian Government. The good conduct of the Bulgarian troops would prevent Venizelos making capital out of their presence in Greek territory. The Entente was all talk and no action, it was Germany alone that showed initiative. As for the English army, it was a mob of undisciplined and untrained men. His brother Prince Andrew had bought a horse for fifty drachmae from a British soldier. others had bought motor cycles for twelve drachmae, British soldiers would sell thair pants in order to procure drinks. (Bulgarian Orange Book vol. II № 220).

In a previous interview with Passarov, the Bulgarian Minister in Athens, on August 19, 1915, Constantine had stated:

> „According to the information I possess, you will side with Germany. We shall follow the same policy, because I shall not permit a different one, since both our nations will be with Germany, even this most difficult question of Cavalla will be solved satisfactorily for both sides".

The King had begun his conversation with a long diatribe against Serbian intransigeance, and by expressing his conviction that Serbia was by far a more dangerous neighbour than Bulgaria. (Bulgarian Orange Book. vol. I. No. 1049).

No one was ever deluded about the professed Ententophilism, either of King Constantine or of the sundry Rumanian politicians [1] who at different times made fle-

[1] Rumania, on September 11, 1914 had actually offered to take an active part against Russia if the territory of Suczawa were ceded

eting appearances on the political chess-board, and no one should be surprised at their efforts to involve Bulgaria on the side of the Central Powers; for the elimination of a rival among those who curried the favours of the Entente would correspondingly enhance the price of those who still remained neutral. After the fiasco of the Dardanelles expedition, there was no apparent reason for being in a hurry; on the contrary, the more the Great Powers exhausted themselves, the greater became the market value of each prospective ally, and each of these could bide its time. What, however, provokes the indignation of all honest men is that Greece and Rumania should have been allowed after the war to make capital out ot their pretended Ententophilism to the detriment of Bulgaria, when it is they who by the encouragements they gave to Bulgaria enabled the latter to launch her attack on Serbia and protract the war by at least two years.

The negotiations with Germany were conducted in complete secrecy and behind the backs of most of the Ministers. General Fitchev, the Minister of War, was dismissed from his post on August 17, 1915 in order that he might not be apprised of the activities of those of his subordinates who owing to their devotion to Ferdinand had been entrusted with the drawing up of the military convention. Chief among these was Gantchev, an officer compromised in several disreputable affairs and a criminal, who owed his position and liberty to his master. (Protocols of the State Trial p. 660 etc.) All the military leaders who had distinguished themselves during the Balkan wars were replaced by younger officers, who had actively encouraged Ferdinand in attacking Serbia and Greece in 1913, like Generals Jekov and Jostov, the new comman-

to her in reward. After the battle of the Marne the offer was suppressed, before it could be accepted. (Cf. Winston S. Churchill. The World Crisis, the Eastern Front p. 222).

648 der-in-chief and chief of the army staff, whose participation in enginering the attack on June 29, 1913 is graphically described in Minister Pechev's Memoirs. Some 30,000 Macedonians were enrolled and trained long before the publication of the mobilisation decree on the night of September 21, in order that they might be used if necessary as a bludgeon to overawe the Bulgarians into accepting the policy which had been decided on. The Macedonians had made repeated efforts to convince the Allies of the necessity of transferring their native land to Bulgaria, but disgusted at the irresoluteness the Entente displayed, they finally threw in their lot with the Germans and actively assisted the latter in putting into operation their plans. Dr. Vladov one of their leaders had approached at an early date Savinsky, the Russian ambassador in Sofia and told him:

„If only you succeed in obtaining for Bulgaria the Macedonian territories which should be hers according to the Bulgaro-Serbian agreement of 1912, the whole country will be up in arms and fight at your side. Should the Government try and oppose us, we would force them to desist: as to the King, we who have more than once faced death, would not hesitate to do away with him should he attempt to thwart our political ambitions". (Recollections of a Russian diplomat. p. 204).

648 721 The ministers of the Triple Entente presented an ultimatum on October 4 summoning Bulgaria to break off relations with the Central Powers, to which Radoslavov replied with an indignant protest of innocence that could hardly be surpassed in duplicity; this having been considered as unsatisfactory, the Entente representatives severed diplomatic relations with Bulgaria and left on October 7. A few days later the Bulgarian army, as it had been prearranged, crossed into Serbia in order to support the Austro-German attack on that country which had already begun.[1]

[1] (For details of the military operations see the writer's contribution to „Bulgaria & Rumania." in the Nations of to-day series, published by Hodder & Stoughton).

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721 The occupation of Macedonia did not render the Radoslavov Gevernment any the more popular in the eyes of the people. The chief brunt of the fighting fell on the Bulgarians, because the Germans after reaching Kragujevats withdrew their forces and left only one army corps to support Bulgaria. This relieved to some extent the pressure on the Serbian army and enabled it to retreat through Albania to the Adriatic. Apparently von Mackensen's plan was to open up communications with Turkey and did not consist of annihilating the Serbian army which would have involved much greater sacrifices for the Germans. After completing the conquest of Macedonia, the Bulgarian army leaders insisted on occupying Salonica, so as to eliminate an eventual enemy thrust from that quarter in order that they might then proceed to the partial demobilisation of the army; to this demand, however, the Germans opposed a resolute refusal. They considered that the maintenance of the Salonica front suited best their purpose, for the Bulgarian army which could not be employed in th west, could be used to tie down a corresponding number of Entente troops which would necessarily be detached from the Western front where otherwise they would have to be faced by Germans. Radoslavov in his „Bulgaria and the world crisis", p.137/8, affirms that:

„The attack on Salonica was not undertaken because it was believed that Greece would eventually join the Central Alliance. She had already permitted the taking of Rupel, Drama, and Cavalla according to a written prearranged plan. Early in 1916 von Falkenhayn decided not to take Salonica and was supported by Hindenburg though General Conrad von Hötzendorf held the contrary view. Soon after the occupation of Serbia, serious divergences arose between Bulgaria and Austria over Prizren and Prishtina, both States demanding their incorporation into their respective territory".

724 648 Serious difficulties were created also through the Germans attempting to lay hands on all available supplies in Bulgaria and through their forcing the Bulgarian army

724 commissariat to furnish provisions far beyond those
648 necessary for the limited number of German troops on the Macedonian front. In the State Trial of the Radoslavov Cabinet it was revealed that while the Germans had between 16,000 and 18,000 troops on the Southern front they were drawing rations for over 100,000 men. The balance above their requirements was sent to Germany. Each German soldier had the right to send 5kg of foodstuffs a week home, and for this purpose there was a perpetual stream of German soldiers arriving in Bulgaria from occupied Serbia buying up provisions and returning. This extensive draining of the resources of Bulgaria, increased through the illicit export of provisions systematically undertaken by the Ministers and their supporters, caused a serious dearth. Minister Pechev notes in his Memoirs, 22. XII. 1935:

„To Ghendovitch and other deputies was being granted a licence to export 200 truck-loads of flour. Shameful. Often the names of Ministers figure in the minutes of Cabinet sittings at which export licences have been granted, though the Ministers were not present"

These malpractices took such a scandalous form that they even impressed a former Prussian Minister of War, General Dr. Stein, who alludes to them in his „Erlebnisse und Betrachtungen aus der Zeit des Weltkrieges", published in Leipzig in 1919. In order to protect the food supply of the troops, General Jostov, the chief of the Staff, notified von Mackensen, without consulting the Government, that no more German troops were to be sent to Macedonia owing to the difficulty of providing them with supplies. Radoslavov in his book (Op. cit. p. 139) affirms that this was a pretext, and that Jostov considered that the aim of the war having been attained, Bulgaria ought
721 to seek to conclude peace with the Entente. When Ru-
648 mania declared war against Austria-Hungary, influential circles in Bulgaria attempted to maintain Bulgaria neutral

in the conflict. The Rumanian Minister in Sofia gave assurances that Rumania would support Bulgaria's claim to Macedonia, that she would retrocede southern Dobrudja, and that she would intervene in order that a separate peace be concluded with the Entente, and that finally, Bulgaria would secure the Midia-Enos line in Thrace. The Opposition did its best to convince Radoslavov of the expediency of this policy, it also sent delegates to Ferdinand to plead in favour of the adoption of this plan, but Ferdinand rejected them with contumely and ordered Radoslavov to declare war on Rumania which was done on September 1, 1916, four days later than Germany. 721 648

After the occupation of the Dobrudja, the Germans started requisitioning all the available supplies and this gave rise to continuous incidents between the Bulgarians and the Germans The occupation of the railway lines and the installing of German administrative authorities in certain parts of the Dobrudja which was claimed in its entirety by Bulgaria, caused a very grave conflict between the two allied governments, and strained relations almost to breaking point. 727

In the early spring of 1917, General Sarrail showed activity on the Salonica front and on July 2, Greece, after King Constantine's expulsion, officially declared war on Bulgaria. The Bulgarians appealed for assistance to Germany but received nothing save the advice to shorten their front by retreating. The dearth of foodstuffs and the ever-increasing pressure of the enemy on the Salonica front was rendering the situation in Bulgaria desperate. General Jekov was often in complete disagreement with the Government and refused to take orders from it. On September 20 the Agrarians sent a letter to the commander-in-chief proposing to him to overthrow the Radoslavov Government and assuring him of their willingness to continue the policy of co-operation with Germany. 722

of the Democrats and Radicals was constituted in the hope of appeasing the army and public opinion. It was generally believed that the new Cabinet would attempt to conclude a separate peace with the Entente, but this was not within the domain of the possible, for the Cabinet could not count on the army which was entirely in the hands of the Germans and of Ferdinand. Besides, the railways were practically under the control of the Germans who could easily have flooded the country with their troops quartered in the adjoining regions. All Malinov could do was to insist on the Germans carrying out the stipulations of the Treaty, in order to secure some relief for the Bulgarian troops, and to improve the food supply while endeavouring to promote the conclusion of peace by supporting Austria in her endeavours. To this effect Malinov addressed on August 12 1918 a strongly worded note to the Central Powers complaining that since February, Bulgaria had ceased receiving war supplies, protesting against the stopping of the subsidy of 50 millions which had been so far granted to Bulgaria every three months, and demanding the dispatch of Germans reinforcements in order to strengthen the Salonica front where the Entente was continually massing troops. This note met apparently with some success since the Bulgarian representative in Berlin advised Malinov that the Germans would resume payment of the subsidy, forward munitions, and would despatch one German division to Macedonia. (Bulgarian Orange Book. vol II № 1542). 722

Ferdinand was resolutely opposed to the conclusion of a separate peace with the Entente. According to the deposition of the Bulgarian Minister in Vienna, Tochev, at the State Trial of the Radoslavov Cabinet, Ferdinand had declared to him in 1916: „That the war was lost, but that he would not conclude a separate peace and become a traitor to his allies". 722 648

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Ferdinand had no illusions about the outcome of the struggle: On June 11, 1918, he addressed a telegram to General Jekov expressing his forebodings as to the impending close of his activity in the Near East. Jekov replied that a change in the Government might raise the drooping morale of the troops, but the newly constituted Malinov Cabinet, though it was aware of the difficult position the army was in, was not helped by Ferdinand in its desire to conclude a separate peace. It would perhaps have acted more energetically if it had been a broad coalition Cabinet instead of being composed of two parties only, the remainig parties not appearing desirous of assuming any responsibility at the time. In spite of the reluctance of Ferdinand to the conclusion of a separate peace, the Cabinet entrusted seveval persons abroad with the task of sounding Entente circles as to the possibility of coming to terms. President Wilson was the only person to respond favourably to these advances by dispatching Mr. Murphy to Sofia in order to facilitate the Bulgarian Government's task in its efforts to conclude peace. Both Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Robert Cecil were favourably disposed to the conclusion of a separate peace with Bulgaria and at the conferences which took place in Paris during July 1918 expressed themselves in support of this idea, but the French, were utterly opposed; General Guillaumat, who had a short time previously been relieved from his post of commander of the Salonica army, expressed the view that the Bulgarians could be easily beaten and that it was useless to make concessions to them. Mr, Lloyd George was finally won over to the opinions of General Guillaumat, and early in September the British, who were previously opposed to the undertaking of an offensive in Macedonia, gave their consent and General Franchet d'Esperay, the new commander-in-chief, hastened to carry out the plan which had been prepared by his predecessor several months previously.

the officials, whom he denounced as social parasites. He hated and envied all who were his betters; he refused the admission of intellectuals to the Agrarian party "because they could at a certain moment abandon it and go elsewhere", "we shall guard our union from that demoralising element, the barrister profession". Stambuliiski who had been supported by his wife while studying had a very poor opinion of the fair sex. He affirmed that: 661

"Marriage, woman and family are thraldom to man: a mass of heroes succumbs daily owing to their being led astray by woman, who may be likened to a veritable floating mine placed in the stream of life".

He earnestly believed that Europe had only two courses to follow, either to adopt Bolshevism or copy Agrarian Bulgaria. His self-complacency had apparently no bounds since he stated that:

„My profound belief is that the Bulgarian peasantry with its sane spirit of reform will set an example to great nations, which though they may possess a great economic culture are nevertheless very backward in political conciousness".

He certainly showed signs of unbalanced judgment in his last years. He proceeded to subsidise an Agrarian party newspaper in Bucarest, giving thereby offence to the Rumanian Government. He dispatched a certain Groskov to conduct secret pourparlers with Angora, arousing the suspicion of the British Government, which had not yet settled its differences with Kemalist Turkey; nominated relatives and acquaintances to the post of Ministers abroad who were utterly unfit for the missions entrusted to them etc. The one sensible idea he seemed to have at heart was that of working for a close understanding whith Yugoslavia, but even this may have had an interested motive, for frindship with this country was incompatible with fraternisation with the Communists, and Stambuliiski had often declared that if he were ever forced to yield up 661 648

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661 the reins of power he would only hand them over to the
648 Communists, „my faithful hounds", as he aptly styled them. This open flirtation with the Soviets estranged him from the more sensible leaders of the Green international and this prevented him from heading this movement. When the Bolsheviki were on the outskirts of Warsaw in the summer of 1920, he became so elated at their success as to remark to a group of intimate friends that it would not be long before he would administer to the Entente the lesson it deserved. In April 1923 it became known that he contemplated celebrating his jubilee on August 30, when an extraordinary congress of the Agrarian Union was to be convoked for the purpose. In May he declared that he was about to convene an extraordinary Sobranye for the purpose of altering the Constitution and proclaiming a republic. He withdrew secretly 100 million leva from the Bulgarian National Bank for the pretended purpose of bribing the members of the Reparation Commission at Sofia and obtaining their consent. The threat of a repu-
669 blican move was taken advantage of by Stambuliiski's numerous opponents to persuade Tsar Boris to give his consent to the overthrow of his too domineering Prime Minister, and on June 9, 1923, the Agrarian regime was unexpectedly overthrown, after Tsankov, Smilov and Kazazov had obtained from Tsar Boris the signature of the decrees appointing the new Government, (Cf. Gr. Tsesmedjiev's", Rays of light on the mystery of the conspiracy").

No one was averse to this consummation, and even foreign governments made it known that they would acquiesce in this move owing to the deplorable effects the Agrarian regime was having on such foreign capital as was invested in Bulgaria as well as on the public finances of the country. In fact after the fall of the regime, criminal proceedings were instituted against practically all the members of the Agrarian Government, who were indicted for

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as when I was visiting the trenches during the war". Between October 1923 and the end of April 1925 there had been thirty two armed incursions into Bulgaria by the emigrant Agrarians in Yugoslavia. Nevertheless the Cabinet in spite of all this provocation did not apply any extraordinary repressive measures and it was only after the attempt on the life of Tsar Boris and the blowing up of the cathedral in which the whole Cabinet, the officer corps and prominent members of Sofia society were present on April 16, 1925, for the funeral of a general who had been murdered by Communists, (in which outrage 128 were killed and several hundred wounded) that martial law was proclaimed and the Government proceeded to deal with a heavy hand with its opponents. But the revolt which followed can hardly be ascribed to the belated severity of the Tsankov Government, for the Agrarians had not ceased to declare the imminence of an outbreak aiming at the overthrow of the Government. The revolt was ruthlessly quelled and unwonted violence shown on both sides; for a few months a veritable reign of terror prevailed. It is computed that over 20,000 were killed and serious destruction to property was inflicted. But no Government could have done otherwise after the provocation it had received, and the incitements to vengeance on the part of the relatives of the victims of the outrage of April 16, with which it was besieged. Taking advantage of the unrest which obtained, the Greek dictator Pangalos seized the occasion to invade distraught Bulgaria hoping to win thereby easy laurels and enhance his prestige. Fortunately the League of Nations supported by the Great Powers rushed in to stamp out a new conflagration and not only forced Pangalos to beat a hasty retreat but made him disburse an indemnity of 30,000,000 leva for the damage caused by his troops in the Petritch district.[1]

[1] Had the League intervened in the conflict which arose between Italy and Greece in 1923 and prevented the Italian bombard-

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648 On the whole Tsankov had been faced with an ex
remely heavy task and although supported by one of th
most intelligent Chambers Bulgaria had so far had, wa
not able to accomplish anything of importance His act
vities were absorbed in creating a new party, suppressin
revolts, tracking down conspirators and finally he took t
limiting political rights and freedom when all pretence o
idealism disappeared. In the foreign field Tsankov was equ
ally unfortunate, in the hope of renewing commercial re
lations with Turkey he concluded a Treaty which wa
ratified on October 18, 1925 by which Bulgaria secure
certain privileges for her exports, but these advantage
proved illusory, for when the Treaty expired a year late
the Turks refused to renew it and in the meanwhile Bu
garia had agreed to an exchange of populations abando
ning to Turkey, property belonging to her nationals, va
lued at 10 milliard leva, which the Turks never paid for
as is their wont. Tsankov likewise attempted to win th
friendship of Yugoslavia by paying a personal visit to Bel
grade, but was not successful, for his Agrarian opponent
who were hand glove with the Yugoslav Governmen
poisoned the atmosphere against him and rendered th
conclusion of such ties nugatory. This flirtation with Yu
goslavia does not seem to have met with the approval o
Court circles and suddenly Tsankov was relegated to th
post of president of the Sobranye and replaced early in Ja
nuary 1926 by Liaptchev, supported by Burov and Mollov
661 all three members of the Democratic Entente. Tsankov
had been unjustly accused of introducing a regime o
White Terror in Bulgaria; those mostly responsiple for
the brutalities which were certainly committed were his
military supporters and advisers, General Vulkov, the Pa

000 ment of Corfu, General Pangalos would have certainly not formed
the opinion that the League was a broken reed, and that in his turn
he could bully disarmed Bulgaria.

642 Prof. A. Tsankov, was disavowed by his colleagues, who tendered their resignations and this brought about the fall of the Cabinet.

Tsar Boris entrusted on April 1935 M. A. Tochev, a close associate of ex-Tsar Ferdinand, whose former activities are recorded at length in the Bulgarian Orange book, and who had not a little share in precipitating the second Balkan war and encouraging the subsequent pro-German attitude of Bulgaria, to assume office. That T. Tochev has not wavered in his pro-German sympathies is proved by the enthusiastic welcome his Government extended to General Göring during the latter's visit to Sofia. Simultaneously a proclamation was issued promising the Bulgarian people a new Constitution more in harmony with national traditions and with the views set forth by the army in the manifesto of May 19, 1934. The proclamation ended with a formal assurance that no return to the party system would be tolerated. This was merely to allay the susceptibilities of the military, for everything points to a gradual return to the old system under a modified form.

648 The appointment of one of the most dexterous rope-dancers of the old Ferdinand circus as chief counsellor to the Crown was not a judicious act, and it has certainly not enhanced the prestige and authority of the State, nor contributed to the promotion of concord in the country. Much of the good work initiated by the Gheorghiev Government has been undone and the principles of its foreign policy are being gradually abandoned. The close association of Bulgaria with Yugoslavia was the cardinal aim of the colleagues of K. Gheorghiev and would have eventually aided the political union of the two countries, since Bulgaria in her present amputated form is unable to maintain the costly administrative mechanism of a modern State.

This ideal is now in grave danger of being frustrated.

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This policy is not to the liking of that great army of functionaries, supported by the old politicians, and of the palace circles, to all of whom self-interest suggests opposition to anything even remotely suggesting a curtailment of their country's sovereignty. To them the strained political situation in Europe has come as a gift of the Gods, for it holds out the promise of a turn in the wheel of fortune and of a means of retrieving what was lost in the war. This implies an adventurous policy and entails some carefully prepared preliminary steps. Such a policy must be made to appeal to the masses as likely to ameliorate their present difficult lot and at the same time, the feeling of patriotism has to be exorcised in order to make war appear once more an invigorating and lucrative pursuit.

Hence the persistent circulation of such mendacious reports to the effect that Gt. Britain was opposed to the policy of a close understanding between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, and that she has decided to impress Bulgaria into her service and confide to the latter the defence of British interests in the Near East. „We are navigating in British waters" is the general comment on the present situation with which one is greeted in Sofia. And the prospect of the British Pactolus pouring its goldbearing stream on the barren fields of Bulgaria makes all and sundry beam with smiles. At the same time feverish efforts are being made to instill some patriotic ardour in the masses by intensive flag-waiving and drum-beating. There were never so many parades, patriotic speeches, and celebrations of commemorations of victories, ridiculous in themselves, since they all ended in a catastrophe, as there have been during the past few months.

The direct cosequence of entrusting the government to compromised personalities is that official statements and acts are regarded with mistrust. 661

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8 SOVIETIZING THE BALKAN REGION

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● 648 RUMANIA AND BULGARIA, both allied with Hitler during World War II, were of necessity doomed to Soviet rule once the fighting was ended. Yet it should be remembered that neither country had been an enthusiastic partner of the German dictator. Rumania in particular had suffered during the thirties from constant bloody clashes between the moderate supporters of the Monarchy and a fascist movement known as the Iron Guard. Many thousands of persons were executed or slain, and the civil liberties of the nation almost disappeared. In the end, the Germans gained control, and the Rumanian Army became part of their war machine. Bulgaria, too, had lived under virtual dictatorship; and when the Nazis found it possible to satisfy at least partially the expansionist desires of the regime, there came into being an uneasy alliance which the majority of the people undoubtedly opposed. This sullen and strong opposition made it unwise to involve the Bulgarian Army in Nazi military adven-

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tures, and the Russians could legitimately conclude that the warm friendship suddenly manifested in both countries when Red troops marched in was not wholly sincere. 648

The United States made a serious effort to insure effective democratic government in the Balkan region. For example, with Great Britain, it protested against the manner in which the Bulgarian elections of November, 1945, were conducted. The voting had led to a scarcely contested triumph for the pro-Communist Fatherland Front. The matter was debated at the Moscow Conference which convened in the next month, and the Russians indicated that possession was just about the whole of the law, although they did agree to include representatives of other parties in the government. From that time on, Soviet domination of the two countries slowly and implacably became more complete, and any likelihood that Western intervention could alter the course of events evaporated like a morning mist.

Except Greece, Bulgaria was the country in which the Greek Orthodox Church was strongest. Moslems were the only minority of notable size, Jews and Roman Catholics and Protestants being negligible in number.* Accordingly, as soon as the Russians had taken over and begun to establish a collectivist economy, the Orthodox Church was an object of immediate attention. There was a maneuver which has been a topic for speculative comment ever since. For many years the hostility between Bulgaria and Greece which had its roots in the struggle for Bulgarian independence had manifested itself also in the 648 [62] 795

* Prewar population statistics for Bulgaria reveal that 83.5 per cent were Greek Orthodox; 14.3, Mohammedan; 0.9, Jewish; and 0.8, Roman Catholic. Postwar (1948) estimates for Rumania indicate that 72 per cent of the population were Orthodox; 10, Roman Catholics according to the Greek rite; 7, Roman Catholics; 4.6, Calvinists; 2.3, Jews; and 1.6, Lutherans. Other Protestant groups, including Unitarians and Baptists, constituted about 1 per cent. Most Rumanian Catholics and Protestants belonged to German or Hungarian minority groups.

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religious organization. Faithful to its Byzantine origins, the Greek Orthodox Church recognized (as we have previously noted) the Patriarch of Constantinople as its head, but accepted the Hierarchy of Greece as the center of ecclesiastical power. This Hierarchy had, however, ruled that the Bulgarian Orthodox Church was a schismatic body, and all pleas that its decision be altered fell on deaf ears. When the war ended, the Bulgarian Holy Synod met and elected the Metropolitan of Sofia president and head of the Church with the title Exarch Stephan I. He had long fished in the troubled waters of Bulgarian politics and was widely known as an anti-Communist, but now he began to manifest a zealous ardor in support of Communism which virtually knew no bounds. When he made representations to the Constantinople Patriarch that the curse of schism be lifted from the Bulgarian Church, an affirmative answer was received, owing no doubt to the weakness of the Greeks and the peril in which they at that time found themselves.

Much going and coming ensued. Stephan journeyed to Kiev, Moscow, and Leningrad. In turn the Patriarch of Moscow, despite his eighty years, made an official visit to Bulgaria. Not a few students of the situation reason that a plan had been concocted to make the Patriarch of Moscow head of all the Eastern Orthodox Churches, conferring a new and signal distinction upon the Russian capital, which would thus become not only the world center of Communism but also the "Third Rome," and manifestly rival the Vatican in importance as a seat of ecclesiastical authority. The plan—if it actually existed—soon ceased to bear any relation to reality; but it is interesting to conjecture as to what might have happened if the Greeks had been absorbed into the Russian orbit.

All this had a complex and sometimes confusing historical background. The services rendered by the Orthodox clergy

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to the cause of Bulgarian independence, and to the resurrection of the Bulgarian language as a medium of literary expression, gave the Church universally recognized prestige. After 1878, when national freedom was gained, the Orthodox Church was a State institution, and the members of its Hierarchy were public officials. A portion of the national budget was set aside to support the Church, which in addition owned considerable property largely derived from bequests. The case was comparable with that of a large state university in the United States. Salaries of professors in such a university are paid out of the state treasury; but it may own not inconsiderable wealth in its own right, is permitted to collect fees from students and to charge for other services rendered. When one considers the rural character of Bulgaria and the poverty of most of its 6,000,000-odd people, the financial strength of Orthodoxy reflected in such magnificent structures as the Archiepiscopal Palace in Sofia is genuinely impressive. Clergymen of all ranks officiated on public occasions; and, though the spirituality of the Bulgarian people may well have been far from deep, they prized the Church as the primary agency of the national culture.

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Bulgarian education enjoyed a well merited repute, and the theological schools established after 1878 ranked high among the country's institutions of higher learning. The training given consisted in the main of what we should call "general education," theology being taught as a field of specialization. The result was that many leading citizens were graduates of these schools. Religious instruction, normally by laymen, was likewise included in the curricula of elementary and secondary schools. About 4,000 churches served the people, under the direction of the Holy Synod. This body also fostered breadth of view, and held membership in the World Council of Churches prior to the war. On the whole, the religious situation

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659 nals, one of them the organ of the Communist-dominated
793 Synod, made propaganda at the government's behest. Every-
626 one who gave any indication of fidelity to the Christian creed in its true significance and glory had to reckon with the possibility that he would speedily be sentenced to one of the dreaded prisons—Kolarovgrad, for example—which were always crammed with the unfortunate victims of tyranny.

659 The Orthodox Church having been transformed into an ab-
798 ject lackey of the State, Communist wrath descended on the religious minorities. Protestants were the first victims. Missionaries had come to Bulgaria from Turkey, and had established schools which, despite wars and upheavals, gave a good education to boys and girls. An exemplary woman introduced the kindergarten system and trained native teachers. By the close of World War I, hostility to Protestants had pretty largely died down; and although the small congregations did not grow rapidly they successfully maintained their identities. Their pride and joy was the American College, situated near Sofia. It was closed by the Nazis in 1942 and has not been reopened. The work of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. was suppressed at the same time, and the Communist regime has not lifted the prohibition.

611 The legislation adopted during February, 1949 (often re-
627 ferred to as the Canonical Purity Laws) contained a number
648 of provisions designed to render impossible any religious activity under the auspices of a Church or institution with headquarters outside Bulgaria. It stipulated, for example, that any Church or any clergyman desiring "canonical relations with or aid or gifts from" institutions, organizations, or official personages abroad must secure permission in advance from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. It was presumably under this legislation that fifteen Protestant pastors were brought to trial for high treason during 1949. It was the first large-scale action

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against Protestants in any satellite country, though to be sure 691
Protestant Churches had suffered grievously in Czechoslo- 687
vakia, Hungary, and Poland. The pastors, none of whom had 648
occupied a position of eminence, were confronted with a lengthy list of charges. In particular they had, the Public Prosecutor contended, given military, economic, and political information to representatives of hostile foreign powers. They were also accused of having "spread malicious rumors about Russia." Those indicted—the Reverend Basil Ziapkov, for example—made confessions of the length desired and pleaded for mercy. The Court pronounced sentences of varying severity.

Manifestly this trial was also a blow struck at the prestige of the United States, from which most of the support for the Protestant congregations had come. Its primary effect was, no doubt, that the curtain was rung down on any hopes Bulgarian citizens might have that diplomatic intervention by the West would blunt the edge of the Soviet sickle, or that Washington could defend the interests of Americans in regions under Russian domination. How complete the resulting loss of morale 735
was can be deduced from the official statements issued by the 653
other Churches on the subject of the ordeal to which Protestantism had been subjected. The Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church declared, for example:

> In accordance with our Church's traditional solicitude for fostering the aspirations of the people and maintaining loyalty to the State, the Holy Synod has always exhorted its clergy to look upon themselves as preachers of the Divine Word and as guardians of the Holy Spirit, and to remain aloof from all political influences hostile to the country and its people. We must add that the pastors of the Holy Orthodox Church have consistently obeyed our admonition. Not one of them has been prosecuted by the authorities on account of religious activities.
>
> The Holy Synod strongly condemns all subversive activities carried

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XVI

MACEDONIA: OLD STRUGGLES IN NEW DISGUISES

> A new period of embittered nationalist agitation, national hate, and national-bourgeois wars threatens the Balkan and Danube peoples. Only the Proletariat can, through its victory, avert a new catastrophe.
>
> G. Zinoviev, 1920

CASTING about for means to damage Tito, the men in the Kremlin must have thought often and long about Macedonia, the meeting-place of three rival nationalities—Jugoslav, Bulgar and Greek. The first two merge to some extent, and to the extent that they do—a violently debated point—another nationality is formed, the Macedonian. Those inhabitants who feel themselves more Macedonian than Jugoslav, Bulgar or Greek further complicate the picture of national rivalries by demanding a separate state of their own. Since in addition nature made Macedonia a poor land, and since men and governments have kept it so, any régime in any part of the area is bound to have many enemies. One would have expected the Soviets to capitalize on this situation by staging revolts against Tito in the Macedonian districts which constitute the Jugoslav Macedonian People's Republic. But thus far they have been foiled by the difficulty of bringing nationalist and Communist currents into a single stream of action.

Russia, whether Tsarist or Soviet, has always been tempted to take a hand in the struggle over Macedonia, hoping that by picking the winner she might secure control of a land bridge to the Aegean and thus to the Mediterranean. Usually she has taken Bulgaria as her protégé, and usually Bulgaria has welcomed the rôle. Tsarist min-

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●648 isters manœuvred to get as much of the debatable territory as possible for Bulgaria, and when the prospects for this seemed poor, advocated the creation of an autonomous Macedonian state which eventually might come under Bulgarian sway. After the Revolution, the Kremlin tried to devise a policy which would serve traditional Russian designs and also the interests of international revolutionary Communism. Unlike the former strategists of St. Petersburg, those of Moscow had two barrels to their gun and wanted to be free to fire whichever seemed most likely to bring down the quarry. But they never could quite make up their mind to pull either the nationalist or the revolutionary trigger; and they are unable to do so today.

For a time the Kremlin came close to adopting a policy for Macedonia based, like that of the Tsars, on nationalism. The Fifth Plenum of the Comintern in the spring of 1924 encouraged the Balkan Communist Parties to make common cause with the I.M.R.O. (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization) and other Macedonian nationalist groups, and to that end proclaimed "the right of oppressed nationalities to self-determination, up to political secession." [1] This suited Bulgarian aspirations. Bulgaria had been on the wrong side in both the Second Balkan War and the First World War and therefore had little to lose by any possible "secession," but she had hopes that a new Macedonian national state created at the expense of Jugoslavia and Greece might someday become part of a Greater Bulgaria. The Jugoslav and Greek Communist Parties immediately complained loudly; the I.M.R.O. held back from the alliance with Bulgaria; several of its rival leaders were murdered in quick succession; and the whole manœuvre foundered in the usual Macedonian welter of discord, treachery and blood.

000 Later, Nazi Germany's espousal of revisionism and racism made these unsuitable themes for Communist propaganda, and from the time of the Comintern Congress of 1935 prevailing Communist tactics were based on "popular fronts" with Social Democrats. The Comintern did not abandon its reliance on national Communist parties for the long revolutionary pull; but as a tactical manœuvre

[1] For a convenient summary of events through 1949 see "Macedonia: Its Place in Balkan Politics," by Elizabeth Barker. London and New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1949.

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in the period of extreme Nazi peril it played down nationalism as a revolutionary weapon, minimized the revolutionary rôle of the Red Army and emphasized Marxism's reformist aspects. After the Nazi attack, Stalin revived the emphasis on nationalism with a bang; and the successful progress and outcome of the Great Patriotic War prepared the way for the reappearance of nationalism in international Communist tactics.

When the Nazi armies overran Jugoslavia and Greece, Hitler placed most of Macedonia in charge of his Bulgarian allies, who tried with usual Balkan violence and lack of success to convince its inhabitants that they were all Bulgars. One reason why Tito developed the political organ of the Partisan movement, the AVNOJ, described in an earlier chapter, was in order that there might exist some national body to protest enemy annexations and occupations—Italian and Hungarian as well as Bulgarian—and stake out Jugoslavia's counterclaims in debatable areas. Thus at a meeting at Jajce in November 1943 the AVNOJ adopted a resolution setting forth Jugoslav territorial claims against Italy, which had just collapsed, and another calling for the future organization of Jugoslavia on a federal basis and naming Macedonia as one of the six component units. The borders of Macedonia were not specified. In other words, no indication was given whether Tito would be content with the part of Macedonia which had formed part of the national territory before the war or would try to enlarge Jugoslav holdings at Bulgaria's expense. Tito asked for Stalin's approval of the Jajce program, and secured it.

But although Stalin approved the Jajce declaration he was not ready to relinquish the Bulgarian card entirely, as was presently shown by the fact that the Bulgarian Communists continued to espouse a contrary solution for the Macedonian question, joining with other anti-Nazi Bulgarian elements in proclaiming that the only way to dispose permanently of the "apple of discord" would be to merge the three segments—Jugoslav, Greek and Bulgarian—in "an integral, free and independent Macedonia." Nor did he forbid them to indicate which nation was entitled to be the "apple's" custodian: their proclamation described Macedonia as "the cradle of the Bulgarian nation for which a river of blood has been given."

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In other words, the Bulgarian Communist Party appealed again to the "right of secession," approved by the Comintern 20 years earlier, as the basis for a new Macedonian deal following the war.

Stalin simply aimed to keep the situation fluid, of course, so that he could impose whatever final solution best suited Russian interests. Hitler had allowed the Bulgars to occupy Jugoslav Macedonia but not formally to annex it. Stalin hedged in the same manner. He approved the plan to make Jugoslav Macedonia one of the units of the future Jugoslav Republic, but permitted the Bulgarian Communists to continue hoping that all parts of Macedonia might be brought together in an independent state. Possibly there might even be advantages in allowing the Jugoslavs and Bulgars to fulfill the dreams of idealists in time past by joining hands to form a South Slav state, thus offsetting Italy on one side and Turkey on the other and incidentally overshadowing and overawing Greece. As to this he would wait and see. Conceivably he might confound both Jugoslavia and Bulgaria by creating a Macedonian state and incorporating it directly into the Soviet Union. For the present, however, he encouraged both nationalism and Communism, and drove them in double harness.

The Jugoslav and Bulgarian Communists remained on bad terms until Marshal Tolbukhin's armies entered the Balkans in the autumn of 1944. Then political power in Sofia passed to the Fatherland Front, composed of Agrarians, Socialists, Communists and other anti-Nazi elements; Bulgaria left the Axis; and the Bulgarian Army switched from its rôle as an occupying force in Jugoslav and Greek Macedonia and joined the Jugoslav Partisans in attacking the retreating Germans.

Towards the end of the year Tito sent his leading foreign policy adviser, Edvard Kardelj, to Sofia to see whether the time had not come to solve the Macedonian problem within the framework of a Jugoslav-Bulgarian federation. Soviet successes were at a high tide from the Baltic to the Aegean. Rumania and Bulgaria were "in the bag," with Communists in key government posts and Soviet troops backing them up. Marshal Rokossovsky waited watchfully outside Warsaw while the Nazis finished mopping up General Bor's Polish patriots, and made ready to move in for the kill. Belgrade had been

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captured in October, and Marshal Tolbukhin was pressing on into Hungary. The ELAS revolt had given the Communist-led forces control of most of Greece outside parts of Athens and the Piraeus.[2] While Tito was in Moscow in September he had realized that the speed of events made it wise to cash in at once on the fact that he had been Stalin's steadfast ally while the Bulgars had been Hitler's. The Bulgars of course saw this too and played for delay. Kardelj wrote Tito disgustedly from Sofia on December 23, 1944, that Traicho Kostov, the Bulgarian Communist leader with whom he was principally negotiating, wanted "far from what we proposed," indeed was willing to agree to no more than a "defensive alliance."

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The main points of difference were whether Bulgaria should have equality in the proposed federation with each of the six Jugoslav republics or with Jugoslavia as one unit; what should be the new Bulgar-Jugoslav frontier, especially which nation should have the debatable Pirin district; and whether Bulgaria as an enemy country had the right to enter into an international agreement before a peace treaty had been signed. These and other controversial issues were to be fought and refought without decision for the next three years.

Real progress toward a Jugoslav-Bulgar rapprochement seemed to be registered when Prime Minister Georgi Dimitrov visited Marshal Tito at Bled in August 1947 and announcement was made that a treaty of friendship and a customs union were in prospect. Nothing was said publicly about the future of Macedonia; the ancient "apple of discord" still dangled tantalizingly between the two countries. Tito indicated that he still hoped federation might be the solution when he visited Sofia in November to sign the treaty. Bulgaria and Jugoslavia were being bound together so closely, he said, that "federation will be a mere formality." His optimism did not turn out to be justified. Tentative agreement was reached on specific phases of the Macedonian problem, such as the future of the

[2] As a hedge against the possibility that Greece would end up in the Western camp, Stalin in September 1944 instructed Ambassador Gusev, Soviet representative on the European Advisory Commission, to see whether the Bulgarians might not be left in possession of the parts of Western Thrace assigned to them by Hitler. But this was overplaying the Russian hand, and when Philip E. Mosely, the American deputy, replied that it would be intolerable to leave an ex-enemy in possession of an ally's territory, the proposal was dropped.

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Y 648 B 648 Pirin district; but it was most unsatisfactory to Sofia, and the whole controversial question was in fact still open when the Cominform resolution of June 1948 ended all prospect of friendship, let alone of federation. The discussion of the proposal for federation actually contributed, as we shall see in the next chapter, to Moscow's growing mistrust of Tito and hence to the final break.

Even after Stalin had lost Tito as an ally he found difficulty in exploiting the Macedonian question profitably in Soviet propaganda. The natural course would have been to come out openly for transferring control over Jugoslav Macedonia from the new enemies in Belgrade to the eager sycophants in Sofia. But to indicate that Tito's fall would produce this result would have strengthened his régime and ended the hope of Cominform forces overturning it from within. The best that Moscow could do was to permit the revival of Bulgarian propaganda for the creation of a separate Macedonian republic, in the name of Macedonian nationalism, but to take no part in it officially.

6 665 Even this limited Bulgarian propaganda[1] complicated things for the Greek Communists. The Greek people suspected one wing of the Greek Communist Party of being willing to contribute Greek territory to bring a separate Macedonian state into existence. The suspicion had been strengthened by a story that one of the old-line Greek Communists, Yannis Ioannides, had agreed in July 1943 with a Bulgarian Communist named Dushan Daskalov to carve a Macedonian state out of Greek, Bulgarian and Jugoslav territory after the war and incorporate it directly into the Soviet Union. The plan as reported was grandiose; apparently Turkey was to be deprived of Istanbul, which was to be included in the Macedonian Soviet Socialist Republic along with Salonika. Russia would at last control the Straits and dominate the Aegean. When the American intelligence first got wind of the story it assumed that it had been planted by Nazi propagandists; but then it learnt that Ioannides had visited Moscow just before his meeting with Daskalov, and other bits of corroborative evidence indicated the probability that the Soviets actually were setting up an alternative design for use in the event that Tito proved troublesome or Bulgaria in some manner escaped the Soviet net. True or not, the story aided the Greek anti-Com-

[1] [i.e. Bulgarian propaganda for the creation of a separate Macedonian republic --- Analyst]

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leagues; but of course he may simply have been endeavoring to offset criticisms being voiced against him by Party colleagues.

The trial was held in December 1949 in accordance with a new law, passed for the purpose, before a new court, set up for the purpose and from which there was no appeal. The sensation of the trial, and something new for Communist judges, was that Kostov in open court repudiated the confession which he was alleged to have signed in prison. The whole case against him was based on that confession and on the similar confessions of the other defendants. These did not revoke what they had said in jail but instead fell over themselves to confirm the worst of it and to find new grounds to inculpate both Kostov and themselves. While Kostov did not hide the fact that he had opposed Dimitrov in ideological and Party matters, or that he had miscalculated the strength of *kulaks* and other Bulgarian reactionary elements, he did categorically deny that he had ever been a spy or foreign agent, that he had had anything to do with sending Tito to Jugoslavia in 1934 or that he had been Tito's stooge in the negotiations for a Jugoslav-Bulgarian federation.

The judges at first could not believe their ears, and when Kostov insisted on repudiating his "confession" in spite of hoots from the audience and rebukes by his own counsel, they hastily adjourned court for half an hour to enable him to "rest" and "refresh his memory." After the rest period he still stuck to his guns. For two days the Communist press maintained a stunned silence. Then *Pravda* commented that Kostov had a "soft and oily voice" and the "cunning eyes of a thief," details which his colleagues might have noticed in the last twenty or thirty years, and a "bent back," which *Pravda* did not bother to explain he had acquired in 1924 when he jumped from a window in attempting to escape torture by the Sofia police.[4]

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The account of the negotiations for a Bulgarian-Jugoslav federation produced at the Kostov trial omits many well known facts and runs contrary to many others. Nothing is said about the active and

[4] *Cf. The Economist*, London, December 24, 1949; for details of the trial see also *The New York Times*, December 8 and successive days.

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continuous part taken by Soviet officials in the negotiations. No hint is given that Kostov had been in favor of simply a defensive alliance. No reference is made to *Pravda's* criticism of Dimitrov in January 1948 for saying that the ultimate goal was a federation of all the East European peoples. In fact, one would gather from reading the Kostov indictment that Moscow knew little about the project for federation and consistently opposed it; that among the Bulgarian Communist leaders Kostov was the one who particularly favored it; that Dimitrov had never agreed to federation, and had not figured in the negotiations except to warn against it; and that the obnoxious suggestion for including other Balkan and Danubian countries originated entirely with Tito and his stooge, Kostov. Evidently Soviet apologists felt it necessary to rewrite a chapter of history that had become embarrassing.

The pretense that Moscow had no part in the negotiations has been demolished by Mosha Pijade.[8] It seems that when Kardelj left Sofia in December 1944 it was agreed that Bulgarian and Jugoslav representatives should reconvene in Belgrade the next month. But the Kremlin disapproved and the negotiations were transferred to Moscow. Not a word was said at the Kostov trial about this. Actually Kostov was not even present in Moscow; Dimitrov was still there to advise the Bulgarian delegation, and Kostov probably was needed at home. The chief negotiators were Vyshinsky and Zorin for the Soviet Union, Prime Minister Georgiev and Minister of the Interior Yugov for Bulgaria and Pijade for Jugoslavia. Although he could not go to Moscow, Kostov had prepared in advance the Bulgarian draft of a treaty (a copy of it exists in the Jugoslav archives, says Pijade, annotated and corrected in Kostov's hand). Whereas the Jugoslav draft proposed a definitive declaration that the two countries "are uniting" in a federal state, the Kostov draft was more preliminary, for the two governments would merely "declare that they are proceeding to a union," with such joint institutions as might be finally determined in an eventual constitution.

As things turned out, neither draft was formally discussed, for Vyshinsky indicated that the Soviet Union had decided that the first step should be a treaty of political, economic and military coöpera-

[8] *Yugoslav Fortnightly*, Belgrade, January 27, 1950.

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tion (as Kostov had favored in his first talk with Kardelj). Vyshinsky asked Pijade to draw up a text; and using that as a basis Vyshinsky then prepared a draft of his own. On January 27, 1945, the three delegations agreed on the final text.* A day earlier the Bulgarians received word from Sofia that the British Government had just presented a démarche against federation. Pijade tells how letters thereupon were prepared for Georgiev and Tito to exchange when the treaty was ratified, reaffirming their intention of realizing "a federation of the South Slav peoples in the shortest possible time." This indicated that the federation was being merely deferred until Britain could no longer object on legal grounds. Obviously the Soviet representatives must have approved.

Bulgarian and Jugoslav aims conflicted from the start, says Pijade, in detail as well as in the general objective. Most notably, Bulgaria demanded equal status with the six Jugoslav republics as a single unit, whereas the Jugoslavs wanted a federation in which Bulgaria would have equality with each of the Jugoslav republics. He says that the first time the two delegations called on Stalin, Dimitrov argued that because Bulgaria had been an independent state she could not merge her identity in a group of seven; to which Pijade replied that Serbia and Motenegro had longer records as sovereign states than Bulgaria, and that he supposed the Croats, who had been independent a thousand years ago, were at least equal to the Bulgarians in importance. A couple of days later, continues Pijade, the two delegations were again received by Stalin, this time at a state banquet. Stalin himself reopened the subject, and gave his opinion that Bulgaria ought to form one of the seven federal units. Pijade adds: "The Bulgarians said nothing, while I had nothing to say."

When the conferees left Moscow the intention was that the treaty and the accompanying letters should be signed at Belgrade in February. Before then, however, the Jugoslav Ambassador reported from Sofia that although the British had vetoed a Jugoslav-Bulgarian federation they did not close the door to the idea of a wider grouping

* Pijade notes that a copy of the Vyshinsky text exists in the Jugoslav archives, that he has his own manuscript copy of the final text and that the Jugoslav archives also contain a copy of it in Russian, initialled personally by Zorin, of the Soviet Foreign Office, as "seen," that is, approved.

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including Albania and two pro-Western states, Greece and Turkey. The Russians seem to have decided that with so much talk of a broad federation in the air it would be best for the time being to postpone even the Bulgarian-Jugoslav treaty of friendship. This was done. Pijade's sarcastic comment is that the case made out against Kostov was very unjust to the British—for if Bulgaria would have lost her independence by joining a federation in which she was only one among seven, as the prosecution affirmed, then it was the British who saved it by their veto.

As for the implication that Dimitrov was not involved, it is easily refuted. The plan for a treaty of friendship, dropped in 1945, was revived when Dimitrov was in Bled in the summer of 1947 and a treaty was signed when Tito visited Sofia in November. Rankovich has asserted that the treaty was still looked on at that time as simply a step towards federation.[7] Dimitrov said during a visit to Bucharest that the goal was a federation of the East European peoples, plus Greece. He seems to have talked in the same way when Prime Minister Hoxha of Albania came to Sofia to sign a treaty of friendship and mutual aid on December 16. Kardelj implied that bigger things were in the making when he presented the text of the Bulgarian treaty for ratification in the Jugoslav Presidium on January 8, 1948; it was an augury, he stated, of "collaboration between the Balkan-Danubian peoples." Moscow decided to lose no time in scotching the idea that anything of the sort would be permitted. *Pravda* wrote angrily on January 28 that a "Balkan or Danubian federation including Poland, Czechoslovakia and Greece" was inadmissible; "these lands do not need a problematical or farfetched federation or confederation and customs union but the strengthening and the defense of their independence and sovereignty by way of mobilization and organization of internal popular democratic strength." Dimitrov accepted the rebuke, and crawled. Neither he nor any member of the Bulgarian Government, he announced, "thinks or has ever thought of the creation of an Eastern bloc under any form whatsoever," and he thanked *Pravda* for its "valuable and useful warning."

Tito, who did not seize the same opportunity for "self-criticism,"

[7] *Yugoslav Fortnightly*, Belgrade, February 1949.

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has since told why.[8] In February and early March of 1948 Kardelj and Djilas were in Moscow trying to speed up Soviet economic aid. A Bulgarian delegation was there at the same time, headed by Dimitrov, Kolarov and Kostov. "In the presence of that delegation," asserts Tito, "Stalin himself imperatively demanded the immediate conclusion of an act of federation between Jugoslavia and Bulgaria, while on the other hand the Soviet was against a federation with Albania." But in view of the fact that Jugoslav relations with the Soviet Union "were already strained" Tito looked on this renewal of the old plan with a fishy eye. "We came to the conclusion," he continues, "that the demand was put forward in order to facilitate the overthrow and subjugation of Jugoslavia."

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Speaking of this matter with me, Tito explained that the creation of a Jugoslav-Bulgarian federation would have brought many Bulgarian leaders to Belgrade. Some would have received high places in the new joint government, and as they would have been under Russian orders Moscow would in this way have received a direct voice in Jugoslav affairs. He already was subject to so many kinds of Soviet interference that he was unwilling to open new doors for it. In any case, he added, not he but Dimitrov had taken the initiative for a federation to include Rumania and perhaps even Czechoslovakia. Dimitrov was unhappy over Bulgaria's increasing dependence on the Soviet Union and hoped to reverse the process by finding a place for her in a strong grouping. To a question as to why Dimitrov had not realized that this would get him into difficulties in Moscow, Tito replied that Dimitrov had just been in Bucharest, where his head had been turned a bit by the enthusiastic reception which he received from the Rumanian Communists and by the discovery that they too were restive under the tight Soviet rein. As a result, said Tito, Dimitrov became a bit too daring. Whether Dimitrov suffered physical punishment will never be known. He died in Russia in the summer of 1949 and Stalin stood among the honor guard by his catafalque.

Of all these matters no word was said at Kostov's trial. On December 14, 1949, he was found guilty on all charges and sentenced to death. The ten other defendants had tearfully inculpated both

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[8] Tito's speech at the opening of the Jugoslav National Assembly, April 26, 1950 (*Yugoslav Fortnightly*, Belgrade, May 5, 1950).

Re. the account of the negotiation for a Bulgarian-Yugoslav federation, see cat. 116, pp. 205-209--- Analyst

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474 surplus may or may not remain to be divided among the peasants.
423 Often, as Kolarov admitted, there is none. The rate at which it
661 would have been divided if it had existed is then only of theoretical interest. There is no space here to indicate the punishments awaiting the peasants who infringe the new statute.[11] Even negligence is defined as "treason to the common good" and punished as—treason. But I must add one item contributed by a Bulgarian friend of mine, for it reveals clearly one of the important intentions of present Communist policy in Bulgaria. In this man's native village the coöperative contains both industrial and agricultural workers. The first group is scrupulously allotted the same number of ration cards as the second. Nothing could be fairer, except that the first group contains 14 persons and the latter about 500. "Recipe for horse and rabbit stew: one horse, one rabbit."

Membership in collectives is "voluntary," but the meaning of this is shown by Prime Minister Chervenkov's description of what is to happen to peasants who do not join. "All tractors and agricultural machines belonging to peasants outside the coöperative farms should be confiscated," he has warned, and in future "only peasants belonging to coöperative farms can use tractors and machines." After this gloss on the 1950 model statute there is no need to go into further details. Peasants who do not have the use of farm machinery cannot fulfill their government quotas, let alone have anything left over to feed themselves and their families. They will "volunteer" or starve.

177 We have seen repeatedly that Bulgaria is the satellite where ex-
648 treme Soviet measures are given their tryout. She was the first to suppress religious freedom and the first to introduce the system of local government by soviets. She was also the first, as already mentioned, to become officially a one-party state, and Dimitrov was the first satellite leader to proclaim the advent of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Russia's reasons for pushing ahead in Bulgaria seem to be two. It is the country where, with the exception of Rumania, her physical domination comes closest to being absolute. But whereas Russians are contemptuous of Rumanians, and are hated in return, they feel close to Bulgarians in race and language and suppose that they will repay past favors by swinging naturally into their allotted

[11] Details are given in *The Economist*, London, May 27, 1950.

Soviet groove. Secondly, Bulgaria is highly important to Russia strategically. She flanks enemy Jugoslavia. She provides the only direct approach to Greece since Tito has closed the main route. She adjoins Turkey, on whom the Soviets desire to exert pressure from all directions. She is, as we have seen, Russia's chosen instrument of intervention in the Macedonian question. On every count she is the country which, more directly than any other except Poland, can be useful to Russia in the present line-up of European forces. It is not by chance that she and Poland had the honor of being the first to receive high officers of the Soviet Army as commanders-in-chief of their troops. 177 648

The sources of opposition are two. One is nationalism. It may be called Titoism or Kostovism, but it is always treason. Nationalists are dealt with as Petkov and Kostov were dealt with. These two, such poles apart, are simply conspicuous examples among tens of thousands who have suffered for opposing the Communization or Sovietization of their country. Any successors they may have, whether noble like Petkov or hateful like Kostov, will be put down with the same irresistible brutality. 186

The other source of opposition is the peasantry. The peasants resist being made into sharecroppers. They do not think that they are being forced into collectives so that a great social goal can be achieved but in order that a group of adventurers can exploit their hold on them and on the country more conveniently. The Communists are everything that peasants hate and fear—the city slicker, the government bureaucrat. These newcomers in the villages, wearing city clothes, often speaking with a foreign accent, urge the peasants to enter collectives for their own good. Those who do are only one degree better off than those who do not—they are allowed to live, while those who refuse starve. But they live as serfs. They will work for the rest of their lives, as they figure it, to support others who will not or cannot work so hard as they must do—other peasants who have let their lands run down and are glad to merge with those who have kept theirs up, and surplus townsfolk who will never learn to "pay their way." That there are other answers to such arguments than force does not matter. The answer has been given, and it is force. 565 578

[i.e. Opposition to Sovietization---Analyst]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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E16

B 342 SL [342]

selves in the valleys of the Danube, found both troglodyte and surface dwellings in use among the previous inhabitants of these areas, i.e. the Thracians, from whom Roumanians of Vlachia and Moldavia, and Albanians of the Skodra lake area took over these huts, called bordeiu (1).

B [361]

More specially the Bulgars, who in their ancient home were living a nomad life, had no permanent houses. They lived just as the rest of Turanian peoples, in tents they put up in places where they could find pastures for their herds; when the pastures were exhausted, camps were dissolved and the tents carried with the nomads.

B 175 648 361 G 175 648 SL [342] B [727]

When, under the leadership of Asparuch, Bulgars established a strong base in the Delta of the Danube and when, using this stronghold as a base, they occupied all the area between this river and the Balkan mountains, only then began the Bulgars to know the advantages of permanent installation. For a long time, however, they were wild fighters and lived on the peoples they subjugated, the old Thracians, who had been hellenised, or latinised, and the other Greeks and Slavs who had established themselves in those areas during the previous century (2). These Slavs, according to Procopius (3) and to the Biography of Saint Demetrius (4), knew only how to build (5) «miserable huts» or «tents» besides the underground shelters mentioned above. The thousands of Greek prisoners who were kidnapped during the Bulgarian invasions were «drafted» into the in-

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1) According to **Fr. Nopcsa,** Albanien, 1925, p. 11 these underground dwellings of Roumania and Bulgaria represent the immediate descendants of the pre-historic and Roman housings of the Haimos peninsula. The writings on the tiles found in pre-historic dwellings have a Thracian character. Remains of Thracian tribes have been found despite the Illyric over-layer, both, in the Skodra lake and in Dardania. Dobroutcha has always been a Thracian area.

2) **D. Zakythinos,** Οἱ Σλάβοι ἐν Ἑλλάδι, Athens, 1945, p. 27 «The permanent installation of Slav tribes in the Balkan peninsula begins only during the first years of the 7th Century».

3) **Procop.** De bello Gotth. 3, 14: Οἰκοῦσι δὲ (Σκλαβηνοί τε καὶ Ἄνται) ἐν καλύβαις οἰκτραῖς διεσκευασμένοι πολλῷ μὲν δὴ ἀλλήλων, ἀμείβοντες δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικήσεως ἕκαστοι χῶρον.

4) **A. Tougard,** De l'histoire profane dans les actes grecs des bollandistes. Paris 1874, p. 184, 190.

5) According to **Niederle,** op. cit. 2, p. 98, «it is easily understood that the Slavs used to build, besides the underground shelters (abris) which were covered by an additional wooden roof, light huts without any trenches on the model of the «koliba», built by the shepherds of the Karpathians and the Balkans, made of inter-woven branches of trees».

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

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vader's country(1) and they were obliged not only to cultivate the land on behalf of their owners, but also to carry out all other work and naturally to build permanent houses which were necessary, since Bulgars were to establish themselves for good in these newly conquered districts.

For a long time Bulgars had either the disposition nor the sense to learning arts and crafts. Even where they had abandoned their incursions and lootings and were giving themselves to peaceful occupations, as agriculture and stock-breeding, they did not take to the arts. The palaces and the churches of Bulgaria have been built by foreigners, especially by Greeks, such as the beautiful palace of Aboba near Schumen, which is a monument of Byzantine style of the 9th or 10th century(2). But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, accord-

1) The Bulgarian inroads on Greek territories for looting and capture of prisoners began in the period of Asparouch (679-701) and continued till the reign of Michael (1246-1257). King Krum, when he captured Adrianoupolis in 813, took away all her inhabitants, as well as those of the surrounding areas, all amounting to 40.000, into Bulgarian territory to the North of the Danube. Another 50.000 prisoners together with other loot, were taken during the winter of the same year from Thrace (**W. Slatarski,** Geschichte der Bulgaren, I, Leipzig, 1918 p. 15,29). According to the Bulgarian historian **Ivan Sakazov** (Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Berlin u. Leipzig, 1929, p. 57 foll.) «Bulgaria was filled up with prisoners and cattle, which formed the Bulgarian national wealth and made their well-being possible. It was on this basis that the material civilization was formed, which Omortag, Krum's heir, bequeathed to his descendents.» Later (1206), during a battle near the Tountza river, when the Bulgarian Ioannitzis or Skyloyiannis was totally defeated by the Greeks, 20.000 prisoners together with 3.000 carts were liberated, while they were led towards Bulgaria together with a great amount of loot. See **Diog. Xanalatos,** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βούλγαροι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θρᾴκην, Α' Athens 1944 pp. 17, 22 etc. 33, 39, 40 etc. Cp. **K. Paparrigopoulos,** Ἱστορ. Ἑλλ. Ἔθνους 6th edition, tome 4, b, 186 and foll. t. 5. a 23. **K. Amandos,** Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους Α' 1939 p. 411. Β' 1947, pp 5, 173, 426. Οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1923 p. 26 and 40 **Ant. Keramopoullos** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες, Athens 1945, p. 167 and foll. **G. A. Megas,** Ἀδριανούπολις ἡ πολυκρουσεμένη in the periodical Ἑλληνικὴ Δημιουργία t. I 1948 pp. 93 and foll.

2) **L. Niederle,** op. cit. 112. **C. Jirecek** says that: «Even in the best years of the Middle Ages, during the reign of Tsar Symeon, according to the evidence given by Joannis Exarchos, there were to be seen but straw-covered huts in Bulgaria, except for the palace of the king». Straw-covered huts in Bulgaria are also mentioned by Kantakouzinos, 1, 144, edit. Bonn.

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According to the Bulgarian historian **I. Sakazov,** op cit. p. 41, «The very beginnings of an economic organisation in Bulgaria appeared in the court of the Tsars and with the aristocracy, who were trying to imitate the Byzan-

G 175 648 B 175 648 [463] [177] [341] [342] [171] G [342] [171] B 177 341

But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, according to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages)(1).

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic(!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov**, op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

G [172] [463] [331]

1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2.000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali,** Ἠπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη. Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll.

113, 439, 648 Bulgaria EE1

[For a discussion of the nature, scope and probable future trends (up to 1970) of Soviet economic relations with the East European satellites since World War II, and the degree of inter-satellite economic integration, see 60: Bergson, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, pp. 321-355]

113, 668, 648 Bulgaria EE1

[For a discussion of Bulgarian political activities in Macedonia in 1911, and Serb-Bulgar relations concerning the Macedonian question, see E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, category 116, pp. 131-134]

113, 648, 167 Bulgaria EE1

[For a brief statement of the status and territorial organization of the Bulgarian minority in the Soviet Ukraine and its relationship with the Communist Party of Bulgaria prior to the establishment of the Bulgarian People's Republic, see 21: Kolarz, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, p. 147.]

648, 665, 642, 433

Bulgaria EE1

[For the economic and political position of Bulgaria under Soviet control since the death of Stalin, see 85: Zinner, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, Pp. 157B-163B.]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Dragalevtsy. In general, though the division of labor was traditional, the specialization of occupation was increasing. Though unemployment was absent from the village, this in no way implied that all had the kind of work they wanted. It was astounding enough that even in times of world depression all did have a way of earning a living. 464

In Bulgaria, as in most countries, property passed from parent to child. There too the laws governing this transfer were very complicated. However, as a general principle in the villages sons inherited twice as much land as daughters. Usually the sons received equal amounts, but a father while still alive could divide the land, taking an equal share for himself, which he later gave to his favorite son. Quite often a sister said when the time of division arrived: "Why should I take land away from my brothers?" and forfeited her claim. In some cases she would sell her share of the estate cheaply to a favorite brother. If she was married, however, her husband could insist that she take what was her due and might even go to court to pursue the case. Every year there were a few Dragalevtsy people involved in long-drawn-out lawsuits originating over the division of inherited land. More often than not, lawyers' fees used up a great part of the value of the property. 428 593 [691]

A heavy inheritance tax accompanied any such transfer of property from the father to his children. One man at work in the hayfield took time off to tell me of the arrangement being worked out in his family: 428 651

"Our father, who is still living, told us three brothers to divide his property equally among us. We have not made the division officially as yet, because if we did we would have to pay an inheritance tax amounting to about four hundred dollars. We divide the land by lot. We take strips of land, both meadows and fields of equal value, and draw lots for the strips. Of course, our father has kept some of the land for himself, but we shall divide that among the three of us after his death."

The most serious conflicts in the village arose when there was disagreement over the division of a patrimony. Brother turned against brother, and whole families became involved in the dispute. There 428 578

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

623 441 241 practice price-fixing, standardization of products, and the like. The representative appointed by the merchants was Ivan Katsarov, previously mentioned as a manager of one of the village taverns who appeared as a plaintiff in court. Furthermore, the farmers had to organize themselves into an association called a zadruga (which had no connection with the old form of joint family known by that name). Such organizations followed the Italian system of corporations under the Fascist regime and insured representation in government on the basis of occupation rather than political preference. These agricultural zadrugas worked well in theory around the council tables in Sofia, but met with resistance in the village. In the opinion of many leaders of co-operatives, the zadrugas ran counter to the strong co-operative movement which had already made such headway in Bulgaria. Their critics point out they not only struck at the very foundation of this movement, but also had the fault of being handed down from above instead of springing from natural needs in the village itself.

623 Should there have been a number of industrial laborers in the village they too would have had an ex officio member on the council. The presence of the other ex officio members on the council was easily understood. The doctors, the school director, and the mayor were expected by the national authorities to take an active part in deciding the policies of the village government. Such a council, in spite of the great furor connected with its formation, was still an advisory rather than a governing body.

In order to get a better understanding of the way government affected the life of the individual peasant, I sought answers to several questions.

651 *How were the taxes paid?* On February 25, July 25, and October 25, people were supposed to come to the *Obshtina* and pay taxes. Those who did not show up were summoned by the courier. If this summons went unheeded, the individuals were sent red notices reminding them that they had to pay within three or four days. If they failed to do this, the *Sekretar Birnik* made out a list of their possessions for a public sale which was held if the taxes remained unpaid. There had been several instances where goods were actually sold for failure to pay taxes, much to the shame of the people involved.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

When I pressed him for his reasons, fully expecting him to say that he was yielding to the pressure of his wife or public opinion, he gravely replied: 527 178 183

"You see in Sofia I did not own any of my own cloth but now I have a great deal downstairs which I must protect from the mice." I might mention in passing that Bai Yurdan had become a faithful member of the Communist party.

The wolf holidays were still observed for three days following the Day of the Archangel Michael, which comes on November 21. During these days the peasants were careful to do no work and refused to cook or boil anything. Such rigid observances, they believed, protected their sheep from wolves, which were still numerous upon the mountain.

One event of overshadowing importance in the changes which had occurred in Dragalevtsy since 1937 had been its incorporation in Greater Sofia in 1939. Even though their village was close to Sofia, Dragalevtsy people had always considered themselves quite apart, and looked upon Sofia ways as alien ways. However, Sofia politicians managed to bring the village under the sway of the city's municipality. Most villagers considered this an evil day in the history of their community and could cite a number of disadvantages which had occurred as a result. One of the village officials, whom I had known previously, complained particularly about the following points: 369 178 186

1. The city municipality had taken over the forests.

2. It had taken over the meadows which the peasants owned in common. For instance, the villagers no longer did the haying in the meadows which used to belong to the school because all of the revenue from the sale of this hay went to the Sofia School Fund. This meant that the three Dog Days,[1] described in an earlier chapter, were once more days of idleness.

3. Formerly the Dragalevtsy Obshtina collected seven or eight million leva in taxes, but since incorporation with Sofia had only a budget of one million on which to operate. My informant failed to mention that much of this money came from the factory district down on the Sofia plain which had once, much to the dissatisfaction of the [651]

1 [cf. p. 58, category III -- Analyst]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

[651] people living in the district, been a part of the village Obshtina. This
178 area had always been referred to by the villagers as the Mahala, or
369 Quarter.

4. Repairs in the village, such as putting a wooden bridge back into commission after a heavy storm, could be made only after the Sofia authorities gave their approval. Thus, maintenance of roads and other services in the village were said to suffer.

[759] 5. No longer did the village have its own doctor, and it had even lost, so the villagers said, all the medical equipment including microscopes and blood-testing units which the village Obshtina had once owned. Instead, a doctor came at irregular intervals to render whatever medical services were required. This loss of medical equipment, even more than the loss of the physician's services, was a hard pill for some of the more active village leaders to swallow.

6. In place of the veterinarian, who formerly lived in the village, one came twice a week to examine animals and to see that the various veterinary regulations were observed.

But whether they liked it or not, the Dragalevtsy people were a part of Sofia, even to the extent of being included in the city's wartime rationing system. The old rural-urban differences persisted, reminding Americans of similar situations in the United States where the businessman's daylight saving time was anathema to the farmer.

159 As I tried to reconstruct the chief occurrences of the years in-
565 tervening between my departure in 1937 and the end of the war, I inquired often as to the whereabouts of some members of the intelligentsia whom I had known well. I learned that the mayor, who had been so helpful during my earlier visit, had given up his post during the days of German collaboration. Apparently he had disagreed with the local committee as to procedures and amounts of grain to be requisitioned from the peasants. He had already been suffering from ill health and could no longer stand the pressure of troubles, arguments, and dissatisfactions which each day brought to his office. From Dragalevtsy my mayor friend had been transferred to the picturesque village of Panchevo, which I shall long remember because of the lunch I had there one summer's day many years ago.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

APPENDIX II

A NOTE ON TAXES (1937)

An item of great expense to the peasant is taxes. The taxes may be divided into two kinds, State taxes and *Obshtina* (local) taxes. 651

Some of the taxes collected by the State are:

1. An occupation tax, which does not apply to agriculturalists, but to grocers, tavern keepers, milkmen, and teamsters.
2. An income tax on incomes of eighty thousand *leva* (pensions excluded). This tax varies proportionately from two to thirty-six per cent.
3. A construction tax. If a house or building costs 100,000 *leva*, a three per cent tax of its value must be paid after the building is finished.
4. A sales tax on many industrial products which the peasants have to buy.
5. A wagon tax. 25 *leva* annually if the wagon is for home use; 150 to 250 *leva* annually if the wagon is for business use.
6. A road tax. 140 *leva* minimum, with a graduated tax on higher incomes.
7. A railroad tax. 30 *leva* a year if not near a railroad. 90 *leva* a year if near a railroad under repair, which happens to be the case with Dragalevtsy.
8. A school tax for students from the fourth class to the eighth class, which does not affect the Dragalevtsy school (only to the fourth class).

Various local taxes:

1. A land ownership tax. 3½ *leva* per decare (14 *leva* an acre).
2. A land value tax. The village land is divided into first, second, and third categories, and is assessed as follows:

   8 *leva* per decare for the first category
   6 *leva* per decare for the second category
   4 *leva* per decare for the third category

3. A tax on buildings. An assessment is made at the rate of 2½ *leva* for each 1,000 *leva* of value.
4. A pasturage tax of 15 *leva* a year for each work animal.
5. A tax for livestock fund. 15 *leva* per head per year. This covers the cost of keeping a village bull and accumulates a fund for erecting a village barn later on.
6. A wood tax. 20 *leva* per cubic meter if purchased from the government.

cost of living and therefore to handicap them in their efforts to lower their costs of production, 433

One of the reasons given for establishing native industries is that in case of war, a country would find itself less dependent on foreign supplies, but in the case of Bulgaria even this plea can not be maintained, for not only is Bulgaria disarmed and not likely to be drawn into a war by herself, but her industry is almost entirely dependent for its raw materials, and largely for its driving power (oil) on foreign supplies and would come to a standstill in case of war breaking out.

Naturally the extreme protectionism adopted by successive Bulgarian governments elicited very strong protests from the masses and these were voiced by their representatives in the Sobranye, but without avail, for most political groups did their utmost to further the interests of the industrialists who knew how to win over to their cause influential politicians. 433 651

A crushing indictment of this protectionist policy is contained in a most lucid and interesting booklet, written by T. P. Karatsorov in 1932, who has no difficulty in proving to the hilt his contention fortified by statistical data, that protectionism has had on Bulgarian economy ruinous consequences, and in his concluding remarks he adds that it has equally proved morally disastrous among governing circles. He cites in support the case of a prominent politician who in 1931 declared: "These parasitic industries are a terrible evil. Our industry is unduly favoured at the expense of our national economy", and who, on becoming a Cabinet Minister did not hesitate to affirm a month later: "Our industry is not yet sufficiently protected, the State must make further sacrifices for it." This complete *volte-face* being obviously due to the bribes which he received in the meantime while his former declaration may be assumed to have been an attempt to blackmail industrialists.

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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The local industry enjoys on the whole a tariff protection of 100 % to over 200% against imported foreign goods. Raw materials utilised in the local industry were liable to an ad *valorem* duty of 3%, increased to 8% in 1931 on their entry. The loss to the State accruing from applying this extremely reduced import duty, instead of the full tariff had gradually increased to as much as 450 million leva in 1929 and had surpassed 500 millions in 1930.

M. Karatsorov gives many examples of the parasitic industries which have been fostered in Bulgaria. The details relative to one will amply suffice to illustrate all and sundry. Thus five workshops were established to manufasture nails from imported steel wire. The total annual consumption of nails in Bulgaria is 5 to 6 million kg, the import duty 7 to 8 leva per kg., or about 150% of the cost of foreign nails f. o. b. a Bulgarian port. (about 4.50 leva per kg.) The price of the local article was, on an average above 10 leva a kg., so that the profit realised by the local makers was at least 120%. The number of workmen employed was 200 and the amount disbursed in salaries does not exceed 3 to 4 million leva a year. The State loses 30 million leva a year, through levying a duty of 8%, on wire, instead of a duty of 150% on 5 to 6 million kg. of nails, and except for the wages paid to the workmen all this sum of some 26 million leva, is divided among the owners of the 5 workshops, and is obviously provided out of the pockets of the population. This was so self-evident that deputy, I. Kurtev, intervened in the Sobranye on April 5, 1928 and demanded: "That this industry be withdrawn from the list of those which are being favoured", but in vain. An example of how a high tariff barrier encourages the building up of redundant manufacturing plant is furnished by the sheet-glass industry. The consumption of this article amounts to 80,000 cases a year. F. o. b. prices of Belgian glass were 260

leva per case, and the duty 600 leva per case. As the cost of erecting a glass factory was computed at 30 million leva, and the profit to be realised by the non-payment of duty on the locally manufactured sheet-glass was 48,000,000 leva (80,000 cases×600 leva) and would have permitted a profit of 150% to be made during the opening year, work on three different factories was begun in 1930. The creation of such industries, as M. Karatsorov shows, would even have an adverse influence on the country's balance of payments. Thus if 80,000 cases of sheet-glass were imported, currency to the amount of 20 million leva would be exported, while when the factories would begin operating, the owners being foreigners, the amount of currency which would be exported would be equal to the sum of 48 millions of profit made minus the local expenses of the factories. 433 651

M. Karatsorov affirms that in most cases the creation of local industries has increased adversely the country's balance of payments, and he cites in support not only the above instance, but also that of the sugar industry and also the textile. Local textile weaving sheds often paying more for their imported yarn than what would have been paid if the corresponding woven fabric had been imported instead from a country the industry of which had been thoroughly modernised and was producing on a large scale like Japan.

The opinions of the above writer were often re-echoed and punctuated by such remarks as these in the Sobranye. "The law fostering industry has cost two milliard leva which the people had to find". (Dr I. Karadjov. March 26. 1926). "By purchasing materials and machinery abroad the loss to the national economy will be as great as if foreign goods were bought, and besides, protection will give free play to speculation". (G. Zivkov, April 3 1926). "The parasitic industries live on the back of the people, who

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are robbed in order that 1200 to 2000 industrialists and their bankers may profit" (S. Petkov, May 12 1932). "The loss to the revenue through exempting from duty raw materials is 500 million leva a year; these privileges must be put a stop to" (G. Zeliabov, June 8, 1932).

This system of importing semi-manufactured materials practically free, in order to convert them into manufactured articles in Bulgaria, also led to grave abuses. Several unscrupulous manufacturers imported materials and often sold the greatest portion of them secretly. Thus S. Stefanov, subsequently Minister of Finance, declared in the Sobranye on Dec. 8 1927. "Big frauds are committed by pseudo-industrialists who dispose on the market of materials imported duty free for use in their factories. In big factories control is possible but the 800 workshops set up since the war are never inspected. A huge army of inspectors is needed to supervise 1100 industrial establishments and there are only 4 or 5 inspectors affected to this job." Another deputy, S. Boyadjiev, dwelt on the following day on the same abuses, cited instances, and then made the following just criticism: "The law grants to any seven persons the privilege to form a cooperative society. There are several persons who have thus grouped themselves together, and who import materials duty free for alleged industrial purposes, and then sell them secretly, undercutting honest traders who have paid the legal duty on their stuff." Another trenchant attack on protectionism was delivered by deputy K. Manolov on Dec. 15, 1927, who among other things stated: "Experts affirm that the subsidies granted to industry up to the present date amount to 4000 million leva. Is this justified? It should have cheapened the cost of living but the contrary has taken place and foreign articles, inspite of the duty, still compete with the locally manufactured ones. Our balance of payments has not improved, and

our industry is hardly any stronger. Even labour has not been advantaged. In 1909, a workman was paid two gold leva a day, equal to 54 paper leva, and to day he only receives 47 leva. We should not go on dissipating our vital forces in this way or we shall degenerate as a nation... The financial cartel which controls most industries enjoys the sympathies of government circles etc".

How the community was exploited in order that a few favoured individuals might amass wealth is also clearly described in the party organ of the Radical party in its issue of Feb 20 1931: "According to the information we possess the Granitoid Cement Manufacturing Co. Has realised for the year 1930 a profit of 180 million leva, a sum which considerably exceeds the capital invested in this concern. How are such profits possible at this time of crisis? This is quite plain. A ton of cement costs 500 to 600 leva, but the duty on it is 800 leva. Consequently foreign cement can not be sold on our market for less than 1450 leva a ton, and this has permitted the Granitoid to sell its locally made cement at about this figure, realising a premium of about 800 leva a ton, Is it not outright robbery to mulct people out of their savings in order that this company might make a profit of 145%, instead of contenting itself with a benefit of 12% to 15%? Cement is an article of prime necessity, both the State and the public buy large quantites of if. Until when will this criminal policy continue?"

These details seem fully to confirm M. V. Novicov's pronouncement on protection, namely: "Tout industriel protégé est un parasite. Et chose étrange, tandis qu'on considere le parasitisme comme un mal, les gouvernements considèrent jusqu'à présent le parasitisme provenant de la protection comme un bien... Un tarif protecteur, n'est autre chose que le gaspillage économique érigé en système de gouvernement. Il a la prétention

000 d'enrichir la société, il n'a d'autre résultat, en réalité, que d'arrêter le developpement de la richesse. Le système protecteur c'est une récompense donnée à l'imbecillité, au desordre, à l'incurie, et une punition infligée à la capacité, à l'économie, à l'intelligence." ("Luttes entre sociétés humaines" p. 117/8). They also fully support Mr J. A. Hobson's affirmation in his "The New Protection" p. 113–7 that: "Protection is a crime for its effect as its intention is to perpetuate strife by stamping divisions ... whereas the whole trend of civilisation has been to bind the peoples of the world into closer unity of interests and activities by the growing of interpendence of commerce, protection would reverse the movement .. Cobden was mistaken in thinking that the perception of their obvious self-interest must rapidly lead all nations to adopt Free Trade. His error lay in failing to perceive that, though the interest of each people as a whole lay in freedom of commerce, the interests of special groups of traders or producers within each country would continue to lie along the line of privilege and protection, and that until democracy became a political reality these organised group interests might continue to mould the fiscal policy of their several States".

• 651 435 In fact protectionism in Bulgaria has contributed in intensifying the existing antagonism between the rural and urban classes, the former bitterly complaining that they were being exploited in favour of the latter. If they were unable to make themselves heard it was because "democracy had not become a political reality" and that "organised group interests" in league with the political flunkeys who bossed Bulgaria, "continued to mould the fiscal policy of the State".

The recriminations of the peasantry were fully justified for if the prices ruling in 1929 be taken as a basis (100) those of agricultural products had sunk to the level

of 34.4 at the beginning of 1934, while those of locally manufactured articles had only been reduced to 88.1, and those of imported industrial goods to 81.8, mainly on account of the high protective duties which remained constant owing to the specific tariff in force. 651 435

As the above figures are based on wholesale prices, it may be assumed that the peasants had to pay 10% to 15% more for their purchases from retail stores, and that they had to give 2½ times as much of their produce as they were accustomed in order to obtain in exchange the manufactured articles they had been used to buy.

The discrepancy between agricultural and manufactured goods has to some extent been reduced since the abrogation of the parliamentary regime, for the military seem to have had a clearer conception of their duties as rulers. This they achieved by drastically curtailing the privileges enjoyed by local manufacturers on the one hand, and by the State intervening as buyer of several agricultural articles, such as wheat, rye, cotton, rice, tobacco etc, and fixing enhanced prices for them. The government attaching less value to the cheapness at which the consuming public might obtain its food than to the maintenance of a level of prices at which the peasants are able to live. This seems to forebode a return to sanity, for level-headed men like Prof. G. P. Ghenov, often laid stress on the necessity of Bulgaria reducing her tariffs if she were not to see foreign markets closed to her produce, and that it was indispensable to buy if she sought to sell. His speech of May 16 1932 in the Sobranye in which he exposed the inanity of subsidising an industrial system which cost one milliard leva annually to the State, was very favourably commented on at the time. 652 435

What seems difficult to explain is how the wiseacres of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations should, on the floating of the Stabilisation loan of 1928 454 651

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have granted Bulgaria a free hand to raise her tariff, on the pretext that this step would increase the revenues earmarked for the service of this loan, a prognostication which was radically contradicted by subsequent events since the increase of the tariff which followed in 1930, imparted a further impetus to the creation of local industries, reduced imports and diminished very considerably the custom dues raised from them. But the Financial Committee was not so obtuse as it would appear at first sight. Its secret desire was not to strengthen either the position of the bondholders, or that of Bulgaria, but rather to grant increased facilities to certain financial interests for exploiting the Bulgarian consumer through the dominant position these occupy in industial, banking and commercial enterprises, and which position they hitherto managed to exploit to the full owing to the venality and flunkeyism of the politicians, who did not hesitate to sell themselves to these occult influences. According to the bulletin of the National Bank of Bulgaria of Jan. 1935, the total fully paid up capital of industrial limited companies during 1934 was 3,202.4 million leva, of which 1631.3 millions were foreign, so that it is obvious that protection favoured more foreign interests than Bulgarian, and explains why the Financial Committee was so prodigal in extending to Bulgaria the right to increase its tariff. The participation of foreign capital can only be traced in limited companies, and the above mentioned bulletin specified that 325.9 millions of foreign capital were invested in banking establishments, 281.3 in commercial, 11 in transport enterprises, and 30.7 in insurance companies. No particulars are obtainable about the foreign capital in private firms, but it must be as much, if not more, for deputy C. Petkov affirmed in the Sobranye on Feb. 26, 1932, that annually as much as 650 million leva are remitted abroad as interest on foreign capital invested in Bulgaria, and 800 millions as its par-

ticipation in profits. These figures are not likely to be far out since another deputy, M. Dotchev, stated on March 4 1932, that during the financial year 1928/9, over one milliard leva was remitted abroad as dividends and profits of the foreign capital invested in industrial and commercial enterprises in Bulgaria. 454 651.

Some preliminary statistics have been published as to the state of industry in 1930/1, but most of these figures refer to those workshops which enjoy privileges extended to them by the law fostering industry, and are necessarily incomplete. These establishments numbered 1250, had a capital of 7500 million leva, used 115,000 H. P., employed 36,000 workmen (the total number of workpeople employed in all industries fluctuates round about 75,000) and had an annual output of 6850 million leva of manufactured goods. The principal branches of industry were: 433

	Number of establishments	Capital in million leva	H. P. employed	workpeople employed	% of local raw materials used
Textile	214	1390·8	19,197	14,641	13·6%
(In 1933:	231	some working with 2 & even 3 shifts		17,976)	
Food & drink . .	172		27,653	4579	
Metallurgical . . .	142	417·3	10,998	4084	14%
Ceramic	110	774	22,604	3382	48%
Chemical	117	397·8	6,707	2031	35%
Leather	52	162·3	4,721	778	18%
Timber	55		2,726	1643	
Paper	4	99·3	2,210	443	38%

There are two other important groups of industries not included in the above table, the tobacco manipulating and cigarette manufacturing in which some 20,000 workpeople are almost permanently employed and the milling industry. In the latter, a capital of 786.[2] million leva is invested. There are 307 flour mills, employing 2579 workpeople and possessing machinery developing 21,637 H. P. This was a thriving industry in the past as deputy

of the reorganisation of agriculture in Bulgaria is a most pressing one if a social upheaval is to be avoided at no distant date. 241 434

Prof. Tsolakov has carefully calculated the revenue of all items of income of farmers from the various cereals, vegetables, fruit, poultry, cattle etc. they raise, as well as the disbursements they make for the purchase of similar articles for their personal requirements in cases where they do not produce one, or several of these articles on their own farms and have to sell certain surpluses, if they have such, in order to buy what they do not produce, and he has come to the conclusion that farmers possessing up to 2 hectares have an annual deficit as regards their needs in agricultural produce of 4,226 leva per farmstead, those possessing 2 to 5 hectares have a surplus of 402 leva, those with 5 to 10 hectares a surplus of 7,103, those with 10 to 15 hectares a surplus of 15,632, and those of over 15 hectares a surplus of 19,919. However, the rural population has other needs besides agricultural produce, which mainly represents food, namely: clothing, light, fuel, etc., and if these requirements be taken into consideration the farmsteads would show the following position as to revenue and expenditure:

Farmsteads up to 2 hectares:		Annual deficit	7,226	leva
" from 2 to 5	"	"	"	4,598	"
" " 5 to 10	"	"	surplus	103	"
" " 10 to 15	"	"	"	5,632	"
" of over 15	"	"	"	6,919	"

As a consequence, farmers have been unable to pay their taxes, or to refund their debts. Prof Tsolakov has appended the results of an examination into the accounts of 487 individual farmsteads in the region of Varna, and gives these most impressive data as to the hopeless position in which the peasantry finds itself. Arrears of unpaid taxes have been accumulating for the past years, and there 241 651 426

241 is practically no prospect of their ever being met. The
•651 following figures are self-explanatory:
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Cases	Area of farmsteads	Arrears of taxes 1925—6 to 1932—3	Tax for 1933—4	Fines	Total mount of taxes owing
		(forx each category of farmsteads)			
144	up to 1 hectare	79,943 leva	12,016 leva	10,200 leva	102,150 leva
79	1 to 2 "	97,282 "	20,368 "	20,661 "	138,311 "
75	2 to 3 "	132,317 "	31,883 "	29,498 "	193,698 "
83	3 to 5 "	236,560 "	53,260 "	54,575 "	334,495 "
65	5 to 10 "	229,741 "	75,310 "	49,575 "	354,626 "
33	10 to 20 "	132,250 "	73,650 "	55,799 "	261,699 "
8	over 20 "	241,675 "	32,683 "	126,358 "	400,716 "

The amount of individual indebtedness has also been inquired into, and this has been computed as follows.

Farmsteads of	To Agricultural bank	To Co-operative bank	To the State (taxes mainly arrears)	To Municipality	To Private persons	Total
up to 2 hectares	7,360[1]	1,710	970	170	12,050	22,260
of 2 to 5 "	3,820	600	530	60	4,410	9,420
" 5 to 10 "	2,930	580	360	50	2,370	6,290
" 10 to 15 "	2,950	440	220	—	1,600	5,210
" over 15 "	2,800	290	400	40	1,190	4,720

From the above data it will be evident that the smaller farmers are hopelessly insolvent since the actual value of arable land is between 5,000 to 8,000 leva per hectare.

241 With regard to the production of cereals Prof. Tso-
511 lakov calculates that the average deficit of farmsteads

[1] According to a statement made in the Sobranye on Feb. 26 1932, peasant indebtedness to the Agricultural Bank amounted to 4,096,043,000 leva at the end of 1931. Farmsteads of 10 hectares owed it 3360 per hectare, and those of 10 hectares and over, 2170 leva per hectare. The total value of the 4,469,987 hectares under cultivation was estimated in 1927 at 83,933,620,000 leva, rural buildings at 34,845 millions, the live stock at 19,927,205,000 leva and agricultural inventory at 4,760,149,000 leva. By 1932 values had fallen by 60%, so that the value of farm property was estimated at only 50,000 millions and the debts of the farmers then amounted at only 12,000 millions. The total revenue from agriculture, had dwindled from 23,347 millions in 1929 to under 13,000 millions in 1930, as the Minister of Agriculture affirmed in the Sobranye on March 6. 1937.

ched 25,411,022 kg. valued at 45 million leva. Experiments have also been made with another oleaginous plant, the *Ricinus Communis*, from which castor oil is extracted, with excellent results, a yield of 1500 kg. of seed of superior quality having been obtained per hectare sown. 249 258

Tobacco has come to replace cereals in importance as an article of export. In 1934 it represented 40% of the total exports, and the quantity marketed abroad was valued at 982 million leva. In 1933, 22,531,439 kg. of a value of 1,174,511,061 leva were export. In 1934 the respective figures were 20,830,000 and 982,000,000. Prices have been very much affected by the prevailing crisis, as may be inferred by comparing the above with the figures for 1932, when 22,452,752 kg. were exported, but were priced at 2,654,238,438 leva. It was after the war that tobacco cultivation was particularly fostered, the quantity exported rising from 7,355,448 kg. in 1919 to the record figure of 33,647,241 kg. in 1925. After this date both Greece and Turkey reappeared on the world market as producers of Oriental tobacco and the proportion of Bulgarian tobacco sold abroad fell off, though on the whole it maintained its position in Germany, which buys steadily about half of the amount exported, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia etc., where its qualities have been thoroughly appreciaded. It would appear that the average quantity of nicotine found in it varies from 0·5% to 1%, when according to Kissling, the contents in nicotine of Virginia tobacco are 4·3% to 4·8%, of Kentucky 4·5%, of Sumatra 4·1% and Samsoun (Turkey) 2·5%. German chemists have characterised Bulgarian tobacco as poor in nicotine and have approved the manifacture of cigarettes made from it which are designed as containing the "minimum of nicotine". Tobacco forms one of the chief items of revenue to the State, some 650 million leva being annually derived from the tobacco monopoly. The State also raises a tax of 1 249 439 249 651.

249 to 2 leva per kg. of tobacco exported, while the amount
651 of wages disbursed for the manipulation of tobacco was reckoned to reach an annual average of 559 million leva during the period 1919—1931, the number of workmen engaged in the manipulation of tobacco being 86.000. This however is a seasonable occupation and less than 20,000 workpeople are permanently engaged. The number of farmsteads mainly cultivating tobacco is reckoned at 127,000.

In contrast with tobacco, which now forms the staple
249 product of Bulgarian agriculture, and the main source of revenue, the cultivation of sugar-beet, in which some 100,000 formsteads are mainly engaged, has caused, and is causing an important loss to the State. In Great Bri-
000 tain also the subsidising of the sugar industry has led to lively debates, and Sir Herbert Samuel, as recently as Feb. 5, 1935 appealed in the House of Commons that „this colossal, wasteful and scandalous expenditure should be brought to a speedy end". In a world suffering from a collective attack of aberration, all its members more or less, show the same symptoms. It is not surprising therefore that even the levelheaded Bulgarians, endowed with no little common sense, should not have managed to keep themselves exempt from the universal malady.

257 Under the protection of a high import duty, amounting actually to 11 leva per kg., five sugar refineries were established in Bulgaria at a cost of 1,347,226,037 leva. Their united capacity of production is annually 63 million kg., but consumption a few years ago was only half this figure, and owing to the steadily diminishing buying power of the population, this has decreased to 21.6 million kg. in 1933, for the State imposes sugar also with excise, and a communal tax and the sale price of sugar is as 26 leva per kg., while the price of sugar on the world market is under 5/-per cwt, or 2 leva per kg. It was af-

556 181 An intelligent woman once summed up for me the peasant's attitude toward labor and money in this terse fashion:

"Most people work because they want money. Everyone looks for money."

511 181 434 Although the peasant considered money of greater importance than formerly because he was becoming more and more a part of a money economy, he really handled very little in the course of a year. The annual income for a family of four or five was less than two hundred dollars, an amount that came into the family coffer in driblets and was paid out as slowly as possible. After the autumn market or the sale of a cow, the peasant was flush with money, but when he had bought the necessities which he could not produce for himself (kerosene, shoes and other articles of clothing, rice, salt, and some hardware) he was little better off financially. If a member of the family worked outside the home, his wages were a considerable help, especially when some of the many taxes were due.

465 181 I asked nine young men, picked at random, about the money they earned. Their monthly income varied from the meager equivalent of $6 a month earned by a twenty-five-year-old servant and an eighteen-year-old shepherd to $66 earned by a twenty-year-old milkman. There was only one who kept more than half of his earnings for himself. He explained apologetically that the reason he did not turn these over to his father was that he had to pay board and rent in Sofia, where he worked.

454 181 Very few Dragalevtsy people accumulated savings in the bank. They preferred, like people all over Bulgaria, to invest money in real estate. The city people did it because of the security of investment, whereas the peasants, especially in Dragalevtsy, were more interested in possessing land for its own sake.

426 181 The great majority of the peasants were in debt, though many debtors were also creditors. Those specializing in field crops preferred long-term loans, usually for fifteen or twenty years, with land as security, while sheep owners usually sought short-term loans of three or four months. One village merchant, to whom many peasants came for advice, estimated that 70 per cent of the loans were taken from banks and 30 per cent from individuals. The government had done much in the past through periodic moratoria to reduce the amount of indebtedness. [652]

2;Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

651 would take the larger family name of his father's kinship group. Thus
178 an outsider could immediately place each child not only in the family
594 group as a whole but in the small conjugal group as well. Students of child development have often pointed out the advantage to the child of growing up with a number of intimate contemporaries, as well as having several adults ready to serve as substitute parents whenever occasion demands.

But the change need not be viewed as entirely unfavorable. The smaller family unit was bringing about a more intimate relationship between members, breaking down the formalism between parents and children, and encouraging democratic living.

178 The good old days, if we are to believe the elders of the village,
463 differed not only in the degree of governmental autonomy in community affairs and a patriarchy in which the young respected the old: occupations too were of a different order.

"Half a century ago there were very few educated people, the chief of these being a priest from the monastery and a teacher. The mayor was an ordinary peasant elected by the town council of twelve people. There was a swineherd, as well as other herdsmen, and five merchants, plus a tanner. Practically all of the people were farmers. There was no dairyman; there was no doctor. All dentistry was done by Turks who remedied an aching tooth by pulling it out. We raised no horses, and an itinerant gypsy smith did all the necessary iron work."

When I asked another man about occupations half a century ago, he added this information:

"It was 'simple business' fifty years ago. There was a teacher for boys in the first and second grades; there was no village tailor, and the single tanner had little work. A priest from the monastery min-
●652 istered to the people on occasion. We had no tax collector and an
211 illiterate mayor took all the taxes and kept the account on a *rabosh*."

(Here I steered the conversation off the subject of occupations long enough to find out what the *rabosh* was. It was similar to a practice of the Exchequer in twelfth-century England in which accounting was done with pieces of notched wood. Each family had a small piece of wood fitting into another piece kept by the mayor. The notches in the wood told the financial status of the family as far as the tax money was concerned.)

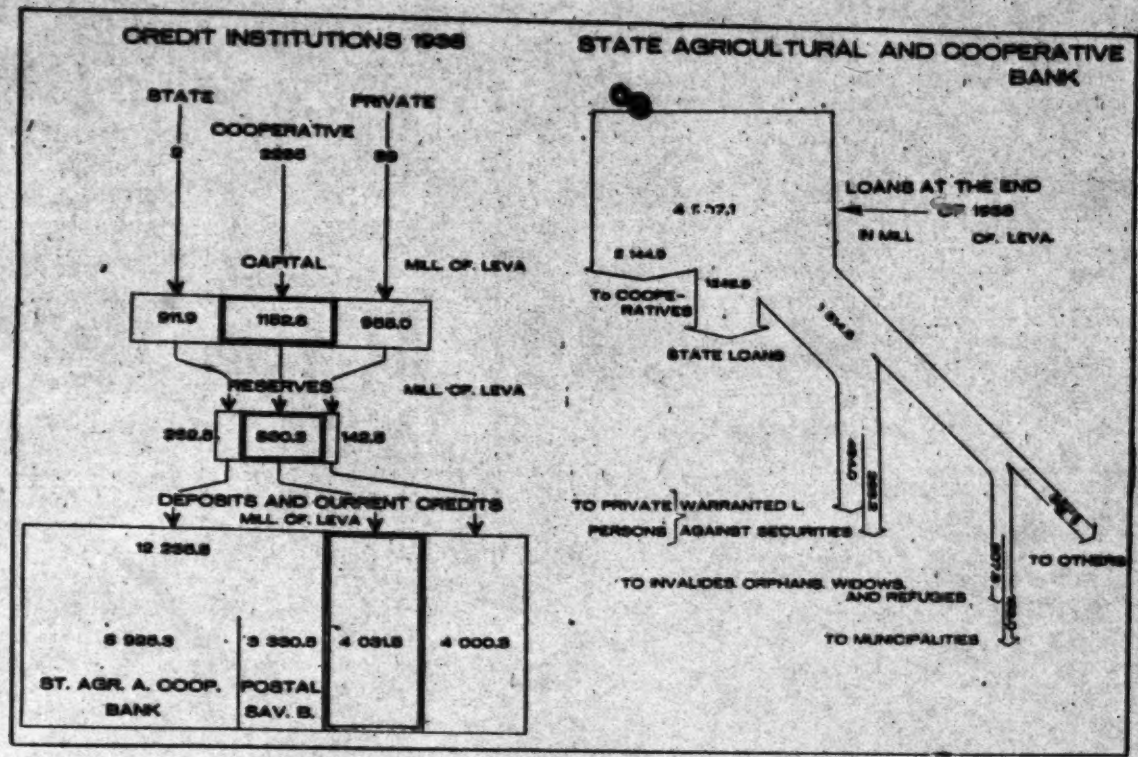

Fig. 26.

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8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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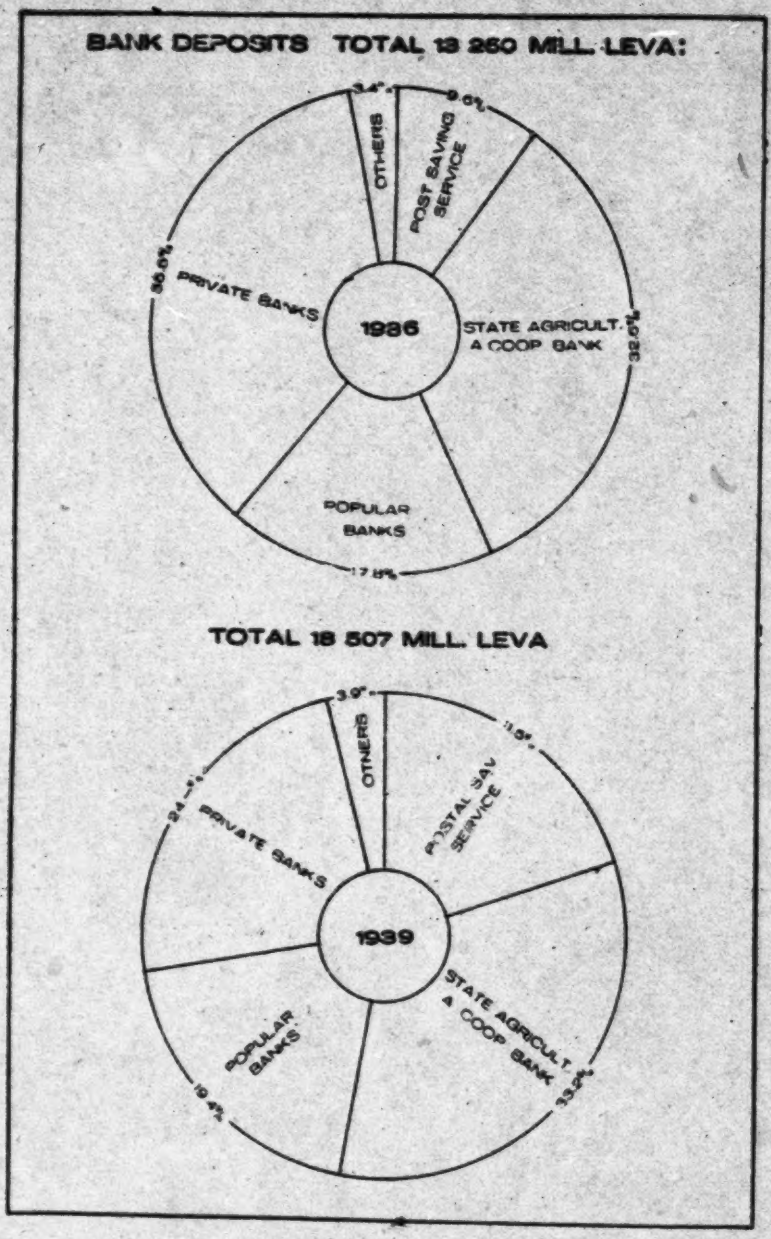

Fig. 27.

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they would pass a law abolishing all private indebtedness. 426
It is gratifying to note that in spite of all this arrant 663
demagogy and incitement to default, the peasantry has not deviated from its traditional honesty, and that in spite of the crisis it has done its best to meet its liabilities. The annual reports of the Agricultural Bank show that its advances to the peasants have during the years 1930 to 1933 slowly but steadilly decreased and that their total indebtedness to the bank had been reduced by 300 million leva at the end of 1933, as compared with the year 1929. In the bank's report for 1933 it is stated that the peasantry has ceased increasing its indebtedness owing to its being conscious of the necessity of adjusting its debts to the present level of their income, a fact which speaks very highly of its common sense as well as of its determination to maintain its standard of integrity by which Bulgarians have so far distinguised themselves from their neighbours.

One of the most active members of the Cabinet was 652•
its Finance Minister, M. Peter Todorov, who in a brief 655
period of a few months succeeded in settings order in his department so that the salaries of public functionnaries which were some five months in arrear, began being paid again regularly. Debts to Government contractors which had remained unpaid for years were liquidated and with indefatigable energy M. P. Todoroff set creating new sources of revenue for the State. These were the monopolies of alcohol, tobacco, salt, light mineral oils and school text books. There was an intensive contraband carried on in alcohol, and the State was being deprived of millions of revenue which otherwise ought to have flowed into its coffers. The returns of the Excise on spirituous drinks were yearly diminishing correspondingly with the reported consumption of both beer and alcoholic drinks as may be noted from the following table:

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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Consumption in thousand of hectolitres

	1929	1930	1931	1932	193
Beer	76.4	46.8	41.7	81,7	52
Alcohol	10.2	8.2	8.2	4.9	5

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Yet these figures were far from corresponding wit the actual consumption, and it was known that a larg number of illicit stills were being in operation all ove the country. The question of the loss this clandestin trade entailed to the Treasury came up several times fo discussion in the Sobranye but so far no governmen tackled the matter seriously as it was afraid to ruffle ce tain sections of the electorate which engaged in thes operations. Thus deputy Dr H. Mutafov speaking in th Sobranye on June 13, 1932 affirmed that for 1930 th quantity of wine which had been declared to the author ties and on which excise had been collected amounted t 38,822,096 litres, while according to the figures of th Ministry of Agriculture some 108,618,482 litres had bee produced. The figures for 1931 showed even a greate discrepancy. It was known also that some 10 millio litres of wine had been distilled and transformed int brandy, on which additional excise ought to have bee paid, but of this quantity only 42000 litres had been dec lared. The contraband on tobacco was even more inter sive than that on alcohol, for the smuggling of this articl was much easier and the profit correspondingly greate Tobacco in the leaf was sold at about 10 to 15 leva per Kg while when transformed into cigarettes it was retailed at 150 t 200 leva per Kg. by the tobacco manufacturers who of cours refunded to the State the amount of excise chargeable on thei sales. The consumption of tobacco on which excise wa imputable was yearly declining, and proportionally th State revenue from this head. A former Minister of Fi nance had declared on May 10, 1932 in the Sobrany that if the excise service could be reorganised and strengt

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hened some 400 to 500 millions extra annualy would accrue to the State from this source, and he cited figures to show how the consumption of tabacco on which excise had been collected was being anually reduced. 5,214,089 kg. in 1925, dwindling gradually to 3,888,312 kg. in 1931. These figures may be supplemented by the following table which also shows the revenue derived from tobacco.

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Tobacco consumption in thousand kg.		Excise duty in million leva	
1931	3,888·3	670·4	
1932	3,506·6	642·5	
1933	3,374·3	613·3	
1934	3,191·0	580·2	

The tobacco monopoly will not only contribute in increasing revenue very substantially, and this will probably be secured by the creation of a special cheap brand of cigarettes to be sold exclusively in rural districts as has been done in Turkey, but will also exert a certain influence in stabilising the price of tobacco and will permit growers to obtain a more equitable price. With the creation of the tobacco monopoly the State will absorb for its proper requirements some 5 million kg. of tobacco and as this amount represents about a fourth of the annual crop, it will be easy for the State to exert a hardening tendency on prices for the benefit of the growers. Another beneficial result which will be derived from the creation of this monopoly is the improvement in the condition of the workers in the tobacco industry which occupies the greater number of industrial workers in Bulgaria. The State owing to its proclaimed policy of upliftment of the working classes is bound to do its utmost to ameliorate their lot, which was far from being enviable as may be inferred from the large number of strikes which occured in this industry,

The monopolies of light mineral oils and of salt do not aim at securing additional revenue to the State, their

652 655 object being mainly to effect a better control and levelling of prices in all parts of the country. The one for school text books has been created in order to reduce prices and to prevent the too frequent change of the books made use of in schools, a practice much in vogue in Bulgaria and by which students were exploited to the advantage of certain publishers closely connected with political circles.

Minister P. Todorov took the initative to fuse into one under the title of „Bulgarian Credit" all the provincial banks of the country in order to strengthen their position and reduce their running expenses. The State provided for this purpose a sum of 50 million leva, while the capital of the amalgamated banks amounts to about 100 millions. Eventually it is proposed to increase the capital to 250 million leva. The two State banks, the „Agricultural" and „Central Co-operative bank" have likewise been merged into one to the great advantage of the State and of the co-operative societies as may be inferred from the writer's notes on the co-operative movement.

654 The Ministry of Finance began to tackle also the problem of the excessive protection granted to the local industry which rendered the prices of all industrial products unapproachable to the impoverished agrarian masses. The advantages and prerogatives hitherto enjoyed by industrial establishments have been curtailed in many directions and the preference they enjoyed over their foreign rivals in so far as supplies to government institution is concerned has in fact been removed.

652 648 Other reforms, having as an object the stabilisation of the civil service, the simplification of judicial procedure, the transformation of the educational system etc, were being studied and would have been shortly applied when unexpectedly the Cabinet of M. Gheorghiev was asked to resign and cease its creative action, on the alleged pre

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tence that some of its members and supporters entertained republican sympathies. Bulgarians who for the first time in their modern history had been at last privileged to witness at home how a decent government should function would if they were free to express their opinion probably demur at the change invoking in support Pope's dictum:

„For forms of government let fools contest,
What e'er is best administered is best".

What is not devoid of a certain piquancy is that the Financial Committee of the League of Nations „which had just rapped the late Government smartly over the administrative knuckles" (as stated in an editorial in the *Manchester Guardian* at the end of January 1935) should have provided the opportunity for this stroke. And yet the Financial Committee should above all have been thankful to M. Peter Todorov for his financial measures. Thus the creation of the monopoly of alcohol will vastly increase the revenues affected specially to the service of the Refugee Loan which was issued under the sponsorship of the League of Nations. But of course, the interests of the unwary investors in League of Nations Loans are no longer considered. Those of others take priority. M. Todorov's financial projects apparently were not to the liking of some oil magnates, and of the French, Belgian and Swiss capitalists who have respectively some 377·3, 568·4 and 533 million leva invested in banking and industrial enterprises in Bulgaria. His threat to reduce the tariff, and his creation of a powerful credit institution which would be in a position to compete with the foreign banks naturally provoked a certain amount of wire-pulling and log-rolling as a consequence of which M. Todorov has lost his portfolio.

ECONOMIC HISTORY

The pre-war period

After the amputation inflicted on her by the Treaty of Berlin, it was natural for Bulgaria to devote from the moment of her emergence as a political entity most of her resources and energy to repairing the mutilations she had suffered. She thus diverted to this aim a large part of the vital strength she would under different circumstances have entirely consecrated to her cultural and economic advancement. And if, in spite of this incubus Bulgaria yet attained to such remarkable material development within the six decades of her independent existence it may be surmised with certainty that the progress achieved would have been a record one had she started on her career as a nation under more auspicious omens. 175

From the very start she was encouraged to spend an unduly large proportion of her resources on the organisation of her army by the Russian officials who supervised the setting up of her administration, and owing to the natural desire of the Bulgarian people to liberate their enslaved kinsmen, who had been thrust under foreign dominion by the bungling politicians at the Berlin Congress, it was extremely difficult to discourage expenditure on this head. This tendency was further encouraged by the armament firms which showed themselves always obsequious and ready to facilitate the securing of the necessary credits for financing the supply of war material and thereby helped to involve Bulgaria into an indebtedness beyond her capacity. 175 6520

The Bulgarian State was further saddled with heavy obligations such as that of assuming a certain indebtedness towards Turkey in the form of an annual tribute and that of defraying the cost of the Russian military occupation. It was also forced to provide for the construction of those 728 175

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YEARS	IMPORTS in million leva	EXPORTS in million leva	BALANCE in million leva
1886—1890	350	310	— 40
1891—1895	416	386	— 30
1896—1900	337	339	+ 2
1901—1905	474	597	+ 123
1906—1910	699	591	— 108
1911—1915	916	698	— 218
1916—1920	4,002	2,993	— 1009
1921—1925	24,924	22,628	— 4296
1926—1930	32,330	31,064	— 1266
1931	4,660	5,934	+ 1274
1932	3,471	3,383	— 88
1933	2,202	2,846	+ 644
1934	7,247	2,535	+ 88

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From the foregoing figures it becomes obvious tha Bulgaria had to have recourse to foreign assistance i order to secure the necessary equipment of a moder State as it was unthinkable for her to raise the requisit capital locally. Tbe following loans were contracted prio to the Balkan wars, the proceeds being used for militar equipment, for the construction of railways and ports o the financing of expenses incurred through a rather pre mature davelopment of the political organisation an occasionally through a not very judicious employment o public funds.

Year	Nominal Interest %	Duration of repayment in years	Nominal amount in million leva	Price of issue	Net amount in million leva	Real Interest %
1888	6	33	46,777	at par	46,777	6·
1889	6	33	30,000	86·03	25,650	7·5
1892	6	33	124,962	86·41	107,342	7·34
1902	5	50	106,000	78·32	87,367	6·72
1904	5	50	100,000	75·24	82,383	7·03
1907	4·5	60	145,000	79·91	123,250	5·94
1909	4·5	50	100,000	85·56	86,000	5·56
1909	4·5	75	82,000	at par	82,000	4·75
			734,739		640,769	

The 1888 loan was floated in London, its proceeds being entirely devoted to the purchase of the Rustchuk-

[Errata: should be 224] — Analyst]

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Varna railway line built in 1860 by an English company to which the Turkish government had guaranteed a revenue of 7%, a charge the Bulgarian government considered unduly heavy and out of proportion with the net income derived from the exploitation of the railway.[1]

The proceeds of the 1889 loan were used for the construction of the Tsaribrod—Sofia—Vakarel, and that of the Yambol—Burgas railway lines. The loan was floated in Vienna as the obligation to construct these lines had been imposed by Austria-Hungary at the Congress of Berlin. A mortgage on these railways secured the loan. The subsequent loan was also contracted in Vienna and served to reorganise the army and to construct the Kaspitchan—Sofia railway line and the building of the two ports of Varna and Burgas. A mortgage on both ports and the railway being taken as security for the loan.

The 1902 loan was the first of a series concluded in France, for Bulgaria having in the meanwhile adopted a distinctly pro-Russian attitude, the Paris money market was opened to her at the intercession of Russia, France's

[1] The capital of the company which constructed this line was represented by 45,000 shares of £ 20 each, or a total of £ 900,000 or 22,500,000 gold francs, and these shares were never quoted above ¼ of their nominal value. A commission of Bulgarian engineers presided over by the late Serbian Premier, N. Passitch, at the time in the employ of Bulgaria in his capacity of an engineer, had evaluated the line as worth 18,575,000 gold francs, which was a fair estimate, yet the Bulgarian Premier, Stambulov, was prevailed upon to pay more than double this sum. This transaction was strongly resented in Bulgaria, but owing to the censorship little was said about it in the Press at the time; and there were good reasons for such resentment, for Bulgaria had been mulcted out of a considerable sum merely in order to placate certain financial circles as likely to influence British political support at a time Bulgaria was traversing a critical period. A very unfortunate precedent being thus created which has since caused havoc in Bulgarian finances.

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175 ally. The proceeds of this loan served to make good the budget deficits of the period 1895-1900 amounting to 53 million leva and mainly due to a period of bad crops, to pay off the sum of 17,390,664 to the Turkish and Russian governments, due according to the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin, to pay for 2,687,515 leva worth of armaments, and reimburse certain advances made to the Bulgarian government by the Bulgarian State Bank. This was the first loan to which a special revenue was assigned as a guarantee and a special controller delegated to Sofia on behalf of the bondholders to supervise the sale of the special revenue stamps affected to the tobacco tax.

In 1904 yet another loan was floated in France to which the surplus of the tobacco tax and the proceeds of revenue stamps were assigned as pledges. Owing to the revolution of 1903 in Macedonia, field artillery of the value of some 25 million leva had been purchased from the French firm of Creusot and other military expenses had been incurred and had to be frayed, the balance of the loan was used for the construction of the railway lines Tirnovo — Trevna, and Sofia — Kustendil. Military expenditure was steadily increasing and proving an intolerable burden to the State, yet owing to the anarchic situation in Macedonia and the prevalent belief that Bulgaria was in duty bound to interfere some day on behalf of her unredeemed kinsmen in Turkey, the Bulgarian people assumed stolidly the financial burdens imposed on them. Thus during the two years 1904 and 1905 some 55 million leva were expended solely on armaments, a sum exceeding half of the budget figures of these years.

It must be admitted that the French armament firms which had found an excellent client in Bulgaria must have largely contributed in persuading French Banks as to the advisability of financing the loans made to Bulgaria, which were being gradually floated at shorter and shorter intervals.

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In 1907, a further loan was issued in Paris out of which sums of 20,935,000 and 31,584,500 leva were earmarked for the conversion of the 1888 and 1889 loans. The 1907 loan having been issued on a 4·5% basis it was thought that a considerable economy would be effected by reimbursing the first two loans bearing 6% interest. Unfortunately, owing to the fact that the bonds were quoted above par, the Bulgarian treasury incurred instead a loss of some 21·5 million leva in carrying through this operation The balance of the loan was employed, to the extent of 32 millions for the buying of war material, while another 32 millions were allotted to the construction of railways and some four millions devoted to the settlement of a floating debt. The same pledges which had been assigned to the 1902 and 1904 loans were also affected to the service of this loan as the revenues from these sources were quite adequate. Thus the revenues from the tobacco tax and 'mourouriye' yielded 17,677,000 in 1909 and 18,183,000 leva in 1911, while the yield from the revenue stamps amounted to 6,088,000 and 6,638,000 leva respectively, the service of the three loans necessitating in 1909 the sum of only 18,265,000 leva, thus leaving a surplus of some 5 millions at the disposal of the Exchequer.

The elevation of Bulgaria to the rank of a Kingdom in 1908, and the attending political complications which rendered the mobilisation of the army indispensable had caused a heavy drain to the treasury, and in 1909 another loan was contracted, the proceeds of which were entirely absorbed in reimbursing the State's debts to contractors and to the National and Agrarian Banks, a sum of over 58 millions being due to these two State institutions. This loan was floated in Vienna, and no real guarantees demanded by the Austrian banks, a fact which may be explained by the desire of Austria to express her satis-

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faction at the way Bulgaria had arranged for her proclamation of independence to precede Austria's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908. Simultaneously Bulgaria assumed a liability of 82 millions to Russia, the latter having undertaken to indemnify Turkey on Bulgaria's refusal to continue the payment of her tribute after her proclamation of independence and provided the requisite money (some 42 million leva) wherewith the railways constructed and operated in Southern Bulgaria by the nominally Turkish company of the Chemins de Fer Orientaux were purchased by the Bulgarian government.

By the end of 1911 Bulgaria had a consolidated debt of 603,799,618 and a floating debt of 29,493,524 gold leva which with a population of 4,390,325 represented a per capita charge of 144·25 leva. From the proceeds of the foreign loans some 283,058,566 leva had been employed for the construction or purchase of railways of a total milage of 1,931 klm. and in the building of the ports of Varna and Burgas, 102,670,856 leva had been employed for the purchase of military equipment and the balance was absorbed by budgetary deficits, the liquidation of the tribute payable to Turkey (over 40 millions), and other administrative expenses. It should be remembered that this latter item included the building of schools, the constructions of roads, bridges, telegraph and telephone lines, barracks, government buildings etc. all of which were almost totally lacking, so that on the whole, few of the successive Bulgarian governments can be accused of having unduly wasted public money. The national wealth had been estimated in 1911 by the late Cyril Popov at 10,500 millions and the national revenue at 1,647 millions, equal to 387 gold leva per capita, which could only provide for a very low standard of living, since yet another 20% had to be provided out of it for the defraying of public and municipal taxation.

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The State budgets were approaching the 200 million figure, but were not always balanced. Thus in 1910 and 1911 the revenue figures stood respectively at 181 and 198 millions while expenditure attained 198 and 181, leaving alternatively for each year a deficit and a surplus of 17 millions. The service of the debt required slightly over 36 millions and absorbed 18% to 20% of the annual revenue of the State, while military expenditure required about 44 millions. Unfortunately the trade balance wherewith the service of the foreign debt had to be provided continued to show an excess of imports over exports, the years 1910 and 1911 showing respectively debit balances of 48 and 15 millions, and this state of affairs forced Bulgaria, so long as she was unable to expand her exports to continue borrowing in order to meet her monetary obligations abroad and to pay for the excess of her imports, which were indispensable for her development and the sustainance or her people.

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So that even prior to the Balkan wars, when Bulgaria was considered powerful and flourishing and her financial situation inspired confidence she was in fact a very poor country living beyond her means and only able to meet her foreign obligations by indulging in a policy of borrowing abroad which was reckless, but which was indulged in for patriotic motives, because it was hoped that when finally Macedonia would have been incorporated, the increased revenue the State would thereby derive would permit the shouldering of the indebtedness incurred mainly in preparing for this territorial expansion. Bulgaria's reputation of a good payer was due to the scrupulous exactitude with which both private and public debts were being met and the extreme sobriety and parsimoniousness of her people which had enabled them to build up a complete machinery of State not only by borrowing but also out of their hard-earned and slender incomes.

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

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The frugality and thriftiness of the Bulgarian people stood them im good stead for it was thanks to these qualities that they were able to assume practically unaided the financing of the Balkan wars. The 1912 and 1913 budgets closed with deficits of 140 and 181 millions, owing to the falling off of the revenue and the increased military expenditure and were met partly by the expedient of discounting treasury bills abroad namely 75 millions with the Banque de Paris and des Pays Bas, 30 millions with Austrian Banks and 27·7 millions with the Russo-Asiatic Bank, and partly by advances from the National State Bank which attained 142.9 millions by the end of 1913.

Naturally the unfortunate outcome of the Balkan wars found Bulgaria utterly exhausted and in urgent need of funds. An internal loan of 90 millions was inadequate to relieve the pressure on the treasury and as the budget of 1914 was pointing to a deficit of 68 millions, the government was constrained to seek foreign help at all costs. Owing to the pro-Austrian proclivities of the Radoslavov government, the French Banks demanded as a preliminary condition to their granting a loan, that Bulgaria should furnish assurances that she would no longer pursue an anti-Russian policy. Unfortunately these were not forthcoming. On the contrary the Bulgarian government opened negotiations with a group of German and Austrian banks, headed by the Diskonto Gesellschaft, in spite of the violent obstruction of the Opposition and raised a loan from this German banking group. Though the members of the Radoslavov Cabinet have always denied that any political clauses were attached to the loan, this may be considered as forming the preamble to Bulgaria's engagement to the Central Powers, for the Germans have on many occasions declared that the question of Bulgaria's allegiance had been definitely fixed on the conclusion of this loan. The loan was of a nominal amount of 500

million leva. The conditions attached to it were distinctly onerous for they included the cession of the Pernik coal mines belonging to the State, a concession for the construction of a railway line Rakovski—Porto Lagos and the building of its harbour, while specific revenues were affected to it as a guarantee, namely the surplus of the tobacco tax and revenue stamps over the share already affected to the 1902, 1904 and 1907 loans, the proceeds of the State monopoly of cigarette paper and the proceeds of the revenue from the customs. Owing to the outbreak of tne World war the German banks advanced only some 270 millions and though it had been stipulated that the Bulgarian Treasury bonds emitted during the Balkan wars would be reimbursed, only those held by the Austrian banks were paid while the German government placed an embargo on the 27·7 millions due to the Russo-Asiatic bank.

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How Bulgaria financed her participation in the World war.

The cost of Bulgaria's participation in the World war was borne practically unaided, for except for a part of the loan issued by the Diskonto Gesellschaft no other effective aid was received. A convention was signed in September 1915 between Germany and Bulgaria, providing for the granting to the latter of an advances of 50 million leva during each of the four months the war was expected to last, and stipulating for complementary advance should the war last longer. Germany continued to extend these credits only to the end of 1917, so that the total amount secured by Bulgaria on this head attained 1350 million leva. But in fact, not a single penny ever reached Bulgaria, for these monthly advances were deposited in a Berlin bank to the credit of the Bulgarian National Bank which was authorised to issue a corresponding amount

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of paper money which it placed at the disposal of the Bulgarian government. These deposits were to be utilised solely for this purpose, and also for the payment of goods purchased in Germany and with the consent ot the German authorities; but as during the war Germany had little to export, the amount of merchandise thus purchased did not exceed 350 million leva. The balance of about 1,000 millions which had served as cover to the increased fiduciary circulation of the Bulgarian National Bank owing to its being labelled in marks was totally lost to Bulgaria when the mark depreciated after the armictice. The National Bank of Bulgaria attempted to transfer part of this sum to Switzerland, but was precluded from doing so by the initial arrangements entered into by the two governments and subsequently by Article 145 of the Treaty of Neuilly which obliged Bulgaria to transfer to the Reparation Commission any claims she might have to payments or reparations by her late Allies. Besides these monthly credits, munitions and military equipment to the value of 1440 million leva were received from Germany and of 73,398,500 from Austria. Against these sums the Bulgarian government had a larger counterclaim amounting to 2,148,814,923 leva, several items of which represented more tangible value than the nominal monthly German advances, for they represented foodstuffs, raw materials and 240 millions in Bulgarian currency delivered to the German military authorities. It may be affirmed that the only financial service rendered by Germany was that of enabling the Bulgarian National Bank to increase its fiduciary circulation from 369,791,000 leva at the end of 1915 to 2,298,617,000 at the end of 1918, and this was obviously of a very questionable value for in the end owing to the total depreciation of the mark it was the Bulgarian people who had to shoulder the entire loss caused by this inflation. As M. Stefanov the Minister of Finance,

declared in the Sobranye on May 10, 1932: „Bulgaria was the sole country to conclude the war with so few debts, for she only received 270 millions from the Diskonto Gesellschaft, while she remained a creditor to the extent of 840 millions to Germany." This statement may be compared to the one M. Stefanov made on July 10, 1928, when he maintained that Bulgaria had lived during the world war on her own resources, but had been exploited and robbed by her allies, the latter owing her at the end of the war, 860 million leva.

The budgets for the four years 1915 to 1918, closed with a total deficit of 2,270 millions due in the main to increased military expenditure. This outlay was met by the expedient of increasing the fiduciary circulation and by advances to the State from the National Bank. At the end of 1918 the metallic cover of the bank still amounted to 64 millions in gold and to 19 millions in silver, but as the country's food supply had been utterly exhausted, flour to the value of 27·25 million gold leva in cash had to be purchased in 1919 from the United States and this drain on the gold reserve coupled with the fact that the balances abroad (mainly in Germany) on which the fiduciary circulation was secured had been rendered worthless through the depreciation of the mark, brought about a rapid fall in the value of the leva; and this was further accentuated as the terms of the Treaty of Neuilly became known. Thus the leva fell from 0.19 gold franc, at which level it was quoted at the end of 1919, to 0·07 at the end of 1920, and to 0.036 at the end of 1921.

Part of the military expenditure incurred during the world war was met out of the post-war budgets, so that it is difficult to assess it correctly, but roughly it may be said to be represented by the budgetary deficits of the years 1915-1921, amounting to 5,706 million leva, to which should be added the amounts of the two internal loans

175 raised in 1914 and 1921, of 83, and 157 million leva respectively, as well as that of the 270 millions advanced by the
457 Diskonto Gesellschaft, which would bring the total military
652 expenditure up to 6216 million leva, of varying value, however, since the leva had depreciated from the intrinsic equivalent of a gold franc in 1914 to as little as 0.036 gold franc in 1921. These 6216 millions were financed by the expedients of increasing the fiduciary circulation which from 226,615,000 leva at the end of 1914 rose to the record figure of 4,622,833,000 on Nov. 30, 1924, and by the advances of the National Bank which at the end of the financial year 1921-1922 amounted to 4,206 million leva.

This estimate is for military expenditure incurred by
175 the State during the World war, and it is permissible to
652 presume that even parts of the budgetary deficits of the
727 years 1921 to 1923 represented expenditure on this head. It takes no account of the losses inflicted on the community at large, or of the war pensions the State had to serve subsequently to the disabled and their dependents. The number of killed was according to a statement made by the Minister of War in the Sobranye on Nov. 22, 1927, 53,825 during the Balkan wars and 115,048 during the World war.

175 In 1929 there were 98,000 persons receiving pensions
152 as war invalids or as dependents of such, and the amount
729 of the annual charge this constituted to the budget was 372 million leva, or less than a paltry £6 a year per person at the then prevailing rate of exchange. This was all a grateful country could afford to pay to those of her sons who had been disabled in defending her. When such heroic sacrifices are so poorly requited, it is not surprising that its citizens' devotion towards it should perceptively cool and that they should turn for consolation to such subversive doctrines as Communism, which holds out the promise of greater justice and equity.

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According to the latest data, the number of war invalids receiving pensions on April 1, 1934, were 13,014 for a sum of 83,278,502 leva annually, and those of widows and dependents of soldiers killed during the wars 67,763, necessitating another annual outlay of 204,340,386 leva. In spite of the economic straits the Bulgarian exchequer is in, it has yet been found possible to make grants to 77 aged Russian veterans who had participated in the war of liberation of 1878, and who owing to the Bolshevik revolution have sought refuge in Bulgaria. The latter in spite of her difficulties is still harbouring some 19,000 émigrés and providing largely out of her slender means for their upkeep, a fact which inflicts a formal disavowal to the slanderous charges brought against Bulgaria as to her alleged ingratitude towards Russia.

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The Financial burdens of the Treaty of Neuilly.

The amount of the indemnity imposed on Bulgaria and euphemistically termed 'reparations' was fixed according to Article 121 of the Treaty of Neuilly at 2250 million gold francs and decreed payable within 37 years and to bear 5% interest. Article 132 of the said Treaty decreed that the costs of reparations would constitute a first charge on all the assets and revenues of Bulgaria. Article 133 bound Bulgaria to defray the total cost of the Allied armies in occupation of Bulgarian territory until the coming into force of the Treaty, this cost being finally assessed at 25 million gold francs. Article 137 constrained Bulgaria to assume a part of the Ottoman debt, a matter which has not yet been fixed. Another article, 177, provided for the indemnification of the material damage suffered by Allied subjects through Bulgaria's action in the war out of the property of Bulgarian subjects seized in Allied countries. The amount awarded as demages by Arbitral Courts

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457 balancing them with loans we simply transform political indebtedness into commercial or private indebtedness".

It is idle to contend that the Financial Committee of the Leangue of Nations was not aware of the state of affairs in Bulgaria and that it allowed itself to be hoodwinked by that quintessence of diplomatic finesse, the triumvirate Liaptchev—Mollov—Burov. It bears even a greater share of responsibility than these Bulgarian Ministers, for the lots investors in these loans have suffered, since it cannot even offer the same justification for its acts as the latter, who as several Bulgarian deputies affirmed, contracted the loans in order to stabilise, at least temporarily, their seats on the Ministerial bench. What greater condemmatiôn can there be of this insensate policy than that contained in the utterences in the Sobranye of M. Stefanov, the succeeding Minister of Finances, on June 17, 1932 and July 10, 1932:

"Bulgaria could have done without any loans these last years, in such a case she would have had to provide 600 million less annually, this being the amount she has to disburse now on account of the last two loans and for the revalorisation of the pre-war loans. This would have constituted a great relief, and would have allowed Bulgaria to live without worries... The burden of the reparations has not worsened our condition as we ourselves have worsened it by our financial and other transactions. It is true that the reparations constituted a heavy charge but this imposition can not serve to disculpate us for our errors".

457 652 In fact as soon as the proceeds of these two loans became available, the Liaptchev administration began indulging in an orgy of squandering in order to placate its adherents and to show that it could act with munificence worthy of a great government. If we turn once more to M. Stefanov's speeches we shall find him relating:

"In 1928 there were over two milliards of uncollected taxes which in the next two years had increased to 2800 millions, 75% of which could have been collected if the Government had so wished, but there was no effort to do so. No measures were taken to stop in

time the drain on the gold reserves of the National Bank and to-day we are obliged to cut down ruthlessly imports into Bulgaria for we only have foreign exchange enough to meet the requirements of 10%. to 30%. of our indispensable imports. There has been waste in every direction; in order to show the electorate that the Government had not forgotten it, the construction of railway lines and public works had been started in all directions and had to be suspended later for lack of funds. It will take 12 years to terminate these lines. There was no system, no policy whatever". 457 652

In another speech, on June 1, 1932, M. Stefanov informs us that the Liaptchev administration was equally prodigal in the matter of granting loans to towns and communes out of the State Exchequer, or with the State's guarantee; 2744 millions had thus been advanced of which only 400 millions had so far been reimbursed. Many communes were not paying even interest on these advances and the money might well be considered as good as lost.

Concerning the indefensible prodigality the Liaptchev administration displayed in its public works policy it is not necessary to turn to its successors in office in order to find it criticised. It was condemned even by its supporters at the time while it was still indulging in this phenomenal profligacy. Thus in the Parliamentary minutes (June 28, 1928) we read of M. D. Neikov, a government supporter who proceeded to lecture the Government in the following terms:

"The Government has no plan in railway construction and complete anarchy prevails. Eighteen lines are being constructed simultaneously. We start constructing and then suspend work. The earthworks of the Tserven Breg-Teteven line had been completed but the work stopped and the elements have washed them away. If the line is to be constructed the work will have to be done over again. It is the same with the Panagurishte-Plovdiv line. What are we to say however about the fact that, having already a railway between Sarambey and Tsepino, the Government starts constructing a parallel line Tatar-Pazardjic-Tsepino. Does this not prove that we are

457 actuated not by our country's interest but by those of our partisans or by our own private ones?"

•65r This speaker was succeeded by another Government deputy, M. G. T. Popov, who confirmed his colleagues' recriminations in the following rejoinder:

"Whoever passes by Tatar Pazardjic sees that money is spent uselessly. . . This railway line is a monument of waste and extravagance".

457 Similar criticisms might be quoted ad infinitum, they came both from official and unofficial circles and bondholders may well ask what was the delegate of the League of Nations doing? True, his functions were to see that the Bulgarian Government made arrangements to pay the annuities of the loans, but it was easy to foresee that the wastefulness of the Government was rapidly exhausting the resources of the country and that it would be impossible to provide for the payment of the coupons in a few years. But apparently there was a cordial entente between the custodian and those who had been confided to his custody. Obviously, if the Financial Committee had imposed on the Bulgarian Ministers the acceptance of the revalorisation of the Bulgarian pre-war loans entailing a supplementary charge of 8500 million leva (see M. Yanulov's speech in the Sobranye (Feb. 12, 1929) to the Bulgarian Exchequer, such generosity had to be requited by the Financial Committee blinking at the intensive "affairisme" of their clandestine associates. This occult fraternisation lasted sometime, for the Bulgarian Ministers equally agreed to raise no opposition about the resurrection of the Diskonto Gesellschaft's untenable claims solemnly abrogated by Articles 235 and 260 of the Treaty of Versailles, and Article 139 of the Treaty of Neuilly. This shady transaction resulted in Bulgaria being saddled with a further total charge of 20,825,000 gold francs, repayable in annual instalments until 1944. In this case no French

457 would-be investors in that prospective Bulgarian Co-operatives' Loan which the League of Nations was preparing to patronise; for those would-be investors might now have been in the same fix as the bondholders of the two other loans floated under the alluring and alas! delusive aegis of the League of Nations.

457 65 The Refugee Loan floated in 1926 was labelled in pounds sterling and dollars and was in its great bulk subscribed by American and British investors. It was repayable in 40 years, the price of issue was 92 and the yield 7%. The nominal amount was £3,300,000 and $4,500,000 but the net proceeds available to Bulgaria were £2,112,000 and £3,915,000 for some £625,889 were employed for the reinbursement of the Bulgarian Exchequer bonds issued in 1912-1913 to the French Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas. The money borrowed had been in French francs and the bank was repaid in the current rate of the franc and not in gold and though this arrangement seemed quite fair, yet there were Bulgarian deputies who considered that the Bank had been unduly favoured. (See Prof. P. Stoyanov's speech in the Sobranye Sept. 24, 1926). But when, one comes to consider the case of the revalorisation of the pre-war loans, it is apparent that it was a case of swallowing the camel and straining at its tail. Specific revenues were assigned to its service such as the excise on salt and alcohol and the proceeds of the match monopoly. Further, the Reparation Commission agreed to suspend the payment of reparations if such transfers were likely to affect the stability of the Bulgarian currency. A further security was provided by the fact that the State had undertaken to place at the disposal of the refugees 132,000 hectares of land, and the refugees were to refund both the value of the land and of the houses to be built out of the funds provided by the loan. The money to be

derived from this source was to be earmarked for the repayment of the loan. For this purpose the farms of the refugees had been mortgaged to the Bulgarian Agricultural Bank, which was to supervise the refunding of these sums by the refugees. To all intents and purposes there was full security, the special revenues assigned to the service of the loan providing three times the amount needed for its service though recently the yield of these taxes has slightly decreased. Repayments by the refugees have dwindled, for owing to the fall in the price of agricultural produce they are not in a position to continue the reimbursements of their mortgages. A large number of them had been expelled from Greece, but by the Kalfov-Politis and the Mollov-Cafandaris protocols, which received the sanction of the League of Nations, Greece had undertaken to indemnify them for their possessions which they had left behind. Bulgaria had likewise bound herself to indemnify such Greeks as emigrated from Bulgaria. As the number of Bulgarians who were forced to leave Greece was far in excess of the Greeks leaving Bulgaria, there was an outstanding balance due by Greece to Bulgaria of 1,030 million leva, which sum had it been transferred to the Bulgarian refugees (See M. Smilov's speech in the Sobranye May 5, 1932) would have served for the paying off by them of their mortgages to the Bulgarian Agricultural Bank, and the money would have been used for the gradual repayment of the loan. Nothing, however has been done to compel Greece to carry out her obligations on this head. The Kalfov-Politis agreement admits that the obligation is of a private character, and that the balance arising from the exchanged properties should be handed to the refugees. This stipulation however is not reiterated in the Mollov—Cafandaris agreement which superseded it and Greece now takes advantage of the moratorium on inter-government liabilities to put off the settlement of this debt claiming that

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it is not a private matter but a governmental one. Prof. G. N. Ghenov speaking in the Sobranye on March 16, 1932 on this matter stated:

"The Hague Court to which the matter had been referred found that it was not within its province, but the case of the Hungarian optans proves the rectitude of Bulgaria's point of view, namely that it was a case of private debts which should be respected. Bulgaria had concluded a loan to enable these people to settle, if she receives money from Greece she will reimburse the loan, if she is not paid why should she be bound to pay in her turn"?

A perfectly judicious remark, though hardly reassuring to the bondholders who had better see that justice be done to Bulgaria if they wish the latter to do justice to them.

According to official data, a total of 1,619,064,310 leva provided by the State had been expended on the winding up of the department entrusted with the settlement of refugees, on the housing and assisting the refugees, draining marshes, constructing roads, and the railway line Rakovski—Mastanli etc., according to the summary appended below:

	Leva
Preparatory work on lands	77,879,200
Seeds etc.	75,167,806
Cattle	182,097,700
Agricultural implements & carts	81,026,153
Construction of houses	657,692,692
Draining of marshes	122.584,359
Railroad line Rakovski-Mastanli	324,872,617
Roads	13,971,109
Hygiene, Anti-malaria campaign etc.	18,220,905
Water adduction and improvements	36,330,852
Accountancy & general expenses	53,589,570
Total. . .	1,643,432,963

According to a statement by M. Gr. Vassilev in the Sobranye (Feb. 3, 1932) 30,099 families had been financially assisted and settled in rural districts and 7,896 in urban localities. The majority had come from Greece;

7,896 from Western Thrace and 11,705 from Greek Macedonia, 1,240 from Serbian Macedonia, 1856 from the west confines of Bulgaria which had been ceded to Serbia, 3,748 from the Dobrudja, and 15,802 from Turkey. There were a few thousand families which had not been in need of State help. 457 652

The balance of the loan over and above the 1,643,433,963 leva was not used for productive purposes; it served to pay reparations and debts, a matter which was strongly criticised in the Sobranye and which has been referred to.

The Stabilisation Loan floated in 1928 was labelled in pounds sterling, dollars, and French francs and was issued for the nominal amounts of £ 1,800,000. $ 13,000,000 and Frs. 130,000,000, the net proceeds being £ 1,616,713-13-0, $ 11,910,750 and Frs. 116,350,000, or a total of 3,370,065,553 leva. The price of issue was 96 in England, 97 in the United States and 98·20 in France, and the yield 7·5%.

The revenue from customs affected to the service of the loan was far in excess of the amount required, and although there has been a marked falling off in custom dues, yet the amount raised annually is still sufficient (774 millions in 1932-3 & 514 millions in 1933-4) to provide twice over the requisite sum. The proceeds of the loan were utilised as follows: £ 1,500,000 paid to the National Bank in partial reimbursement of its advances to the State, £ 500,000 and £ 150,000 each to the Agricultural and Co-operative Bank, so that their scope of action might be extended, £ 1,100,000 were used to wipe off budget deficits, £ 1,250,000 employed for the overhauling of railways, roads and ports, and £ 500,000 for repairing the damage caused by the earthquake in the Plovdiv region. Simultaneously the sphere of action of the National Bank was rigorously limited and defined so as to shield it from all interference from the State.

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Thus the amount of exchequer bonds it was allowed to discount was limited to 400 million leva and a foreign counsellor was appointed to supervise its accounts and report to the League of Nations on its activities.

Bulgaria, like other countries, has been severely hit by the fall in the price of agricultural produce which has happened since 1929. There has been a marked drop in the State revenues with the result that the budget has continually been closed with deficits, but owing to the draconian measures adopted since 1929 with the object of curtailing imports and thus restricting the outflow of gold from the country, the government has succeeded since 1930 in transforming an almost perpetually passive commercial balance into an active one (except for the year 1932 which showed an excess of imports over exports of 88 millions). Unfortunately, owing to the existing system of clearings and quotas, the realised surplus from excesses of exports over imports to and from one country is not always available for the discharge of a debt towards another country. The principal creditor countries, Great Britain, France, and the United States continue to export to Bulgaria far in excess of what they import from her. Especially this is so in the case of England, for until quite recently Bulgaria used to buy from her six to seven times as much as what she sold. It is obvious therefore that Bulgaria was not in a position to transfer sufficient sums with which to pay her excess of imports over exports, and at the same time to effect the service of her debt towards these States. It devolves on these countries to furnish greater trading facilities to Bulgaria, in order that she may be in a better position to discharge her obligations. This is especially incumbent in the case of Great Britain, which is in the course of losing one of her most valuable clients in the Near East, her exports to Bulgaria having gradually dwindled from 738.9 in 1929

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to 152.2 in 1933 and 143 million leva in 1934 while her imports were reduced from 100.08 to 49.8 million leva between 1929 and 1933 (53 millions in 1934). 457 65

The surplus from the commercial balance is the only source from which external debts may be paid, since the gold resserves of the National Bank can not be further drawn upon without compromising the stability of the currency, and Bulgaria has no foreign investments providing other invisible resources. Owing to the continuous shrinkage of the exports and the consequent reduction of this surplus (160.1 million in 1930, 1,274 millions in 1931, a deficit of 88 millions in 1932, a surplus of 644 millions in 1933 and of 288 in 1934) the Bulgarian Government has found it impossible to meet its liabilities, notwithstanding the fact that owing to the moratorium on inter-governmental debts, it has been relieved of the obligation of providing annually some 10 million gold francs under the head of reparations. Thus in 1932 it was obliged to demand a partial suspension of its payments abroad, and this was conceded in the form of a reduction on the interest of its exterior debt to the extent of 40%. But this concession proved insufficient, and by an agreement signed in May 1934 the percentage of the interest payable was further reduced to 32.5% of the original sum for a period of two years, expiring on April 1st, 1936. By the end of 1934, however owing to the shrinkage of the excess of exports over imports, the Bulgarian Government declared itself unable to carry it out, and demanded that the rate of interest payable on its exterior debts should be reduced proportionately to its available resources. Its request is justifiable; since the creditor countries refuse to buy Bulgarian produce wherewith to provide their debtor with the means with which it can discharge its obligations, Bulgaria's creditors must bow to the inevitable. American and British bond-

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holders of the two last loans, however, are entitled to insist on a better repartition of the available surplus, for in this matter they have been wronged. Owing to the depreciation of their national currencies they were being paid 40 % less by the Bulgarian Government than what the latter was paying to the French subscribers of the Stabilisation loan.

In fact while the latter received 32 ½ % of the original amount of interest due, American and British bondholders were only receiving 19 %. But what seems a far greater injustice is that while American and British bondholders have forfeited 40% of what is due to them, owing to the depreciation of their national currencies, holders of the Bulgarian pre-war loans, labelled in francs, in spite of the fact that the currency in which their bonds are labelled has depreciated to the extent of 80%. should be receiving preferential treatment in the form of a gradually appreciating payment which will shortly attain gold parity. If American and British bondholders were being paid in full in their national currency, there would be no cause for complaining, but when Bulgaria who has taken full advantage of the depreciation of the pound sterling and of the dollar, and proceeds to reimburse her French creditors not in their national currency but in gold, and using for this purpose a portion of the available sum which is the common property of *all* her creditors, it is high time that a halt should be called. Naturally French bondholders who are always strongly backed by their government, will exert the utmost pressure on the Bulgarian Government in order to maintain their present position of vantage and it is useless to appeal to the Financial Committee of the League of Nations which has itself sanctioned this favouritism. The latter really represents the interests of International Finance and these birds of prey have shared the booty plucked from hapless Bulgaria, by ceding the spoils derived from

the revalorisation of her pre-war loans to the French group while reserving the proceeds of the opportunely resurrected claims of the Diskonto Gesellschaft to the Anglo-American or British groups. These are matters which even peasant deputies are conversant with in Bulgaria,[1] and which are powerfully working to poison public opinion against the West which alas! has distinguished itself rather by its rapacity than by anything else, and contributel to turn the country Bolshevik.[2]

The only hope for American and British bona-fide investors in these loans to better their position, is to organise themselves into a committee and take up the defence of their own interests. If they insisted on a more equitable distribution of the available surplus, not only they would get as much as they were receiving under the agreement of May, 1934, but they have a chance of bettering their position. The amount needed for the annual service of Bulgaria's foreign debt by this convention is some 236 million leva, while the available surplus of exports over imports for the year 1934 is 288 millions. It would seem therefore that the paltry 19% (instead of 32½%) of the interest originally due to them and which was served out to them by the above mentioned convention could be substantially increased. It lies also with the

[1] While the Stabilisation loan was discussed in the Sobranye, M. H. Baev, a peasant deputy, got up and in a vigourous invective denounced the Government for endeavouring to bamboozle the opposition by assurances that no promises had been given to consider the defunct claims of the Diskonto. "These" he said," had been bought for a mere song by English bankers and Bulgaria would be made to pay for them through the nose."

[2] One may well sympathise with Prof. F. Soddy when he proceeds to denounce the doings of international bankers and financiers and exhorts us to do away with "a hierarchy of impostors and humbugs whom it is the first task of a sane civilisation to expose and clear out". ("The role of money" p. 214).

000 quate reason. It would certainly be unfair and injudicious on their part to insist on exacting their full pound of flesh, such a strangulation of Bulgaria in the interests of a creditor minority would not be tolerated. But a demand 457 on the part of Bulgaria for an alleviation in the charge of 435 the actual debt is justifiable in view of the fact that the fall in world prices has increased the burden of the world's debts very considerably, and has therefore correspondingly improved the position of all creditors.

The extent to which this burden has increased, owing to the fall in agricultural produce in respect of these two League of Nations' Loans may be gauged by a very instructive article published a few years ago by the Association of Bulgarian Economists, which shows the respective values of the loans in tons of wheat at the time of their conclusion, and in 1930. It was thus explained that the total proceeds of the two loans at the time of their subscription was equivalent in value to 957,066 tons of wheat, while by 1930 owing to the fall in the price of commodities, Bulgaria would have had to provide 2,638,317 tons of wheat to raise the same amount of money wherewith to repay her debt. This shows to what extent Bulgaria's paying capacity has been impaired, but even if we adjusted it on this basis we should find that she should pay 35% of the original interest instead of the paltry 19% which she taking advantage of the depreciation of the American and British currencies has been serving out until quite recently to the American and British bondholders.[1] This

457 [1] By an arrangement arrived at in April 1935, the Bulgarian 65 government will continue paying 32½% of the interest due on these loans until Sept. 30, 1935. but of this amount only 15% will be transferred abroad for distribution, while the balance of 17½% will be placed to the credit of a blocked account. Discussions as to subsequent payments are to be resumed in October 1935. The dividend distributed during July 1935 on the Refugee Loan amounted to £5—5—0 per

is hardly fair and if this be brought to the knowledge of the Bulgarian public, it will itself protest against the discrimination which is being exhibited towards a section of its creditors. But unfortunately both the Bulgarian Government and public are helpless, they are bound by the shackles of the Treaty of Neuilly, they are not masters in their house. they are precluded from redressing the wrongs they suffer from, and which are inflicted on others in their name. It is rather on the American and British bondholders that this duty devolves, and when the latter decide to demand a more equitable treatment, let them realise that it entails also a larger share of justice to Bulgaria. For if the revalorisation of the pre-war debts

£1000 of nominal capital, but if the depreciation of the dollar and pound be taken into consideration, this was tantamount to a rate of 0·7% per annum. It will be of interest to bondholders to know that payment at the rate of 15% of the sums due on its foreign debt involves a total charge to the Bulgarian exchequer of 105,667,655 leva apportioned as follows among its foreign committments:

On the pre-war loans	40,735,216
" " two L. of N. loans	42,346,464
" " upkeep of the delegates of the pre-war loans & of the commissary of the L. of N.	4,674,236
" " 6½% 1923 loan	3,063,128
" " sum due to the Diskonto Gesellshaft	3,616,440
" " 7% 1923 loan (utilised for settlement of the des Clusières affair	640,594
On the amount due to the Jonction Salonique-Constantinople railway (paid integrally 100%)	10,561,387

Bondholders should note that if interest on the pre-war loans were paid in paper francs, the amount to be disbursed would be about a third of the 40.735,216 earmarked for this purpose. It would be well if explanations were asked as to why the Bulgarian gorernment is burdened with the upkeep of a special delegate of the holders of these loans, for the commissary of the L. of N. could attend to this job and a saving of over two million ,leva would thereby be effected. An explanation is likewise due as to why the railway Jonction-Salonique is receiving preferential treatment.

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The budget, National Revenue, Balance of Payments & Public Debt

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Budgetary deficits have become a perrenial manifestation in spite of the drastic efforts to curtail expences. These deficits for the last five years have amounted to 1,366 millions for 1931/2, 752 millions for 1932/3, 233 millions for 1933/4, 332 millions for that of the year 1934. (Coinciding with the calender year and covering revenue & expenditure for 9 months.)

The budget for 1935 has been fixed at 5,695,120,000 leva, an apparent increase of 183 millions on that of 1934, but in fact it shows a noteworthy compression since it covers a full year instead of nine months. It provides for the first time for a credit of 200 millions for the "Caisse d'amortissement" which is to carry through the partial cancellation of agrarian debts etc, and a sum of 80 millions on behalf of the compensation deal concluded in 1934 with Germany and Austria, by which 908 millions worth of materials were provided by these States in exchange for 5500 million kg. of tobacco and of certain sums of money to be paid in instalments. The Exchequer has also had to make provision for the payment of 16 million leva to Greece in settlement of the dispute about the Rhodope forests, to allot an extra 20 millions for education owing to the natural increase in the number of children, and also to assign a sum of four million leva to the Agricultural Bank an behalf of certain co-operative societies which were unable to meet their obligations which the State had guaranteed.

There is no increase in taxation, as it is recognised that the maximum of imposition has been reached; on the contrary the tax on sheep and goats has been reduced from 60 to 40 millions and that on buildings, from 25 to

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External debt		Original amount
a) consolidated		
Pre-war loans of 1892, 1902, 1904, 1907, 1909 in gold francs		575,942,500
4 ½ % loan of 1909	French	82,000,000
Occupation debt of Eastern Rumelia . . .	roubles. . . .	10,618,250
6 ½ % loan of 1923, for payment of Entente Subjects (Enaux) in Fr. francs		58,815,000
Advances by National Bank for payment of indemnity in Fr. frcs		2,659,200
on Des Clusières affair	in pounds sterling	109,200
7% Refugee loan 1926.	" " "	2,400,000
	" dollars.	4,500,000
7 ½ Stabilisation loan 1928	" pounds sterling	1,800,000
	" dollars.	13,000,000
	" Fr. francs . . .	130,000,000
Reparations, according to Hague covention of Jan 20 1930 in gold francs		171.637,915
b) non-consolidated		
Debt owing to the Jonction-Salonique Railway Co. Fr. francs		27,500,000
" " to Diskonto Gesellshaft, according to agreement of May 4, 1929 dollars		4,018,253
" " to Rumania. according to Hague convention of Jan 20. 1930	lei	110,000,000
" " to Italy, for the repatriation of Bulg. prisoners of War.	It. lire	471,473

Internal debt		
a) consolidated		
6% State loan of 1914	leva	85,552,000
6 ½% " " " 1921	"	204,889,100
6% " " " 1923, according to Greco-Bulgarian convention for exchange of refugees .	"	2,804,910,000
6% Treasury bonds 1933	"	59,896,336
6% Promissory notes 1934	"	230,000,000
	Total internal consolidated debt	3,385,257,436
b) non-consolidated		
Debt to National Bank		
" " " " against-Treasury bonds		
" " Agricultural & Co-op. Bank " "		
" " Mortgage Bank " "		
" " various funds & various Treasury bonds		
	Total internal non-consolidated debt	
	" " consolidated & " "	

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	Nominal outstanding balance	Equivalent in leva
	396,180,500	9,796,025,711
	78,783,945	432,523,858
	3,618,250	—
	30,487,000	277,173,630
	2,170,500	11,916,045
	89,120	37,385,840
	2,230,200	935,568,900
	4,115,000	345,660,000
	1,779,100	746,332,650
	12,848,500	1,079,274,000
	128,485,000	705,382,650
	170,805,565	4,601,501,921
Total external consolidated debt		18,968,745,000
	8,193,750	44,967,687
	2,436,036	204,627,024
	55,000,000	46,090,000
	471,473	12,701,483
		308,402,194
Total external consolidated & non-consolidated debt		19,277,147,199
	47,041,800	
	182,826,800	
	2,256,905,500	
	59,896,336	
	210,850,000	
	2,757,522,936	
. . . . . leva	2,727,819,485	
. . . . . "	345,000,000	
. . . . . "	525,000,000	
. . . . . "	15,000,000	
. . . . . "	794,307,455	
. . . . .	4,407,216,940	
. . . . .	7,164,739,876	7,164,739,876
Total external and internal debt		26,441,887,075

Expenditure

Supreme Administration . . .	46,497,000
Central & Regional Audit Courts	21,433,000
Ministry of Foreign Affairs . .	158,241,000
» » Interior.	393,422,000
» » Education.	785,400,000
» » Finance.	2,210,640,000
» » Justice	167,725,000
» » War [1]	1,010,000,500
» » Public Economy. .	365,003,500
» » Communications .	536,758,000
	5,695,120,000

Revenue

Direct Taxation.	432,000,000
Indirect » Customs	945,500,000
» » Excise	1,375,000,000
» » Taxes	198,000,000
» » Revenue stamps . .	370,000,000
» » Fines	92,000,000
Contribution of the Railway administration as amortisation of its debt to the State	163,982,420
Post Office, Telegraphs & Telephones	280,000,000
Revenue from State Properties . . .	331,250,000
Communes' contribution to teachers' salaries	320,000,000
Various items of revenue	251,481,580
Revenue from various funds.	185,000,000
Arrears of taxes	320,000,000
Non-transferred sums from service of external debt	430,806,000
	5,695,120,000

[1] Expenditure on the army is comparatively high because Bulgaria according to the stipulations of the treaty of Neuilly is debarred from utilising a conscript army and is obliged to employ mercenaries.

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6 millions. Receipts provide for about 320 millions of very uncertain revenue and doubts may be entertained as to the budget being balanced. Among these is an item of 83 millions of revenue anticipated from the exchange of refugees between Greece and Bulgaria which is of a very problematical nature.

The various items of expenditure and revenue for the 1935 budget will be found on page 122.

The attempt of the State to buy cereals at enhanced prices in order to assist the peasantry has constituted a heavy drain on its resources for the last few years. The bulk of the grain thus obtained was disposed of abroad at the parity prevailing on the international markets, which naturally caused a serious loss, while only a part was sold locally for consumption. As the quantities bought ranged round about 250 million kg. a year and the difference between the local price and that obtained abroad was about 2 leva per kg., the loss on the cereals exported was serious and accounts to some extent for the deficits in the budget. Deputy P. Denev stated in the Sobranye on Nov. 18, 1933 that the losses amounted to 346,341,228 leva during 1930, to 558,507,600 for 1931, and to 36,722,000 for 1932. The quantities of grain bough up by the State in 1933 and 1934 were respectively 266,800 and 111,693 tons. [1]

The State budget does not comprise the total amount of expenditure for the social services. There is the budget of the autonomous administration of the State railways which for the year 1935 amounted to 1,454,031,412 leva and those of municipalities, and communes which provide for another two milliard leva of expediture, bringing up the total of expense for the public services to about 9 milliards.

The national revenue before the Balkan wars was

[1] It is computed that during the last four years the State disbursed 2500 millions in the form of such subsidies to the peasants.

65 assessed at 1,647 million gold leva, or 44,469 million paper leva. In 1929 this was computed at 46.000 millions and in 1932 at 26,300 millions according to Dr P. Kiranov former head of the Statistical Bureau, and was made up of the following items:

	1929	1932
Agriculture	21,402,700,000	9,872,200,000
Forests	320,000,000	195,000,000
Cattle raising etc	2,196,000,000	1,502,000,000
Mines & quarries	359,400,000	298,800,000
Industry (fostered by State privileges)	2,199,349,000	2,413,086,000
" not eujoying privileges	1,099,600,000	1,206,500,000
Public Buildings	550,000,000	350,000,000
Home Industries	5,490,000,000	3,666,000,000
Transport & Communications	1,107,000,000	1,027,000,000
Commerce	11,600,000,000	4,800,000,000

The national revenue has continued to contract, particularly that derived from industry. In a speech delivered in the Sobranye by Prof. G. P. Ghenov in the middle of March 1934, the latter estimated that it had sunk below the 20,000 million figure, so that actually the social services absorb about 50% of the national revenue, which is an altogether disproportionately heavy burden for a community to bear, especially in view of the fact that the per capita revenue does not even reach 3,300 leva, and after deduction of the expenditure on social services only 1650 leva would be left over for sustenance to each individual. It is obvious that this sum, equivalent to 61 gold francs, is far below the minimum required for this purpose, since this minimum has been estimated at 260 gold francs for industrial and at 144 for agricultural countries. The disastrous consequence of this dire state of poverty are making themselves manifest. Bulgaria in fact heads the list among nations as to the percentage of tuberculous among her population, mainly due to malnutrion.

The country's balance of payments continues to close adversely as may be seen by the data given below, which

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were compiled by Dr A. Tsakalov, former director of the National Bank, and which were published in the Journal of the Society of Bulgarian Economists on April 1934. The figures are in million leva: 652

	Revenue		Expenditure		Plus		Minus	
	1931	1932	1931	1932	1931	1932	1931	1932
Foreign Trade	5,229	3,096	4,549	2666	680	430		
Services	376	286	230	201	146	85		
Participations	38				38			
Revenue of foreign capital	15	10	310	93			295	83
Other private payments	132	145	246	192			114	47
Public payments	591	156	1,233	604			642	448
Short term loans			450	200			450	200
Increase or decrease of long term credits	114				114			
Decrease of liabilities of private enterprises abroad without merchandise credit			50				50	
Equalisation items								
Decrease of foreign currency held by National Bank	573	178			573	178		
Foreign currency secured by National Bank locally		85				85		
	7,068	3,956	7,068	3,956	1551	778	1551	778

Dr Tsakalov adds the following explanatory notes: Though the commercial balance for 1931 and 1932 showed respectively a surplus of 1,274 millions and a deficit of 88, if only those imports and exports which were paid be accounted for, each year will show a surplus, namely 699 and 430 millions. Most of the imports were not paid for, but were received on credit, thus out of 4,600 millions imported in 1931, only 4,549 were paid, and in 1932 out of 3,471 millions, only 2,666.

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In another paper published by the same journal on Feb. 1932, the same writer shows that for the period 1924—30, Bulgaria had an annual deficit in her balance of payments of 1 to 1.5 milliard leva, which was partially met out the loans floated after the war.

In spite of favourable trade balances during the past two years the drain on the resources of the National Bank continues, owing to the fact that the balances derived from clearings are not available for use by the Bank. The following table gives details as to the entries and exports of currency during recent years:

Entries (in million leva)				Exports (in milion leva)		
1932	1933	1934		1932	1933	1934
2,576	1,108	744	Free currencies and banknotes	2751	1,227	905
648	1,439	1513	Clearings	607	1,301	1,372
320	231	602	Compensation dealings	320	231	602
3,544	2,778	2.859		2,678	2,759	1,879 [1]

On pages 120/1 will be found a table giving particulars of the Public Debt on Dec. 31 1934, totalling 26,441,887,075, of which 19,277,147,199 represent the external debt payable in foreign currency. The *per capita* indebtedness on the basis of a population of 6 millions is therefore 4407 leva, an apparently light burden when compared with the public indebtedness of other countries, but unduly oppressive if the resources and the national income of Bulgaria be considered.

[1] [Errata: Should-be 2879 — Analyst.]

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453 The figure of 16,016 million leva of deposits, is likely to give an erroneous estimate as to the financial strength of the country. Properly speaking, deposits, or savings, do not reach even half this figure, and according to the latest data they were reckoned to have been apportioned at the end of 1933 among the following banks. Agricultural Bank, 1,496, P. O. Savings Banks 1,171, all Co-operative Societies, 3,020, Private Banks 806, Foreign Banks in Bulgaria 450 millions, or a total of 6,943,000,000 leva. The tendency has been during the last few years to transfer savings from the private banks to the State banks and P. O. Savings banks, as presenting greater safety for the depositors. The uncertainty of the situation was increased owing to the pending voting of a Law aiming at alleviating indebtedness, the need of which law became imperative owing to the drop in the prices of agricultural produce, as a consequence of which farmers were no longer able to meet their obligations and credit had come to a standstill. It was rumoured that even savings at banks might be affected and owing to this apparent insecurity of capital, building operations have been indulged in out of all proportion to the present requirements of the country and a great amount of capital has been needlessly locked up. During 1933 some 9,161 buildings have been erected, of a total value of 1,313 million leva, about double the number and value of those constructed in 1931. (The value of the amount spent in Sofia on this head reached 800 million leva in 1933).

Already the disastrous effects are apparent, prices of buildings have depreciated by 30%, while the number of unlet flats and dwelling houses in Sofia is estimated at between 2900 and 3000.

•652 453 The National Bank of Bulgaria is the sole central issuing bank, the main activities of which are centred round the aim of maintaining the stability of the national

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[652]

currency. It controls the sale of exchange and fixes the quotas of imports.

The Agricultural Bank and the Co-operative Bank which have now been fused into one, exert a preponderating influence in the economic life of the country and have contributed immensely in assisting farming operations and the development of rural credit. The guiding principles of these institutions was to come to the relief of the local population and not the pursuit of profit, with the result that very often less circumspection than the situation warranted was shown in the granting of credits. In the balance sheet of the Agricultural Bank published at the end of 1933 figured a sum of 924,631,000 leva advanced to the State for financing the Cereal Board and to municipalities for the construction of schools.

A sum of 2,553,606,000 leva was owing by farmers, 80% of which liabilities were overdue. A sum of 1,831 millions advanced to co-operative societies either cannot be considered as capable of quick realisation.[1] The bank, owing to the difficult position in which the peasantry find themselves, will be obliged to extend further facilities to its clients in order to enable them to rationalise their farms and initiate other methods of cultivation, for if this is not done, they will not be in a position to reimburse their debts to the bank. The position of the bank unfortunately does not permit it to undertake such a course and the only hope is that the State will eventually facilitate it to inaugurate such a forward policy.

The Popular Banks, to the number of 247 at the end of 1933, with a total capital and funds amounting to 930 million leva (The corresponding figure for June 1935 was 972 millions). are exerting a growing influence. They are

[1] At the end of 1934 Public Institutions and individual farmers were owing to the Bank 3,188,566,436 leva and the co-operative societies 1,894,064,482 leva.

of 34.4 at the beginning of 1934, while those of locally manufactured articles had only been reduced to 88.1, and those of imported industrial goods to 81.8, mainly on account of the high protective duties which remained constant owing to the specific tariff in force. 651 435

As the above figures are based on wholesale prices, it may be assumed that the peasants had to pay 10% to 15% more for their purchases from retail stores, and that they had to give 2 1/2 times as much of their produce as they were accustomed in order to obtain in exchange the manufactured articles they had been used to buy.

The discrepancy between agricultural and manufactured goods has to some extent been reduced since the abrogation of the parliamentary regime, for the military seem to have had a clearer conception of their duties as rulers. This they achieved by drastically curtailing the privileges enjoyed by local manufacturers on the one hand, and by the State intervening as buyer of several agricultural articles, such as wheat, rye, cotton, rice, tobacco etc, and fixing enhanced prices for them. The government attaching less value to the cheapness at which the consuming public might obtain its food than to the maintenance of a level of prices at which the peasants are able to live. This seems to forebode a return to sanity, for level-headed men like Prof. G. P. Ghenov, often laid stress on the necessity of Bulgaria reducing her tariffs if she were not to see foreign markets closed to her produce, and that it was indispensable to buy if she sought to sell. His speech of May 16 1932 in the Sobranye in which he exposed the inanity of subsidising an industrial system which cost one milliard leva annually to the State, was very favourably commented on at the time. 652 435

What seems difficult to explain is how the wiseacres of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations should, on the floating of the Stabilisation loan of 1928 454 651

466 653 mines and telegraph poles being prepared, as well as lumber for building purposes. The balance of the available labour was employed in agricultural work, excavations, construction of aerodromes and dams, reparation of thermal bathing establishments, drainage, afforestation, water adduction etc.

The most impressive work undertaken by the labour contingent was the erection of two large dams along the banks of the Danube namely between the mouths of the rivers Isker and Vit, and near the mouth of the river Yantra. The former one 28·3 klm. in length, has secured an area of some 17.000 hectares from the annual floods of the Danube, and the latter which is a massive dam 17 klm. in length, 24 m. wide at its base, and 5 to 7 m. in height, bearing an excellent road on top has served to reclaim 1,100 h. of marsh land and protect another 1,250 h. from floods. The total cost of this last dam at the mouth of the Yantra to the State was 32 million leva.

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that the budget of this department might not be deficitary; the wages per day paid by the various ministries have varied between 30 and 60 leva and are substantially under the average wage of manual workers hired in the open market. It is reckoned that the upkeep of a labour conscrips costs 15 leva per day to the State, and that the value of his work is on an average about 30 leva. If it were not for the subsidy furnished by the various ministries, the scheme would not even be self-supporting, and as no remuneration whatever is given to the labour conscripts whose labour would certainly be worth semething in the open market it would not appear that this plan of employing labour is on a whole economical to the community, though it may be so to the State or the municipalities. As it should be expected, every man cannot be utilised in his profession and as a consequence the output of his work on the particular job he has been affected to is not a record one; as M. I. Detchev, a radical deputy, stated in the Sobranye on Dec. 34, 1926, the work of 14 labour conscripts equals that of one skilled workman.

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The data on page 168 do not refer to the temporary service which is carried out by the communes or municipalites independently. The latter have the right to call up every year for twenty one days all men up to the age of 40, and exceptionally up to 50, who are domiciled within their precincts for the purpose of carrying out any public work which has been decided upon. It is estimated that some 800,000 men are liable to this temporary service and if their daily wage be reckoned at 40 leva per man and per day, this would represents a possible saving of 672 million leva a year on the wage bills of the municipalities employing labour and would permit them to undertake public works which otherwise would never have been contemplated owing to the precarious state of their finances.

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Years	Receipts from exemptions	Receipts from subsidies paid by Ministries	Receipts from goods sold	Various Receipts	Nett Loss	Gross disbursements
1920—21	16,465				7,475,850	7,492,315
1921—22	2,941,071		1,580,664	37,838	48,709,284 *	53,268,855
1922—23	49,908,210		29,278,321	507,642	98,084,065 *	177,778,237
1923—24	85,463,762		63,757,598	803,678	24,783,318	174,808,356
1924—25	26,202,847	67.223,163	50,340,817	12,785,405		147,384,287
1925—26	36,882,768	80,802,373	66,108,120	10,692,529		182,944,747
1926—27	37,119,522	72,744,526	51,208,024	1,220,288		146,548,629
1927—28	45.542,866	143,751,752	41,389,855	2,524,909		154.388,922
1928—29	77,845,990	173,601,206	50,594,311	8,324.177		164,482,237
1929—30	101 649,332	195,795,776	65,853,521	7,048,642		188,061,303
1930—31	46,169,921	211,843,934	48,699,040	10,169,179		198,413,223
1931—32	35,478,757	184,630,035	46,481,683	9,942,087		173,334,375

* According to a statement by Minister Vassilev in the Sobranye on June 19, 1928 the Direction computes that the loss is smaller, but accounts for the difference by entering a certain sum as extra profits „not figuring in the budget" or, in other words, a subsidy of some sort

759 694

499 which has shown more consideraton to Bulgarian requirements and has agreed to join up its railways at two
648 other points besides Tsaribrod, namely at Vidin and at Giushevo, the present terminus of the Sofia-Kustendil line which will be prolonged to Kumanovo. When the construction of this line will be achieved, the present railway journey Sofia — Salonica will be shortened by a third of its present duration by the avoidance of the long way round through Nisch.

Roads

491 The total length of semi-permanent or macadamised roads in Bulgaria in 1934, was of 17071 klm. and there
652 were another 7,125 klm. in construction. Of the existing milage, 8,397 klm. were reported to be in good condition, 4,991 klm. in medium condition, and 4,103 as in a bad condition. The new Government planned to construct another 4000 klm. of roads and contemplates spending a sum of two milliard leva on this project, completing every year some 400 klm. of new roads. It has created new taxes in order to provide the necessary funds, among which is a special road tax of 140 leva a year to be levied on all males between the ages of 20 and 55. Owners of motor cars will also contribute to the maintenance of the roads by paying increased sums for their driving licences, It is expected that some 300 million leva will be raised annually by these special taxes, $^{2}/_{3}$ of which are proposed to be spent on the building of the new roads and $^{1}/_{3}$ for the upkeep of those already existing.

499 It is proposed to construct at once an arterial road of 300 klm. between Sofia and Orhanie, trying different systems and materials in order to find out which is the most suitable for local conditions. It is aimed to have the new roads laid out properly, in order that they may not need repairing for the first ten years. The compulsory

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

What happened if a man owed some money and didn't pay? If the sum owed was over 1,000 leva, the people had to go to Sofia to court. If it was under 1,000 leva, the people appealed to the village court (the mayor was judge, and the registrar was secretary). The creditor made an application for the sum due, and had either to give a certificate that the sum was due or, having no certificate, swear by a cross and the Bible that his claim was just. 686

What happened in case two men got into a fight and hurt each other? In case of a fight or a disturbance of the peace, the men were subject to fine up to 500 leva. However, the mayor smiled when he said: "I haven't given any fines for fighting yet, for I am a man with a Christian soul." Should the mayor feel less virtuous he would fine a drunk, together with the tavern keeper who let him get drunk. The fine would range from two to three hundred leva, leniency being shown to drunken men because they are "not responsible for their actions when drunk." 683

How did people transfer property? The transfer of animals was performed at the *Obshtina.* A bill of sale was made out and signed by the mayor. The transfer of land and houses had to be made through a notary public in Sofia since the banks in such cases usually needed to be consulted regarding indebtedness on the property. 425

How were public lands administered? Because the forest pertaining to the village was not large enough to justify a special forester, it was placed under the care of the *Okoliyski* (county) forester who was in charge of planting new trees. A forest policeman, regularly employed by the *Obshtina,* saw to it that the villagers cut no wood without the special permission of the local authorities. The land belonging to the *Obshtina* had decreased greatly during the past twenty years because of its sale as building sites. If the *Obshtina* decided to sell land valued at less than 200,000 leva, then the *Okoliyski* governor could give permission. For more than that, the Minister of Interior had to approve the transfer. 659

Who saw that roads were kept up and bridges repaired? If a bridge was broken, the fact was reported to the mayor, who sent a man to repair it. The State took care of all the roads outside the village, and the *Obshtina* of those inside. 653

8: Bojnoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

1930, while on the B. St. Lines for the same period we have an increase of 20.5%. 497

The Greek Railways had an increase of only 255 kilometers or 9.6% for the period 1914 to 1940, while Bulgaria increased its railway network with 1.025 kilometers or 48.7% after the two national catastrophies (1913 and 1918). Since 000 1920, for a period of 25 years, Greece has played with the pet idea of building the railroad extension Drama—Kavala, 31 kilometers long, in order to link this sea port with the railroad network. This good intention did not grow up to maturity and the work on this line is left undone until to-day.

Greece suffers of marine hypertrophy. The Greeks control an enormous sea coast line, which they are in no position to make the best use off. Here is how the relation between the sea coast line of the countries and their entire frontier line stands: 80.7% of the entire frontier line of Greece is sea coast line, for Albania the relation is 38.8%, for Yugoslavia — 34.1% and for Bulgaria — 17.5%. 133

For 1 km. of sea coast we have

Territory: For Greece 22, for Albania 62.2, for Yugoslavia 155 and for Bulgaria 277.5 sq. km.;

Population: for Greece 1060, for Albania 2340, for [161] Yugoslavia 9900 and for Bulgaria 15.000 inhabitants.

57. Construction Work. It is hard to give a satisfactory picture in this brief study about Bulgaria's accomplishement during the last period of her present free existence. Whatever her achievements might be, they would hardly impress a sophisticated reader, who would wish to measure her with the standards of his advanced country, whose present generation probably owes its spiritual and material progress to the advantages of free life and activity of preceding generations. Our picture, however, would not be complete if we said nothing about the technical developments of Bulgaria or about the work of Bulgarian engineers and architects. 000

Notwithstanding its limited means, the country spared nothing for its public works. About the beginning of the Second World War, Bulgaria was spending on the average about one billion leva annually for government and municipal building operations. This expenditure grew constantly: in 1936 — 457.600.000, in 1937 — 505.600.000, in 1938 — 534.100.000, 653

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

653 in 1939 — 655.600.000, in 1940 — 826.500.000 and in 1941 — 1.130.000.000. These amounts were spent for hospitals, sanatoriums, establishements for economic and agricultural activity, veterinary hospitals, medical centres, public baths, libraries, churches etc.

In the beginning of the Second World War Bulgaria had 4.289 inhabited localities, 2.535 or 59% of which were under public planning and regulation; while out of 384 inhabited localities in the territory of South Dobroudja, annexed to Bulgaria in 1940, only 8 of them enjoyed public plan and regulation. Only 15 out of 2.000 inhabited localities in the provisionally annexed territories of Macedonia, Morava region and Thrace had plans approved for regulation and improvement!

312 If we throw a glance on the water supply situation we would obtain the following picture for Bulgaria:

in the cities:	complete water supply	87.4%
	partial " "	20.2%
	no " "	2.4%
in the villages:	full " "	21.0%
	partial " "	18.1%
	no " "	60.9%

On the other hand, in the annexed part of Dobroudja and the provisionally annexed territories the picture is:

for the cities:	full water supply	0.0%
	partial " "	60.0%
	no " "	40.0%
for the villages:	full " "	0.0%
	partial " "	5.7%
	no " "	94.3%

During the 20 years before the war, Bulgaria laid 4.608 klms. of metalic pipes for water supply and in the new territories, provisionally administered by Bulgaria, a total of 220 klms. of water supply pipes were laid.

We feel that Bulgaria has reason to be proud of the above accomplishment in that respect.

377 There has been a great progress made in the electrification of the country in recent times, but the subject is too large to cover in this brief study. According to the electrification plan of the entire country, in addition to the present big power plants by the coal mines of Pernic, Rakovski, the Rila River and the Vatcha River by Plovdiv, huge power and transmission plants are projected to carry electric energy to

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

the remotest corners of the land at a very cheap rate, ranging from 0.5 to 1.0 leva per kilowatt hour. This plan is being revised now and it is anticipated that the enlarged project would absorb an expenditure of 20 billion leva. The consumption of electric energy then would be distributed as follows: 377

For inhabited localities	28.3 %
For agriculture, including irrigation but without azotic fertilizers	13.—%
For transportation	8.9 %
For industries	45.4 %
and for other purposes	4.3 %
	100.—%

What has been said before about motor-car communications and roads may be supplemented by the following figures; for the 10 year period from 1932 to 1941 Bulgaria has built 4.568 km. of new roads, 15.736 km of levelling and new road bedding, 17.565 km. of new bridges and drainage works. This meant a total expenditure of 4,150,540,490 leva or about 550,000,000 leva per year. For the same period we have 615 km. of new railway lines at an expenditure of 1,620,000,000 leva. 653 499

We will not dwell on the question of dams and irrigation, but will only mention the completed big dam on the river Iskar in the Rila Mountain, with a capacity of 15.000.000 cubic meters of water which is 50 meters high and will note that Bulgaria has spent, during the most trying period of life (1939 — 1941). for: 312

drainage works	42.750.490.—	leva
stream corrections	22.521.837.—	leva
irrigation	9 469.815.—	leva or a
total of	74.742.142.—	leva.

This was not the end of Bulgaria's efforts. Bulgaria was anxious to take care of the countries which were provisionally under her administration during the last war. Here is some information taken from a controversy on the subject.

A Greek paper discussing the subject of homes and other buildings built by the Bulgarian authorities in the Aegean Coast Region, writes among other things the following: 653

„If we overlook the public bath at Xanthi built by them for the pleasure and enjoyment of their brothers the Germans,

653 the Bnlgarians did not leave us any structure of significance. It is true that in some places between Xanthi and Kavala they built some peasant houses to please the taste of the Bulgarians but not beautiful at all. These houses, however, were built at the expense of Greek economy, with Greek lumber from the Rhodopes, Pirin and the island of Tassos, with Greek labour and with materials from the old houses of our peasants, who were thrown out on the roads because their homes were ruined..."

In reply to this clearly unfavourable and superficial statement the following objection could be raised:

From the first part of May 1941, when the Aegean zone went actually under Bulgarian administrative control, until 9 September 1944, when the Greek authorities took over the district, intensive creative work was carried on in the Aegean zone. This was made possible despite the handicaps of the war situation and the lack of any connections with the old districts of Bulgaria and in spite of shattered roads, demolished bridges and lack of materials. The work went on at a rate which baffled all possible expectations. Not only the amazing speed, but also the ambition put in the work, by the Bulgarian population of local residents and newcomers, made a very deep impression on the foreign Greek, Turkish and Armenian population. They applied themselves on the job as people who took pains in building and managing their own homes and properties.

Model homes, establishments for economic and agricultural activities, new railroads, highways bridges, mines, salt works, fountains, aqueducts, slaughter houses, electrical plants and instalations, public baths, drainage works on the ramifications of the Mesta river, hygienic and city improvements and planning, maitenance of railroads, highways and bridges — all this is the constructive and useful work of the Bulgarian State in the Aegean zone. This work, not to mention the millions spent by private business and initiative for the restorations of abandoned Greek homes, was actually beyond the normal capacity of the Government. What was left over and what was accomplished by the Bulgarian Government and nationals in the Aegean area, for less than three years and a half of occupation, exceeds hundredfold the Greek achievements during 20 years of peacetime activity.

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Even in 1941, the Aegean area presented a vast desert plain where one saw, like an oasis in the desert, here and there a patch of land sown mainly with tobacco and maize insufficient to satisfy the very minimum needs of the district. It looked as if the roller of war had run over it and done away with everything in its path. This was a convincing evidence for the Bulgarians that carelessness and negligence were the attitude of the central Greek authority towards the district. 653

If we exclude Xanthi, Dedeagatch and Kavala, where after the European war some small refugee homes were built, nowhere else in the Aegean zone will we find any trace of constructive work to demonstrate the care and concern of the Greek Government. The improvement work in the Ser and Demirhissar districts is an exception and an encroachment upon the „harmony of desorder and dull carelessness" in this zone. Even this constructive work, though forced upon the Greeks by foreign suggestion and initiative, has no economic justification, but is prompted by military considerations. Dispite the drainage improvements in the said two districts, the Bulgarian authorities found them as desert plains.

The sturdy Bulgarian arms and tenacity worked and developed these desert areas and turned them into fertile plough fields and gardens, which not only benefited the foreign and Bulgarian population, but afforded pleasure to the eye. The Giumurdjina, Sarashaban, Drama and Ser plains were turned under the Bulgarian administration into a picture land fraught with bounty and beauty which pleased the eye.

The Aegean zone visitor of 1912-1913 would be confounded to find that houses, burned and destroyed way back in the Balkan Wars, were left untouched by human hand until this very day and not one single stone or brick had been placed back in their original places.

Now, this is what one should call „dull carelessness". This is what leaves the visitor with the impression that the Greeks did not regard the Aegean zone as their own land, but as a land taken over by conquest and, for the time being, left to the grace and consideration of a step mother.

Bulgaria administered the region of the Aegean Sea from 1941 to 1944, for three years and a half. Notwithstanding the lack of materials and proper roads for transportation, the Bulgarian Government spent 640,000,000 leva from her appropriations for building, repairs etc. All along the road of Demir

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653 Hissar—Ser—Drama—Kavala—Sara Shaban, the Government built 240 model peasant homes amounting to 173,000,000 leva. Other 12 homes were not completed. They cost 4,000,000 leva. Besides these homes the Government built 152 new buildings to be used for economic and agricultural needs at an expense of 209,000,000 leva. For the repair of various buildings a total of 63,000,000 leva was spent. The lumber was altogether new and was supplied from Nevrokop (Bulgaria). All other materials were brought from the old parts of the country with the exception of bricks, which were made on the spot and paid by the Bulgarian contractors at a fair and proper price. The master builders were Bulgarians and the common labour was hired from the local Greeks, who were paid the current wages.

We must add to these expenses the expenditure for work in the following enterprises:

The building of new railway lines	194,000,000	leva
tracing of new lines and maintenance	192,000,000	"
building of roads etc.	253,000,000	"
mines and brine-pits	597,000,000	"
fountains, acqueducts, slaughter houses	61,000,000	"
miscellaneous	140,000,000	"
or a total of over	2,000,000,000	leva,

if we do not include the expenses for new buildings, repairs and improvements, without the current expenses for their maintenance. It will not be an exaggeration if we state that Bulgaria, in this short and war period, did in that respect far more than what Greece had done for 20 years of administration over Thrace. Apart from the worker homes in Kavala and some more significant structures here and there, built with American help, Thrace received from the Greek Government the care of a step-mother.

We must note furthermore, that even private individuals, Bulgarian settlers, spent much of their means to repair the homes that were given them. A large percent should be taken also from the declared amount of 17,000,000,000 leva representing the abandoned property in the Aegean Sea Region.

We must also remember that the above mentioned figures represent the amounts in government appropriations. If we transfer these figures to the present day rate of exchange of the lev, the amounts should be at least doubled.

466 tax, but owing to the poverty of the masses only about 10°/, of those liable to serve avail themselves of this opportunity to affranchise themselves, though the percentage of the older classes which liberate themselves from temporary incorporation for 21 days reaches 20°/, to 25°/,.

[461] The aim of the law is not merely economic, but also aims at instilling among the conscripts of the labour corps a better comprehension of their duty towards the community, a sense of solidarity, and also a liking for manual work, and open air living, especially among the intelligentsia, who considered any sort of field work beneath their dignity. Originally the law did not provide for exemption by payment, as M. Stambuliiski, who was its chief inspirer, pursued at the same time, another object, that of humbling and persecuting all his bourgeois opponents, but the representatives of the Entente Powers intervened and succeeded in introducing certain modifications which rendered the application of the law much more lenient.

466 The State has derived substantial help from the utilisation of the labour corps, and it must be admitted
● 653 that the condition of both the railways and roads on the repairing of which the labour corps was largely employed would have been infinitely worse off, since the State would not have been in a position to defray the work accomplished on them.

Between the years 1921 and 1931, the annual contingent of youths called upon to join the labour corps varied between 12,000 and 19,000; all those liable to service were not utilised, there not being a sufficiency of work for all, owing to the lack of resources and absence of a plan. It was for the first time in 1932 that as many as 20,750 were incorporated, the number being increased to 26,000 in 1933. The greater part of these labour conscripts were utilised for the construction of railways and

roads as may be seen from the following table which also gives an estimate of the value of the work accomplished: 466 653

Year	Work days employed for the construction of railways and roads	Work days utilised on other work	Total work days	Value of the work carried out in leva
1922	2,271,579	322,131	2,593,710	77,811,210
1923	1,345,936	191,069	1,537,005	93,940,134
1924	1,055,789	112,909	1,168,698	66,058,916
1925	962,361	151,473	1,113,834	75,111,237
1926	710,835	201,225	912,060	68,083,877
1927	1,336,980	234,820	1,571,800	135,450,983
1928	1,310,178	214,299	1,524,477	142,075,936
1929	1,310,166	158,553	1,468,719	154,381,307
1930	1,261,359	190,317	1,451,676	142,082,059
1931	1,236,346	167,893	1.404,239	131.858,836
Total	12,801,529	1,844,689	14,646,218	1,086,854,595

To the labour of these conscripts may be ascribed the construction of some excellent highways traversing the Balkan mountains, such as those between Gabrovo and Shipka, Elena and Sliven, and from Troyan southward along the Boyanski Pass, as well as a road some 50 klm. in length along the banks of the river Kritchim to the hamlet of Duvlen in the Rhodopes. It is reckoned that 49·2% of the total labour was absorbed in the construction and reparation of roads, 3.420 klm. of new roads, as well as 436 bridges, having been constructed, and 2,315 klm. of roads repaired. Railway construction and work on ports absorbed 19.2%, and 21·4% was utilised in industrial enterprises, special workshops having been constructed such as a brick factory, a clothing and shoe factory in the vicinity of Sofia, and a timber exploitation works in the State forest of Titsa, in the region of Varna, where the available timber resources were rationally exploited, sleepers for the railways, pit-props for the.

466 653 mines and telegraph poles being prepared, as well as lumber for building purposes. The balance of the available labour was employed in agricultural work, excavations, construction of aerodromes and dams, reparation of thermal bathing establishments, drainage, afforestation, water adduction etc.

The most impressive work undertaken by the labour contingent was the erection of two large dams along the banks of the Danube namely between the mouths of the rivers Isker and Vit, and near the mouth of the river Yantra. The former one 28·3 klm. in length, has secured an area of some 17.000 hectares from the annual floods of the Danube, and the latter which is a massive dam 17 klm. in length, 24 m. wide at its base, and 5 to 7 m. in height, bearing an excellent road on top has served to reclaim 1,100 h. of marsh land and protect another 1,250 h. from floods. The total cost of this last dam at the mouth of the Yantra to the State was 32 million leva.

Certain other workshops which had been opened at Shumen and Radomir as well as certain agricultural enterprises, and cattle ranches have not proved successful and were closed.

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Disbursements cover: salaries and office expenses of the permanent staff, food, medical attendance, clothing, equipment, general expenses, depreciation of machinery etc. Under the heading of receipts figure, the sums paid for exemption from service, proceeds from the sale of various materials, as well as reimbursements by the various ministries of a nominal wage per man, for the number of labour conscripts affected to their services. This last practice was initiated in the financial year 1924/5 in order

497 not justified. By the year 1931-2 the number of stations had increased by 30%, plus another 195 small stations, or halting places and though the milage had also augmented, nevertheless the staff numbered 16,602, so that M. Yaranov's criticism seems to have been well-founded so far as the year 1927-8 is concerned, this may be said also of his remarks about the stopping places being too numerous and involving a tremendous waste of energy to the trains having to pull up and start at very brief intervals.

499 Owing to the lack of funds, special measures had to be devised in order to provide the requisite means for 653 the construction of the new railway lines. Thus a special tax was imposed on the inhabitants of communes through which new railway lines were laid and municipalities had to expropriate land and provide labour at their own cost. The compulsory labour service was utilised, and it may be said that without the help of this institution little of what was done would have been accomplished.

An idea of the cost of the new lines and of the repartition of the expenses may be formed by studying the data relative to the Plovdiv-Panagurishte line of 70·880 klm. in length, which cost a total of 117,458,474 leva, or 1,640,010 leva per klm. Eventually it is proposed to join up this line with the projected trunk line Sofia-Pirdop-Kazanlik-Sliven-Burgaz, parts of which have already been built.

20,937,003	leva	Work furnished by temporary labour conscripts (defrayed by communes)
14,668,896	"	Work furnished by regular labour conscripts (defrayed by the State)
2,120,985	"	Land and building expropriated by the communes
1,543,525	"	Sum provided by the State budget
556,910	"	" " " " " extra-ordinary budget.
39,123,615	"	Sum provided from the Railway special construction Fund (Amounting to 408 millions in 1932.
10,000,000	"	Sum provided from the Railway special Fund for embellishments and Station installations (Amounting to 221 millions in 1932)

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20,820,000 leva value of materials furnished by the State Railways
7,687,550 „ Various

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The average cost seems to range between $1^1/_2$ and 2 million leva per klm. Thus the line Plovdiv-Karlovo, 77·530 klm. in length cost 152 millions or slightly under 2 million leva per klm., while the line Levski-Lovets cost only $1^1/_2$ millions per klm. It may be added that it took 12 years to complete the building of the line Plovdiv-Panagurishte and this tardiness is due to the fact that instead of concentrating all efforts on one or two lines, some 21 lines were being constructed simultaneously. This was anything but a sensible plan, in view of the utterly inadequate means at the disposal of the railway administration. In many instances earthworks which had been completed were washed away and had to be constructed anew before the ballast, sleepers and rails could be laid.

The general plan of construction of railways was set forth in a Bill passed by the Sobranye on May 9, 1925 and provided for the construction of the following lines:

Normal gauge

1. Rakovski—Haskovo—Mastanli
2. Radomir—Gorna-Djuma—Simitli
3. Yambol—Elhovo
4. Lovets—Levski
5. Dabovo—Sliven
6. Plovdiv—Karlovo (with branch to Hissar)
7. G. Orehovitsa—Elena
8. Sofia,-circular
9. Kritsim—Pestera
10. Sofia—D. Kamartsi—Pirdop
11. Plovdiv—Panagurishte,

Narrow 76 cm. gauge

12. Tatar Pazardjik,—Ledjene—Nevrokop
13. Bela Slatina -Orehovo
14. Preslav—Verbitsa
15. Tserven Breg—Lukovit—Teteven
16. Burgaz—Anhiallo.

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On the completion of these lines, the bill provided for a further plan of construction which comprised the laying of lines between:

17. Simitli—Petrich
18. Rakovski—Mihailovo
19. Shumen—Smedovo—Karnobat
20. D. Kamartsi—Orhanie—Yablanitsa—Sevlievo—Tirnovo · Osman-Pazar—Eski Djuma
21. Orhanie—Mezdra
22. Levski—Trembesh
23. Kostenetz Bania—Samokov—Dubnitsa—Bobov Dol
24. Stanimaka—Tsepelare—Pashmakli
25. Popovo—Razgad—Kemanlar
26. Batanovtsi—Breznik—Tren
27. Boitsinovtsi—Glozene—Kozlodyi
28. Vidin—Kula
29. Pirdop—Karlovo—Kazanlik
30. Zimnitsa—Kotel
31. Somovit—Nikopol
32. Pleven—Lovets
33. Lovets—Trojan (eventually to be prolonged southwards to Karlovo
34. Kirdjali—Ortakey
35. Drenovets—Belogradchik—Stakevski
36. Dolen Tsiflik—Staro Orehovo
37. Zlaten Dol—Kavakli—Elhovo—Burgaz.

Narrow 76 cm. gauge

38. Anhialo Mesembria
39. Malko Tirnovo—Vasiliko
40. Razlog - Simitli.

Of the above programme, lines, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 13, 16, have been completed, while work on lines 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 19, 25, 29, 21, 33, and 36 has been started and is being continued but at a very slow pace. Owing to the extremely difficult position of the Exchequer only 17,050,000 leva were provided in the 1934 budget for railway construction, and it had been decided that work should be concentrated on the completion of the Radomir-Dupnitza-G. Djuma, Mihailovo-Rakovski, Sofia circular line,

and the 76 cm, narrow gauge railway Tatar-Pazardjik-Yakoruda-Nevrokop. The Mihailovo-Rakovski line is likely to prove of some importance for international traffic, as it is proposed to organise a service of through trains running from Poland by way of Rumania via Rustchuk-Tirnovo-St.-Zagora to Constantinople, which will necessarily borrow this connecting link, shortening, very perceptibly the distance St.-Zagora-Constantinople by avoiding the long loop round Plovdiv. 499 653

The technical committee of the railways has made certain alterations in the original construction plan of 1925 and these modifications have been set forth in a protocol dated January 1929. Thus line № 20 is to be deflected in its eastward part more to the south, avoiding Osman Pazar and Eski-Djuma, in order to pass through Zlataritsa — Elena — Titsa and join the line № 14 Verbitsa-Preslav, which will be constructed as a normal gauge line instead of as a 76 cm, narrow gauge line, as originally projected. It is surprising that [illegible] scheme has not been a little further modified so that [illegible]llevo might be joined to Gabrovo and the already existing railway line Gabrovo—Drenovo—Tirnovo utilised, instead of leaving Gabrovo as a terminus of a blind-alley railway line despite the industrial importance of this town. Another decision taken was that of modifying line 38, (Anhialo — Messembria) to a normal gauge, though the construction of this particular line seems utterly purposeless, there being no traffic to justify such expenditure, besides the fact that both termini are ports and that communications between them are always available by boat or by road vehicles.

There are about 19 lines of an approximate legth of 790 kim. on which work has been started; they are estimated to cost about 1,450 millions, there being some 9.750 kim. of tunnels to be bored. But in order to complete the programme which has been set forth some 210

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klm more have to be constructed, necessitating a further outlay of 1684 millions, for in this section the length of tunnels is estimated at 20.900 klm. These 30.650 klm. of tunnels will require some 1150 millions for their completion. The money can not be provided out of local resources, and since the new lines which are now being constructed can only be exploited sectionally and therefore uneconomically, so long as the whole programme of construction is not completed it would be judicious to seek outside help instead of exploiting for a series of years various unconnected branch lines at a clear loss. With the existing competition of motor vehicles it seems now senseless to run trains on small branch lines of 30 or 40 klm. in length; which will eventually be joined up to form a big trunk line. So long as they are worked in sections they cannot attract much traffic and are unable to cover expenses, while if they were to be joined up, they could be exploited more rationally and made to pay, besides contributing to the development of the region they traverse. As an instance, lines 10 and 29 may be cited. They are planned to link up and be joined to the existing branch line Kazanlik—Tulovo which has been connected with the newly constructed branch line № 5 (Dubovo—Sliven) already extended to Zimnitsa, a station on the railway line St. Zagora—Burgas On this proposed trunk line between Sofia and Burgas there are already three sections which are being exploited, namely the ones between Sofia and Makotsevo,[1] Kazanlik and Tulovo, and Dubovo and Sliven. Several complete trains are being daily run on them, apparently at a loss, for most often the passengers using them may be counted on one's fingers, For on such short distances trains are always at a disadvantage as compared with motor vehicles, which,

[1] The unfinished section Makotsevo—Kazanlik is estimated to cost about 800 million leva.

as everywhere else are proving formidable rivals to the railways. The line Kazanlik - Tulovo is hardly utilised by passengers proceeding or returning to and from Kazanlik—St. Zagora. They prefer to drive by motor car, the journey by road vehicle being more rapid and cheaper. Most of these short branch lines can serve no useful purpose and they will always be a financial burden to the railway system If so many short branch lines figure in the proposed programme of construction this should be attributed to the influences exerted by certain politicians, who always wish to gain popularity in a certain district by securing the construction of a railway line through it, without regard as to whether its construction will be profitable or not to the State. It would be by far more rational not to undertake the construction of such lines as Nos 9, 22, 26, 27,28, 30, 34, 35, 36, 38 and 39 and instead build good roads, it would be equally sensible too to suspend the running of complete trains on such short distances as Kazanlik—Tulovo, Sofia—Bankia, Lovets—Levski etc,, and replace them by light steam-driven units. or motor rail-cars which are practically omnibuses mounted on railway wheels[1]. It would thus be possible to have both a frequent and a speedy service, advantages now possessed by the road vehicles which are competing the railways most successfully on all short distance lines.

The railway system according to M. Ivan Dorossiev's "Financial Studies on the Bulgarian State railways," seems to suffer from another serious disability, that of being very carelessly constructed. In order to reduce the initial outlay, all technical work which could be dispensed with was avoided, with the result that there are too many gradients,

[1] Four such railcars have been ordered on a compensation basis, and ten more will be provided for in the 1935 budget. The railway administration considers that it needs at least thirty more.

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499 rendering the working of the line more costly than it
653 need have been. According to the data furnished by this author, of the 2,205 km. existing in 1919, 26.30 % were level, 46 % with gradients varying between 1 and 10 per % and 27.6 % with gradients over 10 per %. The existence of so many steep gradients of more than 10 % in the net work is surprising, for even in Switzerland, the most mountainous country in Europe, the percentage of such gradients was only 20.4 % as compared with 27.6 % in Bulgaria, while in Rumania the percentage is only 7.2 %. The part of the network which has mainly contributed to increase this disadvantage is the section Tirnovo-St. Zagora which traverses the Balkans and which if it had been more carefully built could have proved of great value to the country since it could then have been utilised as an international trunk line, a function which in its present state it can not fulfil economically, as regards goods traffic, but can only compete for the carriage of passengers, and for the lighter and more valuable class of goods [1]

499 The history of this line is worth repeating as it
661 illustrates to what extent politicians made light of their country's welfare and to what subterfuges and trickery they would have recourse to in order to further their own interests. The technical staff of the railway administration was utterly opposed to the construction of this trans-Balkan line in its present form. Their plan was to lay the line further east along the Haim Bogaz Pass, and this view was championed by the then Minister of Communications, M. Gatev, who was the only honest man in a cabinet composed of crooks, and presided over by an, arch-cynic Prime Minister, the late D. Petkov. The latter

[1] Deputy D. Neikov stated on June 28, 1928 in the Sobranye: „This line was constructed against the advice of the most competent technicians, it has gradients of 30%, and its upkeep and utilisation cause an excessive outlay to the railway administration".

652 655 object being mainly to effect a better control and levelling of prices in all parts of the country. The one for school text books has been created in order to reduce prices and to prevent the too frequent change of the books made use of in schools, a practice much in vogue in Bulgaria and by which students were exploited to the advantage of certain publishers closely connected with political circles.

Minister P. Todorov took the initative to fuse into one under the title of „Bulgarian Credit" all the provincial banks of the country in order to strengthen their position and reduce their running expenses. The State provided for this purpose a sum of 50 million leva, while the capital of the amalgamated banks amounts to about 100 millions. Eventually it is proposed to increase the capital to 250 million leva. The two State banks, the „Agricultural" and „Central Co-operative bank" have likewise been merged into one to the great advantage of the State and of the co-operative societies as may be inferred from the writer's notes on the co-operative movement.

•654 The Ministry of Finance began to tackle also the problem of the excessive protection granted to the local industry which rendered the prices of all industrial products unapproachable to the impoverished agrarian masses. The advantages and prerogatives hitherto enjoyed by industrial establishments have been curtailed in many directions and the preference they enjoyed over their foreign rivals in so far as supplies to government institution is concerned has in fact been removed.

652 648 Other reforms, having as an object the stabilisation of the civil service, the simplification of judicial procedure, the transformation of the educational system etc, were being studied and would have been shortly applied when unexpectedly the Cabinet of M. Gheorghiev was asked to resign and cease its creative action, on the alleged pre-

of the weather. Local requirements amount to about 60 million tons. 000

The tendency of the government which assumed power on May 19 1934 was to put a stop to the existing abuses and restrict the privileges granted by the State to such industries as could utilise and transform local raw materials. Their efforts will be facilitated if outlets for Bulgarian produce are secured, and compensation for this facility will no doubt be given in the form of a lowering of the present high tariff. If foreign countries, however, persist in their determination to maintain a policy of autarchy, there will be nothing left for Bulgaria but to follow suit and persist in a policy that is mutually undermining the economic fabric of all the nations. 654

Mr. J. A. Hobson's remarks on protection, cited above, are well worth pondering over, for its apparent triumph coincides with the decline of democracy and the growing inability of the will of the masses to find expression. 000

TRADE

Both the commodity composition and the geographical distribution of Bulgarian exports has undergone a considerable transformation since the war. Thus cereals, which until then had figured first as to value on the list of exports, representing as much as 66.6% of the total during the quinquennial period 1908-12, fell to 18.9% for the corresponding period of 1926-30, and to only 10% during 1934, The proportion of tobacco exports on the other hand, has increased from 1.28% to 38.47% and 40%, for the corresponding dates. The Near Eastern and west European markets which in 1911 absorbed respectively 25.09% and 49.53% of Bulgarian exports, in 1931 took only 4.97% and 35.37%. On the other hand exports 439

not hope to compete in cereal growing with transoceanic countries, and the only advantage to be derived would be to continue raising the same amount of cereals on a more restricted area by employing more advanced methods of cultivation, in order that more land be diverted to other crops demanding more labour and skill.[1] The table on page 184 gives particulars as to the main varieties of cereals cultivated, and their respective yield during the last years 241 243

The harvest of 1934 was affected by drought in the early part of the summer, and the yield was considerably under the average of recent years as may be gauged by the following figures:

	Average yield per hectare during 1930—1934	Yield in 1933 per hectare	Yield in 1934 per hectare
Wheat	1157 kg	1204 kg	902 kg
Rye	1092 "	1180 "	868 "
Mixture of barley and wheat . . .	1228 "	1248 "	993 "
Barley	1240 "	1441 "	806 "
Oats	816 "	983 "	578 "
Maize	1232 "	1309 "	1221 "

243 [654]

[1] Cereal growing is not a remunerative occupation and can only be carried on thanks to the subsidies offered by the State. It has to be carried on however, because Bulgaria can not afford to pay for imported cereals. Their production therefore should be adjusted to local requirements in order to restrict the amount of subsidies disbursed to the minimum.

The cost of wheat may be computed at 2·77 leva per kg., the following items entering into the cost of production per hectare: Ploughing and sowing 2,100, harvesting 300, transport to threshing machine and threshing 400, transport to market 100, seed 250 kg. at 1·25 = 321·25, total 3212·5 leva. Average production per hectare 1157 kg.

In transoceanic countries the cost of production is about 1·25 leva per kg., with a tendency for a further reduction judging from

they would pass a law abolishing all private indebtedness. 426
It is gratifying to note that in spite of all this arrant 663
demagogy and incitement to default, the peasantry has not deviated from its traditional honesty, and that in spite of the crisis it has done its best to meet its liabilities. The annual reports of the Agricultural Bank show that its advances to the peasants have during the years 1930 to 1933 slowly but steadilly decreased and that their total indebtedness to the bank had been reduced by 300 million leva at the end of 1933, as compared with the year 1929. In the bank's report for 1933 it is stated that the peasantry has ceased increasing its indebtedness owing to its being conscious of the necessity of adjusting its debts to the present level of their income, a fact which speaks very highly of its common sense as well as of its determination to maintain its standard of integrity by which Bulgarians have so far distinguised themselves from their neighbours.

One of the most active members of the Cabinet was 652
its Finance Minister, M. Peter Todorov, who in a brief 655
period of a few months succeeded in settings order in his department so that the salaries of public functionnaries which were some five months in arrear, began being paid again regularly. Debts to Government contractors which had remained unpaid for years were liquidated and with indefatigable energy M. P. Todoroff set creating new sources of revenue for the State. These were the monopolies of alcohol, tobacco, salt, light mineral oils and school text books. There was an intensive contraband carried on in alcohol, and the State was being deprived of millions of revenue which otherwise ought to have flowed into its coffers. The returns of the Excise on spirituous drinks were yearly diminishing correspondingly with the reported consumption of both beer and alcoholic drinks as may be noted from the following table:

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BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

Consumption in thousand of hectolitres

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Beer	76.4	46.8	44.7	81,7	52.7
Alcohol	10.2	8.2	8.2	4.9	5

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Yet these figures were far from corresponding with the actual consumption, and it was known that a large number of illicit stills were being in operation all over the country. The question of the loss this clandestine trade entailed to the Treasury came up several times for discussion in the Sobranye but so far no government tackled the matter seriously as it was afraid to ruffle certain sections of the electorate which engaged in these operations. Thus deputy Dr H. Mutafov speaking in the Sobranye on June 13, 1932 affirmed that for 1930 the quantity of wine which had been declared to the authorities and on which excise had been collected amounted to 38,822,096 litres, while according to the figures of the Ministry of Agriculture some 108,618,482 litres had been produced. The figures for 1931 showed even a greater discrepancy. It was known also that some 10 million litres of wine had been distilled and transformed into brandy, on which additional excise ought to have been paid, but of this quantity only 42000 litres had been declared. The contraband on tobacco was even more intensive than that on alcohol, for the smuggling of this article was much easier and the profit correspondingly greater. Tobacco in the leaf was sold at about 10 to 15 leva per Kg. while when transformed into cigarettes it was retailed at 150 to 200 leva per Kg. by the tobacco manufacturers who of course refunded to the State the amount of excise chargeable on their sales. The consumption of tobacco on which excise was imputable was yearly declining, and proportionally the State revenue from this head. A former Minister of Finance had declared on May 10, 1932 in the Sobranye that if the excise service could be reorganised and strengt-

NEW BROOMS SWEEP CLEAN

hened some 400 to 500 millions extra annualy would accrue to the State from this source, and he cited figures to show how the consumption of tabacco on which excise had been collected was being anually reduced. 5,214,089 kg. in 1925, dwindling gradually to 3,888,312 kg. in 1931. These figures may be supplemented by the following table which also shows the revenue derived from tobacco.

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655.

Tobacco consumption in thousand kg.		Excise duty in million leva	
1931	3,888·3	670·4	
1932	3,506·6	642·5	
1933	3,374·3	613·3	
1934	3,191·0	580·2	

The tobacco monopoly will not only contribute in increasing revenue very substantially, and this will probably be secured by the creation of a special cheap brand of cigarettes to be sold exclusively in rural districts as has been done in Turkey, but will also exert a certain influence in stabilising the price of tobacco and will permit growers to obtain a more equitable price. With the creation of the tobacco monopoly the State will absorb for its proper requirements some 5 million kg. of tobacco and as this amount represents about a fourth of the annual crop, it will be easy for the State to exert a hardening tendency on prices for the benefit of the growers. Another beneficial result which will be derived from the creation of this monopoly is the improvement in the condition of the workers in the tobacco industry which occupies the greater number of industrial workers in Bulgaria. The State owing to its proclaimed policy of upliftment of the working classes is bound to do its utmost to ameliorate their lot, which was far from being enviable as may be inferred from the large number of strikes which occured in this industry,

The monopolies of light mineral oils and of salt do not aim at securing additional revenue to the State, their

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655 of prices in all parts of the country. The one for school text books has been created in order to reduce prices and to prevent the too frequent change of the books made use of in schools, a practice much in vogue in Bulgaria and by which students were exploited to the advantage of certain publishers closely connected with political circles.

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648 of the civil service, the simplification of judicial procedure, the transformation of the educational system etc, were being studied and would have been shortly applied when unexpectedly the Cabinet of M. Gheorghiev was asked to resign and cease its creative action, on the alleged pre-

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439 deepening economic crisis, and though she remains the best purveyor and client of Bulgaria, such commerce as is carried on is mainly in the form of barter and is yearly becoming more difficult. So long as England seems disinclined to lend a helping hand to Bulgaria and the other Danubian countries in order to facilitate the marketing of their produce on the British market, the only alternative which would bring relief to these hard-pressed communities, is the restoration of prosperity to Germany, which alone seems capable and willing to interchange its products with those of the Danubian countries, for the mutual advantage of all the parties concerned. As prosperity seems to have taken leave of Germany, and England shows little desire to assume the role of a good European, prospects for recovery in Bulgaria and the neighbouring countries can not be said to be bright.

COMMUNICATIONS

Railways

496 The Bulgarian State railway system at the end of 1933 consisted of 2,800 klm. of single track normal gauge •655 railway lines, including the section Plovdiv-Panagurishte, 70·88 klm. in length opened to traffic in December 1933, 162 klm. of narrow 76 cm. gauge, and 250 klm. of 60 cm. gauge. According to a statistical report issued during the financial year 1932-3, the capital invested in the railway system amounted to 13,514,847,000 leva (or, 450,494,900 gold francs) and was made up of the following items:

Railway lines (all gauges)	3,085 klm.	value 350,375,520 gold francs
Locomotives	597	" 100,119,380 "
Passenger cars	621	
Tenders	205	
Postal cars	43	
Goods trucks	10,901	

COMMUNICATIONS

Of all East European States, Albania excepted, Bulgaria has the smallest milage of all, 2·2 klm. of railway track per 100 sq. klm. of territory. The ratio being 2·5 for Greece, 3·7 for Yugoslavia, 4 for Rumania, while the proportion for Austria, Hungary and Switzerland, are respectively 8, 10·2, and 14. In spite of this evident inferiority, construction since 1918 has been very restricted, averaging a bare 44·3 klm. a year, owing to the depressed State of the country's finances. The railway administration is an autonomous institution and since 1929 has had its own distinct budget. The railway department had the great advantage of having for a number of years a most energetic, progressive and honourable engineer at its head, M. Morfov, who was subsequently nominated to the post of Bulgarian Minister in Paris, it also had in recent years the good fortune to possess as titulary chiefs, in the person of the Ministry of Railways, such active and honest men as MM. Kimon Gheorghiev and Stoyan Kosturkov, all of whom did their best to avoid the mistakes committed by their predecessors, a few examples of which are narrated further on. 496 655.

The table on page 212 will give an idea of the intensity ot the traffic and of the rentability of the system during the last few years. 497

The intensity of the traffic in comparison with Western European countries is very light, as may be seen by comparing the relative data for the year 1931 relative to Belgium and Bulgaria:

	Average milage	Number of passengers carried	Passengers per klm.	Goods carried	Tons per klm.
Belgium .	4800 klm.	221,303,000	1,209,000	79,535,000	1,433,000
Bulgaria .	2600 klm.	7,680,000	204,000	3,480,000	250,000

From the above table it will be seen that the traffic in Belgium is on an average 6 times as intense as in

1: Lee H-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
Yugoslavia

becoming premier in October, 1919, Stambolisky's first task After was that of signing the peace terms drawn up by the victorious Allies. 728

The Treaty of Neuilly, November 27, 1919, reduced Bulgaria to a smaller area than it had held before the First Balkan War of 1912 and imposed new burdens. Bulgaria lost the Aegean coast (Western Thrace) to Greece, southern Dobruja to Romania, and strips of land on the west to Yugoslavia. The army was limited to a total of 20,000. Reparations amounting to $450,000,000 were to be paid in thirty-seven years, beginning in 1921. The existence of Bulgarian minorities in all the neighboring states furnished a basis for revisionism which steadily grew, particularly after the rise of fascism throughout Europe in the thirties.[2] The provision for an exchange of populations with Greece greatly heightened the volume of refugees who streamed into Bulgaria, adding to the political ferment and economic burdens of the country. In these and other ways, the settlement exacerbated conditions under which radicalism throve. [131] [701] [668] [167]

Stambolisky won a commanding position in the parliamentary elections of March, 1920, and proceeded to ride roughshod over both the middle class and conservative parties on the right and the Communists on the left. He instituted a number of reforms, including a land law designed to break up the crown lands and larger estates, the imposition of a heavy income tax, and the establishment of a compulsory labor service which in the first four years of operation secured the equivalent of five million wage days of work for the Ministries of Public Works and Railways. In foreign policy he sought to fulfill the treaties and to effect a reconciliation with Yugoslavia among whose Communist and Agrarian parties his concepts of Slavic federation found support. His dictatorial methods, however, won him enemies on all sides, not least among them being the Macedonians who opposed his policy of rapprochement with Yugoslavia. In June, 1923, he was overthrown by a *coup d'état* organized by a group of intellectuals, led by Professor Tsankov, and the League of Army Reserve Officers, among whom Colonels Velchev and Georgiev were leaders. A few days later Stambolisky was assassinated. 643 185 656 648 669

Following the Stambolisky regime, the Tsankov government (1923-26) represented a swing to the right. "Communist" insurrections and violence were suppressed with great severity. The increased activity of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) caused difficulties at home and abroad, although after the assassination of its leader Alexandrov (1924) it was split into two factions under Protoguerov and Mihailov who became bitter rivals. A threat of war with Greece arose, but was averted by the action of the League of Nations. A more conciliatory government 642 668

[2] See G. P. Genov, *Bulgaria and the Treaty of Neuilly* (Sofia, 1935).

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

CHAPTER II

THE HOUSE BECOMES A HOME

ALTHOUGH I had been studying Bulgarian peasant life for three years before concentrating upon Dragalevtsy, I never ceased to marvel at the home life of these people. Their quiet, satisfied way of taking their marriage partners for granted, the manner in which they treated their children, and the brief courting days of the young invariably fascinated me. Therefore, I started at the beginning to learn. 000

"How do you build a house?" I asked, eager to check my observations with their frequently droll explanations of why they did as they did. 342

The seriousness with which the peasants replied showed that building a house, although it cost only five or six hundred dollars, was a tremendously important undertaking to the Dragalevtsy family. The "new house" was discussed for a year or two in advance by the members, who also consulted kinsmen and neighbors before eventually deciding as to the type of dwelling desired. Before they could begin [656] any construction the villagers had to get a permit from the Department of Engineering in Sofia, which sent out an engineer to "draw up the line" and to offer the choice of two or three plans. The government in requiring this permission sought to do away with the long, unhygienic, old-style type of home which the peasant would traditionally build. The fee for the services of the engineer was about a dollar and a half.

The family members next began to gather the materials. They piled up wagonloads of stone, and purchased sand, lumber, brick, and tiles before they called in the master builder *(maistor)* from outside to tell him what kind of house they wanted and to agree verbally about details. If all the materials had been gathered ahead of time, 342

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

428 578 [423] was also conflict over the location of boundary stones. At first I could scarcely believe my eyes when I was shown how the peasants distinguished their fields. Taking some landmark such as a tree, a bend in the road, or a stream, the peasants marked off their strips by small piles of stone. Fences and hedgerows were impracticable because the strips were too small to justify the expense of enclosure. Since every farmer possessed several strips, possibilities of conflict over the boundaries were numerous. The wonder is that there was so little trouble, in view of the fact that every foot of the strip must be utilized if the farmer was to make any profit.

578 685 422 Animals too proved a source of dispute. The oxen, for instance, strayed into an unprotected field and did considerable damage to the growing crop. The person incurring loss often took the matter to the mayor for trial in his magistrate's court. Once an effort was made to have all funds collected from such disputes turned over to the local *Chitalishte,* or Library Association, but this received little public support. For some time there was very bad feeling between the shepherds and the dairymen over the question of pasturage. [656] The *Obshtina,* or local government, passed an ordinance that grazing should be done on one's own land and the common pasture abolished. The shepherds, accustomed to roaming over a considerable area in a day's time, were violently opposed to the new measure; those possessing five or six head of cattle naturally favored it.

Other types of conflict also arose over animals. The widow Zdravka, in explaining to me why she was not on good terms with her neighbor Dimiter, brought another case of disagreement over livestock to my attention:

"Just before St. Peter's Day, Dimiter's dogs fell upon my sow as she passed his yard on her way home from pasture. The pig, which was to bear young the next day, became frightened and fell into a ditch. I immediately went to the veterinarian who told me that the pig's young would be stillborn, and sure enough, they were. I went to the priest and the mayor to ask for justice, but Dimiter told them that he didn't let his dogs out and the accident wasn't his fault. Since he was a man, nothing was done to him and I can't do anything about it myself."

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CHAPTER IX

THE NATIONAL STATE AS INTRUDER AND REFORMER

In Dragalevtsy, as in agricultural villages throughout the world, the national state was building up a loyalty in competition with the unquestioned loyalty people used to give to their family group and their community. The spread of the government-sponsored school, though its scientific teachings were elementary, weakened the hold of the formalistic, institutionalized religion which went along with a familistic society. Because of the school there was increased conflict between the older and younger generations. 178 656

Not only in time of war but also in time of peace the national government had been calling its young men to leave their plows and their cattle to take up pick or rifle. The *trudovatsi* handled the picks, and those in military training the rifles. 466 656 702

After the first World War Bulgaria initiated an ambitious program of compulsory labor as a substitute for military training, formerly required. The original plan called for service from both young men and young women. Recruiting of women later ceased for they proved unsuited to the system. The young men of the country were enrolled in labor camps where they performed their *trudova* (compulsory labor). Each young *trudovak* was required to serve eight months, though for two thousand leva, or less than $25, he could buy himself off at the end of six months. Some young men paid a total ranging from 9,000 leva to 32,000 leva, according to their economic status, to be entirely exempted from service.

The *trudovatsi* built many highways and bridges, and worked without pay in government shops, factories, and lumber plants. Their achievements were significant although much of this potential man power was unused or misused because of the lack of sufficient engineers to give proper direction to the work.

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The *trudova* system existed in principle until Bulgaria joined the Axis, though, she like all countries defeated in the first World War, passed through a period when compulsory labor was gradually replaced by compulsory military service. After the *coup d'état* of May, 1934, various groups of army officers controlled many of the country's policies; so it was not surprising to learn of the strengthening of the military forces of the nation. One sign of the government's changed policy was the fact that in 1935 not a single young man from Dragalevtsy went as a *trudovak*, but sixteen were called to do military service. Those eligible for service were called before a commission of army officers and examined; the successful ones passed on to receive military training, and the rest were returned home. Those who were rejected lost some standing in the eyes of the villagers, because it was thought that they had inherited some family weakness. The *family* rather than the individual was blamed.

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There was undeniably a great influence exercised upon the village by the practice of taking young men, in their impressionable years, away from the village for an interval of several months. They lived in an army barracks or a *trudovak* camp with other young men from different parts of the country. For a time they ceased doing some things which the village thought essential, and they learned to do other things which older family members would perhaps have frowned upon. They went out from a family system where each member worked more or less as a part of the whole; they returned often very conscious of their own individuality, and had to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought once more closed about them. There were some individuals who never again fell completely into line and who turned to Sofia for employment and a more congenial atmosphere.

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Older men who returned to the village as retired noncommissioned officers enjoyed a certain prestige that lingered after brass buttons and clumping boots had been exchanged for the conventional village attire. On the wall of the office of the Village Clerk, the names of all local officials and public employees were posted. There was considerable information regarding each man, but the concluding and perhaps most important item was the statement of the person's service

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to the State, either as a soldier or a *trudovak*. All had served in one of these capacities, else they would not have been employed.

The young men were the only ones called to leave the village. As for the rest of the people, the national government went to them in the persons of its civil servants, who comprised most of the intelligentsia. Even the priest was a government employee, since the state supported the church. The doctor received most of her salary from public funds, since private practice in a village would have been financially unrewarding. In addition to these, the veterinarian, the schoolteachers, and an occasional lecturer from outside formed the advance guard of the national State. All of these public servants knew that they would be held accountable by their supervisors or inspectors, and identified themselves much more readily with the national bureaucracy than with the peasants whom they were supposed to help. Of these, the mayor was the spearhead in the attack on the old ways. One of his duties was to preside over the village court, where he stood for the law and order of the land.

One day as I was leaving the office of the mayor he asked me to stay and attend court. I sat in the corner of the room next to a bookcase jammed with documents. The mayor sat behind his desk, covered on such occasions by the white, green, and red Bulgarian flag, on which there was a stack of folders, one for each case to be heard. On the wall over his head were pictures of the King and Queen, a beautifully colored coat of arms of Bulgaria, and a patriotic calendar. Through the window I could see the small memorial garden in which forty-four fruit trees had been planted in memory of the forty-four local sons killed in the battles of Bulgaria's several wars. Two rifles for use when the policemen were on patrol stood in the gun rack not far from the desk. A bench lined another wall close to the small cast-iron stove. Near me there was a hat rack, and a spittoon less popular than the floor. A muddy, unshaven policeman stood at the door to bark people in and out.

The first man to come in was Iliya Trunin, a thirty-two year old villager in a *kozhuh* (sheepskin coat), who was being sued by Ivan Katsarov, a tavern keeper. Iliya, instead of going to the expense of running an electric line from the main electric cable, had arranged

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656 *What other things did the village government do for the people of the village?* The *Obshtina* saw that pure water was piped to the different neighborhood fountains. In addition, the *Obshtina* had the only telephone in the village, which anyone might use upon the payment of two leva. It also had a fire pump, which, so far as could be learned, had never yet been put to work in an emergency.

656 747 The national government encouraged its village representatives to set up organizations to promote specific activities. One of these was the Red Cross, to which a score of adults, most of them of the intelligentsia or official group, had paid membership fees. The village doctor was one of the leading spirits in this association, though the mayor, having been connected with the Red Cross in Sofia, was also interested. Its activities did not get under way until after 1937, with the exception of the placing of a few posters and a drive for members. The more active Junior Red Cross, headed by the school director, stimulated the interest of children in first aid and good health practices.

A second organization was a local branch of the Union for the Protection of Children, organized by the mayor, who was also its president. Its chief activity was the serving of hot lunches to all school children who did not go home for lunch. This applied to rich and poor children alike, because the wealthier parents were often away from home and thus unable to provide a hot meal for their children. Sometimes as many as eighty of the children received their meals in the *trapezariya* (dining room). The adult members of this association or Union were also for the most part from the intelligentsia and the official groups. This hot-lunch movement had spread throughout Bulgaria into hundreds of schools. Many times it was financed outright by the government; oftentimes by private groups aided by government subsidy. This association, with the support of the *Obshtina*, distributed food to the poorest families of the village at Christmas time. For instance, the officers gave two pounds of sugar, two pounds of rice, and two pounds of meat to each of 120 families at the Christmas season. The pride and independence of the peasants was demonstrated by the fact that no families came to ask for these gifts, because no family wanted to admit it was poor enough to require them. However, those in charge of the distribution were

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well acquainted with the economic situation of the villagers and distributed the food accordingly. There was an annual meeting of the Dragalevtsy Union to hear the reports of the retiring officers and to hold the election of new officers. The basis for membership was payment of the annual fee. In other words, it was purely philanthropic, in that the members expected to get nothing in return. I was not surprised to find the names of but very few farmers on the membership list. Peasants did not yet understand organized philanthropy, though individually they might be unusually generous on occasion.

Another group in the village was known as the Association of the Decoration for Valor. In 1935 the mayor got together all of the men who had been decorated for bravery during time of war. A Sofia major talked to them and persuaded them to form a local association, after pointing out that no harm could come and that possibly some advantages might follow, such as price reductions at State baths, special rates for traveling on the railroad, and pension legislation through collective lobbying. At the time I studied the group three or four meetings had been held with unusual group harmony. There was an initiation fee of twelve leva, and an annual fee of twenty leva per member. The membership totaled twenty-eight, which showed Dragalevtsy's reputation for bravery in war. I obtained facts about the organization not only from the officers, but also from interviews with fifteen different members. The reasons given for joining were varied:

1. "To have pensions."

2. "We who have decorations are to get help from the State by working together better."

3. "The privileges of free baths, freedom from school tax, reductions on the railroad, free medicine."

4. "We were ordered to form the local association from Sofia."

5. "Said I would get an iron cross. I wrote down my name but I don't know why."

Some conflict had sprung up between the village veterans with decorations and those who received no decorations but still thought they should have been allowed to enter the association and obtain the same privileges as the others. Many association members felt the same because some friend was in this predicament. The situation became

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759 school) training and worked for two years in a lying-in hospital. The midwife, who had difficulty in winning the co-operation of the old *babi*, could not set a charge for her services but had to take only what the women gave. The State paid the midwife the equivalent of $16 each month. There was a health committee, composed of the doctor as chairman, the priest, the director of the local school and the mayor. The midwife attended unofficially. This committee met once a month to consider the problems of village hygiene and sanitation and tried to enlist public support for the doctor. The county doctor came twice a year without advance warning to visit the village doctor for the purpose of seeing if her reports were made out properly, if she exercised suitable control of the merchandise, and if she gave the school children proper supervision.

544 Another impact, of an educational sort, upon the traditional way of life was the *Naroden Universitet*, or People's University. This consisted of a series of lectures in the schoolhouse on such topics as these:

1. "Our National Awakeners: A Patriotic Talk"—by a local schoolteacher.
2. "Problems and Purposes of the Zadruga"—by the local president of this agricultural group.
3. "The Insurance of Cattle"—by a veterinarian from Sofia.
4. "Alcohol and Effects"—by a medical man from Sofia.
5. "What Village Homes and Food Should Be Like"—by a different medical man from Sofia.
6. "Concerning Faith"—by a priest from Sofia.
7. "Concerning Tuberculosis"—by the local doctor.
8. "The Cleaning of Seed"—by the district *agronom*.
9. "The Significance and Service of the Producers' Cooperatives"—by a former attorney and by the Superintendent of Cooperatives of the Bulgarian Agricultural Bank.

The mayor encouraged the peasants to attend in the hope that they would be inspired to improve their living conditions or become more loyal to the government.

871 656 Another educational group affected by the intrusion of the State was the school board. Formerly the peasants themselves controlled the board's membership, but it had become an ex officio body composed

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almost entirely of the intelligentsia. The peasants no longer had much to say about the employment of teachers, or what or how they taught. They and their children accepted what the national government, through its local representatives, provided for them. They took it or left it, but mostly took it.

The national government, along with its other activities, maintained a close connection with the national church. Before the liberation of Bulgaria, the practice arose of having three or five members act as a church board in each village. Even if there happened to be no church building, this group was elected to see about the construction of one. Such a board followed the familistic practice of expecting elders to manage local affairs. After the growth of the national state the board was continued, but subjected to outside control. In Dragalevtsy it consisted of five people: the priest (who was the president), a treasurer, and three other village men who acted as a control committee to audit the work of the old board which they succeeded at the end of its two-year term. In the past the biennial election was held on a Sunday morning immediately after church. But the government took care to see that only those men who had the right to vote *politically* were eligible to elect the church board from a list of candidates prepared by the priest. As the priest prepared his slate with the help of the older people in the village, his choices usually met with the approval of the majority of men.

A candidate had to be an Orthodox Christian by baptism, should never have been in a lawsuit, should not be a drunkard, thief, and the like, nor an atheist opposed to the church. The elections had to be approved by the Sofia Metropolitan, or the high church court, thus removing the authority still further from the village. An office of an elective nature such as this carried a great deal of honor with it. The duties of the office were not burdensome because the church possessed no lands to be administered. Traditionally the church board was supposed to aid in enforcement of Sabbath observance, but members were not particularly zealous in carrying out this obligation. The priest had been having trouble of late with one board member who had become such a tippler that the board's prestige was suffering. If some question needed to be decided, as was the case about five or six times

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CONCLUSION

571 178 The concept "social contact" implies both the possibility of contact as well as psychic interaction.[28] The quantitative measurements of this study deal chiefly with the possibilities which the peasants have or create for social interaction, since these were sufficiently clear-cut for the village officials and peasants to measure. But when it came to the more intangible element of psychic interaction I had to rely on direct personal observation. Therefore, the following conclusions are based in part on statistics and in part upon observation:

369 571 178 1. Proximity to a "city-culture" and frequent trips to the city on the part of the villagers does not necessarily mean psychological contact with that "city-culture." For the most part, the peasant moves in a peasant world even while in the city. It is quite natural for him to attach himself to the familiar.

2. Proximity to the city may in itself be a deterrent to the ready acceptance of "city ways" on the part of the villager, since he constantly confronts fashions, habits, and viewpoints which clash decidedly with his own. This leads me to wonder whether or not "modernization," granting that it is desirable, might not come more quickly through a small, provincial town which is more in keeping with rural thought and life than through direct contact with the city. The hikers who visit Dragalevtsy, although causing dissatisfaction, make the mature peasant more resistant to city influences; these visitors do seem to have an influence upon the young; but it would be hazardous to guess to what degree, because so often the seemingly liberal young people become conservative when they have children of their own.

656 369 571 178 3. Government leaders in their attempt to raise the peasants' standard of living visit the village systematically for lectures and some demonstrations. They seem to be overlooking the fact that thousands of peasants regularly visit the city where, if some Peasant Center could be established, methods of improved living could be interpreted in a favorable light. Some such approach would lessen the peasant's negativism toward the city, a negativism which has been built up as a defense or as a result of genuine disapproval.

4. The statistics relative to the reading matter which comes into the village weekly show how little is being done effectively to influence the peasant by letters, journals, and other publications, although the literacy rate for males over fifteen years is 92.

[28] At first I had in mind the formulation of a contact Index such as Kulp used in his Chinese study, *Familism in South China*. I soon found that the various contacts were of varying intensity, concerned different types of people, and would, therefore, require separate weighting. My methods were not refined enough to make such weightings feasible. Furthermore, aside from the methodological interest, the value of such an index would be limited to the study of other Bulgarian villages in the same cultural setting.

467 acy can be . . . their constantly teaching the working class that the only correct road is the organization of patriotic socialist competitions and the fulfillment of the state economic plans."[28] And the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party[29] added that "the most important role of the trade unions in a proletarian dictatorship is their organizational-economic and educational role—their role as schools of communism."

It seems obvious that trade unions in a democratic country and their Communist counterpart have absolutely nothing in common except their name. In fact, their nature, functions and aims are diametrically opposed to each other. In Bulgaria, they are channels of the Communist government and can be best compared with an economic police force, operating in factories and other places where the economic plans of the government are being implemented.

How, then, is it at all possible to speak about collective bargaining, when the two contracting parties are, in last analysis, representatives of one and the same Communist state authority? Still, the Bulgarian Communists persist in using the term "collective" or "individual labor contract,"[30] although in theory as well as in practice they exclude any conflict-of-interest matters from contractual regulation. Following the Soviet
465 example, even wages and standards of out-
● 656 put are excluded as subjects of bargaining and reserved for exclusive governmental regulation. Wages in Communist Bulgaria are determined on the basis of "labor norms"—that is, production quotas—prescribed by the government for each category of workers. If a worker is not able to fulfill his norm, he is paid according to the quantity and quality of the finished product. This piece-work system is the antipode of the system of hourly wages and was banished in 1905 as a remnant of Turkish feudalism.[31]
466 Thus, the Bulgarian Government is absolute
656 master in decreeing all important labor

Preustroyavanetto na Sotsializma v Nas (Sofia: 1951), p. 38, in Bulgarian.

[30] Cf. Pt. II, Ch. I and II of the Code of Labor.

[31] Indicative of Communist hypocrisy is the fact that, before 1905, the Bulgarian Communists were bitter opponents of the piece-work system, even for shoemakers, denouncing it as "the most detestable exploitation by the hyenas of private capitalism," Ivan Iliev, *Rabotsicheskio Syndicalno Dvizhenije v Bulgaria* (Sofia: 1927), p. 87, in Bulgarian. Communists everywhere, if out of power, violently oppose piece-work, yet introduce and hail it as "the most progressive achievement of the socialist state," once they take over.

466 656 conditions of the alleged individual or collective "agreements," without any negotiation on the part of the workers. Actually, the "labor contract" represents a model form, prepared in advance by the government, and submitted for signature to the labor arm of the government—the trade union committee—thus legally binding all workers to a document in the formulation of which they have not at all participated.

468 656 The secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chankov, calls the labor contract an "economic-political document . . . a means for the mobilization of the working class for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan" and frankly states that "the job of the trade unions with respect to the collective labor contracts by no means ends with the unions' task to sign the contracts. In fact, it starts only then. The most important aspect of their function is that, after the contracts have been signed, the trade unions exercise uninterrupted control and criticism of the administration of the contracts and mobilize the workers and employees for the contracts' fulfillment."[27]

It is obvious that those "contracts" represent nothing but a legally enforceable document with which the government imposes one-sided obligations upon the Bulgarian workers. The only consideration of the Communists in resorting to them seems to be their desire to give the outside world the impression of free labor relations within the Soviet orbit.

The provisions related to the settlement of labor disputes are also symptomatic in this respect. While using the term "labor disputes," the Bulgarian Communists not only shrink its subject matter to predominantly technical problems on the factory level, but also proclaim the supremacy of the executive over the judiciary in settling the disputes.[28] In practice, the dispute seldom leaves the first stage, the so-called conciliatory commission, composed of the persons who signed the collective agreements and reflecting the identical source of authority—the Communist government. It seldom happens, therefore, that the representatives of the government-employer and of the government-controlled committee are allowed

[27] Work cited at footnote 24, pp. 54-55.

671 [28] Cf. Pt. II, Ch. IX of the Code of Labor. Also, supplementary decrees in *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Nos. 38, May 9, 1952, and 47, June 3, 1952. Art. 143 of the Code, in particular, prohibits appeals to conciliation boards and courts for disputes involving disciplinary punishments or dismissal by the trade union or the governmental authori-

468 656 to disagree on the settlement of a labor dispute. If they should, the last word is explicitly reserved for the executive.

The collapse of collective bargaining and the regimentation of the labor force have restricted labor relations to technical questions and have transformed labor law into a means for enforcing governmental policy. The key institution of the Communist system vis-à-vis labor has become the so-called socialist discipline of labor.

466 656 "Socialist labor discipline" represents a system of rules affecting the conduct of the workers in any Communist enterprise, office or organization. Its aim is to increase production and productivity of labor without any particular regard to the real capacities of the national economy and of the labor force, including the individual worker. Within the limits of a governmentally recruited, directed and controlled labor force, "socialist labor discipline" embraces all regulations enacted by the Communist administration of every establishment which fix the specific obligations of the workers. In short, it is the regime under which the worker must perform his daily work, to which he is assigned and which he cannot leave.

It has been said that labor remuneration in Communist Bulgaria is based on the piece-work system. Accordingly, the primary requirement of the administration is that the worker fulfills his daily norm in order to get his full wage. But since norms are established by the State Institute for Labor Norms on the basis of the capacity of 5 to 10 per cent of the most productive workers, the remaining 90 to 95 per cent are driven to catch up by the rigorous labor discipline.[29]

466 671 The only possible way to reach the norm is to work more. That is why Article 43 of the Labor Code announces a "nonfixed working day" and Article 46(a) to (f) allows overtime work for a variety of purposes, in spite of general provisions to the contrary in Articles 39 and 43. The Decree for Overtime Work[30] dispels possible doubts by stating, in its Article 11, that "workers and employees cannot refuse . . . to perform overtime work. If they think that the imposed overtime work is unlawful, they

ties. In such cases the worker or employee may only appeal to higher administrative authorities.

[29] Cf. Leland Stowe, *Conquest by Terror* (New York: Random House, 1952), p. 135. While norms are constantly revised and increased, wages remain almost the same, so that, in 1951 alone, there was an automatic wage reduction of up to 25 per cent (p. 136).

[30] Text of decree in *Trud*, May 15, 1952.

 page 614 b.

175 In 1232, Kaloyan's successor, Ivan Asen, denounced
195 the union and severed all ties with the Roman Catholic Church.

During the nearly five centuries of Turkish rule (1393-1878) supreme authority over religious matters in the Bulgarian lands was vested in the Patriarch of Constantinople who was recognized very early (15th century) by the Turks as the religious head of all Christians in their empire. A Bulgarian Archbishopric at Ochrida was nevertheless allowed to function untill 1766 when the Greek Patriarch finally prevailed over the Turks to have this last vestige of Bulgarian past abolished.

[656] According to the general principle of the Ottoman law the non-Mohamedan communities enjoyed the jurisdiction not only in the religious matters but also in domestic relations and inheritance. Thus, all the disputes arising in this field among the Bulgarians were in fact judged in the last analysis by the dignitaries of the Patriarch of Constantinople who were predominantly Greek.

After the collapse of the State, the Bulgarian clergy was either banished or eliminated, thus opening a spiritual vacuum which was swiftly filled by the Patriarch's hierarchy, leaving only remote monasteries intact. From these very monasteries were to spring three centuries later (1762) the strong currents of a national Renaissance which finally culminated in religious and cultural emancipation of the Bulgarian nation from the Greek Patriarchate and Political liberation from the Ottoman Empire.

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II. Establishment of a Bulgarian Exarchate and Relations with the Patriarchate of Constantinople

A. Under the Turkish Rule, 1870-1878

With the approval of the Moslem Sultans, the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople maintained a complete religious, and in many instances, cultural control over the areas inhabited by the Bulgarian people. A detailed apparatus was set up manned by appointees of the Patriarch exclusively. Treated as being the spoils of the office, the population was exposed to corruption and threat of Hellenization. Reaction was sporadic until 1762 when an obscure Bulgarian monk, Father Paisiy, published his History of the Bulgarian People and roving the country to let the people copy his book, aroused national pride and consciousness. From then on, the ideas of a separate Bulgarian political and cultural entity gave birth to a movement for national awakening and emancipation. Wisely, it first concentrated on the issue of Greek religious authority over Bulgarian lands versus a national Bulgarian church within the Turkish Empire. The issue came to a climax in the events of 1870-1872.

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In 1870, the Turkish Government finally intervened in the religious dispute between the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Bulgarian population under its jurisdiction and issued an Imperial Decree (Firman) which recognized the validity of the Bulgarians' claim to an independent ecclesiastical authority and provided for the establishment of an autonomous Bulgarian Exarchate. In designating the area of jurisdiction of the new

656 795 175 Church, the Firman enumerated some of the Bulgarian-populated regions and provided for the holding of a plebiscite to determine the preference of the rest of the Bulgarian lands:

> If the population of any other places besides those enumerated above, and professing the Orthodox faith, should wish unanimously or at least by a two-thirds majority to be subject to the Bulgarian Exarchate, and if subsequent investigation should prove this to be so, their desire should be gratified (Article 10).*

795 In the following year, an all-Bulgarian church council convened at Constantinople to lay the foundations of a national Bulgarian church. The council met with stubborn opposition on the part of the Patriarchate which, claiming the status of an ecumenical church, refused to consent to the proposed creation of a church on the principle of nationality. The formula of the Ottoman Government in the Firman of 1870 whereby the Exarchate, though autonomous, was to recognize the primacy of the Patriarchate, would have avoided all the conflict if it had not been for the issue of the Exarch's residence. Supported by the Ottoman government, the Bulgarian council took the stand that the residence of the Exarch must be in Constantinople, capital of the Ottoman Empire and seat of the Patriarchate. The Patriarchate opposed the Exarch's having a seat in the same locality as the Patriarch himself.

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* The full text of this important document is in Stoyan Protic, The Aspirations of Bulgaria (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton and Co.,1915), appendix.

B. The General Law of 1949

1. Summary and Analysis

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The Communist Government promulgated, on March 1, 1949, a general law on the religious denominations in the country (Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 48, March 1, 1949). The full text of the law is given infra, (2). This law was promulgated while the trial of the Protestant pastors was in progress. Although it recognizes that the "Bulgarian Orthodox Church is the traditional religion of the Bulgarian people associated with its history" and suggest that "it may become the people's democratic church" (Section 3), the law introduces a uniform regime for all denominations, the over-all detailed control of which is vested in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. While it restates the constitutional provisions for freedom of conscience and religion and separation of church and state, the law recognizes only the exercise of "religious rituals" (Section 2) and makes no mention of activities for the propagation of the faith. To exist, a denomination requires recognition by the government granted through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Section 6) subject to arbitrary withdrawal. Recognition by the government of a denomination carries with it the status of a legal entity for its church.

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The governing bodies of the denominations are responsible before the government (Section 9) and must be composed of Bulgarian nationals (Section 10). Clergymen who "act against the democratic institutions of the state" may be

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removed from office upon the request of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Section 12).

In financial matters, the annual budgets of the denominations must be submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; "when necessary, the state may subsidize them (the denominations)" (Section 13). All financial, hierarchical or personal relations with institutions abroad must be conducted through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Section 22 and 24).

The denominations are permitted to open schools for the training of ministers subject to control by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Section 14) but cannot maintain hospitals, orphanages and the like (Section 21). All messages, circular letters and publications issued by the denominations are subject to previous approval by the same Ministry which may stop such publications (Section 15).

An important feature of the new regime of denominational control is the registration of the governing bodies with the public authorities (Section 16). Furthermore, religious institutions established abroad cannot have subdivisions in the country; all such subdivisions are to be closed within one month from the promulgation of the law (Section 23). Within the same period the denominations must submit lists of their ministers to the Minister of Foreign Affairs which may request the dismissal of any one found objectionable (Section 31).

local population. The most active of those groups in that respect was the nationalistic organisation "National Defence", under the leadership of a reserve general. Now and then the members of that organisation staged a raid on some Jewish shops in Sofia where there lived no less than 20,000 Jews. But those sorties usually provoked by some discourteous act of the Jewish merchants, or of his employees, towards their Bulgarian customers, were ostracized by the government.

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The situation changed abruptly at the beginning of World War II when the victories of the German Army in France made Hitler the virtual master of Europe. Bulgaria could not but take into account this change, the more so since her government was obviously inclined toward Germany. King Boris, whose power knew no limit, appointed then to the Ministry of Interior an attorney, none too intelligent, but an ardent Germanophile, who began to apply the national-socialist principles in the country and especially the theory of the purity of the race, which was claimed to be endanged in Bulgaria too. The national-socialists were shocked by the great liberty which the Jews enjoyed in Bulgaria, and openly began to talk of its suppression. Under German pressure, the Bulgarian government began to restrict its Jewish citizens. In December 1940 it sponsored in the legislature and the latter voted a law on the "Defence of the Nation", which deprived the Jewish citizens of their liberty and made them a lower class of citizens. The Jews were deprived of the right to serve in

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government or public institutions and in the army; the right to own landed property and movie theaters, and the right to publish newspapers or to participate in their publication. The Jews were forbidden to marry Bulgarians or hire Bulgarian maids and the Jewish children were denied admission to Bulgarian schools. Jewish participation in commerce and industry was made proportional to the Jewish population. This was very difficult to establish and resulted, therefore, in numerous abuses. Provision was made for the forcible evacuation of the Jewish population from the capital to the country, so as to remove it from the sight of the Germans, who were preparing to enter Bulgaria. Jewish youngmen, who were forbidden to fulfill their military service together with their Bulgarian fellow citizens, were sent to serve in the labor detachments organized after the first world war when the subsequent peace treaty prohibited universal military training in Bulgaria, and the Bulgarians replaced it with the so-called labor service for the utilization of the conscripts for various public works, mainly road construction. This organization was maintained after the creation of a regular army and still exists. The fact that the Jews were drafted into the labor service did not indicate discrimination. Discrimination consisted of the creation of separate units for the Jews, which, of course, were treated more severely than the others.

Nobody was pleased by this law, inspired by the desire to disprove the reproaches which the Germans were making to the

government, and King Boris, after signing the law, preferred to suspend its application for six months with the hope that events would allow him to abandon it as an unnecessary measure against public opinion. The government confined itself to the mere registration of all Jewish property, movable and immovable. However, when the German Army entered Bulgaria in March 1941, and in April, crushed and occupied Yugoslavia and Greece, anti-Jewish legislation could no longer be deferred. Since King Boris disliked to sign outright discriminatory laws, a law was passed which authorized the Council of Ministers to issue decrees designed to settle the Jewish and related questions. Another law assessed a levy of 20 percent on all property of the Jews. A third law took away from the Jews the concessional pharmacies by obliging them to liquidate their business. (In Bulgaria pharmacies are opened only with a concession from the authorities which give these concessions under strict conditions, and for strictly limited sections of the community under state control.)

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Acting on the authority of the powers given him by the legislature, the Council of Ministers established a special Commissariat for Jewish Affairs, which was given extensive powers, and which was placed under the direction of one of the most embittered persons in the country, acting in close cooperation with the German Legation in Sofia. It was this Commissariat which introduced the regime of limitations for the Jews who were required to sell all apartments and houses not used as personal residences; i.e., those which were rented, as well as the stock piles of various articles which they had

hoarded at the beginning of the war. The Jews were required to entrust the Bulgarian National Bank with all their valuables, stocks, bonds, and insurance policies, and to liquidate their participation in various commercial and industrial enterprises. Property owned by Bulgarian Jews living abroad was simply seized. In the field of liberal professions, only 53 Jews were admitted to free practice, of which 21 were attorneys, 21 physicians, 7 dentists, 3 chemists, and 1 architect; most of them were allowed to practice because they were either decorated war veterans or converts to Christianity. Special identification cards were issued to Jews, and in order to distinguish them from Bulgarians, they were forced to wear on the lapels of their coats a yellow star of David (foreign Jews and war veterans were to wear red circles). Jewish radio and telephone receivers were often abused by the pro-German part of the population; but they never lost the sympathy of the people who knew that all of this was due to the Germans.

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In Macedonia, which was occupied by Bulgarian troops but under German rule, the situation was slightly different. There were not many Jews there; they were assembled in one place, not in a concentration camp, as such a thing did not exist, but in a little town from where the Germans, one night in 1942, deported them without even informing the Bulgarian authorities, and transported them to Poland in closed freight cars.

The Germans could not treat the Bulgarian Jews in the

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same way; but they were determined to deport them with the consent of the government. To this effect they recived the cooperation of the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs and signed with the latter a formal agreement, which was ratified by the Council of Ministers, and according to which the government agreed to hand over to the German Government a certain number of Bulgarian Jews. This agreement was published by the press after a change in the government took place, but at the time it was kept strictly secret. The Jews, however, learned that they were to be sent to the German concentration camps and frenziedly began to look for protection. A spontaneous outburst of protests arose among the Bulgarian population, which had been badly rattled by the passage through the country of the freight trains loaded with the Macedonian Jews on its way to Romania. By the sickening scenes of the conditions of their transportation, the impression made by this action was shocking, and when it was learned that the same fate was reserved for the Bulgarian Jews, the whole country rose in a wave of protests which was expressed in thousands of letters addressed to the Court, imploring insistingly, and some even menacingly, the Head of the State to prevent this shame. The frothing created was such that the King saw himself obliged to emerge from his passiveness and to warn the Germans discreetly, but firmly, that he was not responsible for the order and the peace in the country if they continued this action. The Germans understood the warning and forsook the deportation of the Jews from Bulgaria. Instead, they

deported the Jews en masse from Sofia forcibly to two main Jewish centers in the country, namely, the towns of Pleven and Vratza. There the Jews lived unmolested until the Coup d'Etat of September 9, 1944, when the new government immediately restored them to their former status. Thus, the Bulgarian Jews, although they suffered material and moral damages, were saved from destruction, contrary to what happened in some of the other countries occupied by Germany.

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The new government repealed all anti-Jewish legislation; all the seized or sequestered property was returned to the Jewish owners. A special decree-law was promulgated for "the settlement of the consequences of the revocation of anti-Jewish legislation affecting private property." The Jews were given full satisfaction. This was at the beginning. No laws or decrees were disclosed which would discriminate against the Jews or restrict the exercise of Jewish faith. However, the general program of nationalization of industry and commerce affected strongly the source of livelihood of many Jews in Bulgaria. Once the government had nationalized all the commerce and all the industry of the country, most of the Jews were deprived of the exercise of their trade. Since 1947, they have been emigrating en masse to Palestine. According to a letter from Israel, published in the organ of the Bulgarian National Committee "Free and Independent Bulgaria" of October 28, 1949, there already are 40,000 Bulgarian Jews in Israel, and there are only about 8,000 Jews left in Bulgaria, which are awaiting their turn to leave, with the exception of 2,000 to 3,000 at the most who are

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exile to renunciation of the Bulgarian character of the school. With their few belongings that they managed to salvage, they sought refuge in Bulgaria. 795 797 563

The Uniate movement did not expand after the establishment of the Exarchate in 1871 and the creation of a Bulgarian State in 1879. The towns of Adrianople and Kukush were devastated and almost destroyed by the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913. Turkey and Greece soon thereafter expelled most of the Bulgarian population of these regions. The Uniates among them were dispersed throughout Bulgaria and disappeared as an organized religious community. 795 175

Between the two world wars a powerful Catholic action was begun by Italy in the Balkans and particularly in Bulgaria. This action was carried out by a special religious organization called "Pro Oriente". It did not, however, pursue religious aims but pure Italian propaganda and there is beyond the scope of this report.

The foreign denominations, however, have even enjoyed the greatest freedom in Bulgaria, this freedom being consecrated by the Constitution itself (see supra) and were under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which also took care of the ecclesiastic affairs of the Bulgarian Church. The Constitution of 1879 had created in this Ministry a bureau in charge of the denominations. 656

The need for a special law for the foreign denominations was not even felt under the pre-war regime. Such a law was not 671

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2. The reasons for joining were varied:

a. "I have six cows. Need help in case a cow dies."

b. "I wanted to get money from the bank."

c. "The veterinary doctor enrolled me when he organized the association."

3. All members were satisfied with the officers who represented them.

4. The relations with the Co-operative Bank in Sofia had been cordial. Once a year the bank sent out a commission to see that everything in the village was in order; a commission also came out in case of the death of an animal.

The Insurance Association illustrated the way many village organizations arose in Bulgarian villages. The idea of the organization originated in Sofia, was put into effect by a State employee, and members were recruited from those who thought that their interests would be served by belonging. A glance at the list of members, ranging in age from twenty-four to sixty, showed that they were among the most enterprising in the village. The organization would doubtless have been only half as large had it not been for the ruling of the bank which required insurance on any animals put up as collateral. Since the association did not attempt to teach the peasants how to feed or stable the animals, it was missing a real opportunity for further service.

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The traditional economy of Dragalevtsy had therefore been subjected not only to the incursion of commerce with its emphasis upon money, but also to the formation of co-operatives to meet some specific needs of a group of interested persons. In addition there was a concerted effort throughout Bulgaria by the national government to raise the peasants' plane of living. Some of this activity found expression in Dragalevtsy, largely through the initiative of the county agent or *agronom* who was concerned with the improvement of agriculture and livestock. Since he had to care for almost a score of other villages, his visits to Dragalevtsy were few and far between, so the peasants were quite correct in saying that little was being done for the improvement of agriculture in the village. While the county *agronom*

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gave lectures at intervals during the year and consulted with some farmers regarding their work, he could not initiate and carry through a thorough program without the help of a local *agronom*. 476 657 178

As far as livestock was concerned, there were two boars and one village bull for breeding purposes. The law required that each *Obshtina* take charge of its own breeding animals. There was supposed to be a local breeding association, but the mayor was the only member. A fund was being collected for a village barn. Meanwhile, the animals were boarded out to various peasants who received a fixed sum. Improvement of livestock was more easily managed through the control of male animals, which were inspected each spring. Those of bad quality were castrated (the veterinary's fees for this work being the following: pig, 10 leva; donkey, 20 leva; horse, 40 leva). If the animal died, the State paid for the loss. I happened to visit the village at the time the veterinary doctor was making his inspection of horses. Before he could begin his thorough examination, the representative of the *Obshtina* looked over the bills of sale to be sure each man had his own horses. This bill of sale cost 3 per cent of the amount exchanged. If the horses had been foaled at the home of the present owners, the men presented certificates of ownership which they had previously obtained from the mayor for fifteen leva. If the doctor found that a horse was ill, a second examination was made two weeks later. If the animal was still sick, State officials bought the horse for a small sum and killed it. A fine ranging from two hundred to five hundred leva was charged if the horses were not brought for the examination. While a national program for home demonstration work had been prepared, Dragalevtsy so far had received few benefits. 232 476

Recreation, like economic life, had been subjected to efforts at organization. The people of Dragalevtsy customarily associated liquor with holidays and leisure time. In the earlier days there was little organized opposition to the use of alcohol, but by 1922 considerable public opinion had been aroused against the *kruchmi*. On January 1, 1922, all the taverns of the village were closed by order of the Village Council, which thought that the drink shops were a social evil. The village was very much stirred up, most of the men siding with the tavern keepers and the women with the Village Council. The tavern 273 733

AGRICULTURE

by hail which is frequent in Bulgaria. Scattered holdings considerably reduced the risk from such loss, for only some of the strips belonging to one farmstead could be so affected. But this custom has outlived its usefulness, for the State now insures farmers against such loss[z] at a very slight charge, and it has wisely embarked on a policy of encouraging the unification of holdings; even a law has been passed, rendering this obligatory in any commune, 50% of the inhabitants of which express a desire to have their scattered strips unified. Unfortunately little progress has been made so far in this direction owing to the extreme diversity of the quality of the soil in most localities and to the fact that the peasantry is over-conservative by nature, and this is apparent from the comparatively few farmers who insure against loss by hail. In 1934 their number was stated to be 99,600, the premiums collected 22 million leva, and the disbursements made by the State for losses by hail sustained by 25,000 farmers amounted to 25 millions. The average annual loss caused by hail is estimated at 500 millions. Even as regards their cattle, farmers appear equally conservative, for in 1934 out of a total head of large cattle numbering 3 millions, only 105,000 head of cattle vere insured. 241 423 [657]

If this policy of unifying the scattered strips could be carried through, some 400,000 hectares would be rendered available for cultivation which are now occupied by roads, pathways, boundaries, hedges etc. T. At. Yaranov in his "Bulgaria to-day and to-morrow" estimates the cost ot carrying out this unification of the various strips at 1,584 million leva, or roughly at 4000 leva per hectare, and as the actual price of farm land devoted to cereal cultivation averages 5,000 to 8,000 [1] leva, the operation would be practicable. The advantages to be derived from

[1] The pre-war price ranged between 1000 to 1500 leva (gold) per hectare.

z [i.e. hail damage,[181] see cat. 116, p. 180-181-A]

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godchild's wedding. This strange custom illustrated that where there is a *must*, such as *having* to have a godparent, there was a traditional method for correcting any irregularity.

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Another *must* for the children, at least from the government point of view, was school attendance. The child began his formal education at seven years of age. In the "good old days" much ceremony attended this event. The peasants called the teacher *"Kandilo,"* a candle, the one to light the path for the child entrusted to him. As education became more common, the old ceremonies died out. All that remained of that old ceremonial respect was the handful of flowers the children sometimes gathered in the fields for a favorite teacher.

In Turkish times, only boys attended school. Educational activity in Dragalevtsy, however, took a new lease on life with the completion of the excellent building in 1931, made financially possible by the help of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior. The school consisted of four primary grades and three classes which were termed the "pro-gymnasium." Boys and girls were supposed to complete the pro-gymnasium, though they could drop out as soon as they reached their fifteenth year. The director was in charge of all of the school's activity, under the supervision of the school inspectors.

The diagram on the following page illustrates the educational hierarchy of the country.

Few decisions were left to the local school authorities, whose duties had become largely administrative, in the sense of observing the regulations handed down from above. As the school director said, "Everything is controlled from the *Inspection*, though the teachers have much freedom in the classroom." Even this freedom was supervised. At the conclusion of each class the teacher had to go to the office and list the work taken up that hour, the questions asked, and assignments made. The inspector made surprise inspections of the health situation, the records of the director, and, if he chose, of the lesson notebooks of the school children. The purpose of this inspection was to check up and control, not to supervise constructively.

The school was supported financially by the Dragalevtsy *Obshtina*, though the salaries of the eight teachers were paid by the national

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●658 871 government through the Ministry of Education. Parents had no fee to pay, unless the child continued his education in a gymnasium in Sofia.

[593] [861] There was, the director said, a noticeable relationship between the type of home and success in school work. Uneducated parents did not provide good conditions for study, since the pupils had no tables on which to write, no quiet, and lived in unhygienic surroundings. The more intelligent parents did their best to remedy such defective conditions. Most of the children had a great desire to study, but unfortunately many parents killed this enthusiasm. They either sent their children to tend the cattle, or, if the student gave lessons as an excuse for not doing some task, the parent said, "You don't need all that stuff from books."

876 At times the teachers gave some of the poor but bright students garments, shoes, and caps. The students receiving the mark six (excellent) were taken free of charge on a trip to a theater in Sofia, were given a free bath at the public bathhouse, and a large bowl of soup in a Sofia restaurant. As the director said, "Prizes help a great deal to stimulate study, and those who do not attain them are very disappointed." Five or six times a year the teachers took the older pupils to Sofia to visit the zoological gardens, the museums, a monastery, and sometimes a movie theater.

871 A glance at the list of courses on page 135 shows how the subjects were distributed through the first seven years of school. The tendency had been to follow the conventional courses of Western Europe, without any real adaptation to the needs of the villagers.

872 The textbooks, uniform for the whole Sofia district, were chosen by the Ministry of Education. While most students bought their own paperback textbooks, the school had approximately $245 in its budget for a textbook loan library to aid the poor students. The teachers assigned written work at intervals; for instance, the teacher in history and geography would give homework every five or six lessons, the teacher in arithmetic every day. All students recited daily because of the small number in the class, but written tests and examinations were not employed to the extent they are in American schools. Near the end of the semester one written lesson was required in each

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ment mark was written on his diploma, thus following him throughout life. Therefore teachers found it more of a trial to lower a student's conduct mark than to fail him scholastically. All discipline cases were sent to the director, who reprimanded the student or sent the child home to his parents. The law did not permit corporal punishment, although many parents would have been glad to give the director the right. The final step, to which the director seldom resorted, was to require the student to attend school in a neighboring village.

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There was little friction between the parents and the local school authorities, probably because the schools were a branch of the government and one seldom protested loudly against the government. If some trouble arose, parents complained to the school director, who passed the complaint on to the mayor.

There was nothing in Dragalevtsy, or in any other Bulgarian village, comparable to our Parent-Teacher Association. The very old peasants still regarded the government school as an outside and, therefore, slightly suspicious innovation—valuable for "the people of the world" perhaps, but yet to be proved indispensable for the village. Most of them agreed that the school widened the already existing difference in attitude between young and old. I once heard a good-humored disagreement between a mother and her twenty-five-year-old son. The woman had been explaining to me that she went to church to pray to God to help with the fields, to send rain and sunshine.

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"But mother," interrupted the son impatiently, "the rain doesn't come from God."

"From where does it come then?"

The son sighed as though he were exhausted by endless repetition of a lesson to a stubborn child.

"From vapors up above, as the books tell us."

The old woman grinned undaunted.

"Well, God gives the vapors."

In spite of the suspicion toward anything new, the peasants were, on the whole, favorable toward education. While they slyly pointed out instances of unemployment among the intelligentsia, they were shrewd enough to see the economic advantages of formal schooling. Many villagers told me of a Dragalevtsy man who got a gymnasium

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(secondary school) education, found no work in Sofia, and came back to farm his land. The fact that he could survey his fields, keep his accounts, and do various other things more quickly and efficiently than his unschooled neighbors, had made him a living example of the benefits of education, as far as the Dragalevtsy farmers were concerned.

I had often heard both Bulgarians and foreigners say that children in Bulgarian villages did not know how to play. Though such a statement accurately describes the past, it was certainly becoming less true because of the growing influence of the school. Nevertheless, with the exception of certain games played in the pastures, children's group games were new to the village.

The older people said that fifty years ago there were almost no games; even these few were played only by men and boys while the women and girls always carried their knitting needles or distaffs with them. "The women sang while they worked and that was their game. The lonely shepherd boy had his *kaval* [flute]." Most of the old people had absolutely no recollection of games they played when young, which probably accounted for their unfriendly attitude toward children's games. One laconic old *baba* snapped: "The children throw stones at one another for a game."

There was much difference of opinion among the adults as to just what the children did in their playtime and with whom they played. A young man told me that children played together even if the families were unfriendly, but an older woman insisted that parents completely controlled their children's choice of playmates. The simplest way of getting at the truth was to talk to the children themselves. The children were used to seeing me and were uniformly friendly, often running to meet me as I came up the lane from the meadows. I had photographed many of them and knew their parents, so it was easy to get them to talk.

One solemn little group of five girls told me they were playing, which I took to mean that they were at leisure for the moment, for they were simply sitting on the ground by the stream trickling down the village street.

"What do you play?"

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Another cultural Institution which deserves mentioning is the National Library at Sofia which contains a magnificent collection of some 4,000 old Bulgarian monuscripts dating as far back as the 13th century, some 10,000 Arabian and Turkish manuscripts, containing a vast amount of material relative to the history of the Balkan peninsula, about 100,000 historical documents, letters, etc. The Library possesses some 200,000 volumes in Bulgarian, being copies of all books which have been published in Bulgaria, as well as a certain number of foreign works. The present premises are altogether too exiguous to lodge the collections of books and provide reading accomodation for the ever-pressing throng of students and visitors. The writer, who often visited the library and wishes to ackowledge the courtesy he has always met from its much harassed officials, was strongly impressed by the strenuous efforts visitors to the library used to make and the patience and perseverance they displayed in order to secure access to its very limited reading room. It is very much to be regretted that neither the Carnegie nor Rockfeller Foundations, which have endowed so many public libraries, which often remain whole days without visitors, should not have rendered some materiel assistance to this particular library which is perpetually overcrowded. It is a great pity also that the Bulgarian Government has not been able to provide some resources wherewith to remedy, at least partially, to this lack of accomodation, which hampers the work of all visitors to the library. There are national libraries at Plovdiv, Tirnovo and Shumen, and all municipalities of large towns have well organised public libraries, of which at least 200 function regularly throughout Bulgaria. Much has been done to organise public reading rooms in villages and in April 1934 it was reported that some 2,356 such public reading rooms had already been opened, of which 1243 were organised in one syndicate with a total membership of 103,000.

A PSIHOLOGICAL ESSAY

Owing to the lack of funds, the activities of these reading rooms, of which 1,208 are in rural districts, were rather circumscribed, their stock of books was reported to be 847,426, and the books purchased during the year numbered only 127,757. 217 658

The new educational reforms comtemplate the suppression of about two thirds of the existing colleges so as to impede access to the higher training establishments and the University. The colleges will be replaced by practical schools, after the German „real schule", a system which according to Prof. Yorga has concurred in dehumanising the youth of Germany. Only those students who posses exceptional endowments will be allowed to complete their college training and qualify for a University education. 871

A PSYCHOLOGICAL ESSAY

All who have come in close touch with the Bulgarian people have been impressed by such characteristic traits as their diligence, assiduousness, their fondness of labour and their persevering and indefatigable devotion to the land which they till. Frugal and abstemious in the extreme, the Bulgarian peasant provides for his modest needs from the produce of his farm. This form of life which tends to make him self-sufficing and independent of his neighhours has rendered him self-reliant and self-centred to an extreme degree and has militated strongly against the development of social virtues in him. He is capable of submitting to extreme privations, he scoffs at physical suffering, and is almost insensible to pain. He detests affectation and bragging, and takes pride only in collective achievements, national or military. In this he displays a striking similarity to the Japanese whom he 181

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875 were turned over to Greece and Yugoslavia, respectively, after the first World War; while Dimiter was from the section of Thrace which Bulgaria was forced to surrender. Since the teachers had such backgrounds it was no wonder that adorning one of the classrooms was a sign, "NEMA MIR DOKATO NEUILLY" or "There will be no peace as long as the Treaty of Neuilly is in force."

The director of the school was a vigorous woman with splendid preparation for her task. She told me on several occasions how disappointed she was that her teachers took so little interest in helping the peasants improve their way of life. They were supposed to spend Sunday afternoons visiting the homes of their pupils in an effort to advise parents in matters of child care and standards of hygiene. Actually, the teachers, being all too human, preferred to spend the week end in Sofia rather than reform the unenthusiastic adults.

[565] 527 659 The intelligentsia were usually seen in their glory at some great occasion such as the celebration of an important holiday. The event which caused most excitement during my six years of residence in Bulgaria was the birth of Prince Simeon, heir apparent to the throne of his father, King Boris. The exercises which were held in Dragalevtsy four days after the royal birth in 1937 showed how the intellectuals worked hand in hand, since the school, the church, and the state were so closely allied.

[796] The crowd had to wait at least forty-five minutes for the priests from the monastery who were to help Father Sava with the liturgy of the *vodosvet*, or consecration of the holy water, whose sprinkling gave official religious recognition to the closing of the school year. Then the mayor began to speak the high-sounding phrases which the villagers loved to hear. He told them how significant for Bulgaria was the birth of Prince Simeon.

> June Sixteenth [he said] will be written in golden letters in the history of Bulgaria. June Sixteenth marks the day when an heir was born to the throne of Bulgaria. Our school house has no name, so I recommend that we petition for the right to call our school "Prince Simeon II." The first Simeon who reigned a thousand years ago was called Simeon the Great. I feel sure that Simeon the Second will likewise go down in history as Simeon the Great.
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> [871] In honor of this great occasion, the Government has decreed that the marks of every student will be raised, so that no one will fail in any subject. [Hurrah!

Hurrah!] That's right; nobody will fail. No pupil will repeat the class next year! [Hurrah! Hurrah!] All deportment marks likewise will be raised and anyone who has been expelled from school will be accepted back on probation. The government is cancelling over a billion levs in unpaid taxes and is freeing thousands of prisoners . . . . [871]

Before he finished he led the children, and such adults as would join, in further cheers for Prince Simeon, for King Boris, and for Queen Iovanna. After the school choir had sung the national anthem and the "Hymn to the King," all filed inside for the official graduation exercises. There were more patriotic songs and at least twenty declamations with such titles as "Three Days at the Battle of Shipka," "To our Teachers," "A Prayer to God," "I Like the Priest," "I am a Temperance Girl," and "Nature." Displays of the children's handwork, as well as these recitations, brought some recognition to the teachers who had worked behind the scenes. 527 659 871

The director in her remarks thanked the mayor and the priest profusely and the parents casually for the help they had rendered during the past year. When she was about to present the diplomas, such bedlam broke loose that few could hear the compliments she paid the brightest pupils, who had received as special awards from the mayor books on war and religion. The exercises concluded with the presentation of a large bouquet from the pupils to the school director, who politely accepted the flowers on behalf of all the teachers.

The intelligentsia just described had more importance than their village duties seemed to indicate. They were the channels through which the national state, the national church, and the national school system expressed themselves. No member of this select group was Dragalevtsy-born. Their high status rested not only upon the influence they wielded as representatives of powerful institutions, but also upon the fact that they were educated. Education, along with the patient accumulation of land and money, was one sound way of raising one's social position, and those who had persevered in its pursuit received due honor. As one father said to his son upon sending him to school: "If you don't study you will plow, sow, and work in the fields, and where will you get then?" 565 554 [555]

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What happened if a man owed some money and didn't pay? If the sum owed was over 1,000 leva, the people had to go to Sofia to court. If it was under 1,000 leva, the people appealed to the village court (the mayor was judge, and the registrar was secretary). The creditor made an application for the sum due, and had either to give a certificate that the sum was due or, having no certificate, swear by a cross and the Bible that his claim was just. 686

What happened in case two men got into a fight and hurt each other? In case of a fight or a disturbance of the peace, the men were subject to fine up to 500 leva. However, the mayor smiled when he said: "I haven't given any fines for fighting yet, for I am a man with a Christian soul." Should the mayor feel less virtuous he would fine a drunk, together with the tavern keeper who let him get drunk. The fine would range from two to three hundred leva, leniency being shown to drunken men because they are "not responsible for their actions when drunk." 683

How did people transfer property? The transfer of animals was performed at the *Obshtina.* A bill of sale was made out and signed by the mayor. The transfer of land and houses had to be made through a notary public in Sofia since the banks in such cases usually needed to be consulted regarding indebtedness on the property. 425

How were public lands administered? Because the forest pertaining to the village was not large enough to justify a special forester, it was placed under the care of the *Okoliyski* (county) forester who was in charge of planting new trees. A forest policeman, regularly employed by the *Obshtina,* saw to it that the villagers cut no wood without the special permission of the local authorities. The land belonging to the *Obshtina* had decreased greatly during the past twenty years because of its sale as building sites. If the *Obshtina* decided to sell land valued at less than 200,000 leva, then the *Okoliyski* governor could give permission. For more than that, the Minister of Interior had to approve the transfer. 659

Who saw that roads were kept up and bridges repaired? If a bridge was broken, the fact was reported to the mayor, who sent a man to repair it. The State took care of all the roads outside the village, and the *Obshtina* of those inside. 653

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almost entirely of the intelligentsia. The peasants no longer had much to say about the employment of teachers, or what or how they taught. They and their children accepted what the national government, through its local representatives, provided for them. They took it or left it, but mostly took it. 871 656

The national government, along with its other activities, maintained a close connection with the national church. Before the liberation of Bulgaria, the practice arose of having three or five members act as a church board in each village. Even if there happened to be no church building, this group was elected to see about the construction of one. Such a board followed the familistic practice of expecting elders to manage local affairs. After the growth of the national state the board was continued, but subjected to outside control. In Dragalevtsy it consisted of five people: the priest (who was the president), a treasurer, and three other village men who acted as a control committee to audit the work of the old board which they succeeded at the end of its two-year term. In the past the biennial election was held on a Sunday morning immediately after church. But the government took care to see that only those men who had the right to vote *politically* were eligible to elect the church board from a list of candidates prepared by the priest. As the priest prepared his slate with the help of the older people in the village, his choices usually met with the approval of the majority of men. 659 794

A candidate had to be an Orthodox Christian by baptism, should never have been in a lawsuit, should not be a drunkard, thief, and the like, nor an atheist opposed to the church. The elections had to be approved by the Sofia Metropolitan, or the high church court, thus removing the authority still further from the village. An office of an elective nature such as this carried a great deal of honor with it. The duties of the office were not burdensome because the church possessed no lands to be administered. Traditionally the church board was supposed to aid in enforcement of Sabbath observance, but members were not particularly zealous in carrying out this obligation. The priest had been having trouble of late with one board member who had become such a tippler that the board's prestige was suffering. If some question needed to be decided, as was the case about five or six times

659 794 a year, the priest asked the board members to assemble at the church, minutes were kept, and no outsiders attended. The government's influence was further felt during the period 1934-1937, when all political elections were suspended, and with these all church board elections too. No one was eligible to vote.

659 869 771 As the national school and church authorities had not been satisfied with the type of religious training that the children had been getting in the average peasant home, they had set up in each village an organization called "The Association for the Orthodox Christianization of Bulgarian Youth." In general, the work of the group consisted in teaching the school children the significance of the iconostas, church ceremonies, and other related matters. School hours were used, and attendance was compulsory. The school director, who had been asked by the Archbishop in Sofia to conduct the work of the association in co-operation with the priest, said that they had had about twenty-five meetings during the year. Parents and others who were interested attended these meetings. This was one activity which the peasants had accepted quite willingly because, as one woman said, "the children are kept off the streets when there is a group gathering, and thus do not learn so many bad things." This was the woman's way of berating parents for failing to take better care of their children. But fundamentally the acceptance was based upon the traditional recognition of the church's importance. In the past, whatever had bolstered up the established church had bolstered up the familistic system.

179 181 596 Such a barrage from the batteries of commerce, government, and education[1] had left the familistic way of life in Dragalevtsy battered but not crumbling. The peasants were still amused at the intense activity of the intelligentsia; the few who were asked to confer with the authorities enjoyed reporting back to their families and friends just what they said and did. The people co-operated in the campaigns for this-and-that only when they knew that the mayor would send the policeman along if they did not co-operate. They attended lectures when ordered to do so, but they joined few of the organizations planned outside. Perhaps the best indication that this beehive of governmental activity was still on the surface was the failure of the peasants to seek advice from the intelligentsia who were supposedly there to help

[1] [For a detailed account, see category 116, pp. 161-176 -- Analyst]

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Bulgaria
Digest

Churches and Religion

Introduction

795 The vast majority of the Bulgarian Nation belongs to the Eastern Orthodox Christian Church, or Greek Catholic Church, which is also the church of the Russians, Greeks, Serbians, Romanians, as well as the Armenians, Syrians, and other Near Eastern nationalities. Second in number is the Moslem religious minority, with the Jewish, Roman Catholic, and Protestant denominations representing only minute fractions of the total population.

Unlike the Roman Catholic Church, the Eastern Orthodox Church has no central international authority. It consists of several rather loosely-connected national churches which have emerged at one time or another from the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople. It has been the persistent tendency of the various national churches to emancipate themselves as separate entities and cooperate with the respective national states. In the case of Bulgaria, all efforts of the State, from the establishment of the Princedom in 1878 to the Communist seizure of power in 1944, have centered upon the creation of a national church independent of foreign primates and symbolic of national unity. Therefore, Bulgarian legislation, until 1949, was concerned primarily with the nation's Eastern Orthodox Church.

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The Act on Religious Denominations put into effect by

659 the Communist Government in 1949, sought to establish a uniform regime for all religious denominations in the country. Nevertheless, some of its provisions, especially Section 3, recognize the historic role of the Bulgarian Church and attempt to use the established tradition for the purposes of the communist policy.

Thus, the present status of the Church in Bulgaria cannot be properly evaluated without a survey of its past.

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I. Christianity in Bulgaria, 865 -1870

A sizable Bulgarian Kingdom came into being in 680 A.D. in the area between the Danube and the Black Sea bordering on the Balkan territories of Byzantium.

Seeking international recognition, one of its kings, Boris I, agreed in 865 A.D. to the conversion of his people to Christianity under the auspices of the Byzantine emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople, Byzantine missionaries and priests were swiftly dispatched to Bulgaria to evangelize the country. Five years later, the Patriarch conceded, on insistent Bulgarian demands, the right of the Bulgarian King to have a Bulgarian archbishop with authority to crown kings and ordain bishops, retaining, nevertheless, supremacy over the new ecclesiastic hierarchy.

The extension of the Patriarch's authority to Bulgaria was disliked in Rome, and contacts were soon established between Boris and Pope Nicolaus I. However, the territorial proximity of Byzantium prevailed as a factor and Boris' original orientation

175 The Exarch's office continued to be maintained in Constantinople while the churches in Bulgaria were administered by the Holy Synod in Sofia.

World War I failed to yield the above-mentioned Macedonia and Thracian territories to Bulgaria; what is more, it sanctioned the loss to Romania of Southern Dodrudja (retroceded to Bulgaria in 1940).

In 1921, a Bulgarian National Church Council convened in Sofia in order to revise the Statute of the Exarchate. The Council established the procedure for the election of the new Exarch by the Bulgarians in Bulgaria alone without the participation of the Bulgarians in Thrace and Macedonia that the elections were continuously postponed. They were held at last in 1945 under the Fatherland Front government (infra).

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III. Status of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church within Bulgaria until 1944

A. Relationship between State and Church

The basic principles regulating the status of the Bulgarian Church are stated in Article 39 of the Constitution of 1879;

Article 39

The princedom of Bulgaria, which constitutes an integral part of the Bulgarian ecclesiastical area, shall be under the religious administration of the Holy Synod, the supreme spiritual authority of the Bulgarian Church, wherever that authority may be located. Through the latter, the

Princedom preserves its link with the Ecumenical Eastern Church in all matters concerning the dogmas of the faith. 659 642

The opening phrase suggests that the Bulgarian Church is something of a higher authority than the State authority of the Princedom of Bulgaria. However, this has never been observed and the Bulgarian State has always striven to control the Church. There existed, however, an apparent linkage and close cooperation between the Church and State.

In the broad sense of the term the Church was a state institution and its officials, agents of the public authority.* The budget of the Church was part of that of the State, viz., of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Denominations, which represented the state in all religious matters. All bishops, priests and administrative employees in the various parishes and dioceses received from the government modest salaries which supplemented their income from fees received for religious rites and services performed by them. Aside from that, the churches, and especially the monasteries, disposed for their subsistence, of valuable properties, such as fields, forests, or buildings, either bought by them or willed to them by parishioners. All that netted a sizable income. 659 642 793

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* Ivan Altinov, Divrece in Bulgaria: Brakorazvodnite Conflicti v Bulgaria (Sofia, 1929), p. 9.

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These revenues, even though they were affected to some extent by the land reforms of the Agrarian Government of Alexander Stambeliiski, not only met all needs not fully covered by the State Budget, but enabled the Church to erect quite monumental buildings. The most remarkable of these were the Palace of the Holy Synod, the two seminaries in Plovdiv and Sofia, the Divinity Academy (which was accepted by the University of Sofia as a theological faculty) and last but not least, the Archiepiscopal Palace in Sofia, of which Archbishop Stefan, later elected Exarch of the Bulgarian Church, had said that it was "a small Versaille".

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The Church did not take part in the management of State affairs, since it officially did not mix in politics; but it always supported the State, always willing to bless the latter's public functions with religious ceremonies. National holidays were celebrated with a Te Deum at which the local bishop officiated, together with the prescribed number of priests. All consecrations were prrformed before the eyes of the people by representatives of the Church, bishops or priests --as the occasion required.

Customarily the National Assembly upon its official opening began its work by attending a religious ceremony (blessing of the water) at which the Archbishop of Sofia swore in the deputies. In general, oaths of ministers of state, deputies, officials, soldiers, and witnesses in court were always administered by clergymen. It may be said that nothing

659 ever occurred, not even military parades, without the blessing and prominent presence of the representatives of the Church.

Thus, a close cooperation was established between the State and the Church, and the Bulgarian people considered it quite important even though Bulgarians were not very religious. The Bulgarian people saw in the church a national institution for which they had fought bitterly before they had obtained statehood, and which was a source of encouragement in good and of solace in bad days. These were not two separate concepts but actually two parts of one and the same national concept. Given this union it is not at all astonishing that some prelates temporarily left their religious duties and assumed political or diplomatic functions, as it was the case, immediately after the liberation of Bulgaria, of Clement, the Bishop of Stara Zagora, who in 1879-80 was Prime Minister for several months and later headed the Bulgarian delegations frequently sent to St. Petersburg before the Russian Tzar. In later times and during World War II, two bishops, Stefan of Sofia (a Russophile) and Paisii of Vratza (a germanophile), became notorious by their endeavors to play a part in politics and aspire to the position of Prime Minister.

795 692 B. Ecclesiastic Courts, Marriage and Divorce*

Not being separated from the State, the Bulgarian Church performed, up to the advent of the communist regime, certain public functions. Religious celebration was required for the validity of a marriage, vital statistics were kept by the clergy and even the legal questions of marriage and divorce

000 public schools.

793 A certain amount of religious instruction was given in the primary and secondary schools, religious history being included in the curriculum. However, these subjects were not taught by clerics but by the laymen, in most cases graduates of the theological schools. Clerics served as instructors in the secondary schools only in the first years after the establishment of the Bulgarian State when the demand for educators exceeded the available number of teachers.

IV. Status of the Bulgarian Church Developments Since 1944

A. General Survey

[178] ●659 The seizure of power on September 9, 1944, by the Communist-dominated Fatherland Front coalition signalized important changes in the position of religion and the religious denominations. Ideologically, the dominant Bulgarian Communist Party was committed to a negation of all religion as the "opium for the masses". Practically, its policy toward religion and the Orthodox Church in particular was determined by more realistic considerations.

The communists could only desire to destroy the relationship established between the State and the Church. Likewise, they could not but desire to reduce and if possible, to destroy the great freedom which the Constitution of 1879 granted to the minority denominations allowing them to "be

659 governed by their ecclesiastical authorities under the supreme supervision of the minister of state." (Article 42).

659 798 However, the communists did not attack the Church but on the one hand, they proceeded very cautiously in religious matters not wanting to offend openly the feelings of the people; on the other, under a new policy toward religion inaugurated by the U.S.S.R. they did not undertake to destroy the Church but use it for their purposes. The general line established by the Russian Communist Party in 1942 called for a truce with and the utilization of religion for the sake of political expediency. A lesser factor for this attitude was the necessity to operate within a political coalition in which there existed strong forces of moderation.

Thus, in its policy toward religion the Fatherland Front government declined at first to adopt a clear-cut formula and proceeded with individual measures primarily dealing with the Orthodox Church. The regime governing the status of the Orthodox Church until 1944 was tacitly suspended.

The communists did not proclaim immediately the complete separation of the Church and State, which they had originally planned. This could have provoked great discontent not only because of the national and moral prestige enjoyed by the Bulgarian Church, but also because of the deprivation of priests and bishops of the financial aid which they received under the State budget. Thus, the communists confined themselves to the elimination of the instruction of religion, which until

659 798 then had been conducted in all schools, to the removal of the presence of church officials at the taking of the oath and to the introduction of civil marriage, which became obligatory, instead of the religious one, which hitherto was required [671] (Articles 1 and 2 of the Decree having force of Law concerning Marriage, Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 108, May 12, 1945).

Although there was no formal declaration of the separation of Church and State, representatives of the church no longer appeared at public functions and the part which the church played in public life was mutely but radically reduced.

659 Nevertheless, the government continued to subsidize the church by allotting funds to it in the State budget. Moreover, in a purely political move, it amended the Statute [671] of the Exarchate with a special Decree-Law (Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 11, January 15, 1945) and authorized the election of an Exarch. Apparently the government preferred to deal in the future with one man - the Exarch - instead of a Synod. Again the Bulgarians were always strongly in favor of having a single prelate at the head of their national church.

793 In January 1945 Archbishop Stefan of Sofia was elected Exarch of the Orthodox Church of Bulgaria. The new Exarch was an ardent Russophile, but not a bolshevik or communist sympathizer. Immediately after the election he journeyed to Moscow to pay a visit to the Moscow Patriarch, Alexis, which demonstrated a recognition of the primacy of the Moscow Patriarchate, and sent a delegation to the Patriarchate of Constantinople to negotiate for the removal

793 communist initiative the Exarch in 1948. He was banished to a remote villa in the province town of Karlovo. At the present time the Bulgarian Church is again administered by the Holy Synod.

659, 642 The general principles of the communist policy toward religion were finally embodied in the so-called "Dimitrov Constitution" passed on December 4, 1947. Its Article 78 states:

> Freedom of conscience and religion, as well as freedom of performance of religious rituals is guaranteed to all citizens.
>
> The Church is separated from the State.
>
> A special law shall determine the legal status, the question of material support, and the right of internal autonomy and self-government of the various religious communities.
>
> The misuse of church and religion for political purposes and the creation of political organizations on a religious basis is forbidden.

There is no mention of the status and functions of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. All questions pertaining to this Church, as well as to the minority denominations in the country, were left in abeyance until February 1949, when a general law on religious denominations was passed on the strength of the cited constitutional provision (<u>infra</u>, B). This law did, among other things, mention the Bulgarian Church. This law is analyzed and translated in the next Section B.

B. The General Law of 1949

1. Summary and Analysis

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The Communist Government promulgated, on March 1, 1949, a general law on the religious denominations in the country (Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 48, March 1, 1949). The full text of the law is given infra, (2). This law was promulgated while the trial of the Protestant pastors was in progress. Although it recognizes that the "Bulgarian Orthodox Church is the traditional religion of the Bulgarian people associated with its history" and suggest that "it may become the people's democratic church" (Section 3), the law introduces a uniform regime for all denominations, the over-all detailed control of which is vested in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. While it restates the constitutional provisions for freedom of conscience and religion and separation of church and state, the law recognizes only the exercise of "religious rituals" (Section 2) and makes no mention of activities for the propagation of the faith. To exist, a denomination requires recognition by the government granted through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Section 6) subject to arbitrary withdrawal. Recognition by the government of a denomination carries with it the status of a legal entity for its church.

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The governing bodies of the denominations are responsible before the government (Section 9) and must be composed of Bulgarian nationals (Section 10). Clergymen who "act against the democratic institutions of the state" may be

659 Thus, in a veiled but easily enforceable form, the law of 1949 established a complete control over religion by the state. By means of the various supervisory devices the authorities have the legal power to suppress, restrict, harrass or use the religious denominations, including the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, as their policies may require.

671 2. Translation of the Law

Law Concerning Religious Denominations
(Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 48, March 1, 1949)

Section 1

The freedom of conscience and religion shall be guaranteed to every citizen of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Section 2

The religious denominations, as religious communities, shall be separated from the State.

They may freely exercise their religious rituals within the limits set by the Constitution and the laws of the country.

Section 3

The Bulgarian Orthodox Church is the traditional religion of the Bulgarian people associated with its history and has such form, contents and spirit that it may become the people's democratic church.

(viel) for women, and the change from the Arabic to the Latin alphabet. 178 167 175

These fundamental reforms provoked a schism at first, and for a long time Mustafa Kemal and his followers were considered infidels by other Moslems. The Bulgarian Government, keenly aware of the potential menace presented by the compact and numerous Turkish minority, was only too happy to exploit this schism, which caused the Turks in Bulgaria to turn away from Ankara and Constantinople. 175 563

Bulgaria refused to exert any pressure on the Moslem minority to force it to organize its social and religious life along the lines advocated by the Kemalists. The Moslems were left entirely free to keep the Sheriat and the Arabic alphabet. Nothing was changed in the Turkish clergy and schools in Bulgaria. This was all the easier to effect because the separation of the Church and State, which is the core of the Kemalist reforms, had long been realized in Bulgaria by the very fact of the establishment of the Christian Bulgarian State side by side with an ethnically foreign Moslem minority. 659 175 563 795 793

Left entirely to itself, this minority, whose nationality and religion have always been scrupulously respected, organized itself on the basis of the Sheriat, which governed every phase of its civic and religious life, particularly in matrimonial matters - marriage and divorce (i. e., repudiation of the wife by the husband), as well as in the matters of inheritance.

This organization, which developed side by side with

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the Bulgarian State, was maintained by the Bulgarian authorities by means of the institution of the muftis, whose network covered all the Turkish-inhabited regions and which was centered at Sofia in the person of a Great Mufti, elected by the regional muftis. The Great Mufti was assisted by a Council elected by all the Moslems in the country. Thus, the Turkish minority not only enjoyed equal political rights with other citizens, but also was provided with a system of self-government concerning all matters regulated by the Sheriat. Such was the privileged position of the great Moslem community, which was able to support a considerable number of mosques (no less than two thousand) and schools (more than one thousand) and to publish several newspapers in its own language.

The Kemalists were extremely dissatisfied with this state of affairs. It frustrated the expansion of their reforms beyond the frontiers of Turkey. The Government in Sofia, however, took a firm stand and refused to change anything in the direction desired by Ankara. What was more, the Turks in Bulgaria, being a compact and a large group, were a source of votes for the politicians, who did much to raise their primitive standard of living. Great projects were carried out by the Bulgarian State over several years whose purpose it was to provide drinking water and irrigation for the arid region of Doliorman (Northeastern Bulgaria) predominantly populated by Turks. [312]

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871 794 was idyllic, in spite of a rather constant exchange of uncomplimentary remarks with the Greeks.

C59 The first approach to the Church by the Communists was made rather gingerly and was not unfriendly. They seemed, indeed, to regard this venerable institution as a political instrument worth keeping in repair. True enough, religious instruction was banned from the public schools, and the control of marriage legislation was reserved to the State. Previously the Church not only had married aspirants to wedlock, but had maintained an elaborate system of marriage counseling and of divorce courts—courts with rules far more lenient than those recognized by either Catholic or conservative Protestant Churches in Western Europe. But the State budget continued to provide for the support of the clergy, and the prosecution of priests and prelates for alleged subversive activities was minimal.

[C+2] A drastic change took place when the Communist Party assumed complete control during December, 1947, following the return of Georgi Dimitrov from Russia. The Constitution signed on the fourth day of that month dealt with religion in the customary Soviet manner: guaranteeing freedom of conscience and religion, and specifically endorsing freedom of worship; on the other hand, decreeing separation of Church and State, and prohibiting political organizations based on re-
659 ligious belief and political activities by the Churches. During
671 February, 1949, statutes were decreed which outlined in detail the relationship of the Churches to the government. Control over ecclesiastical matters was lodged in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which could hold the recognized authorities of each Church responsible. All such authorities had to be Bulgarian citizens, and to register with the Ministry, which might insist upon the removal from office of any clergyman it deemed undesirable. These laws, which subjected the Church to the

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domination of the State, clearly implied that Orthodoxy was to have an opportunity to qualify as the "people's religion." Note, for example, the language of Section 12: C59 C71

> Clergymen and other officials guilty of violating the laws, public order, or good morals, or of acting in a manner hostile to the democratic institutions of the State, may, over and above other applicable penalties, be provisionally suspended or removed from office on the request of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Upon receipt of such a request from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, suspension or removal from office shall be effected immediately by the leadership of the respective religious denomination. If the clergyman is not removed by the responsible leadership, he shall be removed by administrative order.

We shall now see how the legislation described was put into effect. C59 793

In so far as the Orthodox Church is concerned, the story opens with the removal from office of Exarch Stephan I, who was said to be an overly ambitious prelate bent on skillfully juggling the disparate objects of Communist ideology and Christian tradition. Apparently Church and State agreed on his removal to the small town of Karlovo, the former because it deemed him too dictatorial and the latter because it no longer had any use for him. Ecclesiastical authority was lodged anew in the Holy Synod, which had already learned that the Communists took seriously ordinances abolishing religious marriage, prohibiting the teaching of religion in the schools, banning religious observances from military establishments, and subjecting the public to barrages of irreligious propaganda. Absolute dependence upon the State was associated with absolute surrender of traditional privileges.

It must be noted that the Exarch, during his tenure of office, had sounded almost every note in the scale which Dimitrov may have dreamed of as the ideal music for an ideal Church.

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Here is a brief report written by one who was an unhappy eyewitness of the events described:

> On the occasion of the anniversary of the October Revolution in Russia, the Exarch addressed a letter to all the Metropolitans in which he glorified the achievements of the Soviet Union. He also spoke glowingly of the role of the Slavic peoples in history. Finally he lauded Czechoslovakia and emphasized the need for very close relationships between Church and State. At about the same time, Marshal Tito visited Bulgaria, and the Exarch sent a telegram to Dimitrov in which he paid homage to the alliance between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and expressed the hope that these two great peoples would continue to foster mutual assistance. But the message also stressed the role which the Church had played in the history of the two countries. During the summer of 1947 the Exarch paid a visit to Carlsbad as the guest of the Czechoslovak Government, and took the cure there. During his stay he delivered an address in which he praised the Government of the country; and when the time came for him to enter his name in the Golden Book of the City of Prague he expressed gratitude for the honor and paid his respects to the "Slavic ideal and to the contributions it had made to the triumph of peace and justice in the world." He hailed the formation of the Cominform as a step towards the safeguarding of Slavic solidarity.

The Synod which succeeded to the authority of the Exarch was scarcely less supine. Despite the fact that the Communist Party had ordered that courses in dialectical materialism be offered in the seminaries which trained young men for the priesthood, it commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Lenin. It likewise instructed the clergy to accept membership in the Fatherland Front. The situation is illustrated by an émigré from Sofia, who relates that the editor of the principal Orthodox theological journal had approved an article in which the author expounded the thesis that natural science alone could not answer all questions. He was summoned to the Ministry and made to apologize profusely for the aber-

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ration. At any rate, the Holy Synod was soon reechoing every banal attack on Anglo-American imperialism and applauding every appeal for the Moscow version of "peace." In the summer of 1949, its official journal expressed regret that the center of Roman Catholicism (the Vatican) and the heartland of Protestantism (the United States) had of their own free will blessed a new war and sung the praises of the atomic bomb.

These various attitudes received final binding expression in the series of resolutions on relations between Church and State which the Holy Synod adopted on September 20, 1948: the clergy were authorized to join pro-Communist organizations and to support the collective farm system; government decrees prohibiting the teaching of religion in the schools were endorsed; all priests were warned not to make any statement from their pulpits which might be considered to be political. The Synod assured the government that it stood ready to cooperate in any measure "for the reform of society in accordance with the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity." For the seventieth birthday of Stalin it addressed a letter, dated December 12, 1949, to all pastors urging them to conduct Divine services for the welfare of the great Russian leader. It also formally endorsed the peace plea with all its might and main.

Yet all this does not mean that the rank and file of the Bulgarian Orthodox clergy betrayed their faith without a struggle. It took the pro-Communist Union of Orthodox Priests a long while to recruit members. Watched constantly by the security police, removed from office for dissident attitudes, often sent to slave-labor camps, the clergy witnessed with foreboding the working out of policies designed to seduce youth, secularize all welfare activity, and subject all preaching, whether oral or written, to censorship by an uncompromisingly Marxist ideological authority. Eventually only one theological school, at Plovdiv, was permitted to remain open. Two theological jour-

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659 nals, one of them the organ of the Communist-dominated
793 Synod, made propaganda at the government's behest. Every-
626 one who gave any indication of fidelity to the Christian creed in its true significance and glory had to reckon with the possibility that he would speedily be sentenced to one of the dreaded prisons—Kolarovgrad, for example—which were always crammed with the unfortunate victims of tyranny.

659 The Orthodox Church having been transformed into an ab-
798 ject lackey of the State, Communist wrath descended on the religious minorities. Protestants were the first victims. Missionaries had come to Bulgaria from Turkey, and had established schools which, despite wars and upheavals, gave a good education to boys and girls. An exemplary woman introduced the kindergarten system and trained native teachers. By the close of World War I, hostility to Protestants had pretty largely died down; and although the small congregations did not grow rapidly they successfully maintained their identities. Their pride and joy was the American College, situated near Sofia. It was closed by the Nazis in 1942 and has not been reopened. The work of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. was suppressed at the same time, and the Communist regime has not lifted the prohibition.

The legislation adopted during February, 1949 (often re-
ferred to as the Canonical Purity Laws) contained a number
648 of provisions designed to render impossible any religious activity under the auspices of a Church or institution with headquarters outside Bulgaria. It stipulated, for example, that any Church or any clergyman desiring "canonical relations with or aid or gifts from" institutions, organizations, or official personages abroad must secure permission in advance from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. It was presumably under this legislation that fifteen Protestant pastors were brought to trial for high treason during 1949. It was the first large-scale action

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against Protestants in any satellite country, though to be sure 691
Protestant Churches had suffered grievously in Czechoslo- 687
vakia, Hungary, and Poland. The pastors, none of whom had 648
occupied a position of eminence, were confronted with a lengthy list of charges. In particular they had, the Public Prosecutor contended, given military, economic, and political information to representatives of hostile foreign powers. They were also accused of having "spread malicious rumors about Russia." Those indicted—the Reverend Basil Ziapkov, for example—made confessions of the length desired and pleaded for mercy. The Court pronounced sentences of varying severity.

Manifestly this trial was also a blow struck at the prestige of the United States, from which most of the support for the Protestant congregations had come. Its primary effect was, no doubt, that the curtain was rung down on any hopes Bulgarian citizens might have that diplomatic intervention by the West would blunt the edge of the Soviet sickle, or that Washington could defend the interests of Americans in regions under Russian domination. How complete the resulting loss of morale 735
was can be deduced from the official statements issued by the 653
other Churches on the subject of the ordeal to which Protestantism had been subjected. The Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church declared, for example:

> In accordance with our Church's traditional solicitude for fostering the aspirations of the people and maintaining loyalty to the State, the Holy Synod has always exhorted its clergy to look upon themselves as preachers of the Divine Word and as guardians of the Holy Spirit, and to remain aloof from all political influences hostile to the country and its people. We must add that the pastors of the Holy Orthodox Church have consistently obeyed our admonition. Not one of them has been prosecuted by the authorities on account of religious activities.
>
> The Holy Synod strongly condemns all subversive activities carried

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735 on by the faithful, all actions detrimental to our People's Republic,
658 and anything which may threaten the independence and liberty of our people. And we condemn such things even more strongly when they are carried on by those who profess other creeds.

The statements made by the Catholic bishops, both of the Latin and of the Greek rite, contained professions of loyalty to the government but did not comment on the trial of their Protestant brethren.

653 The Catholic Church wielded an influence in Bulgaria which
687 was wholly disproportionate to its size. Fewer than ten persons
793 in a thousand professed to belong to this Church, which of course was also hampered by the division according to the two rites. But Catholics had played a stirring part in the struggle for liberation from Turkish rule, and so their heroes were eminent in the nation's song and story. Educational institutions created and developed by members of religious orders were likewise held in high esteem, and many of the graduates were prominent in the civil service and the professions. These institutions have been nationalized, and the Church itself is circumscribed by the laws affecting religion. During 1949, the Catholic Bishops acceded to the government's request and sent a message to the United Nations affirming the existence of religious freedom in Bulgaria. Subsequently the lot of both clergy and laity grew steadily worse; but the first spectacular and drastic action taken against the Church was the arrest of a bishop, more than a score of priests, and a number of laymen, on the usual charge of conspiring with a hostile foreign power. The Bishop and three priests were sentenced to death for high treason, and twenty-four priests and twelve laymen received prison sentences. Therewith an almost mortal blow was struck at the life and organized activity of the Church.*

000 * Most of the more than half a million Mohammedans in Bulgaria were of Turkish descent. During 1950 the government began deporting them to Turkey,

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hauling corn in his oxcart. Russian soldiers told him to stop, get out, and give them the oxen, the cart, and the corn. He insisted that they must pay him, at which they laughed. Stubborn as only a *Shop* peasant can be, he sat rigidly in his cart to protect his own. From this point on versions differed: some said he was pulled out and beaten, others that he was shot and left dead by the roadside. And always the tale ended with, "The Germans always paid us, but the Russians never did." 668 648 186

But the Communists offered an explanation for the differences in the behavior of the two armies. The Russians invaded in battle order, which necessitated eating off the land on a catch-as-catch-can basis. The Germans, on the other hand, had sent large staffs ahead to make preparations for the coming of their troops. The net effect upon the peasant mentality was radically different, since property rights seemed violated by the Russians and respected by the Nazis.

Eventually a detachment of Russians had been established around Dragalevtsy. They frequented the taverns so constantly and with such enthusiasm that the peasants had a new saying: "There's nothing worse than drunken Russians." They began to judge the Russian nation by the off-time indulgences of its soldiers.

Although the "great disillusionment" regarding Russian soldiers had begun soon after their arrival, the people still hoped that all would go well politically. Most of the major political parties—the Agrarians, the Zveno, and the Democrats—joined with the Communists in September, 1944, to form a coalition, which they called the Fatherland Front. It was this government that conducted the purge, or the sentencing of about three thousand men and women by the people's courts on the grounds of collaboration with the enemy. About two thousand of these were executed. Some observers now feel, in the light of later developments, that the real basis of selecting victims for trial was not only their complicity with the Germans but also their danger as potential rallying points for a counterrevolution against the Fatherland Front. Two Dragalevtsy young men were tried and executed for collaboration with the Nazis. According to village reports, Communist sympathizers tried to exert pressure upon the new priest in the hope of preventing his officiating at any funeral ceremonies or memorial services for these men. According to the Com- 668 [661]

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[661] 668 munists, they were traitors. The priest still considered them children of God and officiated anyway, although they were not buried in the local cemetery.

[665] 648 By the New Year, 1945, many of the political leaders in the Fatherland Front discerned the handwriting on the wall. The Agrarians and the Democratic party especially recognized the Front for what it was—a Communist screen for actual control. All the while, the Communists—a minority party—had been growing stronger and were nurtured by the Red Army officers who really directed Bulgarian affairs. British and American army officers were represented in the Allied Control Commission which was under arbitrary Russian direction. American and British diplomatic representatives were somewhat more effectual, but only within a rather limited sphere of activity. With the cards stacked in their favor, the Communists controlled the key ministries, chief among them being the Ministry of Interior which had charge of the police and local administration. Therefore, early in 1945 there was a gradual loss of popular enthusiasm for the Fatherland Front, with the real defection coming in May. At that time the leading representatives of the Agrarian and Democratic parties, as well as a section of the Socialist party, withdrew from the Front to form an opposition. In Dragalevtsy, this move met with tremendous support, for there the Agrarian was the major party. The Zveno group, which had engineered the *coup d'état* of 1934 against the king, stayed with the Fatherland Front in which they held the premiership and other prominent positions.

A few former acquaintances of mine had joined the Communist party and were sincerely trying to win their fellow countrymen to their cause. They were inclined to be impatient with those who differed from them, and still felt very much on the defensive. Their condescending attitude toward members of other parties co-operating with them in the Fatherland Front was expressed in a comment making the round: "Oh, these other members of the Front are our water boys.' They'll carry the water to the top of the hill for us and then we'll take it over."

[666] The next political crisis arose in August, 1945. The government had scheduled an election through which it had planned to obtain a

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representing the majority of the young people, had an increasing voice in village affairs and were aggressive in their approach to practical problems. Part of this aggressiveness was directed against the young people at that time still active in the *ZMS* (Agrarian Youth Society), which was a part of the opposition.

Another means by which the Communists gained support was in the favoritism shown to party members in the distribution of rationed articles. Just as the ward boss of an American city or the prewar mayor of Dragalevtsy learned that gratitude prompts support or that favors done call for favors in return, so the Fatherland Front made good use of its opportunities. Some of its generosity served purely political ends. The mayor of Sofia, so the Dragalevtsy peasants said, gave one million leva at Christmas time to the *Septemvriche,* or National Children's Communist Organization. Opposition groups, of course, received no such largesse.

But many of the criticisms of pork-barrel politics were due to misunderstanding. The peasants of Dragalevtsy could usually procure no clothing coupons if they had wool at home, and most of them did have a small supply which they were allowed to keep. This amount was based on family size and any surplus was requisitioned by the government. Artisans and laborers, however, who had no sheep, who worked in factories or at their trade, received the clothing coupons, for that was the only way they had of obtaining wearing apparel. Wool and cotton, thread, and goods were still so scarce in both villages and cities that no one group was content with what it had, and peasants were inclined to ascribe whatever others received as due to favoritism rather than the merits of the case. The proof that wool was scarce was the relative inactivity of the carding and spinning *sedenki,* the working bees so popular among the women.

"Why don't you have *sedenki* now," I asked.

"We have no wool to work," was the plausible answer.

Communist party members who used their political standing for self-aggrandizement and enrichment were supposed to be severely dealt with by the party authorities. One story making the rounds in Dragalevtsy had done much to discredit the Communists with those in the opposition. Since living in a Balkan village is a great deal like

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668 living in a goldfish bowl, it was not long before the peasants knew
661 that almost a million leva (notice how rounded or approximate the
687 numbers are in such stories) had disappeared from local public funds. There was no official explanation as to its whereabouts, but one Communist had become quite rich and built himself a house better than the village expected of him. Later he was expelled from the party, reputedly because of conversion of funds, but even this action did not restore the funds to the public treasury.

Unquestionably, a loyal supporter of the Fatherland Front was able at times to use his political connections for personal advantage. The peasants would have been surprised if this were not the case, for they philosophically said, "Whoever sticks his fingers in honey is apt to lick them."

207 Mention was made in the last chapter of the phenomenal increase
668 in radio ownership since 1937. Now about every third home has a receiving set and is thus in contact with the propaganda line of the government-controlled broadcasting service. Listening to the radio had become a new recreational pattern for many people. Over and over again I asked them what programs they preferred. The men, perhaps because they deemed it the proper answer, often said that they listened to the news. Quite a few were quick to add, "It's nothing but lies though." Many of the women preferred the folk music, and the young people jazz. Long speeches claimed few listeners. The net effect of radio listening then was recreational, with some political influence exerted upon the devotees of the newscast. As yet, the radio had not become a channel for education or raising the standard of living. I wondered, too, just when it would, for the peasants had little hesitation in turning off the set if the program became too serious, and most educational programs under Communist leadership were inclined to be serious.

204 American and British influence was sufficiently strong to force
668 the Fatherland Front officials to allow an opposition press. Although this press was beset with difficulties in 1945, it nevertheless became a vehement, at times vitriolic, critic of the regime in power. It took a strong pro-American, pro-British complexion, though never out-and-out anti-Russian. A good check on Agrarian claims of majority sup-

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The Soviet trade unions generally supervise the carrying out of the plans for the construction of dwellings and communal buildings and take part in the distribution of new buildings to the workers, and in this connection their proposals have a decisive importance.—Leonid Nikolaevich Solovyov, Secretary, All-Union Central Council of Trades Unions, USSR.

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half an hour more than twice a month."[39] It should be understood that the minimum consequence of a dismissal is labor mobilization.

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The following remarks of an authority on Soviet labor have full validity for Communist Bulgaria as well: "The fear of being late became a nightmare to workers, many of whom had no watches or clocks, and sent them speeding to work in frantic haste. The same fear made them gulp their lunch as quickly as possible."[40] It sounds unbelievable that such a casual infraction as tardiness can ultimately lead to imprisonment or forced labor.

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As to inefficiency, the recently enacted Decree for Payment of Dead Time and Rejects in Industry, Construction and Transport[41] supplemented the disciplinary punishments of the Labor Code by introducing financial liability for stoppage and defective output. The most unusual feature represents the fact that a worker is deprived of up to 30 per cent of his wage even if he is not responsible for the stoppage or defective output.[42]

This Communist anomaly is even more clear in the provisions regulating the financial responsibility for damages caused to the enterprise. Guided by the principle that "socialist property" is more precious than

[39] Grounds for dismissal in Art. 33 of the Labor Code.

[40] Work by Schwarz, cited at footnote 1, p. 105.

[41] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, No. 32, April 21, 1953.

[42] Art. 2 and 7 of the Decree for Payment of Dead Time and Rejects.

[43] Cf. Arts. 1 and 51 of the Penal Code of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic (*Ugolovnij Kodex RSFSR*, in Russian). Also, Arts. 1 and 31 of the Bulgarian Penal Code of 1951.

[44] Art. 98 of the Labor Code.

[45] Cf. Art. 2 of the Penal Code.

[46] Art. 206, par. 2 of the Labor Code.

[47] This complete disregard for tradition and objective conditions has so much disorganized the national economy and antagonized the

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465 human life and that the "social harm" of an offense is all that matters,[28] Communist legislation makes a worker "responsible for an amount higher than the actually caused damages,"[29] besides, of course, his liability under criminal law.

It is evident that all these financial liability provisions not only reduce the already very low wages of the Bulgarian workers but also violate internationally accepted legal principles—such as the exclusion of liability exceeding actual damage or of liability without guilt or negligence. This is not surprising if one bears in mind that the Bulgarian Penal Code also recognizes the application of the principle of analogy in criminal law,[30] and the Labor Code proclaims the principle that "acts of indictment have the force of proof until the contrary is proven"[31]—that is, one is presumed guilty unless he proves his innocence.

172 46 466 185 Analysis of labor and relations in Communist Bulgaria leads to the conclusion that the Bulgarian labor pattern is a carbon copy of the Soviet original. Neither democratic traditions nor social harmony have been taken into consideration. In their blind imitation, the Bulgarian Communists are trying to change the very basis of Bulgarian economy—from agriculture to heavy industry—as if they were mightier than the very nature which deprived the country of the elements required for such a transformation. Their only guiding light is the Soviet example, no matter how detrimental its application on Bulgarian soil might be.[32]

000 The Bulgarian case—most suitable to test Communism in export—has brutally refuted any illusion that Communism can be "different" if applied in more advanced societies. The tragic paradox of the Communist experiment with the Bulgarian workers is that the alleged primary beneficiaries of the new "socialist order" have, instead, received the harshest possible deal. [The End]

● 661 461 population that purges of scapegoats and acts of dispair have been a permanent feature in Bulgaria as well. The workers, in particular, have defied pointed guns during the recent open unrest in Plovdiv, the second largest Bulgarian city, and in many other cities (Pleven, Pernik, Haskovo, Gorna Dzhumaja). In order to prevent the worst, the government, under Moscow's guidance, has announced a so-called new course, consisting of promises to raise the living standard and to relax the socialist labor discipline. The implementation of these promises is still to come. They clearly imply, however, that the Communist experiment has not succeeded in either converting the Bulgarian workers to Communism or breaking their spirit of resistance. (For details, see work cited at footnote 29, Ch. VIII-X.)

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000 hastened the deterioration of the standard of morality in Bulgaria. When that benevolent influence which was formerly exerted by the officer corps and initiated the youth of Bulgaria in its primary duty was removed by the underhand machinations of Bulgaria's neighbours, who purposely destroyed this part of the social framework in order better to disable Bulgaria, there was no longer any counterweight to the demoralising influences which demagogic politicians let loose in their blind pursuit of private interests. The dangers inherent in an uneducated electorate are clearly realised even by those who may be considered as spokesmen for the masses. Lord Snowden, in whose enlightened radicalism we may all confide, affirms in his „Labour and the New World" p. 224: „Government by an autocracy is a danger and a tyranny. But the nominal government of an ignorant democracy may be a greater danger to the State than even the despotism of an autocracy. For behind the power of a nominally enfranchised democracy, there is no stronger force or restraining influence".

All friends of Bulgaria should therefore feel grateful to that band of altruistic and courageous men who have volunteered to act as a „restraining influence" and who have rushed in the nick of time to deflect their country from the road to perdition on which her unprincipled politicians were leading her.

661 And as for the record of Bulgarian politicians, and of Bulgarian Parliamentarism, we had better let independent and competent Bulgarian authorities express their views. The veteran educationalist and social writer, the Radical, Ivan Kepov, in one of his most illuminating books on Bulgaria, entitled „Our Actuality" p. 109, did not hesitate to declare: „From the time of the expulsion of our first prince, the whole system of government became a carrier of corruption. And in this stifling and

661 pestiferous atmosphere only those with an iron will and exceptional moral force evaded the usual fate of the intelligentsia – moral debasement". Dr. Krestnikov, a distinguished psychiatrist, whose scientific works are known as far afield as Germany, in his booklet „On Social Themes", published in Sofia in the year 1926, makes this startling admission: „Of the 96 Ministers who have governed our country since its liberation, 48 have been condemned by State tribunals, while 8 Special Courts have been instituted to inquire into the dishonest acts of Ministers. The behaviour of our politicians has been characterised by hankering after power, and by violence... We led a more virtuous life under the Turks; then mass violence and brutality were unknown among us".

And Stoyan Mihailovski, the poet-philosopher, and certainly the most puissant Balkan genius of modern times, who was a keen observer of public life and a profound moralist, stigmatised in a forceful apophthegm his countrymen's tendency to allow their egoistic impulses to run riot, which may be rendered by:

„Once slaves, now self-enslaved are we,
And from this cursed self-imposed yoke,
Only by our efforts shall we become free".

000 In a backward country nothing can be so demoralising as a bad example set by those at the top. And unfortunately Bulgaria during her brief independent career had seldom an inspiring model set before her. Walter Bagehot's profound wise dictum that „Rigid, definite, concise law is the primary want of primitive societies, that which they need above anything else, that which is requisite before they could gain anything else" seems to have been unknown to, and unheard of by all those who in turn had charge of Bulgaria's destinies. And the Bulgarian, who by nature is an extreme egalitarian, a quality which is certainly not without its attractive sides, must

648 garia to St Petersburgh, others wanted her chained to London, another party preferred Vienna, while a certain section had preferences for Berlin, and yet another group insisted that Bulgaria's foreign policy should be conducted from Constantinople. Unhappy land, her leaders endeavoured to tie her simultaneously to several mutually antagonistic protectors, and thus unwittingly acted against the interests of their country. Bulgaria suffered not so much from the treason of her neighbours, as from the shortsightedness and lack of scruples of those directing our foreign policy, in association with foreign consuls, whose protégés they were". (Kosta Arseniev, pp. 35-6.).

177 What moral forces remained, having survived Bulgaria's Europeanization, a process which was tantamount to the elimination of the patriarcal traditions of the Bulgarians, and their replacement by what was nothing but a thin veneer of civilization — were wholly absorbed in their confict with Tsar Ferdinand, that great factor of evil in their country.

•661 He, in a true Machiavellian spirit, spread corruption broadcast, and vitiated the intelligentsia, in order to render 517 all opposition to him impracticable and impossible. The diabolical refinements with which that process was pursued were set forth by Stoyan Mihailovsky, in his „Book for the Bulgarian people", published in 1897. The ease with which the intelligentsia succumbed to the malign influences which surrounded it, is chiefly due to its extreme poverty. Having sundered all connection with the peasant, artisan or trading class, from which he sprang, the intellectual scorned the idea of obtaining his livelihood by any other means than that of state employ. This desire to get employment under the Government, which is almost a passion among the Bulgarians, could not be satisfied in respect of every claimant owing to the limited number of public posts, and led to the formation of a legion of

•661 517 hungry office-seekers. ready to offer their support to any politician, who would hold out to them a promise of a State or municipal office. It is from this class, reckoned to number some 300,000 strong, that every party entrusted by the Crown with the task of government, recruited its staff, dangerously depleted during the lean years the party had passed in Opposition, and replaced all organs of authority, in order to influence and doctor the will of the electorate. A Cabinet would seldom owe its appointment to office to any other consideration than royal favour, for rarely indeed could it prove that it enjoyed the confidence of the people, since such a majority as it secured in the new Chamber was obtained by methods which were a negation of parliamentarism, and a clear violation of the national will.

[642] 661 Party government in Bulgaria was always a disguised dictatorship, which imposed itself by artifices that barely permitted it to save the outward forms of parliamentarism. Except on three occasions; in 1879, 1901 and 1931, there was never a free expression of the national will. The Chamber was maintained merely to save appearances, and in order to give to the people the illusion that it participated in the government of the country. The chief aim of a party, when in power, was the enrichment of its partisans and the constitution of some reserves for the lean years it had to remain in opposition. The more the rapacious instincts of partisans were satisfied. the more would a party prosper and grow powerful. An attempt to restrain the greed of its adherents would inevitably have led to its disruption. Corruption, therefore, was the basis of party life. Such an atmosphere paralysed every spiritual activity, and thwarted every noble initiative. Idealism, in fact, became an obstacle to the progress of a party, and law-breaking and peculation the main springs of its success. Before abandoning office, almost every government would vote

an amnesty commuting or completely abrogating such sanctions as had been inflicted on their partisans for the illegalities committed by them. The Minister of Justice pointed out on December 29, 1931, that since 1881, 35 amnesties had been voted. There was no deterrent to crime, and this is why crime is more prevalent among the State functionary class than among any other In Bulgaria, since the Bulgarians are certainly the most moral and honest people in the Balkans, and it was the perversity, short-sightedness and cynical selfishness of the politicians which was leading them astray. This deplorable state of affairs was the inevitable consequence of the malevolent foreign influences to which Bulgaria was subjected, and of the too-advanced political Constitution, with which she suddenly found herself endowed; for centuries of slavery do not constitute a good training for the rational exercise of liberty. This combination of adverse circumstances has led to a catastrophe, which is at once political economic and moral, and which seems almost complete, for the Bulgarians are beginning to lose faith in themselves. 661

The same portents that heralded the downfall of the first and second Bulgarian empires, became again visible. Antagonism between the people and the State was increasing, the people had lost faith in their leaders, who were incapable of sacrificing their private ambitions for their nation's welfare, or of emerging from that stifling atmosphere of personal squabbles and intrigues, in which they lay enwrapped. The counterpart of the rascally boliars of yore was supplied by the demagogues of the Agrarian party, who, like the tyrant in Plato's „Republic" considered „that it is easiest to rule over a hard pressed community for the taxes they have to pay will impoverish them, so that they will be compelled to give their minds to getting their daily bread, and not to conspiring against him," and who do not scruple to instigate the masses to appropriate 661 641

661 641 the hard-earned property of their political opponents, thereby driving the more stable elements to aggressive reaction. The problem of renovation is all the more difficult owing to the national psyche having been perverted by centuries of slavery. It turned the Bulgarian peasant 181 into an extreme egotist, into a man who had no notion of what social solidarity connoted. Excluded for so long from participation in public affairs, he came to view them with extreme suspicion, as something separate from his existence and antagonistic to his private interests. Being treated by the Turk as he was previously by his own nobles, and actually by the inteligentsia as an inferior, he came to consider himself as a being apart, in opposition to all the world.

Experience taugh him that wealth was the only means by which he could improve his position, and ensure for himself a measure of respect. Hence his grasping and individualistic propensities. His extreme individualism makes him refractory even to Socialism, for he feels that his instincts are in harmony with anarchism, rather than with the methodical theories of Karl Marx.

641 181 The Bulgarian has further developed another lamentable characteristic: that of a boundless disrespect for the law. The law was looked upon as an instrument of extortion, to be used by those in power for their own ends and to be modified or broken by them at their own pleasure. The law has never been for the Bulgarian a system under which the rights of the individual were safeguarded. The widely-diffused notion among members of advanced communities that the law embodies the common conscience and the common interest, not only has not percolated into the depths of the nation, but has not even penetrated the superficial strata of its leading circles, and until recently one witnessed the most iniquitous illegalities being committed by the party in power, which abuses, though they

rouse to fever-heat the indignation of the foreigner, leave the Bulgarian indifferent. It is this lack of public spirit and an extreme self-centredness which renders him apathetic to the wrongs inflicted on others, and which prevent the creation of an alert public opinion capable of checking such misdeeds as the country has been suffering from. 641 181

Such is the social inheritance of the Bulgarian. It is with such a mentality that he has emerged to free life. It would be erroneous however, to assume that psychically the Bulgarians stand at a lower level than their neighbours, or that being a backward people they deserved the dismemberment they sustained by the Treaties of Berlin and Neuilly, to the profit of the other Balkan peoples who are more or less of the same mentality, and what is worse, do not excel by those stirling household virtues of the Bulgarians, that go some way to counterbalance their shortcomings, which could be eradicated by a proper system of education. 181

The high level of the spate of demagogy which submerged Bulgaria was attained soon after the termination of the world war, when her enemies had disarmed her and when, through the weakening of the military factor, the peasant politician Stambuliiski, secured complete control of the state machine. The country then experienced all the horrors of a jacquerie. The evils engendered by the Agrarian regime are tersely set forth by Kosturkov, the capable and outspoken leader of the former Radical party, in a speech delivered in the Sobranye on Sept. 4, 1925: „With few exceptions every Bulgarian government had sown the seeds of corruption and demoralisation, they also however left some positive creative work to their credit. Stambuliiski's regime, however, has left behind an indelible furrow of corruption which it will take scores of years to remove; it is a moral scar that will be most difficult to cure. Moral perversion has been disseminated by the authorities along 661●

•661 the whole length and breadth of our unhappy country and it is the worst form of corruption we have yet experienced for it has revolutionised village life from its very foundations." This depressing diagnosis is confirmed by Dr. Djidrov, a distinguished economist and political writer, who in a speech in the Sobranye on Nov. 16, 1927 characterised the Agrarian regime as „the most destructive Bulgaria had experienced and the one which completed the ruin caused by the war." The nefarious influence which this high flood of demagogy has had on village life in general may be gauged by the concluding lines of M. Petko Rossen's most readable and instructive book „Among the people," and published in 1933: „Every right-thinking man who is capable of observation will be struck with dismay. To-day our village is in the pangs of such a religious, moral and public crisis, that he who entertains the hope of saving the State and public order on this, the thickest layer of our community, is bound to seek refuge in a monastery in his despair."

669 The Ministerial crisis which broke out in May 1934 was pregnant with grave consequences. Bulgaria was faced with the dilemma of placing the Agrarians, the most numerous political party, anew in the seat of power, or of delivering herself up, hands and feet bound to Prof. Tsankov, who had in the meanwhile donned a brand-new black shirt of a Fascist, and was garrulously exhorting his compatriots to adopt the Mussolinian creed. It was a case of Hobson's choise, with the certitude of a bloody trial of strength between the two rival factions, both being resolutely intent to secure control of the administration at all costs. This spelt anarchy and civil war, to avoid which, the military stepped in between the combattants, before the latter were quite ready for the fray. It was neither greed nor ambition which had goaded the military on the high road of politics, but the consciousness that

000 661 pressing need. The debasement it had reached spurred Stoyan Mihailovski to castigate in biting satire this remissness of his otherwise over-energetic countrymen. In the epilogue of one of his remarkable books „From Debasement to Dissolution," in which he depicts in masterly fashion the turpitude prevalent among the leading political circles at the time, he identifies the Bulgarian people with an ass, which animal he addresses as follows: „Thou shalt remain to the end a donkey. Such is the decree of providence. Thou shalt serve as an example to other animals, when they perceive thee, they will understand what moral deformity is, and they will guard themselves from such debasement. Do not ask me to flatter thee, for if I were to say in an apologue, that thou art a deft, clever sweet-voiced animal, common folk would begin to make fun of me, and would say that I too am an ass."

000 The above outburst should not be taken too literally [1], and patriotic Bulgarians need not feel uncomfortable. Let

[1] The state of public affairs in neighbouring countries does certainly not warrant one to conclude that other Balkan countries have reached a higher level, though they were enfranchised long before the Bulgarians. A few years ago a public scandal was caused in Greece by the discovery that the quinine supplied by the Government, (this being a State monopoly) was nothing but an inoffensive powder. This had gone on for a couple of years. A fifth of the population is affected by malaria and one can easily surmise the likely consequences on public health. Some personal friends and prominent supporters of M. Venizelos, were implicated a fact which corroborates the latter's explanation (made in private) as to his loss of popularity in Greece, namely that he was surrounded by a gang of depredators who had compromised his administration. Conditions in Rumania are incomparably worse, and the spoliation foreigners are subjected to beggar description. Arbitrary invalidation of contracts and seizure of property are common grievances and the „Times" did not hesitate to qualify these proceedings as piratical, when the property of a British concern, that of the Galatz Water Supply Co. was thus summarily treated. Some two years ago the present writer published a book on Rumania, with the object of putting investors and

[in public life --analyst]

BUREAUCRATS AND POLITICIANS

641 There are few such morally refreshing writings on Bulgarian politics as the opening chapters of M. T. G. Vlaikov's book „Functionaries and Rulers" in which the self-sacrificing efforts and the devotion of the freshly appointed civil servants in the newly liberated Bulgaria are depicted. Touching incidents are related which illustrate the high pitch of patriotism and sense of public spirit then prevailing among the more educated classes, who hastened at the time to abandon lucrative professions in order to assume public functions, because there were no other persons capable of carrying on the work of administering the country. If the blight of politics has succeeded in perverting such austere and exemplary virtues, the removal of the baneful influence politicians have so far exerted, may equally result, under proper guidance, in a reversion to the simplicity and austerity which characterised the first appearance on the political stage of their country of the passing generation of Bulgarian public men. Easy is the descent into Avernus, while the path leading to virtue is steep and beset with obstacles, nevertheless when its existence is known, and has been trodden before, there is some hope that it may be travelled on again.

647 661 Since the discarding of democratic forms of government on May 19, 1934 this stupendous problem, on the satisfactory solution of which will depend the success or failure of the new system of government, has only received superficial treatment. The Gheorghiev Government was absorbed in other more pressing matters, and it only issued a decree inflicting draconian sanctions on all public functionaries involved in peculation. A radical overhauling and simplification of the bureaucratic machinery is the most pressing problem at the pressnt time and it remains with M. Gheor-

647 ghiev's successors to grapple with it and destroy root and
branch this foul growth which has so far poisoned public
661 life and undermined morals in the country. By their abillity
to deal with this pressing question cabinets will be judged
and their fate decided. The urgency of the matter may be
gauged by the following illuminating article which appeared
in the *Mir* on November 24, 1933, and a summary of
which is given below:

[674] „Official statistics show that criminality has increased from 426 per 100,000 inhabitants in 1910, to 631 in 1923 and to 726 in 1929. Crime has been much more frequent in the urban districts and the class which has been most indicted, excluding that of people without a fixed occupation, is that of State and municipal functionaries. The percentage of crime among this category has been 470 per 100,000 in 1910, 751 in 192[illegible], 1936 in 1926, 2169 in 1927, 1995 in 1928 and 1718 in 1929. The percentage of increase in crime for the whole population between 1910 and 1929 has been 64%, while that for public functionaries, has been 435% during the same period. In 1928, 22.6% of all crimes in Bulgaria had been committed by functionaries of the State or of municipalities (excluding officials in the railway and post-office administrations, whose misdeeds if accounted for would have further increased this figure of 22.6%) and it becomes obvious that our functionaries are corrupt to a frightful extent. The causes are not only the bad economic conditions, but also our political manners.

When a manager of an autonomous institute appoints capable and fit persons in possession of the required training prescribed by the regulations, the Minister in charge dismisses them and appoints in their stead his partisans. Inculpated functionaries who ought to be dismissed and arraigned before a court are maintained and even promoted if they belong to the same party as the Minister in charge".

Instability in tenure of office must equally tend to render officials remiss in their functions, there is no incitement for them to display zeal since they know that they will be evicted as soon as their party is driven from power. According to a statistical table prepared in 1911, the average period of service of State functionaries was only seven and a half years. Out of a total number of

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49,683 officials, only 830 had served thirty-one years and over.

A former Minister, M. Madjarov, writing in the *Mir* on October 11, 1934, affirmed that the reason for the increased corruption among functionaries is that the culprits are not found out. The fear of punishment is no longer a deterrent when 90% of the delinquents are not discovered. The well known author, M. T. Vultchev, also wrote on this theme in the *Mir* on October 30, 1933. He opined that the economic crisis was intensified owing to the vices of the administration, and cited in support an article published by a functionary who enlarged on the losses caused to the exchequer through the lack of control and the non-application of fiscal decrees by mayors and functionaries when they were dealing with their partisans. Even conscientious functionaries can not proceed to collect such taxes as are due by partisans of those in power for fear of being dismissed. In February 1934, the organ of certain functionaries in the Finance Ministry, the *Finansova Zastita*, wrote saying that excise controllers were hindered from doing their duty by the partisans of those who were in power and that consequently contraband was increasing. The *Mir* on November 17, 1933 affirmed that financial inspectors had ascertained that during the preceding seven months malversations amounting to 500 million leva had taken place. The *Sofiiska Tribuna* on October 14, 1933 revealed in full detail how the excise had been defrauded of some 2 million leva at Burgas through the complicity of certain State functionaries. The *Narod* on August 1933 reported that a certain sugar refinery was owing 134 million leva to the State, but that with the collusion of certain influential deputies this debt would be written off. The loss to the Bulgarian Exchequer through the pandering to the wishes and whims of partisans had attained tremendous figures. The former

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Minister of Finance, Stefanov, stated in the Sobranye on June 17, 1932 that in 1930 there were 2800 million leva of uncollected taxes, 75% of which could have been duly collected by the authorities if they had properly attended to their duties! The culpable remissness of the autorities has thus had two results, the disorganisation of public finances and the corruption of the public service. 647 661

The bureaucracy is not a native institution. It was set up and organised by the Russians and has inherited all the defects and corruption of its prototype.

M. Symeon Radev, in his most informative work „Creators of Contemporary Bulgaria", pp. 114/5 cited some instances of the deplorable example of corruption set up by the first Russian administrators in Bulgaria. The Russian commissary, Prince Dondukov-Korsakov, farmed out the tithe to a Frenchman at a price which was reported later by the financial authorities as derisively low. According to the contract, the Frenchman bound himself to pay as an advance 3 million gold francs, but this sum was never accounted for in the State acoounts, it had simply been pocketed by the Prince.

In connection with this contract it had been reckoned that there ought to be in the Government warehouses 290,000 bags of wheat and 100,000 bags of other cereals, but when the stock came to be checked, some 100,000 bags were missing. The financial official could get no satisfactory explanation from the Russian authorities in charge, and this colossal robbery had to be passed over in silence.

In Tsarist Russia, the functionary considered himself as all important, a very delegate of the almighty Tsar; he could take any liberty with the public, and the Russian organisers seem to have imparted this spirit to their young Bulgarian colleagues. The latter being inexperienced and uncritical, readily assimilated these vices, believing 647

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The experience of an acquaintance who attempted to send a consignment of Bulgarian cigarettes to some relatives of the author's in Nigeria, is worth relating. He had to order special tin containers from England to hold the cigarettes. According to the existing customs regulations, all packing materials imported in the country and used as such for goods exported from Bulgaria pay no duty on entry. On the arrival of the tin containers an over-zealous official opined, that they were not, properly speaking, packing material, for they would themselves be packed in cases, and that therefore they were subject to duty. As the duty was prohibitive and amounted to a preposterous figure a petition was lodged with the Ministry of Commerce soliciting that a more liberal interpretation should be given to the existing law. Six months later the answer came, intimating that the matter was in the competence of the Finance Ministry. Another petition was then draffed and submitted. Another problem then arose, namely, which of the various departments in the Ministry was the competent one to deal with this subject. No one would assume responsibility. A whole year elapsed and finally the wiseacres in the Ministry decided that the Minister of Finance himself should cut the Gordian knot. But he too quaked before a matter of such stupendous importance, and he referred it to the Ministerial Council, which decided at last that the containers should be considered as packing material and be exempted from duty. Over a year and a half was needed to solve this complex problem, and in the meanwhile most of the tins had rusted and become useless. 647

These difficulties and obstacles one meets when dealing with organs of the administration are not due to mere red tape or to the proverbial bungling of the bureaucracy, they are often created purposely in order to embarass, bewilder and paralyse the applicant and thus 647 661

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force him to have recourse to an intercessor, in important cases a deputy, whose services have to be remunerated, and who usually shares with the functionaries the spoils he has squeezed out of his hapless victim.

Thus we find D. Daskalov, July 18, 1928, an opposition deputy, declaring:

„Unparalleled chaos reigns in the Pension Administration. Pensioners living in the provinces have to employ and pay intercessors in order to have their affairs attended to and settled, in many instances and though all the necessary documents have been submitted, cases drag on for two or three years. I know of a teacher from Vidin, who after waiting for a whole year without obtaining satisfaction came specially to Sofia. On inquiring at the Pension Bureau he was told to call again in a week's time. When he retorted that he had specially come to Sofia for this matter and could not afford to wait, he was informed that such was the prevailing order and that it could not be changed."

A Government supporter, N. Padarev, then continued in the same strain:

„I know of an unfortunate widow with four children, whose pension book has been kept back for six months and not returned. Such a state of affairs is as inexcusable as it is unbearable."

G. T. Vlaikov, March 5, 1929, a supporter of the Government, after a long speech on the civil services related the following experience of a friend of his who had the greater part of his estate expropriated, and to whom a compensation of three million leva had been awarded. Though he was in urgent need of the money to pay his taxes and cultivate the remainder of his land, all his efforts to secure payment proved unavailing for eight years. At last he had recourse fo an intercessor who demanded a commission of 12%, but finally he accepted 7%, and in a very short time the money was paid.

Another deputy, H. Baraliev, January 28, 1927, a supporter of the Government, discoursed on the lapses prevalent in the Financial administration. Income-tax declara-

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tions of wealthy and influential people went usually astray in tax collectors' offices. A committee of control had unearthed twenty such declarations in one tax-collector's office. A special commission had been appointed to examine the amount of taxes imposed at first hand, and in many instances had made undue reductions from millions to thousands. Obviously bribery had been resorted to. 647 661

The name of a well known Gabrovo manufacturer was given whose tax had been assessed at 800,000 and the amount afterwards reduced to a very small sum. The committee of control was able to prove the partiality of the special commission but its report on these abuses had been kept back by a head of a department whose name was given. Cases of income-tax collectors who had absconded after appropriating public moneys were also cited, and M. Baraliev explained that unworthy individuals were being nominated as tax-collectors owing to their close relationship with those in power. In Sevlievo a conscientious financial inspector was removed from his post because he inflicted a fine on an influential partisan and the fine had not been collected. The services were being demoralised when dutiful men were reprimanded and unprincipled men protected.

Ts. Tabakov, March 14, 1929, an independent deputy, decried the custom of creating sinecures which are filled by partisans. There was not a single chancery where abuses were not committed, bribes openly received, and embezzlements in which the big bosses of the party were participating. Responsible posts were entrusted to unworthy persons.

Another opposition deputy, Dr. N. Dumanov, March 8, 1929 was yet more outspoken: „Our treatment of functionaries is criminal, we choose them mainly as pioneers in electoral struggles, and consequently nominate men who are not fit to serve as civil servants."

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And the following statement made by another Government deputy, V. Marinov, on September 8, 1926 is not devoid of humour owing to its extreme artlessness: „What God gives is for all, but the blessings which the State may confer are first for our kin. That is how we understand democracy. So it was yesterday, is to day and will be to-morrow. It is we deputies who intervene to dismiss or nominate officials. Why should some criticise the system when they did the same thing when in office."

In the customs too, serious abuses occur, and the State loses millions every year by prevarications and collusions between customs officials and importers. One may secure illustrations of these shady transactions by perusal of a pamphlet recently published by a former customs official, C. S. Dobrudjaliev, and also in the above mentioned book of M. G. T. Vlaikov. This will explain the rocket-like ascension of certain commercial firms in Bulgaria. Such a practice is not only prejudicial to the State, which sees its revenues dwindle, but it is also devastating to the commercial community at large. Honest traders are being undersold and ruined by such unscrupulous competition.

Parliamentarism had become a travesty, and democratic institutions served as decoys to hoodwink the people and impose upon them. The public services were purposely demoralised in order that politicians should become the supreme dispensers of all power. Instead of appointing to public functions men suited by their accomplishments and training, servility became the best credential. Far from seeking to stabilise the civil services and render them immune to political influence, functionaries on the contrary were made to feel that both their appointment and promotion depended on the politicians. They therefore obeyed them in everything and looked up to them rather than after the interests of the State which they were supposed to serve.

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Another natural consequence was the undue multiplication of public functions in order to provide for an increase in the number of such docile retainers, who served to strengthen the politicians' hold on the State machinery. The increase in the personnel necessitated the finding of some additional occupation and this was secured by an undue complication of the administration. This too was to the advantage of the politician, it made him indispensable to his electors. The transaction of business in a Government office having been rendered as intricate and puzzling a procedure as possible, the average citizen was forced to resort to the services of a politician to settle such affairs. Political bosses made an easy living by the dispensation of such services, which were far from being gratuitous, and even public functionaries had often to compensate their patrons for the posts to which they had been appointed by sharing with them their meagre salaries.

This explains why, when conscientious deputies like G. Yurtov, who on February 22, 1927 remarked in the Sobranye that half of the functionaries could be dispensed with by simplifying the civil services, or when A. Kantardjiev (November 5, 1931) criticised the system and declared that Bulgaria had the greatest number of functionaries in proportion to her population, namely, 17 per 1000 inhabitants, while England, Switzerland and France had only 3½ to 7 per 1000 inhabitants, such remarks fell on deaf ears.

It may seem strange, yet it is among the higher strata of the bureaucracy that one finds its most perverted members; the rank and file, though wretchedly underpaid are on the whole honest and conscientious, which shows that if a more efficient control was exerted and stricter discipline imposed, the demoralising influence set by those at the top would cease. So far this was not attempted because the top layers of the bureaucracy were in the

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647 main recruited from the ranks of the politicians. Only twice have efforts been made to stabilise the civil ser-
• 661 vices and put a stop to the abuses it was giving birth to. The first attempt was made in the early years of Tsar Ferdinand's reign and the initiative was due to the then Prime Minister, Dr Danev. But such a measure did not suit the views of the Crown, and the National Liberal party, which was next in office, hastened to rescind it with the approval of Ferdinand who refused to interfere when appealed to by several leading political leaders.

The second attempt was that made by M. Peter Todorov, which has already been mentioned.

000 It is easy to realise that when the Executive and the Legislature become bound by a community of private interests and either fails to control the other then Parliamentarism goes bankrupt. This is what has happened in European countries which have adopted Parliamentary institutions, with the exception of the Scandinavian countries, Holland and Switzerland where its proper functioning has been rendered possible owing to the citizen's high conception of his civil duties. Democratic government is the outcome of a long evolution and there is no room for blind imitation. It took some seven centuries to reach its present state of development in Great Britain, and even there, it is open to lively criticism. Dean Inge has defined modern democracy as "the organised plunder of minorities"; but even this constitutes a vast advance on the level attained in the Balkans where it is still at the stage of the organised plunder of the majorities, judging from the following striking deliverance of Mihailovski: "We are a predatory people... Bulgaria is divided into two halves which have adopted this *modus vivendi:* – one day the first half plunders the second half; the next day, the second half despoils the first". One should admit, however, that it is not reasonable to

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expect that in two generations new countries should tread the road to constitutional progress up to the point reached by England. 010

With the advent of an authoritative government this work of reform should be vigorously taken in hand, for those in power can no longer justify themselves by stating that they have their party attachments to satisfy. A radical simplification of the system should be aimed at, and drastic cuts should be applied. M. T. G. Vlaikov admitted (*Radical* March 8, 1929) that though the Liaptchev Government had assumed the obligation towards the League of Nations to reduce the number of functionaries by 10,000, nothing had been done. He further affirmed that directors of departments and superior officials hardly work more than two to three hours a day, and that out of every 12,000 public functionaries there are 1500 who do absolutely nothing and who nevertheless draw the biggest salaries. When the budget for the financial year 1934-5 came up for discussion, an open letter addressed to M. Stefanov, the Finance Minister, appeared in the *Mir* on March 21, 1934 from which it is worth citing the following remarks: "Excessive sums have been provided to defray travelling expenses, commissions etc, Functionaries who are delegated to participate at special conferences should not be entitled to receive additional emoluments. For instance, the Prime Minister who receives remuneration amounting to 665,000 leva a year, can surely afford to travel abroad in order to take up the defence of the country's interests there if this be necessary. Why should he be awarded a supplementary sum of 5000 or 6000 leva a day for this purpose? Other Cabinet Ministers receive 364,000 to 440,000 leva a year and they enjoy many other privileges. They travel in special railway cars and in State-owned automobiles, they even have free boxes at the National Theatre ... My aim is to draw attention to the 647 661

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directors in the Ministries, to the "collaborators" of Ministers, those occupying "key" posts. In certain departments one is impressed by the fact that there are no subordinate officials. All are directors or inspectors. It appears that every Minister on assuming office creates new posts for directors, and matters have reached such an extreme, that in the ministries only managers are installed, and there are no officials to attend to routine work. In the General Direction of Public Works, the Minister is surrounded by a jurisconsult, a general manager, twelve chiefs of sections twenty six managing engineers and architects who receive monthly salaries of 6000 to 13000 leva. For the entire personnel of this institution a credit of seven millions a year is provided, out of which five millions are affected to the payment of emoluments of the higher members of the staff, who moreover are delegated to participate in conferences and therefore receive extra bonuses.

In the Directions of Public Health, and that of the Home Office, out of the affected credits of 1,976,400 and 1,784,400 leva some 1,200,000 and 1.484,000 are respectively assigned for the remuneration of the "directorate". In the Ministry of Finances out of the 16 million leva of expenditure voted for it, 12 are absorbed by the salaries of the higher staff and the real workers have to be content with the remaining 4 millions etc. It is these "directors" who inflate the budget. They constitute an intolerable burden because they do nothing and in most cases they come and go together with the Minister and the party which has appointed them, for on the whole they are altogether unfit for the posts they occupy. The Bulgarian administration does not require such "budgetivorous directors". Once upon a time each Ministry had only one secretary and the Ministers attended mostly singly to the affairs of the State. Minister Stefanov has

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declared that the crisis is now beginning for Bulgaria, curtail therefore M. Stefanov your emoluments and the number of your "directors" to the minimum etc". 647 661

According to the budget of 1934-5 the number of public functionaries was stated to be 88,000, but obviously without reckoning the supernumeraries. The Gheorghiev Cabinet revised the budget and in August 1934 the number had been restricted to 82,583. In 1908 there were only 35,920, so that there is yet ample scope for further reductions. In Greece, which has about the same population, the number of public servants numbered only 45,523[1]) in 1930 and only 12% of the budget was charged with their remuneration. In Bulgaria, 35·15% of the budget for 1930-1 was earmarked for the wages of some 85,250 functionaries. The *Archive for Economics and Social Politics* in its second fascicule for 1933 contained the following table as to the numbers and salaries of the civil services for the year 1931-2.

DEPARTMENT	Number of functionaries	Total amount of salaries	% of total	Average salary per functionary
Supreme administration	674	33,447,000	1.1	49,625
Ministry for Foreign Affairs	2,750	82,886,000	2.8	30,140
" of Interior	9,858	247,943,000	8.5	25,151
" of Education	24,259	798,260,000	27.4	32,905
" of Finances	4,113	133,484,000	4.5	32,697
" of Justice	3,843	132,288,000	4.5	34,423
" of War	6,953	298,806,000	10.2	42,975
" of Commerce etc	1,833	69,837,000	2.4	39,099
" of Agriculture	4,432	151,144,000	5.2	34,103
" of Public Works	2,584	118,769,000	4.	45,963
" of Railways, Post & Telegraphs	6,800	203,228,000	7	29,886
Administration of Railways.	18,047	616,794,000	21.6	34.266
Commissariats for supervising Treaty. . .	8	486,000	0.1	60,780
Various funds	457	20,827,000	0.7	45.572
Total	86,611	2,908,198,000	100	Average annual salary 33 642

[1] This figure does not include railway employés who are not State functionaries in Greece.

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An accurate idea however, can not be formed by these figures, for while the hierarchy is well retributed, the lower grades are wretchedly paid and by averaging up the salaries as had been done above, one is likely to infer that the position of the public functionary is satisfactory, this unfortunately is far from being the case. The rank and file are miserably underpaid. Thus according to the figures available concerning the revised budget of 1934-1[7] out of 82,583 functionaries, plus the 26,189 volunteers employed in the army,

26,303	were receiving	emoluments	of	1000 leva	and under		a	month,
55,992	"	"	"	" between	1030	and		1940
11,194	"	"	"	" "	2020	"		2510
1,867	"	"	"	" "	2590	"		2940
5,316	"	"	"	" "	3020	"		3980
1,862	"	"	"	" "	4050	"		4940

while the number of those drawing wages over 5,000 leva a month and rising to a maximum of 20,500 leva, which is the salary of a minister, was only 6,438, while the total sum in the budget affected to salaries amounted to 2,753,946,864 leva. Bulgarian critics are at one to point out that there is a plethora of public functionaries and that the better remunerated posts are really sinecures. It is imperative to reduce the number of functionaries not for the purpose of effecting economies, but in order to increase by the saving thus made the salaries of those who remain, since the State has no other resources from which to retribute the services of its servants adequately. How can a functionary with a family in Sofia, live on a monthly salary of 2000 or 3000 leva, when he needs at least 1000 to 1500 leva a month for rent alone? Is it surprising if he tries to supplement his scanty salary by devious ways since it does not suffice to keep him alive? M. Vlasakov writing in the *Mir* on June 13, 1933 stated that between 1925 and 1932 in those State departments the

7 [Errata: should be 1934-5. —Analyst]

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accounts of which have been controlled by financial inspectors, it was found that 435,792,881 leva of public money had been misappropriated. He further affirmed that for the last 15 years not a single custom-house, tax-paying office, excise office or industrial enterprise had its accounts properly audited, and if they were subjected to a strict inspection the number of discoveries of peculations which would ensue would be astounding. 647 661

What is needed above all is a simplification of the system which can surely be easily attained, for up to the present those in power aimed at complicating the State machine in order to justify the creation of more posts for their adherents. The semi-military government now in power is not handicapped by such an incubus and it is to be hoped that its sense of duty and patriotism will give power to its elbow to carry out this indispensable reform. Should it succeed in carrying this through it will have deserved the undying gratitude of its fellow-citizens.

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"Russia has renounced her 80 millions we owed her. The masses of the nation desire the complete writing off of all the other State loans".

Another well known deputy M. P. N. Dackalov followed by stating that Bulgeria had already paid two milliard gold francs on behalf of reparations and this was bleeding Bulgaria white. He also denounced the insincerity of the former Minister of Finances, M. Mollov, who at Geneva represented Bulgaria's position as financially good and her budgets as showing surpluses, while at the same time he sent delegates to Paris to show that the contrary was the case. To ease the atmosphere, M. Stefanov, the Minister of Finance, then got up and stated: that Sir Arthur Salter in his report recommended that the loan to the refugees should not exceed 600,000 to 650,000 leva, but every effort was made to increase the total of the loan for which increase there was no justification whatever and this led to the demand for the revalorisation of the pre-war loans. This was confirmed on another occasion by Prof. G. P. Ghenov in the Sobranye on May 16, 1932 who asserted that if the Government had had the courage to reject the Refugee loan, the revalorisation of Bulgaria's pre-war loans would have never been imposed.

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From the above it becomes evident that the Financial Committee of the League of Nations did not act impartially and that it committed an act of favouritism on behalf of the holders of the Bulgarian pre-war loans and grossly prejudiced thereby the interests of the subscribers of these Bulgarian League of Nations' loans floated at its recommendation and under its auspices. There is no doubt that certain members of the Liaptchev Government, which was in power from 1926 to 1931 are also largely to blame for what has occurred and they were overtly accused of benefitting by these transactions, thus deputy T. Tonkov on May 14,1932 did not hesitate to in-

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terpellate M. Mollov in the Sobranye in the following terms which can hardly be considered as equivocal: 457 661

"I do not know whether you used the proceeds of these loans to establish yourself or the refugees for the latter still live in huts".

As for the Government's responsibility in saddling Bulgaria with this onerous arrangement, Dr. Beshkov declared on April 20, 1932 in the Sobranye that Liaptchev and Burov were to blame for agreeing in 1926 to reimburse the pre-war loans in gold instead of in paper francs.

When such an example of gross spoliation was set at the top by those who were supposed to supervise and control the funds raised on behalf of the refugees we need not feel suprised that lesser officials manifested little zeal in practising economy and preventing embezzlements. Obviously, the borrowers were encouraged to have a few years of artificial prosperity in order to forget the bitterness engendered by the imposition of such onerous clauses.

Thus in July 1933 the Bulgarian Press cited the names of certain architects and engineers employed by the State in supervising the settlement of the refugees, of having embezzled some 15,000,000 leva, and it was further stressed that out of the construction of 264 houses built at Kavacli for housing the refugees some 5 millions had been misappropriated by them. These malversations were first denounced by M. Vlassakov, a courageous outspoken journalist, and he continued his campaign of denunciation in the *Mir* in spite of M. Charron's (the League of Nations' delegate in Bulgaria) efforts to hush up the matter, and the menaces and threats of the incriminated parties. For a time he was even prevailed upon by official circles to cease writing as he was assured that a commission of inquiry had been appointed to examine into these peculations, but as little was done and the

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culprits remained as active as before, he returned to the charge and continued his exposures. He affirms that over 18,000,000 leva were embezzled by two persons alone who had issued paying orders without adequate justification.

Another revelation as to the improper use of the money provided by the Refugee loan was made by the "Radical" December 6, 1932. This paper being the mouthpiece of M. Kosturkov, former minister of railways, was qualified to know how matters stood. 300 millions from the proceeds of the Refugee Loan were earmarked for the construction of the Rakovski-Mastanli railway but a large part was dissipated in a spirit of levity that illustrates the utter disregard shown by the Liaptchev administration for the obligations it assumed in formal protocols to private creditors. It shows at the same time to what extent M. Kosturkov was vigilant and anxious to cut down expenses in his department. In this he holds a record, for in the two years of his administration he reduced its expenditure by 500 millions. It was his parsimony and scrupulousness which incited his more profligate colleagues to organise the political cabal which caused his overthrow and brought just and swift retribution in the coup d'état of May 19, 1934. Thus the paper stated: "The bridge over the river Arda cost 10 millions while the one over the Sutliika though one fourth the size cost 9,800,000 leva. The discrepancy was due to the bad administration of the Democratic Entente, this will also explain why this railway line is the most expensive one in Bulgaria, costing 4,150,000 leva per kilometer". What many of us will resent even more than the improper use of of our money was that the houses destined for the refugees were very badly built and M. Vlassakov in one of his numerous articles in the *Mir*, August, 1,1933, affirmed that in the Burgas districts hundreds of thousands of leva had to be spent on repairing these houses within

a year of their termination, as 20 % to 50 % of the bricks employed in their construction were of too inferior a quality. And these imputations levelled by M. Vlassakov as to the bad housing of the refugees are well founded for deputy N. Traikov speaking in the Sobranye on March 17, 1932, complained that though these houses cost each 35,000 leva they were badly built, and the people cannot stand erect in them. 457 661

What speaks volumes for the honesty of the masses and contrasts strongly with the behaviour of its leaders is that the refugees to whom this deputy refers after complaining to him of their difficulties, of the impossibility of refunding the cost of their lands and homes to the government, expressed their readiness to evacuate them. For the lands and houses were not presented free to the refugees, but were to be bought by them on easy instalments, the State retaining a mortgage on them until fully reimbursed, The sums thus obtained are to serve for the reimbursement of the loan. By August 31, 1934 the sum of 20,203,733 leva had been reimbursed by the refugees; it is owing to the drop in the value of agricultural produce that proceeds from this head have been so scanty. Some of the funds set aside for the establishment of refugees were specially ear-marked for the draining of marshes, for Bulgaria had not sufficient land to provide for all their requirements. Apparently certain sums so destined were most uneconomically employed, provoking the righteous indignation of a talented deputy, who in his much commented and appreciated book "Among the people wrote as follows on the subject (p. 64):

> The authority in charge of the settlement of refugees has bragged a lot about its efforts to drain the Indjekoy marsh (near Mesembria) and proclaiming that it had thus reclaimed a vast track of land. In fact ¾ of this area was grazing land equally as valuable as the arable land into which it will now be converted; as to the remaining part, it is below sea level and without resorting to pumping

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it will remain a marsh. For the conversion of this area of 1000—1200 hectares from pasturage to arable land, 15 million leva[1] have been spent, or 15,000 leva per hectare! (the price of arable land, is less than half this figure in Bulgaria), as to the annual cost of maintaining the drains, the future alone will enlighten us. But this is not all! In order that the cattle of the future settlers may be led to pasture, six huge concrete bridges each capable of sustaining a load of twenty tons were constructed. Will they start breeding Brobdingnagian cattle in these newly opened lands, or is it in tanks that they will transport their harvest? — six bridges costing six million leva. If this is not waste I do not know what else it may be called. At a short distance, all in a group, six colossal bridges, while along the whole lower course of the Kamtsia, that of the Taka Dere and the Karabounar river there is not a single bridge, so that whole districts remain isolated, as if in foreign territory. Thus insensately millions out of this much advertised refugee loan have been dispersed. Let us pray these millions will soon be exhausted in order that these mad acts may also cease."

In the face of these facts are not American and British bondholders entitled to call to account the Financial Committee of the League of Nations and to ask for an explanation not only of their own behaviour but of that of their delegate in Bulgaria, M. Charron, who apparently was too engrossed in contemplating the natural beauties of that country while rolling along in his luxurious Mercedes car, provided as M. Muchanov stated at the cost of some 700,000 – 800,000 leva out of the moneys subscribed by the bondholders of the Refugee loan?

The debates in the Sobranye on the so-called Stabilisation Loan raised in 1928 reveal that the same policy of exploiting the difficult position Bulgaria was in continued, naturally with the connivance of the same ministers and in spite of public opinion, as far this may be ascertained in Bulgaria, which was decidedly against the conclusion of the loan, as it could be clearly foreseen

[1] This is an underestimate, according to an official report dated March 24, 1933 the sum expended on draining this marsh was 19,230,866.

that it would bring no relief, but that on the contrary it would only involve fresh burdens for the country. The triumvirate, Liaptchev-Mollov-Burov which was in charge of the government had come to the conclusion that the more commercial and private debts Bulgaria concluded the better, for they would certainly get precedence over the political, and that the payment of the latter would be suspended in order that Bulgaria might pay the former. It was thus good policy to run into debt in order to avoid paying indemnities, and in the meantime Bulgaria in her turn had the satisfaction of squeezing something out of her exploiters. It was an astute deal, and the disappointment and loss subsequently inflicted on the financiers who undertook the underwriting of these loans was fully deserved by them. What one regrets is the small investor who fell a victim to the intrigues and cupidity of these two rival camps of astuteness and rascality. When taken subsequently to task in the Sobranye for his financial policy, the late M. Liaptchev attemped to vindicate himself by hinting that default on a large scale would ensue, thus turning to his successor in office, M. Muchanov he made this illuminating remark:

"There will be no loss to Bulgaria. The Prime Minister affirmed in the Committee of Foreign Affairs that he would buy up all the bonds of these two loans for 500 millions. Is it not so M. le President"?

M. Muchanov's answer is not recorded in the Parliamentary minutes (Sept. 6, 1932), evidently it was not politic to dilate on such a thorny matter for... "taisez vous, mefiez vous, les oreilles enemies vous écoutent!"

British investors who subscribed to these loans did so because they inferred that their Government which was represented on the Council of the League of Nations which had approved them, had likewise done so. Their savings were supposed to be safeguarded from improper

313 137 An interesting paper was read by M. Taslakov in February 1933 at a meeting of the Society of Bulgarian Economists, from which the following data are worth quoting: 35% of the timberlands consisted of heavy forests and 65% of scrub forests. From the former an annual yield of 1,008,000 cubic metres of prepared timber for building purposes could be secured, the price of which was 2000 leva per c. m. or some 907,200,000 leva, while the output from the latter would amount to 2,600,000 c. m. fit only for fuel and priced at 125 leva and would attain 325,000,000 leva. The revenue from forests would therefore reach 1,232,200,000 leva per annum,

The forests contained 50% oak, 25% beech, and 25% various conifers. The annual arboreal growth per hectare of beech was 3·6 c. m., of oak 2·8 c. m. and of the conifers 6·2 to 6·6 c. m. The total arboreal growth available for felling would be estimated at 10,294,380 c. m., half of which would cover the local requirements and the balance would be available for export.

313 661 There is another highly interesting book on Bulgarian sylviculture by M. Ch. Gruev, who was a forester and consequently fully qualified to write on the subject. His exposures of the abuses committed by successive Governments in the administration of forests, constitute a most damning indictment of the pseudo-democratic form of government so far extant and show to what extent politicians are responsible for the annihilation of the forests and how they contributed in demoralising the people by their cynical disregard of the law. The only conscientious Minister in the charge of the forest domains were D. Christov, who was a member of the Gueshov Cabinet during 1911—1912 and the Agrarian leader Draghiev. He speaks highly also of Stambulov who passed excellent measures to preserve the forests, but unfortunately under his successor, Stoilov, everything was undone. He nar-

rates at length how the late Minister Ghenadiev ordered the forest guards to inform the population of the Batak region that whoever voted for his brother would be alloted several cubic metres of timber free of charge. The same Ghenadiev repaid his electors at Stanimaka by making them a present of the Tsepelare forests belonging to the State and worth many hundred millions. In order to secure his return at the elections of 1903 he allowed his intended electors to fell undiscriminately as many trees as they wished within his constituency and in order that they might not be prevented by the forest guards, who would have demurred at this patent violation of the forest regulations, he summoned temporarily most of them to Sofia pending the elections. Whenever a forester manifested some initiative and prevented adherents of the party in power from cutting down trees, he would at once be removed from his post. (p. 137-144). 313 661

M. Liaptchev who succeeded Ghenadiev, is as violently taken to task. He is accused of preventing foresters accomplishing their duty and ordering them to let the people dispose freely of the forests until the elections were over in order to secure their votes for the Government. As a result entire forests were ruthlessly cut down, in the region of Varna, and these disafforested tracts are now known locally as Liaptchev's fields. (p. 172—3). He adds:

"But the most anarchic Government Bulgaria had seen was that of the Agrarians, it was characterised by the greatest corruption bribery became a system". (p. 267).

M. Gruev reveals astounding facts about the Agrarian Minister Obov, who completely demoralised the forestry personnel by acceding to all the solicitations of provincial deputies. All conscientious functionaries in the administration were dismissed or threatened with dismissal and ordered to shut their eyes to the abuses committed by Government supporters. Obov was perpetually pestered

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by feminine petitioners for grants of forest clearances. Some 4000 hectares of forests on the Danube islands were handed over to villagers in order to win their votes. 90 pseudo-co-operative societies were created to exploit the forests but they disappeared as if by a miracle as soon as the Agrarian regime fell on June 9, 1923. The Agrarians in short, had proved the greatest enemies of the forests. (p. 297– 8). Unfortunately Minister I. Mollov, who took over this department after 1923 did not put a stop to the abuses, he dismissed the competent staff and nominated in its stead relatives and friends. (p. 326).

The above charges against the Agrarian regime are more than justified. A perusal of the minutes of the Sobranye reveal that several deputies impugned the Agrarians with extensive misuse of the authority they wielded when in office. Thus in the sitting of February 4 and 10, 1925, deputies related how in 1922 in order to win over 250 voters the Ministry had permitted them to cut down 6500 cubic metres of lumber, but not satisfied with this, these prospective supporters of the Government having a higher estimate of their value, proceeded to cut down 14000 cubic metres, and when the forester in charge protested, the local grandee had him arrested. The Agrarian Minister prior to the elections had openly incited the people to plunder they forests b asking „Who is the forester who dare prevent you from exploiting the forests which are yours"? Minister Obov had made a present of 46,000 hectares of forests, valued at 158 million leva to villages near Svistov and some 3800 hectares worth 175 millions to three other villages in order to secure their votes. Omartsevski who replaced Obov for a short time, disposed of some 120 hectares from the Ivanova forest in the same manner. On August 5, 1926 deputy Ts. Bratanov gave a further list of illicit felling of forests by the Agrarians whom he accused of destroying even part

of the pine forest in the vicinity of Sofia with the intent of grabbing the timber. 313 661

With the re-apparition of the Agrarians in the Government presided over by M. Muchanov, the same methods were noticeable. Thus the „*Burgaska Poshta*" of March 11 and 18, 1934 refers to extensive illicit felling of forests in the region of Aitos, the Plovdiv „*Borba*" in April of the same year complains that the then Minister of Agriculture proceeded within 7 or 8 months to replace all the forest guards with his own partisans etc.

The aftermath of the devastation of the forests was a great deterioration of the climate as a result of erosion and denudation. The Journal of the Society of Bulgarian Economists for September 1933 published an article by M. Ts. Doutsev, giving certain illuminating figures. The forest belt which in 1,900 covered 32 % of the country, had diminished to 27 % in 1912 and to 19 % in 1926. Observations gathered from 67 meteorologigal stations reported that while the annual rainfall averaged 820 litres in 1900, it had decreased to 690 in 1919 and to 490 in 1921. The more impressive figures were those of the stations at Yambol and Nova Zagora which had recorded in 1900 and 1921, of 818 and 364 respectively for the first, and of 825 and 530 litres for the second. The Maritsa basin recorded a rainfall of only 500 litres per sq. metre and this was the cause of the recent poor harvests.[1] An affluent of the river Maritsa, the Topolnitsa, which had a flow of 700 to 800 litres per second, now had only 250 to 300, and this falling off could be traced to the destruction of the forests in its catchment area. M. Doutsev demanded that the Sylvan administration should be freed from political in- 313 132 313

[1] M. D. Christov, a former Minister of Agriculture declared in the Sobranye on December 11, 1928 that the rainfall in North Bulgaria averaged 600 to 650 litres per sq. metre while in the Plovdiv district it was only 300 litres.

499 653 rendering the working of the line more costly than it need have been. According to the data furnished by this author, of the 2,205 km. existing in 1919, 26.30 % were level, 46 % with gradients varying between 1 and 10 per % and 27.6 % with gradients over 10 per %. The existence of so many steep gradients of more than 10 % in the net work is surprising, for even in Switzerland, the most mountainous country in Europe, the percentage of such gradients was only 20.4 % as compared with 27.6 % in Bulgaria, while in Rumania the percentage is only 7.2 %. The part of the network which has mainly contributed to increase this disadvantage is the section Tirnovo-St. Zagora which traverses the Balkans and which if it had been more carefully built could have proved of great value to the country since it could then have been utilised as an international trunk line, a function which in its present state it can not fulfil economically, as regards goods traffic, but can only compete for the carriage of passengers, and for the lighter and more valuable class of goods [1]

499 661 The history of this line is worth repeating as it illustrates to what extent politicians made light of their country's welfare and to what subterfuges and trickery they would have recourse to in order to further their own interests. The technical staff of the railway administration was utterly opposed to the construction of this trans-Balkan line in its present form. Their plan was to lay the line further east along the Haim Bogaz Pass, and this view was championed by the then Minister of Communications, M. Gatev, who was the only honest man in a cabinet composed of crooks, and presided over by an, arch-cynic Prime Minister, the late D. Petkov. The latter

[1] Deputy D. Neikov stated on June 28, 1928 in the Sobranye: „This line was constructed against the advice of the most competent technicians, it has gradients of 30% and its upkeep and utilisation cause an excessive outlay to the railway administration".

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and some of his supporters, among whom Minister Ghenadiev and deputy St. Popov of Trevna, being interested in some coal mine concessions in the Trevna district, wished that the intended railway should be deflected from the projected course which the technical staff had recommended so as to traverse the region where the mines were located, thus enabling them to dispose very advantageously of their concessions. As the change in the original plan would have impaired the carrying capacity of the line, and would have increased considerably the cost of construction, M. Gatev resolutely opposed the idea, and refused to yield on the point. In order to overcome his obstruction, Petkov hit on the expedient of sending him on a mission abroad and temporarily took charge of the Ministry of Railways. No sooner had M. Gatev departed, than Petkov submitted a Bill for the construction of the railway, with the desired modification and had the Bill carried post-haste by his subservient supporters or „boys" as they were familiarly termed by him. M. Gatev, as was to be expected of him, resigned as soon as he became acquainted with the trick which had been played on him, but Petkov remained nonplussed by the public disavowal inflicted on him by his colleague. He was wont to meet such happenings with such cynical outbursts: „I am so full of blots that a fresh stain will not show".

At any rate he was not the only Minister to line his pockets out of the railways. His immediate successors in 1909 seem to have done remarkably well out of them. Dr. Sakarov, who until lately was the manager of the Agricultural Bank, wrote in a booklet in which he criticised the doings of the Democratic party, that while one of their leaders declared in the Sobranyé on December, 15, 1908, that the railway net exploited by the Oriental Railway Company in Southern Bulgaria was not worth more than 19,135,923 gold francs; this party which was

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499 again in power in 1909 paid as much as 42 millions for
661 them, and that the person who supported this measure with the greatest warmth was Liaptchev. It would seem that his advocacy brought him a net gain o two millions, according to the testimony of M. Sakarov, who cites Minister Pechev's „Memoirs" in support. Obviously there was a margin of some 22 millions between the real value of the lines and what was paid tor them, and there must have been others who shared M. Liaptchev's good fortune. That the price paid was outrageously high is self-evident since in 1898 the company had agreed to cede the whole network for 24,850,863 gold francs, but the transaction fell through owing to the inability of the then Government to conclude a loan. This was not the only occasion on which the railways provided for the staging of shady affairs.

The Finance Minister in the Stoilov Cabinet (1894—1899) thought it would be a clever expedient to construct parallel lines to those exploited by the Oriental Railway Company, and thereby force it to sell out at a low price. Apparently this financial genius was not at all perturbed by the expenditure which the construction of the parallel lines would entail, for the scheme was to serve as a pretence to enrich his political friends. Judging from the discussions which followed in the Sobranye at the time, it would appear that several partisans of the Government had bought up land along the proposed lines and expected to make a very substantial profit by ceding it to the State. The proposal was carried through in spite of the protests of one of the Ministers, M. C. Velitchkov, who resigned. A legacy of this ill-considered policy is the line running north of the Maritsa, from Plovdiv to Tsirpan and Nova Zagora. Fortunately the section Plovdiv—Tatar Pazardjik was not built, but if this wild cat scheme was not proceeded with further, it is not their politicians the Bulgarian people have to thank but rather the foreign capitalists who would not

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499 furnish the means wherewith it could be carried out. Which shows that all financiers will not play the part of Mephis-
661 topheles to the Bulgarian Faust by tempting him with endless loans, as has happened quite recently and as holders of League of Nations' Loans have learnt to their loss. This whimsical scheme caused the fall of the Stoilov Cabinet in 1899 and was mainly brought about by the intervention of Ferdinand who overtly accused his Finance Minister of realising seven million leva out of these dubious transactions. It must not be thought that Ferdinand was prompted in this act by a desire to safeguard from dilapidation the public purse. He must have certainly been coaxed on by the avidity of the Minister in question who probably wished to keep most of these seven millions for himself.

499 With regard to inter-Balkan communications, it may be said that all the palaver of the Balkan conferences has
648 not led to any practical decision. The Bulgarian proposal for the construction of a bridge across the Danube at Rustchuk, to link up the Bulgarian and Rumanian railway system, has been repeatedly rejected by the Rumanians and it was only at the end of 1934 that they made a slight concession by acquiescing to the plying of a ferryboat between Rustchuk and Giurgiu. As navigation on the Danube is suspended during the winter and the level of the river varies very considerably when in spate, the utilisation of the ferry boat will only be possible for a few months in the year, and the advantages to be derived proportionately restricted. The Greeks too have not responded to the Bulgarian suggestion of linking up their railways through the valley of the Struma, though the Bulgarians are pushing on with the construction of a broad gauge railway which will shortly reach Gorna Djuma. The extension of this line to the Greek frontier is estimated as likely to cost 328.7 million leva. It is only the Yugoslav Government

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guarantee certain elementary human rights, the enjoyment of which the League of Nations has never attempted to secure for these minorities.

At the elections of 1931, in spite of the fact that the Communist party had been outlawed and the endless persecution it was exposed to, yet it succeeded in sending 12% of the deputies elected to the Sobranye camouflaged as working men.

The extreme wretchedness of the bulk of the nation and the mass of destitute refugees have created new foci for Communist proselytism, and the country is to-day literally honeycombed with Bolshevism which only awaits a favourable opportunity to break out. Until quite recently, Communism was openly professed to be the coming form of government, and both peasant families and bourgeois, hastened alike to enroll officially some of their members in this party in order to secure an eventual protector on its advent which was considered imminent.

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Having with the support of the united Opposition got rid of the man who brough him to Bulgaria and who consolidated his throne, and having in turn made use of its services in order to reconcile himself with Russia, Ferdinand hastened to sow discord and suspicion among the members of the Stoilov Cabinet, so as to get rid of them now that with their help he had achieved his purpose. He thus intrigued against Gueshov, Madjarov and Stoilov, complaining alternatively to each of his other colleagues. using insinuations, slander and insult.[1]

In 1899 Grekov was entrusted with the formation of a new Ministry with the support of the Radoslavovists who far outnumbered his adherents. At the elections the Rado-

[1] Cf. V. T. Veltchev's: „Pages of our new political history".

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slavovists secured a big majority and they insisted on Radoslavov becoming Prime Minister. Ferdinand however, in order to disunite the party insisted and obtained the nomination of Todor Ivantsev to the post. This administration was characterised by the boisterous atmosphere it created both internally and externally. By its financial measures it provoked the peasantry to revolt, while in its foreign relations, Bulgaria was involved in a very severe conflict with Rumania which brought the two countries to the verge of war. The dispute arose through the activities of the Macedonians in Rumania. They murdered in Bucarest a Rumanian propaganda agent who worked in Macedonia against the Bulgaro-Macedonians. Another incident provoked by these same Macedonians intensified the dispute. In order to raise funds for their revolutionary campaign in Macedonia they rifled the safe of a wealthy Rumanian, but were unable to utilise the stolen banknotes and bonds in Rumania. They then hit on an ingenious though sacrilegious device for smuggling their booty out of the country. They approached the Bulgarian Government and persuaded it that it was highly desirable that the remains of the revolutionary Rakovski which were lying in Bucarest should be transported and interred in Bulgaria. This demand when formulated by the Bulgarian authorities was readily conceded by the Rumanian Government. The Macedonians hid in the coffin under the remains of Rakovski the stolen valuables and safely transferred them to Bulgaria, whence they attempted to negotiate them, but were found out by the police and arrested. The Bulgarian Government, by refunding the amount involved, finally put an end to the incident.

Early in 1901 this Ministry was dismissed, and Ferdinand confided to General Ratso Petrov the task of supervising the holding of elections in order that a new

661 government should be formed. Petrov attempted to form a party of his own, but his right hand man, Yovev, became compromised in a shady affair together with other would-be supporters who had organised the emission of spurious revenue stamps and the evolution of this highly „progressive" party was thus nipped in the bud. Thus unable to elect his own men, Petrov thought it expedient to allow full liberty to his opponents, and for once free elections were held in Bulgaria. They resulted in the formation of a coalition government composed of the followers of Karavelov and Danev, the two most numerous parties. Owing to the opposition which the projected creation of a tobacco monopoly aroused, Karavelov resigned and Danev assumed sole control after holding fresh elections which secured for him a majority in the Sobranye. He instituted proceedings against the Radoslavov administration and secured the condemnation of Radoslavov and of several of his colleagues for the abuses they committed during their short term of office. He enacted a law guaranteeing stability in the tenure of office for public functionaries, a measure which had it been maintained would have rendered the parliamentary regime operative in Bulgaria by eliminating most of the disadvantages it otherwise gave rise to.

648 During Danev's tenure of office, a military convention was signed with Russia in 1902, clearly defined as a counter measure to the one concluded between Austria-Hungary and Rumania in 1901. It was stipulated that the convention was not aimed against any other State save the above two, Russia guaranteed the integrity of Bulgarian terrritory and Bulgaria agreed that the Commander-in-chief, and chief of the general staff, of the Bulgarian army, would be nominated with the approval of the Tsar, while a Russian staff officer would be attached to every Bulgarian army corps.

648 At the request of Ferdinand, the new Sobranye hastened to vote an amnesty, exonerating Radoslavov and his colleagues of the delinquencies for which they had been condemned. Hardly had the elections taken place than a revolution broke out in Macedonia. Measures had been taken by the Powers to introduce certain reforms in Macedonia and by 1903 the Sultan appointed Hilmi Pasha as inspector-General. These concessions made by the Turks brought no amelioration and in July 1903 the Macedonians rose in revolt, in the hope of forcing the hand of Europe for they were conscious that without outside support they stood no chance against the Turks. This decision was taken by the revolutionaries in the absence, and against the desire, of the great Macedonian chief, Gotse Deltsev, who considered such an insurrection as inopportune. Some 12000 Macedonians and 2000 Thracians took up arms, and after obtaining certain initial successes were completely crushed by the Turkish troops. The outcome was that 201 villages and 12,444 houses were burnt, 4694 people killed, 70,835 rendered homeless, and 30,000 forced to seek shelter in Bulgaria. (Cf. Chr. Silianov: „The 1903 Revolution in Macedonia"). After this disaster, the Powers decided to impose the so-called Mürzsteg programme of reforms in Macedonia, which was divided into five zones each of which was placed under the surveillance of a great Power.

• 661 The turmoil in the Turkish provinces provided an unprecedented opportunity to Ferdinand for indulging in his petty scheme of creating an enriched class on whose support he might count in exchange for the favours bestowed on them. Large orders for war material were placed, out of which the favourites of Ferdinand reaped big profits in the form of bribes or commissions. The chronicles of those years are filled with the echoes of a resounding affair known as the „Charles-Jean" trial, which revealed the

661 extensive malversations committed at the expense of the State by two favourites of Ferdinand, Generals Ratso Petrov and Michael Savov, who were however left to enjoy undisturbed their ill-gotten wealth. It could hardly be otherwise, for in this matter Ferdinand himself set the pace, as General Savov affirmed to a personal friend of the writer, Ferdinand always insisted on retaining for himself 90 % of the bribes given whenever State loans or armament supplies were being negotiated, and only handed the balance of 10 % for distribution among his Ministers. This princely practice was often complained of by the late Generalissimo of the Bulgarian armies, who found that the percentage allotted to him was not commensurate with his rank, and it is probably the stinginess of his sovereign that must have goaded General Savov to supplement this source of revenue by indulging in a series of embezzlements.

General Ratso Petrov became such an expert in the art of prevarication and collusion, that his achievements formed the subject of the ribald songs in vogue at the time. In one of them the General was described as making out of the horses supplied to the army a gold napoleon apiece, and out of every fortification erected on the frontiers of the country a prop for himself;

(„отъ конче — на наполеонче. И отъ всѣко укрѣпление — подкрѣпление")

Misappropriation of public funds and peculation in connection with Government contracts were rampant. A premium was set on dishonesty by the knowledge that all crimes committed by supporters of the Government would eventually be reprieved by a timely amnesty voted by the Sobranye. Thus by widespread corruption, and by making promotion in the army and in the civil service conditional on the amount of servility displayed, Ferdinand succeeded to a large extent in rendering a numerous class subservient to his will. His success in this respect could be gau-

661 ged by the rapid growth of the Bulgarian capital, which was built mainly by those who enriched themselves at the expense of the State. As Stoyan Mihailovski made one of his figures remark at the time:

„Do you see this pretty, coquettish Bulgarian capital? It it built out of plunder and robbery! Do you recollect what a dirty village it used to be some twenty-five years ago? Now it shines, it attracts like a Parisienne. . . Well, to me, it is a thousand times filthier, filthy in the purity of its atmosphere, foul in the cleanliness of its streets and courtyards, foul because it is a living proof that the history of young Bulgaria has begun by spoliation".

The Stambulovist regime of 1903-8 was characterised not only by an orgy of peculation and abuse, but by a violent persecution of the Greek element throughout Bulgaria in 1906, organised mainly by Macedonian refugees at the instigation of the late Minister Ghenadiev. Greek churches, schools and property were ruthlessly seized and the town of Anhiallo completely destroyed. These pogroms were followed by a general strike of the railway men supported by other functionaries who went out on strike in order to force the government to improve the situation of its employees. The Socialists and students sided with the strikers with the result that rioting occurred, followed by student demonstations against Ferdinand, who had to be appeased by the closing of the Sofia University and the dismissal of all its professors. The manifold misdeeds of the Government provoked widespread indignation. Stoyan Mihailovski foreseeing the deplorable trend politics were taking had appealed to Ferdinand, exhorting him to introduce real parliamentary methods in the governing of the country, but as his appeal remained unanswered he delivered a public address on March 7, 1904, emphasizing the necessity of bringing up the people democratically, and adjured the political parties to refuse to accept office direct from Ferdinand without previously obtaining the support of the electorate. His admonitions which were

reinforced by the countless derelictions committed by the Government, brought about the creation of a strong coalition block composed of the greater part of the Opposition forces, which finally succeeded in bringing about the fall of the Stambulovist regime a few months after the assassination of the Prime Minister, Petkov in 1907. 661

Except for the Macedonian revolution and the ensuing straining of Turco-Bulgarian relations, the only other event with regard to Bulgaria's foreign policy was the conclusion of an agreement with Serbia in 1905. Both countries feeling isolated while Russia was engaged in a war with Japan, sought to protect themselves mutually. Bulgaria facilitated the access of Serbian goods to the sea through her territory, and in exchange obtained a mitigation of Serbian propaganda in Macedonia. Austria-Hungary however, did not at all approve of this rapprochement between the two Balkan States and persuaded Serbia to abrogate the convention with Bulgaria in exchange for facilities for her imports of cattle in the Danubian monarchy. 648

Early in 1908 the Democratic party under Malinov, who had succeeded to the leadership after Karavelov's death, assumed power. This party though it formed part of the Opposition block, which had pledged itself not to accept office direct from the palace forgot all about this solemn pledge when it was invited to assume power. The most noteworthy occurrences during its stay in office were, the Young Turk revolution which was precipitated by the Anglo-Russian agreement at Reval, and the emergence of a nationalistic government in Turkey which stultified all efforts at a rapprochement between it and its Balkan neighbours. By their arrogant attitude and by threatening to incorporate anew both Bulgaria and Bosnia within the Ottoman Empire, the Young Turks forced Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria to concert together and decide on the formal annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria and on

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at war with Germany, Austria, Rumania and Turkey. In case Rumania or Turkey attacked Bulgaria, she was to be succoured by Russia. In the event of a successful war against Austria and Rumania, Russia bound herself to help Bulgaria to recover all the Dobrudja, in case of a war against Turkey, Bulgaria could count on Russia's support for securing territorial expansion within the limits fixed by the San Stefano Treaty. 648

In the beginning of 1910 Malinov visited Izvolsky at St. Petersburg and the negotiations were pursued. Malinov demanded the inclusion of Adrianople and Salonica within the territory claimed by Bulgaria. Izvolsky, while agreeing to the inclusion of Salonica, rejected the demand for a Bulgarian expansion to the east, and this caused a hitch in the negotiations which were not resumed. The Bulgarian Government desired that a date should be fixed for declaring war on Turkey as it could not wait indefinitely and see its co-nationals exterminated in Turkey. Russia however, was not prepared for a war in the near future and demanded that the moment should be chosen by her. The Malinov Cabinet simultaneously made efforts to come to an understanting with Greece and Serbia about Macedonia, but without any practical results. Serbia wished for its partition, while the Bulgarian Government aimed at merely securing autonomy for it. Subsequently, Ferdinand attempted to negotiate on his own accord with Austria, but as these dealings were violently denounced by Izvolsky in the Duma, they were discontinued.

Internally there was an improvement in the administration, though the partisan spirit was alway manifest.* 661 The Minister of the Interior, Takev, did not hesitate to tout electors with such promises as: "Vote for us and we shall give you free access to the forests to cut down as much timber as you like". An incident of small impor-

*[During the administration of the Malinov Cabinet — Analyst]

661 tance which occurred at Rustchuk in 1909 led to the army being ordered to fire and sabre the civilian population, over thirty innocent people being killed and a hundred wounded owing to the crazy orders issued by the Government. A strike which occurred on the Oriental Railways was taken advantage of by the Government to take over the lines in south Bulgaria and henceforth these were exploited in common with the State railways. The elevation of Bulgaria to the rank of a kingdom postulated certain alterations in the Constitution of the country which had to be legalised by an extraordinary Sobranye, and a coalition Cabinet presided over by Gueshov and Danev was entrusted with the task of convoking it. in the summer of 1911 in order to approve of the changes and simultaneously to concede to the King the right to conclude secret treaties with foreign States. This last measure was deemed necessary for a satisfactory conclusion of the negotiations the Balkan States were pursuing amongst themselves for the purpose of putting a stop to the persecution of their co-nationals in Turkey. For since the advent to power of the Young Turks who aimed at the forcible denationalisation of the Christians in Turkey, the lot of the latter had become intolerable and had convinced the rulers of the Balkan States that it was imperative to arrive at a common agreement whereby their interests might be properly safeguarded.

THE BALKAN ALLIANCE AND WARS

648 Bulgaria had always been a partisan of the indivisibility of Macedonia and as she was unable to annex it without coming to a clash with her neighbours, she staunchly supported the plan of creating an autonomous Macedonia in which the prepoderance of the Bulgarian element would

648 Vienna, which is recorded in the Bulgarian Orange Book (Document 735): „Even when the loan was advanced to you, it was understood that your policy would assume an unhesitating course". A similar affirmation is ascribed to Radoslavov who assured the German ambassador in Sofia on July 15, 1914, after the voting of the loan, that the Cabinet felt itself secure and that it would begin to plan Bulgaria's attachment to the Triple Alliance. („Kautsky's documents vol I. p. 162). While Peter Todorov affirms:

„The political character of the financial assistance secured from German capital is emphasized by the instructions sent by our Finance Minister when he directed our Minister in Vienna (in 1913) to request the Austrian Banks not to charge more that 8% interest because the service rendered was also of a political character". (op. cit. vol II p. 229).

661 The new Chamber[1] hastened to appoint a Parliamentary commission to inquire into the activities of the Gueshov and Danev Cabinets. The government accused them of being responsible of the misfortunes which befell Bulgaria in the late wars. This was clearly a clever ruse of Radoslavov aimed at discrediting his political opponents and curtailing their activities, for he himself being devoid of all popular support, was fearful lest his opponents by arousing the slumbering consciousness of the nation should come to dislodge him from office in which he was maintaining himself uniquely with the patronage of the Crown. Radoslavov was not even sure of all his supporters. The Stambulovists, comprising 28 deputies, and the second group in numbers supporting the Goverment, was headed by Ghenadiev, one of the most clever and unscrupulous politicians Bulgaria has had, who was playing a double game. The Stambulovists had been indicted for a series of illegalities committed by them while in office during the period 1903—8, and were awaiting trial. Radoslavov, whenever Ghenadiev showed any sign of resisting the pro-German policy which was being foisted on the Bul-

[1] Elected in December 1913, see cat. 116,

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661 garian people, used the expedient of intimidation and by threatening Ghenadiev and his friends that he would order the resumption of their trial, coerced them into submission with this handy weapon. This state trial eventually took place, and several Ministers, among whom were Generals Ratso Petrov and Savov, Gudev, Ghenadiev, Payakov, etc, were arraigned.

The most piquant fact revealed in its course was that the Finance Minister Payakov, in collusion with the delegate of the French bondholders in Bulgaria, Bousquet, [1] whose mission was supposed to consist in looking after their interests, an employee in the French Legation, and the chief secretary of the Ministry, had conspired to defraud the Bulgarian exchequer. (T. G. Vlaikov, „Functionaries and Rulers." p. 135).

After the signing of the Treaty of Bucarest, Ferdinand did everything to foster the campaign of mutual recrimination which broke out among Bulgarian politicians each of whom endeavoured to ascribe to his adversaries the major part of responsibility for what had happened. After the loss of prestige he had suffered, Ferdinand grasped that his sole chance of maintaining himself on the

[1] There is nothing surprising in this, for the venality of the French politician does not lag behind that of his Bulgarian confrère; It may even be affirmed that the latter has simply copied the former. In the winter of 1934 some leading functionaries of the French Legation in Sofia were apprehended carrying on an extensive smuggling enterprise. Early in 1935, a former French Premier, Francois Marshall, was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment for embezzlement, and Mr. Sisley Huddlestone, writing in the Contemporary Review about recent events in France, (January 1935) affirms: „the complacency and complicity of Ministers, of Deputies, of Senators, in crooked financial affairs, has been vastly increased., official or near-official connections and approval have made possible the career, of notorious swindlers. It has been shown that the police of the Sureté are involved. That there are lawyers who use their influence in Parliament to obtain immunity for their clients is amply proved".

•661 throne lay in sowing discord among his subjects, and he devoted himself wholeheartedly to achieve this aim by encouraging mutual distrust and enmity both in political and military circles. He incited General Fitchev to murder General Savov, he upbraided Minister Ghenadiev for not permitting the murder of Minister T. Todorov, while he condemned the war Minister K. Naidenov for not arranging the assassination of Ghenadiev. (Protocols of State Trials pp. 596-601-979) While he? thus set his politicians and officers by the ears, he applied himself to come to a close understanding with the Central Empires, these being the sole Powers which would condescend to support him in his morbid desire to wreak vengeance on Serbia and Russia, which in his imagination had dared interfere with the realisation of his ambitious aims. During the prolonged stay he made in Austria-Hungary in the autumn of 1913, it seems that the Emperor Francis-Joseph must have given him assurances that he would soon have an opportunity of retrieving his ill-luck. Ferdinand in exchange pledged himself to support the policy of the Central Powers. This accounts for his determination to persist in the pro-Austrian policy he had initiated, and in maintaining the Radoslavov Cabinet, the only one amenable to such a course, in spite of the repeated rebuffs it suffered when the electorate was consulted. On March 1, 1929, the *Mir* published an article signed by I. St. Gueshov, a former Bulgarian diplomat. who affirmed that in the autumn of 1913 Ferdinand at Vienna, and General Savov and Natsevitch at Constantinople, had promised Francis-Joseph, and the Grand Vizier, that whatever would happen, Bulgaria would support the Central Powers and Turkey, and Gueshov even affirms that draft treaties to this effect were signed. That the Emperor of Austria fully relied on these promises of Tsar Ferdinand becomes obvious from the handwritten letter the former addressed to the Kaiser

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? [i.e. Tsar Ferdinand — Analyst]

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THE AGRARIAN REGIME

Stambuliiski on his return from Neuilly was confronted with a serious situation. The Opposition parties at the end of December 1919 organised demonstrations against the Government, and certain parties fomented a general strike of the railway and telegraph officials which paralysed the transport service for two months. In order to curtail this agitation against his Government, Stambuliiski proceeded to dissolve the Chamber though its mandate had not yet lapsed and ordained new elections to be held on March 28. In spite of the intimidation and violence used by Government agents, only 38 % of the votes cast were in favour of the Agrarians, and in order to obtain a fictitious majority in the new Chamber, the Government had to have recourse to the device of invalidating the election of certain Opposition deputies, but even this expedient only secured them a majority of two. The Agrarians who had already arraigned the members the Radoslavov Cabinet before a State Court for declaring war without consulting the Sobranye, and for their corrupt practices during their tenure of office, now decided to put out of action the rest of the Bourgeois parties. In order to impart an air of popularity to the prosecution a referendum was instituted as to whether the members of the Gueshov, Danev, and Malinov-Kosturkov Cabinets should be indicted or not, the former two for embarking on the Balkan Wars, and the last for not concluding a separate peace in time. This was an altogether arbitrary and unconstitutional procedure. The Balkan Alliance had been applauded at the time of its conclusion in the Sobranye by all, save M. Sakuzov, the Socialist leader, while the report of the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry clearly indicated that the responsibility for the second Balkan War weighed mainly on Tsar Ferdinand

661 who issued the order to attack Bulgaria's quandam allies on June 29, 1913. As for the accusation brought against the Malinov-Kosturkov Ministry, it was simply preposterous, for they had not assumed office for the express purpose of concluding a separate peace, and no one had entrusted them with such a mandate. This last indictement did not lack a certain gusto, for some of the Agrarian Ministers in power had themselves written in 1917 to the Commander-in-chief advocating the continuation of the struggle on the side of Germany. Stambuliiski had recourse to the referendum in order to throw all blame for prosecuting his adversaries on the people, by pretending that the masses demanded their punishment. He further made it known that those electoral constituencies which would vote for the acquittal of these politicians would alone have to defray the costs of reparations imposed on Bulgaria by the Entente, and this naturally influenced the electorate to vote to the extent of two-thirds in favour of the ex-Ministers being tried for High Treason. As a consequence, the leaders of the Opposition were arrested in September 1922 and thrown into the Shumen prison. where they were confined under miserable conditions. Most of the legislation passed by the Agrarians, aimed at ruining or despoiling their political adversaries, and the details revealed by a perusal of the minutes of the Sobranye disclose an unparalleled brutality without the slightest trace of idealism to temper or redeem it, as is wont in the case of certain fanatical doctrinaires of certain political faiths, of whom it may at least be pleaded in extenuation that their discernment has been obscured by their extreme devotion to their creeds. It is true that the peasantry had been shamefully exploited by the urban classes, which had so far battened on their toil, but the remedy of this evil was not the committal of a greater and worse wrong, that of inflaming the lowest passions of the peasantry and letting them loose on the urban classes.

THE AGRARIAN REGIME

As an example of the confiscatory legislation enacted 661 the law allowing the State and Municipal bodies to expropriate any building may be cited. The law was made use of by the Agrarians to seize the property of their adversaries and to ruin them. Prof. Stainov, speaking in the Sobranye on March 17, 1924 gave details of a building in Gabrovo fetching an annual rent of 120,000 leva, which had been expropriated for merely 68,000, though the State immediately insured it for 500,000. An hotel at Shumen which had cost 8 millions had been expropriated for 370,000 leva, though the owners had been told that if they paid over 500,000 leva to the then Minister of the Interior (Al. Dimitrov,) the expropriation order would be rescinded. For the sake of an Agrarian partisan any building could be expropriated, concluded M. Stainov. The crowning injustice of this confiscatory measure was that a mortgage on such an expropriated building had still to be paid off by the original owner, as was explained by M. Madjarov in the same sitting of the Chamber. In fact, Agrarian deputies, such as Duparinov and Thomas Veltchev had unequivocally declared in the Sobranye: „The time has come for us to take from the rich whatever thay have, after they had lived for forty years on the sweat of the people". But robbery and spoliation was nothing in the face of the campaign of organised assassination and the deliberate policy of extermination of their adversaries pursued by the Agrarians. The application of such unjust laws and the disrespect of the rights of property they entailed, fostered communism. At the last elections held by the Agrarians in 1921, when the election of Communists was not hindered, the latter secured 21 % of the total poll, coming second after the Agrarians, who obtained 38 % of the total votes cast. The success of the Communists was remarkable in comparison with that of the Agrarians, for the latter held power, and this implies a great access of neutral votes.

661 In Bulgaria a considerable number of constituencies invariably return Government nominees, such electoral divisions being mainly composed of Moslem or Jewish electors, whose chief aim is to secure a representative enjoying the Government's goodwill. For favouritism is so deep-seated in the State organism that an electoral district lacking a political intercessor can have little hope of receiving help from the State. The constituencies voting invariably for the Government are collectively designated by a very appropriate term, that of „the Government's dowry." If we deduct the number of votes representing the „dowry" from the percentage accruing to the Agrarians, it would probably be found that the Communists polled more votes than the Government.

When in prison, Stambuliski had made the acquaintance of a certain Prudkin, whom he nominated as police prefect of Sofia. Prudkin set about to prepare outrages and plots in order to do away with the bourgeois politicians. The worst plot was that of the attempted blowing up of the Odeon theatre in Sofia, on March 3, 1920, when a Russian journalist intended to lecture, and at which it was known that Gueshov, Malinov, Liaptchev, T. Todorov and Burov would be present. The bombs exploded prematurely before the arrival of the ex-Ministers and only innocent people were killed and wounded and the Sobranye on April 23, 1926 had to vote pensions to some of the relatives of the victims. Prudkin had likewise attempted to blow up railway bridges, certain railway sidings. and to destroy the electric light installation of Sofia at the time of the big railway strike early in 1920, in order to compromise the strikers and justify the carrying out of retaliatory measures by the Agrarian Government He likewise set bombs to explode at two churches in Sofia as was revealed in the Sobranye on June 26, 1924. Minister Pechev in his „Historical Events and Actors", p. 719 records that when

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he was thrown into prison he came to know several criminals whom the Agrarians employed at times to murder or terrorise their political adversaries. The Agrarians would recompense them by granting them temporarily freedom and monetary gifts, but later they always arrested and executed them lest they should divulge the crimes they had been incited to commit. The Agrarians sought equally to circumcribe the influence of the Macedonians and accordingly had deputy Meltsankov and the Voivod Kotsanski assassinated, in retaliation for which the Agrarian Minister Al. Dimitrov was murdered on October 22, 1921. The late Minister Pechev also accused them of organising the murder of Alexander Grecov, the editor of the *Slovo*, and of a judge, for criticising and denouncing their crimes (op. cit. p. 377) and this was confirmed in the Sobranye by deputy G. Vassilev, May 26, 1924.

The Agrarian Ministers were nothing else but a gang of confirmed criminals ready to commit any crime. They quarrelled once among themselves and Al. Dimitrov, Stambuliiski and Stoyanov decided to assassinate their colleagues Manolov and Tomov. They set hired assassins to way-lay them while they were driving back from the mineral-bath establishment of Bankia. The assassins however, fired on the wrong car, and an innocent woman was killed instead. (Parliamentary minutes, June 26, 1924).

Having no partisans among the State functionaries they set about to nominate a vast number of new public servants wholly unfit for such an occupation and recruited from among the riff-raff of the population after offering their allegiance to the Agrarian organisation. Stambuliiski, not being oversure about the army set about organising an armed force recruited from among the peasantry. These so-called Orange guards were called out to oppose the Macedonians who had seized Kustendil on December 1922, for the purpose of dealing stern justice to some traitors

661 to their cause. The Macedonians after carrying out their aim, dispersed within two days, the Orange guards, however, took advantage to plunder shops at Mezdra, Tserven-Breg and Sofia, and subsequently the Sobranye had to vote indemnities for the sufferers. Dr Rumenov described in the Sobranye on May 28. 1924, how the staff of the Alexandrovska hospital in Sofia, composed at the time mainly of Agrarian partisans, joined the pillaging bands and how they brought the loot to the hospital to divide it among themselves. Excepting those who derived directly some benefits from the spoils of office, all felt a profound aversion for the system introduced by Stambuliiski. Not only the urban classes, but even a section of the peasantry, the more independently minded and those less addicted to partisanship felt they had enough of it as may be inferred from the following resolution passed at the general congress of the Socialist party held in Sofia on September 1922.

"All labouring people feel crushed by the growing cost of living due to the remissness of the authorities who do nothing to check speculation. The Government is sunk in vice, crime and peculation and has provoked the aversion of all classes and professions. Stambuliiski's government represents the predatory instincts of an uncultured band of corrupt office seekers, bribed renegades and amnestied criminals. In order to maintain itself in power, the government is decided to resort to blood and fire. In order to crush every national movement, etc.

The Sofia population declares that it will continue its struggle and will not hesitate to sacrifice everything until this Government is overthrown".

Stambuliiski had a domineering and brutal temperament which brooked no opposition. He persecuted all outside the Communists, whom he called his "faithful hounds"; the Church, the army, the Macedonians, the political parties, the intellectuals and the mercantile classes. He owed his strength to his ability to pander to the lowest instincts of the peasantry and inflame them against the intellectuals and

the officials, whom he denounced as social parasites. He hated and envied all who were his betters; he refused the admission of intellectuals to the Agrarian party "because they could at a certain moment abandon it and go elsewhere", "we shall guard our union from that demoralising element, the barrister profession". Stambuliiski who had been supported by his wife while studying had a very poor opinion of the fair sex. He affirmed that: 661

"Marriage, woman and family are thraldom to man: a mass of heroes succumbs daily owing to their being led astray by woman, who may be likened to a veritable floating mine placed in the stream of life".

He earnestly believed that Europe had only two courses to follow, either to adopt Bolshevism or copy Agrarian Bulgaria. His self-complacency had apparently no bounds since he stated that:

„My profound belief is that the Bulgarian peasantry with its sane spirit of reform will set an example to great nations, which though they may possess a great economic culture are nevertheless very backward in political conciousness".

He certainly showed signs of unbalanced judgment in his last years. He proceeded to subsidise an Agrarian party newspaper in Bucarest, giving thereby offence to the Rumanian Government. He dispatched a certain Groskov to conduct secret pourparlers with Angora, arousing the suspicion of the British Government, which had not yet settled its differences with Kemalist Turkey; nominated relatives and acquaintances to the post of Ministers abroad who were utterly unfit for the missions entrusted to them etc. The one sensible idea he seemed to have at heart was that of working for a close understanding whith Yugoslavia, but even this may have had an interested motive, for frindship with this country was incompatible with fraternisation with the Communists, and Stambuliiski had often declared that if he were ever forced to yield up 661 648

661 648 the reins of power he would only hand them over to the Communists, „my faithful hounds", as he aptly styled them. This open flirtation with the Soviets estranged him from the more sensible leaders of the Green international and this prevented him from heading this movement. When the Bolsheviki were on the outskirts of Warsaw in the summer of 1920, he became so elated at their success as to remark to a group of intimate friends that it would not be long before he would administer to the Entente the lesson it deserved. In April 1923 it became known that he contemplated celebrating his jubilee on August 30, when an extraordinary congress of the Agrarian Union was to be convoked for the purpose. In May he declared that he was about to convene an extraordinary Sobranye for the purpose of altering the Constitution and proclaiming a republic. He withdrew secretly 100 million leva from the Bulgarian National Bank for the pretended purpose of bribing the members of the Reparation Commission at Sofia and obtaining their consent. The threat of a repu-
669 blican move was taken advantage of by Stambuliiski's numerous opponents to persuade Tsar Boris to give his consent to the overthrow of his too domineering Prime Minister, and on June 9, 1923, the Agrarian regime was unexpectedly overthrown, after Tsankov, Smilov and Kazazov had obtained from Tsar Boris the signature of the decrees appointing the new Government, (Cf. Gr. Tsesmedjiev's", Rays of light on the mystery of the conspiracy").

No one was averse to this consummation, and even foreign governments made it known that they would acquiesce in this move owing to the deplorable effects the Agrarian regime was having on such foreign capital as was invested in Bulgaria as well as on the public finances of the country. In fact after the fall of the regime, criminal proceedings were instituted against practically all the members of the Agrarian Government, who were indicted for

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648 On the whole Tsankov had been faced with an extremely heavy task and although supported by one of the most intelligent Chambers Bulgaria had so far had, was not able to accomplish anything of importance His activities were absorbed in creating a new party, suppressing revolts, tracking down conspirators and finally he took to limiting political rights and freedom when all pretence of idealism disappeared. In the foreign field Tsankov was equally unfortunate, in the hope of renewing commercial relations with Turkey he concluded a Treaty which was ratified on October 18, 1925 by which Bulgaria secured certain privileges for her exports, but these advantages proved illusory, for when the Treaty expired a year later the Turks refused to renew it and in the meanwhile Bulgaria had agreed to an exchange of populations abandoning to Turkey, property belonging to her nationals, valued at 10 milliard leva, which the Turks never paid for, as is their wont. Tsankov likewise attempted to win the friendship of Yugoslavia by paying a personal visit to Belgrade, but was not successful, for his Agrarian opponents who were hand in glove with the Yugoslav Government poisoned the atmosphere against him and rendered the conclusion of such ties nugatory. This flirtation with Yugoslavia does not seem to have met with the approval of Court circles and suddenly Tsankov was relegated to the post of president of the Sobranye and replaced early in January 1926 by Liaptchev, supported by Burov and Mollov, all three members of the Democratic Entente. Tsankov had been unjustly accused of introducing a regime of White Terror in Bulgaria; those mostly responsiple for the brutalities which were certainly committed were his military supporters and advisers, General Vulkov, the Pa-

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000 ment of Corfu, General Pangalos would have certainly not formed the opinion that the League was a broken reed, and that in his turn he could bully disarmed Bulgaria.

lace favourite, and General Russev, the Minister of the Interior. Impartial politicians in Bulgaria generally absolve Tsankov of this violence. Thus, M. Muchanov speaking in the Sobranye on April 1, 1926 stated: 661

„1924 and 1925 were not normal years. Never before had we such internal unrest and such fratricidal struggles in Bulgaria. I understand the mentality of those who were administering the country at the time. In many cases they carried out their duty in a worthy manner, but at many placed certain exaggerations occurred, but I personally, shall abstain from blaming the Minister of the Interior for these."

And the Radical leader Kosturkov, who was one of the most outspoken critics of the Tsankov administration equally admitted in the Sobranye on December 21, 1926: „The Tsankov Government had been provoked by the Agrarians and Communists and the blood it shed was in self-defence".

The advent of the Liaptchev administration coincided with the temporary exhaustion of the Agrarians and for some time relative tranquillity prevailed which permitted the Government to devote its attention to the pursuance of its financial programme and the raising of loans, which can hardly be said to have aided the country, as may be inferred from a perusal of the chapter devoted to the story of the League of Nation's loans.[1] 643

Another act by which this administration is likely to be remembered was the voting in 1929 of a large amnesty which included Radoslavov and Tontchev, rightly condemned by a State Court for violating the Constitution and facilitating Tsar Ferdinand's efforts to plunge Bulgaria into the war on the side of the Central Powers in opposition to the manifest desire of the people. The other colleagues of Radoslavov had already benefited from a previous amnesty, but public opinion at the time was utterly opposed to the inclusion in it of these two ex-Ministers. By granting an amnesty to these two discredited politicians who 643 697

[1] Cf. cat. 110, pp. 84 – 118 — Analyst]

643 had stopped at no crime in order to further their nefa-
697 rious designs, the Government dealt a heavy blow to the prestige of Justice and undermined among the people confidence in law and morality. The real aim of the Goverment in passing this measure was to emancipate itself from the threat of finding itself placed in a minority through the defection of its more idealistically minded supporters, who very often disapproved of its policy By winning over the partisans of Radoslavov by the grant of an amnesty to their leaders, the Government was hoping that it would ward off such a threat by eventually replacing their disgruntled followers by the Radoslavovists. Apparently the moral code of the trinity at the head of the government was not a very strict one as is manifest from the financial policy it foisted on the country and the liabilities it so lightheartedly assumed.

669 The commuting of punishments, and the granting of amnesties does not seem to have appeased either the Agrarians or the Communists, for towards the end of 1929 there was a distinct recrudescence in their activities. Armed bands penetrated from Yugoslavia and committed depredations and murders. A train was stopped and the passengers robbed, a number of judges were arrested and brutally shot near Sevlievo, the leader of the criminal band, responsible for these crimes, the notorious Dontso Uzunov, later took refuge in France, and though the Bulgarian Government applied for his extradition, this was refused on the pretext that the crime committed was of
●661 a political character. The Government and its supporters paid little heed to the needs of the country, they were too intent on dividing among themselves the spoils of office. The booty was abundant, as it had been increased by the foreign loans recently concluded and there was enough for all their hungry followers. Millions were being showered upon prominent supporters of the Government

who had been appointed to arbitrate in various disputes with contractors of public works or to various sinecures. 661

The Socialist organ *Narod* in its issue of July 7,1931 gives some samples of the profligacy of the Liaptchev Cabinet:

„In Albania where there is one Bulgarian school, a special inspector has been sent with a monthly salary of 20,000 leva. A special delegation was sent to the Budapest mint in order to supervise and receive the silver coins ordered there, though these coins could have been easily controlled on their delivery here. Ministers Burov and Mollov have wasted millions of public money in their endless peregrinations abroad, Minister Mollov even had his decorations sent to Geneva with a special messenger in order to put them on at an official banquet etc".

Another newspaper decried the practice of granting 200 Swiss francs per day to Government delegates sent on missions abroad when delegates of other nations receive much less. (Americans were said to be paid $ 8, and Italians $ 12 per diem) Opposition newspapers daily filled their columns with details of the prevailing corruption among government circles and laid stress on the utter apathy of Liaptchev as to the consequences. The latter was reported to have said in justification: „Our foreign creditors will de obliged to come and save their investments in Bulgaria, and then they will put our finances right".

The governmental structure had for some time been shaken by internal convulsions and dangerous fissures were making themselves visible. That political amalgam, the Democratic Entente, was slowly disintegrating into its heterogeneous component parts. The Liaptchev Cabinet was never a popular one; at the legislative elections held in 1927, it received a total of 495,000 votes against 556,000 given to the Opposition parties, but succeeded in getting 163 deputies elected as against the 86 obtained by the Opposition, owing to the latter being disunited, and owing 666

more orthodox members of these two parties, the election pact concluded with the Agrarians and Liberals was looked at askance. There were even Radicals who seceded from their party rather than co-operate with the discredited Liberals, whose former leader was the abhorred Radoslavov. The views of the Agrarians on the now predominant economic questions coincided with those of the Radicals, while those of the Liberals were identical with the opinions of the Democrats. But there was another basic notion which radically separated Democrats and Radicals, from Agrarian and Liberals. The two former parties had a certain conception of their duties and at least made some efforts to govern decently and honestly, the latter two however, were out for loot and made no pretence about the aims which actuated them. The groups were too miscellaneous in origin, too self-seeking and rotten by private animosities and had neither the internal nor the external discipline required to make good their promises to the electorate. The post of Minister of Justice devolved on a Liberal and within a year there were grave complaints of his tampering with the course of Justice, formulated by the unions of judges, and by that of the legal profession. An Opposition deputy, M. Dumanov interpellated the government on December 22, 1932, and the scandals revealed were so grave, that the incriminated Minister was forced to resign. He was replaced by another Liberal, who refused to deviate from the line of conduct of his predecessor, and naturally, recriminations and complaints were not slow to appear. (Cf. *Mir* 7. VI. 1933, 13. IX. 1933 and 10. X. 1933).

The Liberals soon split up into three antagonistic fractions owing to their inability to divide equitably the spoils they derived from such offices as they occupied. Those who had been ousted from office were waging a surreptitious campaign against their nominal colleagues,

•661 665 even going to the extent of plotting with the Opposition to bring about the fall of the Cabinet. The Agrarians from the first were divided into some five groups, three of which published party newspapers called the *Zemledelsko Zname*, and each of which pretended to be the official organ of this splintered up party. A bitter and uncompromising campaign was being conducted among the warring fractions. Some Agrarians were openly in receipt of subsidies from Yugoslavia and France, and endeavouring to foist on the country a policy which was considered anti-national. One of the Agrarian leaders Obov, was accused of receiving 100,000 francs monthly from France. The most revolting and scandalous exposures were daily being made as to the activities of the Agrarians by their mutually antagonistic Press. The most disgusting tales were circulated which completely undermined the prestige of the Government. The Agrarian Ministers had accepted a gift of 800,000 leva for the election campaign from Obov and K. Todorov, who for years had been at the service of the Yugoslav government, but when they secured their nomination to office, they turned their backs on these donators[1]. They were no longer needed now that they could

[1] Most of these Agrarians politicians seem to form the scum of the community. After Stambolilski's fall they went abroad and worked in close intelligence with their country's enemies. As revealed in the Sobranye in November 1927, they accepted 5 million drachmae from the Greeks, promising in exchange that when they would seize power they would renounce the Bulgarian claim to an outlet on the Aegean. Later they transferred their activities to Belgrade living there at the expense of the Yugoslav Government which utilised them to foment troubles in Bulgaria. A letter was read in the Sobranye on Dec. 24, 1931 purporting to be written by the brother of Obov to a murdered Opposition deputy in 1924, and which contained the following remarks: „Before we return to Sofia many of our prominent adversaries will be killed. It will be well if you wrote us what persons we must murder... I want from you a list of persons who have to be murdered, numbers of Sofia garrison, police etc...

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dabble unchecked in the State coffers. A scathing exposure of one of the Agrarian Ministers, appeared in the Belgrade *Politika* on June 16, 1933 which was widely reproduced in the Bulgarian Press. 661 665

Virgil Dimov was accused of having concluded a pact with the Macedonian Committee, promising to reverse the pro-Serbian policy hitherto followed by the Agrarian organisation and to adopt a strictly nationalistic one, such as was approved of by Italy. In exchange he and his friends would receive, the support of the Macedonians, and subsidies from a foreign country, Italy. He was further accused of having in a very short time amassed a considerable fortune. This scandal reached its culmination on November 10, 1933, when the president of the Sobranye, N. Zachariev, another Agrarian, rose up and declared: „I was a colleague of V. Dimov, who was a poor man. But for two years he has been a minister and to-day he is a millionaire. I can no longer associate with these people". All attempts to maintain a semblance of unity disappeared, the Agrarians threatened to force a new election campaign by overthrowing the Government and proceeded accordingly to work up the peasant electorate, inciting it to avoid paying taxes and promising to absolve it from such payments if the Agrarians were returned. A final attempt was made to maintain the tottering Cabinet by throwing over the Radical Minister Kosturkov and dividing among Agrarians and Liberals the emoluments and benefits which this additional ministry would assure to its occupants. Democracy had deteriorated to such a degree that it became a farse and a make-belief,

we must destroy this government and create a friendly Bulgaria ... and a confederation with Serbia". The most revolting revelations were made concerning all the colleagues of the late Stambuliiski in the Sobranye on Jan. 4, 1932.

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665 which no one could further trust. One of the leading
661 Sofia newspapers, the *Mir*, wrote on May 12, 1934 :

> „In Bulgaria there is no longer any State authority. At the head of the State are puny uncultured people who destroy and are incapable of constructing. And all these petty personalities are asking for more offices, more ministerial porfolios, more public funds for their political friends. Our Government is not a democracy, but purely and simply an organisation of marauding bands. The patient and submissive citizen asks how long will this state of affairs last?

668 Against this canker of demoralisation the reserve
701 officers, the only organised and patriotic force in the country, had several times protested and drawn the attention of the Government. They dispatched a deputation on January 18, 1933 to the Prime Minister recommending the adoption of certain measures which would curtail existing abuses. At the end of April 1933, they held a congress and they passed a resolution appealing to all men of goodwill to group themselves together and form a non-party government which might extricate the country from the bog in which it was wallowing. In another congress held at the end of 1933, they again insisted on the formation of a non-party Cabinet in order that the people might be saved from the prevailing demoralisalion which had set in among the political parties. These reminders however, had been disregarded.

When in May 1934, the Radical member of the Cabinet was so rudely unhorsed by his colleagues, it became apparent that the Mushanov Cabinet was at the end of its tether. There were only two political forces powerful enough to replace it The Agrarians, and Tsankov's Democratic Entente. They were utterly hostile to one another and each intent on excluding its rival from all participation in office. The advent of either to power meant the outbreak of a civil war, more bitter than that which had been waged in 1925. To prevent this calamity, the

This policy is not to the liking of that great army of functionaries, supported by the old politicians, and of the palace circles, to all of whom self-interest suggests opposition to anything even remotely suggesting a curtailment of their country's sovereignty. To them the strained political situation in Europe has come as a gift of the Gods, for it holds out the promise of a turn in the wheel of fortune and of a means of retrieving what was lost in the war. This implies an adventurous policy and entails some carefully prepared preliminary steps. Such a policy must be made to appeal to the masses as likely to ameliorate their present difficult lot and at the same time, the feeling of patriotism has to be exorcised in order to make war appear once more an invigorating and lucrative pursuit. 648

Hence the persistent circulation of such mendacious reports to the effect that Gt. Britain was opposed to the policy of a close understanding between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, and that she has decided to impress Bulgaria into her service and confide to the latter the defence of British interests in the Near East. „We are navigating in British waters" is the general comment on the present situation with which one is greeted in Sofia. And the prospect of the British Pactolus pouring its goldbearing stream on the barren fields of Bulgaria makes all and sundry beam with smiles. At the same time feverish efforts are being made to instill some patriotic ardour in the masses by intensive flag-waiving and drum-beating. There were never so many parades, patriotic speeches, and celebrations of commemorations of victories, ridiculous in themselves, since they all ended in a catastrophe, as there have been during the past few months.

The direct cosequence of entrusting the government to compromised personalities is that official statements and acts are regarded with mistrust. 661

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•661 The arrival of Colonel D. Veltchev, the able colleague and supporter of K. Gheorghiev from abroad early in October 1935 at the instigation of two Cabinet Ministers, was seized upon by the Government as a pretext for dealing a crushing blow to its adversaries. Both, with many of their sympathisers and supporters, have been arrested on a charge of plotting against the Goverment and the Crown. In view of the fact that such charges as have been levelled against Col. Veltchev and K. Gheorghiev, namely, that they were co-operating with the left wing of the Agrarians and with the brigand chief, Dontso Usunov, have proved utterly unfounded, one may logically infer that this pretended plot is a staged-up affair aiming at the crushing of the only people who would resolutely oppose any attempt of involving Bulgaria in a new adventure and whom the force of circumstances would in all probability have again placed in power now that „Russia's significance as a beacon of hope for the forces of violent discontent seems likely to diminish to the vanishing point".

800 What all self-respecting Englishmen are bound to resent most strongly is the shameless misuse which is being made of their country's name, and in view of the utter revulsion in all circles in Gt. Britain for any policy even remotely endangering peace, it is incumbent on authoritative circles ar home to issue a formal and categorical disclaimer of the baseless reports which are being circulated in Sofia. This is all the more imperative remembering the tragic consequences of the misunderstandings which arose in 1915 through the interpretation given to British policy in Bulgaria. (Cf. p. 410),

Such a disavowal would take the wind out of the scandal mongers and plotters, and would help honest and patriotic Bulgarians to restore order, tranquillity, and concord in their long-suffering country.

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XVII

BULGARIA CONTAMINATED

> Great are your achievements, Comrade Kostov, as the builder of the Party, as the teacher and instructor of the Party members. Under your leadership and inspired by your heroic life, thousands of Communists were educated into unquestionable loyalty to the Party.
>
> Declaration by the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party on Traicho Kostov's 50th birthday in 1947

ONLY a month after the Greek rebel radio announced that Markos had been liquidated, victim of a fatal inability to forget that he was a Greek as well as a Communist, the Bulgarian Communist Party was forced to admit that nationalist symptoms had appeared in its ranks also. The sufferer was the Deputy Premier of Bulgaria, Traicho Kostov, Secretary-General of the Party since 1944. On March 27, 1949, he was deprived of his office and dismissed from the Politburo. We have been supplied with a full Stalinist diagnosis of his case.

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Kostov had been a member of the Party since 1919, had spent fourteen years in Bulgarian prisons, had been Bulgaria's leading Communist organizer and would have seemed as immune to criticism on the score of discipline and orthodoxy as Georgi Dimitrov himself, chief Bulgarian émigré in Moscow, hero of the Reichstag fire trial and former Secretary-General of the Comintern. It was to Dimitrov that Kostov relinquished control in 1945 when Dimitrov returned to Sofia in the wake of the Red Army; and Dimitrov made him one of his trusted lieutenants, as Deputy Prime Minister and chairman of the economic and financial planning committee. Kostov

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wrote the Constitution of 1947, the Party pamphlets and the Five Year Plan. As things turned out, the most risky of his functions was planning and administering the national economy, for it involved making Bulgaria a service station for the Soviet economic machine. But this danger was not apparent at first. Kostov's long years of hazardous service in the underground, the intensity of his Communist faith and Dimitrov's affection and favor combined to make him the Number 2 man in the régime, and when Dimitrov became ill his mantle fell naturally enough on Kostov as Acting Prime Minister.

It was from this pinnacle of power that Kostov was toppled in March 1949. The grounds for his expulsion from the Politburo and his removal as Acting Prime Minister were "gross political and Party errors," "insincere and unfriendly policy regarding the Soviet Union" and "nationalistic deviations." On April 15, the news leaked out that Dimitrov had been sent to Russia "on leave" to repair his health. The Prime Minister's illness had evidently inaugurated a struggle for his succession. At the right moment the Kremlin issued its orders. Kostov, leader of the wing of the Party that had been more closely identified with the revolutionary struggle inside the country than with the international headquarters in Moscow, was dismissed and disgraced, and Vassil Kolarov, an elderly man of 73 who had spent most of the time since the 'twenties in Moscow, part of it as an official of the Comintern, became Acting Prime Minister in his place. Subsequently, Kostov was removed from the Central Committee of the Party, then from his position as a deputy in Parliament, and finally from the Party itself. On July 20 Parliament voted to have him indicted and tried for "economic sabotage."

Kolarov explained that his predecessor's crimes were particularly atrocious since they were not haphazard but formed "a system of political mistakes based on a glaringly expressed nationalist deviationism and anti-Bolshevik attitude towards the methods of Party leadership." Specifically, during the time that Kostov was acting as Prime Minister he had broadened the law against divulging state secrets and had applied it to the officials dealing with the Soviet trade representatives in Bulgaria; as a result, the Soviet agents had

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not been able to find out at what prices Bulgaria was selling her products to capitalist countries. In this way Kostov revealed his mistrust of the U.S.S.R. and went counter to the accepted rule that "secrets and commercialism" do not figure in Bulgarian-Soviet relations. A man's attitude toward the Soviet Union, Kolarov explained, defines his whole ideological orientation; anti-Sovietism is "the most heinous form of national deviation." [1]

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The reader will recall that when opposition to the Soviets appeared in Poland it was dealt with at first quite circumspectly. Gomulka's connection with Tito was carefully concealed. Nothing of the sort was attempted in Kostov's case. By now the Cominform acknowledged that Titoism was not peculiar to Jugoslavia but was an infectious disease menacing the whole Stalinist empire.

The events which awakened Kostov's resistance were like those which had antagonized other satellite leaders. In 1948 the Bulgarian tobacco crop amounted to about 20 million kilos, of which the Soviets bought between 18 and 19 million kilos at arbitrarily fixed prices. When the time came for Bulgaria to market what remained of her crop, after the Soviets had taken the lion's share and after she had provided for her own domestic consumption, she found that she was competing in Italy, Egypt and New York with her own Bulgarian tobacco, offered by the Soviets at less than prevailing world prices. The Soviets profited in the same way with attar of roses, of which Bulgaria possesses almost a world monopoly. The Soviet purchasing agents in Sofia bought up the entire 1948 crop and resold it at higher prices in New York.[2] Later they laid hands on the store of this valuable essence accumulated during the war by the Bulgarian National Bank and disposed of it at whatever prices the world market would stand. Kostov apparently could not bear to see his country cheated in this way. In one sense it does not matter that the sums which the Soviet Government credits to the Bulgarian Government for its purchases in Bulgaria bear no relationship to the prices at which it later resells those same products abroad; it is all a matter of bookkeeping anyway, and Bulgaria cannot win. What does matter is that as the Soviet Government resells in hard-cur-

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[1] *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*, Bucharest, May 15, 1949.
[2] *The Economist*, London, July 16, 1949.

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439 rency areas, the dollars which it gets from the sale of Bulgarian products go to finance imports not into Bulgaria but into the Soviet Union. That ends the last vestige of Bulgaria's freedom of economic manœuvre.

Bukharin might have called this sort of finagle the absence of "selfish competition," just as Kolarov called it the absence of "secrets and commercialism." Kostov decided that it was good old-fashioned exploitation, the sort of thing which he had always heard denounced as a mean capitalist trick. When he tried to tighten up the government agencies which dealt with the Soviet purchasing agents, however, he found that he was a "nationalist deviationist."

665 661 The Sofia morning papers of November 30, 1949, carried the text of the formal indictment against Kostov,[8] based on a 32,000-word statement purporting to have been signed by him in prison and on similar statements by ten codefendants, all of them high government and Party officials. Kostov is described as a consistent supporter of "Left-sectarian," Trotskyite policies. While an émigré in Moscow in 1933–34 he supposedly formed contacts with many other Trotskyites, including Bela Kun and Tito; plotted to replace Dimitrov and Kolarov as leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party; and, as an official of the Balkan Secretariat of Communist Parties, recommended Tito for political work in Jugoslavia. All this seems vague and farfetched, no reason being given why with such a consistently bad record he was allowed to continue as Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Party and was promoted to be acting head of the government.

The indictment goes on to make the bland statement that when Germany's "final defeat" had been sealed on the Soviet front as far back as 1942 (*sic*), the British and American intelligence services, faced with this apparently unwelcome fact, and seeing how Soviet prestige was growing in Southeastern Europe, began to smuggle their agents into the underground Communist Party. Among those allegedly recruited besides Kostov was a former Minister of Finance, Stefanov, who was accused of having given the British information on the budget and on military expenditures in 1946 and 1947, and

[8] A translation in English is to be found in a supplement to the *New Times*, Moscow, December 7, 1949.

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Nikola Pavlov, former administrative secretary of the Politburo and Deputy Minister of Construction. These three were accused of having formed a "conspiratorial center" aimed at "overthrowing the lawful government of the country and replacing it by a criminal government headed by Kostov." The indictment also asserted that they had "endeavored to disrupt business, commercial and other economic ties between Bulgaria and the other People's Democracies headed by the Soviet Union, in order to deprive our country of the generous and disinterested aid of the U.S.S.R."

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Of special interest is the further charge that Kostov "entered into secret criminal connections with Jugoslav leaders" with the intention of "depriving Bulgaria of her national sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence by joining her to Jugoslavia." The "plot" for a federation is supposed to have begun when Kardelj, as already recounted, visited Sofia towards the end of 1944. Dimitrov was still in Moscow, Kostov was the undisputed leader on the spot and it was with him that Kardelj discussed the pros and cons of the project. The indictment admits that Kostov made no secret of this; he "informed the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party, which he headed in 1944, that Kardelj had been in the country and had suggested a federation between Bulgaria and Jugoslavia," as well as that the Jugoslavs would submit a written proposal to this effect shortly. What he failed to tell his colleagues, says the indictment, was that the arrangement "was directed against the U.S.S.R." According to the indictment, Kardelj told Kostov that "the British and Americans had supplied the Jugoslav guerrillas with arms and ammunition on condition that, when the war was over, Tito would keep Jugoslavia away from the U.S.S.R.;" that in Tito's view Jugoslavia should "not definitely tie herself with the U.S.S.R., but should pursue a policy of her own and maintain and develop ties with the Western states;" that he would request withdrawal of Russian troops as soon as the war was over; that Soviet troops should leave Bulgaria too; and that the best means of bringing this about would be for Bulgaria to join Jugoslavia immediately, for then she would no longer be regarded as an enemy but as part of an Allied state, which would make the presence of Soviet troops on her soil "superfluous and entirely unjustified." Kostov contended that he had expressed

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doubts about all this, giving among other reasons his opinion that the Allies might oppose the idea of federation; and in fact the British Government did issue a formal warning that Bulgaria could not take any independent action until after there had been a treaty of peace. On this point the indictment merely mentions Kardelj's comment that if Allied protests were made they would be window-dressing. The project failed in the end, the indictment concludes, because of a warning sent by Dimitrov from Moscow.

In the summer of 1946, Kostov was sent on a formal visit of friendship to Belgrade on behalf of the Bulgarian Communist Party and is supposed to have used the opportunity to continue his subversive work. Alexander Rankovich, Jugoslav Minister of the Interior, is alleged to have talked with him about Tito's plan to create "a great comity of Southeastern European countries," while Tito himself spoke approvingly of the idea of a federation which "would dictate its will in the Balkans, and would represent a serious factor in international politics." The plot supposedly was carried further when Tito came to Sofia in November 1947 to sign the treaty of friendship. On this occasion, it was alleged, he urged Kostov to reorganize the Bulgarian Communist Party, form a new government and proclaim the union with Jugoslavia. If he found he needed help, Tito is supposed to have said, the Jugoslav Army stood ready to supply it, and since the help would be "within the framework of the federation," it would be a domestic affair and "no one could qualify it as an act of aggression."

Such, said the indictment, was the "criminal conspiracy against the state of Bulgaria, plotted and headed by Kostov." Before examining the evidence we might note that on their face some of the Bulgarian Government's contentions seemed improbable. Kardelj had reported that Kostov was very reserved on the federation question, indeed much more reserved about it than Dimitrov and the others. And Tito has asserted that he always distrusted Kostov as the most anti-Jugoslav of all the Bulgarian leaders. This would indicate that although Kostov's complaint against Moscow was similar to Tito's, he did not support Tito in the Cominform dispute. In September 1948, in fact, he strongly attacked Tito and his col-

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leagues; but of course he may simply have been endeavoring to offset criticisms being voiced against him by Party colleagues.

The trial was held in December 1949 in accordance with a new law, passed for the purpose, before a new court, set up for the purpose and from which there was no appeal. The sensation of the trial, and something new for Communist judges, was that Kostov in open court repudiated the confession which he was alleged to have signed in prison. The whole case against him was based on that confession and on the similar confessions of the other defendants. These did not revoke what they had said in jail but instead fell over themselves to confirm the worst of it and to find new grounds to inculpate both Kostov and themselves. While Kostov did not hide the fact that he had opposed Dimitrov in ideological and Party matters, or that he had miscalculated the strength of *kulaks* and other Bulgarian reactionary elements, he did categorically deny that he had ever been a spy or foreign agent, that he had had anything to do with sending Tito to Jugoslavia in 1934 or that he had been Tito's stooge in the negotiations for a Jugoslav-Bulgarian federation.

The judges at first could not believe their ears, and when Kostov insisted on repudiating his "confession" in spite of hoots from the audience and rebukes by his own counsel, they hastily adjourned court for half an hour to enable him to "rest" and "refresh his memory." After the rest period he still stuck to his guns. For two days the Communist press maintained a stunned silence. Then *Pravda* commented that Kostov had a "soft and oily voice" and the "cunning eyes of a thief," details which his colleagues might have noticed in the last twenty or thirty years, and a "bent back," which *Pravda* did not bother to explain he had acquired in 1924 when he jumped from a window in attempting to escape torture by the Sofia police.[4]

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The account of the negotiations for a Bulgarian-Jugoslav federation produced at the Kostov trial omits many well known facts and runs contrary to many others. Nothing is said about the active and

[4] *Cf. The Economist*, London, December 24, 1949; for details of the trial see also *The New York Times*, December 8 and successive days.

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has since told why.[8] In February and early March of 1948 Kardelj and Djilas were in Moscow trying to speed up Soviet economic aid. A Bulgarian delegation was there at the same time, headed by Dimitrov, Kolarov and Kostov. "In the presence of that delegation," asserts Tito, "Stalin himself imperatively demanded the immediate conclusion of an act of federation between Jugoslavia and Bulgaria, while on the other hand the Soviet was against a federation with Albania." But in view of the fact that Jugoslav relations with the Soviet Union "were already strained" Tito looked on this renewal of the old plan with a fishy eye. "We came to the conclusion," he continues, "that the demand was put forward in order to facilitate the overthrow and subjugation of Jugoslavia."

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Speaking of this matter with me, Tito explained that the creation of a Jugoslav-Bulgarian federation would have brought many Bulgarian leaders to Belgrade. Some would have received high places in the new joint government, and as they would have been under Russian orders Moscow would in this way have received a direct voice in Jugoslav affairs. He already was subject to so many kinds of Soviet interference that he was unwilling to open new doors for it. In any case, he added, not he but Dimitrov had taken the initiative for a federation to include Rumania and perhaps even Czechoslovakia. Dimitrov was unhappy over Bulgaria's increasing dependence on the Soviet Union and hoped to reverse the process by finding a place for her in a strong grouping. To a question as to why Dimitrov had not realized that this would get him into difficulties in Moscow, Tito replied that Dimitrov had just been in Bucharest, where his head had been turned a bit by the enthusiastic reception which he received from the Rumanian Communists and by the discovery that they too were restive under the tight Soviet rein. As a result, said Tito, Dimitrov became a bit too daring. Whether Dimitrov suffered physical punishment will never be known. He died in Russia in the summer of 1949 and Stalin stood among the honor guard by his catafalque.

Of all these matters no word was said at Kostov's trial. On December 14, 1949, he was found guilty on all charges and sentenced to death. The ten other defendants had tearfully inculpated both

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[8] Tito's speech at the opening of the Jugoslav National Assembly, April 26, 1950 (*Yugoslav Fortnightly*, Belgrade, May 5, 1950).

[i.e. the account of the negotiation for a Bulgarian-Yugoslav federation, see cat. 116, pp. 205-209--- Analyst]

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him and themselves in every imaginable sort of crime against the Bulgarian state, the Bulgarian Communist Party and, worst of all, the Soviet Union. They received prison sentences and fines. Kostov, according to witnesses, took the verdict calmly. It was the second time he had heard a death sentence pronounced against him, the first having been in 1942 when a royal Bulgarian military court ordered him shot for resistance to the Germans. This time the sentence was carried out. He was hanged on December 16, and the next day the Sofia press carried the text of a new "confession." There was of course no way of verifying it. It seems wildly improbable that after being sentenced Kostov would have recanted, even under torture, what he had previously maintained under torture and the threat of death.

A day after this show of Communist justice the electors of Bulgaria gathered in their polling places, decorated with pictures of Stalin, Bulgarian flags and doves of peace, to take part in national "elections." These had been scheduled for November but delayed to give time for the complete elimination of "Kostovism"—called "nothing but Titoism on Bulgarian soil" by Kostov's successor, Deputy Prime Minister Vulko Chervenkov (described to me by an American diplomat as "the most rigid and unintelligent of the Bulgarian Communists, with a neck like a bull and a face like a bullfrog"). As there was only a single list of candidates, the news that this list had been elected was not startling.

As good as any of the obituaries for Kostov was one inserted by Pijade in the speech already quoted: "If Traicho Kostov was hanged merely for wanting a federation with Jugoslavia, although he insisted on precisely the same form of federation, with Bulgarian hegemony, as all the other members of the Bulgarian Politburo, then, from their standpoint, from the standpoint of the indictment of that shocking trial, they have hanged an innocent man. But though they did hang a certain Kostov, the truth about the federation of the Southern Slavs cannot be hanged. Neither the hangman in Sofia nor his teachers are tall enough for that."

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XVIII

PRESCRIPTION: FORCE

Faceless as water, naked as the dust.
Stephen Vincent Benét, "Litany for Dictatorship"

DICTATORS — and other demagogues when they are able—divert their publics from real miseries by denouncing foreign machinations, staging spectacular parades, sports shows, funerals and rallies, and starting witch hunts which always end in the conviction of an enemy, real or fictitious. We have no way of knowing how much this motive may have entered into the Kostov affair. He may have become genuinely troublesome to Moscow, and the decision to liquidate him may have been taken on grounds which are logical to a dictator and even to the victim, he having accepted the hazards of the game from the start. But even if Kostov was merely a scapegoat, he deserves and will receive no tears. His noose was made from the same rope that he had ordered used for so many others.

The terror started by the Bulgarian Communists against their rivals and opponents after the war was really ferocious, even for Communists and even by Balkan standards; and Kostov was in the lead in planning the hangings and shootings. Official Bulgarian reports state that by March 25, 1945, there had already been 131 political trials, at which over 10,000 persons had been found guilty, of whom over 2,000 had been executed.[1] Among them there certainly were Nazi collaborationists, but there also were anti-Communists of every stripe, including some who had been the bravest leaders of the anti-Nazi resistance and were the strongest surviving exponents of free and democratic government. In practice, collaborationists

[1] Statistics issued by G. Dimitrov, October 7, 1945, quoted by Albert A. Brandt, *Harper's Magazine*, December 1947.

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usually fared better in the "People's Courts" than liberals; having compromised successfully with one dictatorial régime they knew how to compromise with another to save their skins.

The Agrarians, Socialists and others had joined with the Communists in forming the "Fatherland Front" to take over from the Nazis. It was a mistake—the same mistake being made by liberals in all countries of supposing that they could collaborate on fair terms with Communists. The Bulgarian democratic elements also erred in not recognizing that American and British policy in the Balkans was chaotic and could not be depended upon after the war to prevent the spread of Soviet power in Eastern Europe. The first to pay for these mistakes were the leaders of the old Agrarian Party founded by the peasant hero, Alexander Stambuliski. As they had always worked to raise peasant living standards within the framework of the general welfare, they were the most dangerous rivals of the Communists and became their first targets. The head of the Party, Dr. G. M. Dimitrov, ceded his place to Nikola Petkov under Soviet pressure in January 1945 and escaped abroad. Petkov, who had been one of the four signers of the 1944 armistice, still trusted the word of the Communists that the Fatherland Front would be a real coalition and that the Agrarians would be permitted to carry on independent political activity. He was executed September 23, 1947. The State Department protested that his trial was a "travesty on justice" and contrary to the rights guaranteed to Bulgarian citizens at Yalta. Kostov personally prepared the case against Petkov.

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With the last of the powerful and avowed opponents of dictatorship out of the way, the Communists were free to proclaim Bulgaria a one-party state. They did so on February 4, 1948, securing for their country the honor of being the first satellite to abandon the pretense of a popular front. This was the period, one recalls, when Dimitrov was being rebuked by *Pravda* for favoring a Balkan or Danubian federation, and was issuing his denials, and when Moscow was beginning to talk secretly inside the Cominform about expelling Tito. The connection of these events is not to be missed.

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Ordinarily Dimitrov might not have gotten off so lightly, but there were reasons for not sullying the name of such a great Communist luminary, the hero of the Reichstag fire trial, at the very moment

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474 241 completed only 15 percent on time, and the spring sowing 10 percent.[8]

474 565 661 The amount of compulsory self-criticism ensuing on such events, and the number of purges and trials of officials and arrests and trials of *kulaks*, bourgeois "saboteurs" and other criminals, can be imagined. In the article already quoted, Mr. Chernokolev admitted that there had been "serious mistakes" even in administering the comparatively moderate Bulgarian collectivization program, with the result that many "injustices" had occurred. Party organizations had failed to gauge correctly what was technically possible, people who owned land without actually working it had been admitted to collectives, even *kulaks* had been taken in, and so on. When lands were exchanged so that practicable coöperative farms might be organized, peasant rights often were "grossly violated." *Kulak* elements "took advantage of this and in a number of cases tried hard to win to their side the disgruntled poor and medium peasants and endeavored to turn them against the coöperatives and the people's power." They not only tried, apparently, but succeeded, for in some villages, the writer records, they fomented "strife between coöperative members and individual peasants," which "created a certain danger for the alliance between the working class and the poor and medium peasants."

Since the Cominform journal is designed for an international audience these comments were more moderate than those made on the spot. In a speech before the Central Committee of the Party in June 1949, Kolarov spoke of "clearly unreasonable and unfair" measures taken against the peasants; of many peasants being forced to join collectives against their will; and of peasants being indifferent to whether crops were big or small, the quota to be sold to the state at a fixed price being much too high—in some cases even comprising the total harvest.[9]

Kolarov put the blame for all that had gone wrong in the countryside on Kostov. So did Chervenkov. So did the Bulgarian press. So did the Committee which investigated Kostov's activities for the Grand National Assembly. It reported that besides the crimes de-

[8] *New York Herald Tribune*, April 16, 1950.
[9] Quoted in *The Economist*, London, July 16, 1949.

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scribed in the preceding chapter he had "carried out a policy leading to the estrangement of the overwhelming mass of medium peasants and of a great part of the small peasants from the Fatherland Front and putting them under the influence of *kulaks* and the reaction, thus destroying the union between workers and peasants."[10] This was very convenient. At one stroke Kostov was linked with the crisis in the countryside, and an excuse was provided for the existence of the crisis. It was not a very good excuse, for the same difficulties with the peasants continued after Kostov had been eliminated from any share in the country's economic life. As for the expectation that the trial would sober nationalist elements in the Party, that did not seem to work out to Moscow's satisfaction either. One count of top-level Communist officials purged in the six months beginning October 1949 showed a tally of nearly 50.

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Class war in the villages, presaged by Dimitrov in December 1948, did not materialize at once. The expectation may have been that the simple threat would overcome peasant resistance, but when it did not a new model statute for collective farms was brought up "for discussion," *i.e.* to prepare the peasants for what the Party had decided would now be imposed by force. Peasants who had come into the collective system and those who had stayed out would both be hit. A member's share in the profits of a coöperative (if there were profits: another story) was henceforth going to be figured 30 percent on the amount of land he had put in and 70 percent on the number of "work days" he contributed, instead of being compensated, as formerly, in direct proportion to the amount of land and the number of "work days." In other words, he was becoming one-third a landowner and two-thirds a state agricultural worker. If he knew about what had happened to the Russian peasants in the final step of the Soviet agrarian "reform" in 1937 he could foresee what would become of the remaining one-third of Bulgarian land values. Actually, of course, the distinction between "rent" for land and "pay" for labor often was theoretical anyway. The product of a collective is turned in to the state in amounts fixed in advance and in return for payment at rates which in practice are confiscatory. A

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[10] Report by the Bulgarian radio, Sofia, July 20, 1949, of the proceedings on that date in the Bulgarian Grand National Assembly.

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474 surplus may or may not remain to be divided among the peasants. Often, as Kolarov admitted, there is none. The rate at which it
423 would have been divided if it had existed is then only of theoretical
661 interest. There is no space here to indicate the punishments awaiting the peasants who infringe the new statute.[11] Even negligence is defined as "treason to the common good" and punished as—treason. But I must add one item contributed by a Bulgarian friend of mine, for it reveals clearly one of the important intentions of present Communist policy in Bulgaria. In this man's native village the coöperative contains both industrial and agricultural workers. The first group is scrupulously allotted the same number of ration cards as the second. Nothing could be fairer, except that the first group contains 14 persons and the latter about 500. "Recipe for horse and rabbit stew: one horse, one rabbit."

Membership in collectives is "voluntary," but the meaning of this is shown by Prime Minister Chervenkov's description of what is to happen to peasants who do not join. "All tractors and agricultural machines belonging to peasants outside the coöperative farms should be confiscated," he has warned, and in future "only peasants belonging to coöperative farms can use tractors and machines." After this gloss on the 1950 model statute there is no need to go into further details. Peasants who do not have the use of farm machinery cannot fulfill their government quotas, let alone have anything left over to feed themselves and their families. They will "volunteer" or starve.

177 We have seen repeatedly that Bulgaria is the satellite where ex-
648 treme Soviet measures are given their tryout. She was the first to suppress religious freedom and the first to introduce the system of local government by soviets. She was also the first, as already mentioned, to become officially a one-party state, and Dimitrov was the first satellite leader to proclaim the advent of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Russia's reasons for pushing ahead in Bulgaria seem to be two. It is the country where, with the exception of Rumania, her physical domination comes closest to being absolute. But whereas Russians are contemptuous of Rumanians, and are hated in return, they feel close to Bulgarians in race and language and suppose that they will repay past favors by swinging naturally into their allotted

[11] Details are given in *The Economist*, London, May 27, 1950.

643 compelled him to take this step is characteristic not only of the high spirit of public duty which inspires his acts, but also of the consciousness of his responsibilities when in charge of public affairs. One or two sentences of the speech, suffice to portray the man. „It is," M. Gheorghiev declared, „a nefarious act to allow the public to perceive that the State shows partiality in its treatment of its subjects, and to favour some unduly at the expence of others... The sense of justice is being blunted, and such acts must cease"... and as they did not cease, M. Gheorghiev turned his back on his former colleagues and resigned, while the latter persevered in their campaign of spoliation and embezzlement.

645 663 As for M. Peter Todorov, the writer has nothing to alter in the opinion he expressed of him in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* on Oct. 6, 1923, the object of which was to correct and mitigate the erroneous impressions the British public was forming of events in Bulgaria owing to the reports of some three misinformed Labour members of Parliament, who had then visited the country. This appreciation of M. Todorov was couched in the following terms: „No words would adequately express the esteem in which he is rightly held by those who have the privilege to know him. His unsparing denunciation of the abuses committed by the former Agrarian government and his scathing exposures of shady affairs are the best proof of his unswerving devotion to high ideals. As long as M. Todorov remains in the Cabinet there can be no fear of Bulgaria pursuing a reactionary policy". To the above may be added M. T. G. Vlaikov's appreciation, so that it may not be thought that such flattering remarks are inspired by the personal esteem the writer cherishes for one of the most stalwart champions of true radicalism in Bulgaria. M. Vlaikov is a distinguished writer, and a political thinker who until lately had played an active and reputable part

in the social life of his country, and which may be likened to the role of the late much-regretted Charles Masterman in England. In his latest book, „Functionaries and Rulers" in which he related the rich and variegated experiences of his defunct brother in his capacity of a public functionary, and depicts in vivid colours the gradual deterioration of public morals, he lays stress on the fact, that, M. Todorov, on becoming Minister of Finances in 1923 startled all those about him by resolutely insisting that all functionaries in his department should be protected against dismissal and replacement by favourites and friends of the regime in power. That he worked with all possible zeal to render tenure of office secure for functionaries; this uncertainty as to their stability of employment being a veritable bane, and the main cause of maladministration in all Balkan countries. For a whole year there were no changes in the staff and the law relative to the appointment of functionaries in the Ministry of Finance was altered so that no one could be dismissed without the decision of a special disciplinary committee. Thus a dam against favouritism and political corruption had been effectively erected, but, M. Vlaikov, adds, no sooner had M. Todorov evacuated his post, that vents were made in the dam and soon the whole good work was undone. This shows how essential it is to have good men at the top, and all Bulgarians will readily agree that M. Todorov, in his capacity of Finance Minister has so far shown himself a very Cerberus on guard before the public purse, ready to defend it tooth and nail against dilapidations. Changes have occurred during this year (1935) in the composition of the Bulgarian Government, but the successors of M. Gheorghiev have all declared that their programme is identical to that of their predecessors and that they will pursue unflinchingly the task of purifying public life. All good-wishers of Bulgaria should wish them therefore success, for this is a pressing need.

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669 Bulgaria and keep them in readiness for an eventual military invasion of their native country. It is this latent danger which incited the neighbouring Balkan States to make such persistent efforts at Sofia for the dissolution of the Macedonian organisation. The removal of this ever present peril of war through the sudden incursion of Macedonian bands in Yugoslav, or Greek territory, has vastly increased the chances of a Bulgaro-Yugoslav rapprochement and promoted the work of pacification in the Balkans. Even if the Gheorghiev Cabinet had left no other record of its activities than this suppression of the Macedonian organisation, this would be sufficient for it to have secured a valid claim to the gratitude of all peace loving men and of the Bulgarian people above all. For the activities of the revolutionaries made themselves felt in Bulgaria far more than abroad, frequent murders, blackmailing, terrorism, flouting of justice, disregard for the prestige of the State's authority by the adherents of the revolutionary organisation, rendered its survival in Bulgaria a public danger and a factor of demoralisation, since the crimes and abuses its votaries committed were but very rarely punished.

631 Another laudable reform was the reduction of the administrative districts from sixteen to seven, while the
663 rural communes, numbering 2552, were reduced to 800 approximately. This change will not only effect a diminution in the administrative staff and an economy in expenditure, estimated at between 80 to 100 million leva annually, but will also permit of a more rational economic organisation of the country. By regrouping the rural communes
632 and lessening their numbers, more resources will be avai-
663 lable for the communal autorities to carry on their work with more effectively. The perpetual feuds between villages over the possession of communal lands over which so much treasure and time was spent have ceased as if by

enchantement, since by this reform rival villages have been incorporated in the same commune. These rivalries were encouraged and promoted by the politicians who hitherto made themselves indispensable to the villagers as intercessors with the authorities in their judicial disputes, and constituted a large source of revenue for all political partisans to the detriment naturally of the rural population. Communes henceforth are to have a population of at least 5000 and they will be governed by mayors appointed by the central government, on whom all authority will devolve. Mayors will choose their advisers from amongst the local notables, teachers and priests. The Government has decided to appoint as mayors, men with a university training in law, active and capable who by their example and by their knowledge will be able to raise the cultural level of the villages. They will be empowered to settle all disputes involving sums less than 2,000 leva among the villagers, thus expediting the course of Justice and settling quarrels rapidly. The perpetual drain of intellectual forces from the country to the towns, which had tended to deplete the rural districts of most intelligent forces, and which accounts for their relative backwardness, has now been fortunately reversed and one may hope for a certain improvement in rural conditions as a consequence of this reform.

This administrative reform had been advocated by many social thinkers but never carried out, for it did not suit the political parties to curtail official posts and functions in which they could accommodate their partisans. M. A. Yaranov in his „Bulgaria to-day and to-morrow," a book published in 1928, recommended for instance the suppression of at least four administrative districts, as likely to secure an economy of some 100 million leva per annum and to render 550 government posts superfluous. Even the Radical party had advocated similar curtailments, but

631 663 no government had ever decided to apply such a programme of retrenchment voluntarily and deprive itself of the privilege which the dispensation of posts brought to it. For it must not be forgotten that the politicians held the electorate by the hope of office and the civil service by fear of dismissal from their posts.

645 663 Another administrative reform was a decrease in the number of Ministries. That of railways, posts and telegraphs, has been merged with that of Public Works into a Ministry of Communications, while those of Agriculture, and of Commerce and Industry have been fused into the Ministry of National Economy. This change will not only effect an economy in the personnel, but will obviate the necessity of duplicating similar work and services and generally simplify and expedite the work of the institutes. While the placing of the Ministries of Industry and Agriculture under the same management will greatly facilitate the work of reconciling rival and often contradictory policies, which hitherto prevented the adoption of a rational general plan. Cuts and economies were effected in all branches of the administrations, the Ministers themselves setting the example by reducing their salaries by 50 %, an example which was followed by managers of both State and private banks and other institutions.

663 475 316 On July 12, 1934 less, than two months from his assuming power, M. Kimon Gheorghiev announced in a public speech that his government had licensed 6220 public functionaries and effected economies in the budget amounting to a minimum of 385 million leva. The efficiency with which the work of overhauling the functioning of the administration was carried out may be gauged by the report on the management of the Pernik coal mine, which is an autonomous institution under State control. The new directors found that the former Agrarian Minister Ghitsev, under whose province came the supervising of

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the mine, had nominated 75 partisans as supernumeraries at a daily wage varying between 120 and 150 leva and that these busybodies never presented themselves at the mine even to receive their salaries, but that they had their emoluments regularly remitted to them at their domiciles. Another 170 persons had likewise been appointed in order to receive stipends but without doing any work. The new administration dismissed all redundant functionaries and by the beginning of 1935 the staff had been reduced from 5750 early in 1934, to 5100. The cost of extraction nad been diminisued from an average of 217 leva per ton in 1933, to 193 leva in 1934, and the quantity of coal extracted per day of 8 working hours per miner had increased from 753 kg. to 839 kg. The total output of the mine for 1934 reached the record figure of 1,266,000 tons. A saving of some 30 millions had been realised in the working of the mine, in spite of a decrease of 20% in the price of the coal delivered to the State railways and of 10% to 16% in that furnished to other consumers, which reductions could be estimated as amounting to some 55 millions. The new management likewise attempted to improve the social amenities of the working people and was reported to have provided free meals for the children of the miners attending school, to have opened crèches, and replaced 500 miners, who possessed sufficient incomes to live independently, by others who had no resources whatever, a fact which shows that the colleagues of M. Gheorghiev were decided not only to effect economies, but also to deal out as large a measure of social justice as possible. 663 475 316

Another noteworthy measure passed by the Government was the law relative to the alleviation of debts, which radically solved a problem which was hanging fire for years. Owing to a drop of about 65% in the prices of agricultural produce between 1920 and 1933, the peasantry 426 663

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found itself utterly unable to meet its obligations and it became imperative to tackle drastically the question of indebtedness so as to permit debtors to fulfil their obligations and thus reopen the channels of credit which momentarily had become choked, and impart a new impetus to the economic life of the country which was threatening to come to a standstill. The measure aimed chiefly at helping the small farmers, and to a lesser degree the artisans and small traders. They affected debts up to 300,000 leva and contracted prior to January 1, 1931, which were reduced by this decree to the extent of 40%, 30%, and 20% respectively for each of these three categories of debtors Certain mitigations were granted to those who had contracted debts as sureties, while debtors owing over 300,000 leva were awarded a reduction in the rate of interest hitherto payable on their debts, as well as an extension of time for their repayment. The losses entailed were to be taken over by a specially created institute to which the State would henceforth affect revenues from certain imposts to the amount of some 220 milions annually which would suffice to meet the liabilities created by this measure. Private debts are estimated at about 12 milliard leva and it is reckoned that about 50% of the total will benefit rom this law. By July 1935, 281,177 claims had been registered with the special „caisse d'amortissement" created for this purpose for a total sum of 6,417,043,822 leva according to the Bulletin of the Agricultural Bank for July 1935. It is interesting to note that some 600 communes were reported as having filed claims, among which figured some municipalities of large towns such as Pleven and Plovdiv, a fact which proves that municipal finances are in a bad state in Bulgaria. For years previously both the Agrarianss and Communists had been making capital of this question of private debts and instigating debtors not to pay, promising the electorate that if it voted for them

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they would pass a law abolishing all private indebtedness. 426
It is gratifying to note that in spite of all this arrant 663
demagogy and incitement to default, the peasantry has not deviated from its traditional honesty, and that in spite of the crisis it has done its best to meet its liabilities. The annual reports of the Agricultural Bank show that its advances to the peasants have during the years 1930 to 1933 slowly but steadilly decreased and that their total indebtedness to the bank had been reduced by 300 million leva at the end of 1933, as compared with the year 1929. In the bank's report for 1933 it is stated that the peasantry has ceased increasing its indebtedness owing to its being conscious of the necessity of adjusting its debts to the present level of their income, a fact which speaks very highly of its common sense as well as of its determination to maintain its standard of integrity by which Bulgarians have so far distinguised themselves from their neighbours.

One of the most active members of the Cabinet was 652
its Finance Minister, M. Peter Todorov, who in a brief 655
period of a few months succeeded in settings order in his department so that the salaries of public functionnaries which were some five months in arrear, began being paid again regularly. Debts to Government contractors which had remained unpaid for years were liquidated and with indefatigable energy M. P. Todoroff set creating new sources of revenue for the State. These were the monopolies of alcohol, tobacco, salt, light mineral oils and school text books. There was an intensive contraband carried on in alcohol, and the State was being deprived of millions of revenue which otherwise ought to have flowed into its coffers. The returns of the Excise on spirituous drinks were yearly diminishing correspondingly with the reported consumption of both beer and alcoholic drinks as may be noted from the following table:

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eventually held in March, 1938, under a changed electoral law which permitted married women to vote but forbade candidates to run as members of the old political parties. In May, 1938, the *sobranie* met for the first time since 1935, but found itself reduced to the position of a consulting body. 646 666

The political crises of the period after 1933 were but outward expressions of the serious economic condition in which Bulgaria, along with all other predominantly agrarian countries of eastern Europe, had found itself as a result of the world-wide economic depression. At the same time both Italy and Germany sought to bring Bulgaria into their political and economic orbits. Bulgaria for several years seemed to waver between them and their rivals in power politics. Although its refusal to join the Balkan Entente, because of its revisionist territorial claims, seemed to align Bulgaria with Italy, a tense situation was avoided by the signature of a Pact of Friendship with Yugoslavia on January 24, 1937. In 1938 when the east European atmosphere had become clouded because of Germany's annexation of Austria and the developing Munich crisis, Bulgaria gained recognition of the right to rearm by means of an agreement in July with Greece who acted on behalf of the Balkan Entente. This was followed by an Anglo-French loan amounting to ten million dollars to assist in Bulgarian rearmament, although Germany had already supplied much material toward this end. Nevertheless, Germany had two advantages over its rivals. One was its freedom to encourage Bulgarian revisionist ambitions which, after the Bulgar-Yugoslav pact, tended to create greatest tension with Romania over the Dobruja. The other was the powerful economic tie developed between the two countries by means of trade agreements. After Austria and part of Czechoslovakia had been incorporated in the Nazi Reich in 1939 about 52 per cent of Bulgaria's exports went to Germany and about 63 per cent of its imports came from there. 648 [439]

It is doubtful, however, if the developing ties with Germany influenced the feelings of the Bulgarian people. Tsar Boris and his governments, even though they sanctioned agreements by which the political police cooperated with the Gestapo in pursuing "Communists," sought to keep down native fascism. There was, moreover, very little antisemitism in Bulgaria. The political opposition composed of the former Agrarian, Liberal, Radical, Socialist, and Democratic party elements, was by its nature antagonistic to Nazism. And, finally, the people had always retained a deepseated feeling of sympathy and respect for Russia against whom the Nazis were ostensibly aligned. Indeed, right down to 1941 there was much ground for believing that Bulgaria might well maintain neutrality in the second World War. 648 186 665

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The War of 1939-1945

Jockeying for Position

When the European war broke out in September, 1939, the conditions in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were not dissimilar. In each country a semi-dictatorial government, primarily responsible to the monarch, ruled with the assent of a subservient parliament. The predominantly agrarian masses were discontented with both political and economic conditions but were inarticulate and ineffectively organized. While all former political parties had been officially dissolved, their members continued to carry on a half-concealed activity beneath the eyes of the censor and the political police. The economy of each country was tied, in the main, to Germany's; although in Bulgaria, Great Britain and France made a pretense at counteracting German influences, they had apparently abandoned Yugoslavia to the Axis. In foreign relations both governments officially pursued a policy of neutrality, while their ministers and rulers made open or surreptitious visits to Hitler or his henchmen. German "tourists" ceaselessly worked in each country for the benefit of the German Reich.

Beneath the surface, however, there were forces which caused Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to take different courses when the crucial test came. In Yugoslavia resistance to collaboration with the Axis sprang up the minute the government capitulated. In Bulgaria, on the other hand, the government was able to swing the country into the Axis camp and keep it there until the triumph of the United Nations and particularly Russia made it clear that the Axis was losing the war.

As late as February, 1940, the Bulgarian government[5] assured the members of the Balkan Entente that it would not press its revisionist claims while the war lasted. With the dismemberment of Romania, however, in the summer of 1940, Bulgaria considered itself absolved of this pledge and in September obtained Southern Dobruja, thus regaining the boundary of 1912. Although Romania and Hungary were persuaded in November to adhere to the Tripartite Pact of Germany, Italy, and Japan, and despite the fact that over 80 per cent of Bulgaria's trade was now being carried on with Germany, the tsar and his government refused to join the Axis. Russia, whose agreement with the Reich in August, 1939, had undoubtedly helped to confuse the Bulgarian people, may have had something to do

[5] In well-managed elections, January, 1940, the government obtained a *sobranje* composed of 140 supporters and 20 opponents of whom 9 were Communists. A new government, organized on February 16, was headed by Bogdan Filov who remained premier until he entered the Regency Council in September, 1943.

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Y 648 fusing to attend the conference called at Paris to consider the Marshall Plan for European reconstruction, Yugoslavia manifested her determination to stand by Soviet Russia economically as well as politically.

B *The Fatherland Front in Bulgaria*

642 648 665 In attempting to fulfill the terms of the armistice and to prepare for parliamentary elections, the Georgiev government in Bulgaria, like that of Tito in Yugoslavia, was accused of pursuing totalitarian tactics. The United States and Great Britain entered protests against the conduct of the elections of November, 1945, in which 88 per cent of the vote was reported to be in favor of the Fatherland Front. The effort of the two powers to bring about the admission to the government of two representatives of "other democratic groups" proved unavailing, despite the agreement of Soviet Russia to the proposal at the Moscow Conference in December. [666] The National Assembly which chose Vassil Kolarov, a Communist, to be its president, arranged for a plebiscite, September 9, 1946, on the form of government. When the results went overwhelmingly in favor of a republic, the Assembly on September 15, declared Bulgaria to be a People's Republic. Elections in October, following the drafting of a constitution, returned an Assembly less predominantly Communist than Yugoslavia's, though whether this outcome was designed or came about because of a failure to crush the opposition effectively is not clear. The Fatherland Front majority of 366 deputies was made up of 279 Communists (Workers' Party), sixty-nine dissident Agrarians, nine *Zveno* members, eight dissident Social Democrats, and one Radical; while the opposition of 99 was composed of ninety Agrarians under the leadership of Petkov, and nine Social Democrats led by Lelchev.[10] In November Georgiev resigned as premier and was succeeded by Georgi Dimitrov, an eminent Communist who had been made famous by the Reichstag Fire Trial in 1934 and had been living in Russia until the end of the war. Like Yugoslavia, Bulgaria had entered upon the path of a Soviet-orientated state.

Peacemaking and Foreign Relations

Y-B 648 Beginning with the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco in 1945, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, whenever represented or discussed at international conferences, have been led or supported by Soviet Russia. Thus they are both aligned with the "Eastern"

[10] For a brief description of the elections and the policies of the Dimitrov regime by a sympathetic observer, see Commander Edgar P. Young, "'People's Republic Bulgaria'," *Contemporary Review*, CLXXI (March, 1947), 162-66.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

642 666 vibrant youth and living hope, her fling at democracy failed, primarily because ballots were given to peasants who were not being taught the meaning of citizenship in a national state.

178 623 Those interested in democracy have much to learn from the story of government in Dragalevtsy. At the outset the informal rule of the elders, which had been recognized by the Turks, was replaced by a commune or *obshtina* with regularly elected officials. At first these units included a number of villages. By 1890 the increase in population necessitated the breaking up of the larger *obshtini* so as to include only two or three villages. In other words, the pendulum was swinging back in the direction of greater local control, the swing being further accentuated after the First World War.

665 Political parties grew like mushrooms in Bulgaria. In 1930 the country had more than sixteen significant parties; in the village of Dragalevtsy, with its total population of about sixteen hundred, there [557] were six important parties with recognized leaders and platforms. To be a party leader in the village meant added prestige; to be one in the city or on a national scale meant power. In order for a Dragalevtsy man to become a local party leader he had to be acquainted with important people in Sofia. Even though he had only one influential friend in the city, he could persuade this man to come out and help organize a party. Other peasants were invited to the organizational meeting and officers were elected. Naturally, the one who took the initiative would be chosen to an important post. Because of the multiplicity of parties and the intense strife among them, many people throughout the country breathed a sigh of relief when the authoritarian government, which came into power on May 19, 1934, abolished by decree all political parties and started the practice of appointing university graduates as mayors in villages. This meant that the head of the government in a village was not dependent upon the will of the populace but had to produce results satisfactory to the officials over him. The breakdown of the party system was associated, especially as far as the conservative peasant population was concerned, not only with forces outside the village but also with the failure of popular education to develop into "a bulwark of people rule."

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[661] 668 munists, they were traitors. The priest still considered them children of God and officiated anyway, although they were not buried in the local cemetery.

[665] 648 By the New Year, 1945, many of the political leaders in the Fatherland Front discerned the handwriting on the wall. The Agrarians and the Democratic party especially recognized the Front for what it was—a Communist screen for actual control. All the while, the Communists—a minority party—had been growing stronger and were nurtured by the Red Army officers who really directed Bulgarian affairs. British and American army officers were represented in the Allied Control Commission which was under arbitrary Russian direction. American and British diplomatic representatives were somewhat more effectual, but only within a rather limited sphere of activity. With the cards stacked in their favor, the Communists controlled the key ministries, chief among them being the Ministry of Interior which had charge of the police and local administration. Therefore, early in 1945 there was a gradual loss of popular enthusiasm for the Fatherland Front, with the real defection coming in May. At that time the leading representatives of the Agrarian and Democratic parties, as well as a section of the Socialist party, withdrew from the Front to form an opposition. In Dragalevtsy, this move met with tremendous support, for there the Agrarian was the major party. The Zveno group, which had engineered the *coup d'état* of 1934 against the king, stayed with the Fatherland Front in which they held the premiership and other prominent positions.

A few former acquaintances of mine had joined the Communist party and were sincerely trying to win their fellow countrymen to their cause. They were inclined to be impatient with those who differed from them, and still felt very much on the defensive. Their condescending attitude toward members of other parties co-operating with them in the Fatherland Front was expressed in a comment making the round: "Oh, these other members of the Front are our water boys.' They'll carry the water to the top of the hill for us and then we'll take it over."

[666] The next political crisis arose in August, 1945. The government had scheduled an election through which it had planned to obtain a

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The Communist experiment with Bulgaria is now ten years old. The evidence at hand is deemed more than sufficient for substantiating a case, with particular regard to labor law and relations.

In analyzing our primary source of evidence—Bulgaria's labor legislation—a sequence of important premises should be constantly borne in mind. The Bulgarian Communist Party, which is the one and only element of power, has fully subscribed to the theory and practice of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It has termed its form of government a "people's democracy" which "fulfills the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat."[5] According to Lenin, the dictatorship of the proletariat represents "a power limited by nothing, by no law, directly based on violence."[6] It is, therefore, difficult, if at all possible, to take even Communist legislation at its face value, when it is known that the law is not binding on the highest repository of power—the Communist Party and government. Still, the existing legislation can be safely considered as the expression of a "minimum of violence" (the way toward the maximum being left open) and, as such, will necessarily reflect the guiding principles of Bulgarian labor law and relations.

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Another important premise is the Communist identification of party and government with the "working class" and the establishment of government ownership over capital and means of production. From labor's point of view, this situation means that in practice the workers are employees of a single owner—the Communist government—yet in theory are owners of their place of work and employers of themselves. This obvious nonsense has a definite purpose: to make impossible any "contrast" between capital and labor and, thus, to place the whole labor force under absolute governmental control. That is why "strike" is an unknown term in Communist labor law (you cannot strike against yourself), its equivalent having been identified as a capital

(Footnote 4 continued)
insufficiently clarified. For details, see Michael Padev, *Dimitrov Wastes No Bullets* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1948), Ch. VI; William B. King and Frank O'Brien, *The Balkans* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), pp. 157-159; and author's study cited at footnote 3, pp. 11-14.

[5] Georgi Dimitrov, *Political Report to the 5th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party* (Sofia: 1949), in Bulgarian, p. 123.

[6] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works* (Moscow: 1930), Vol. 9, Second Russian Edition, p. 95, in Russian.

[7] Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria of 1947, full English translation in Andrew Gyorgy, *Governments of Danubian Europe* (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1949), Appendix, pp. 323-339.

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

THE POLITICAL PARTIES

•665 The attempt of Stoilov to merge into one body all the opponents of Stambulov did not meet with success.[7] The various groups were too heterogeneous to coalesce, and the national or popular party into which they had been fused, soon broke up again into its constituent elements.

It was in the Constituent Assembly of 1879 that the first manifestations of differences of opinion took place. One group headed by the clergy, and those who had received a more advanced education, or had lived abroad, such as Natsevitch, Grekov, Balabanov, Burmov and Stoilov, advocated the granting of more restrained rights to the people, the adoption of a property or educative qualification for electors, and the creation of a senate. These were opposed by Karavelov, Dragan Tsankov, and Stambulov, all of whom insisted on the people being endowed with full sovereign rights without any restrictions whatever. They were supported by the revolutionaries, teachers, functionaries and the mass of the people and completely dominated the assembly, as they were both more numerous and more noisy than the few educated and more refined conservatively minded individuals who opposed them. It is this multitudinous mass, which styled itself Liberal, that was responsible for the adoption of a Constitution extremely liberal in form, which was soon to prove both inappropriate and unworkable.

These two groups originally designated as Conservatives and Liberals, soon broke up into a multiplicity of fractions, bitterly opposed one to another, and incapable of co-operation except for the sole purpose of overthrowing the party which happened to be in office. In 1884 the first scission was recorded in the Liberal ranks, giving rise to two parties led respectively by Karavelov and

7 [For historical background of this period see Cat. 116, pp. 324-351 — Analyst]

THE POLITICAL PARTIES

665 Dragan Tsankov. The former was to become known subsequently as the Democratic party under the leadership of Malinov, while the latter assumed the title of Progressive with Danev at its head. After the dethronement of Prince Alexander and when Karavelov was unjustly cast into prison his followers split up into two sections, one headed by Stambulov, and the other by Radoslavov. The first group styling itself national-liberal, and the second liberal. The latter was soon to give birth to an offshoot in the form of the so-styled Young Liberal party under Tontchev.

All these three groups were characterised by their anti-Russian attitude, and by their utter disregard of constitutional methods. They hesitated at nothing in order to secure their return to power, and whenever they were in office and their organs supervised the election, they were distinguished by extreme acts of brutality and violence. They were several times indicted and condemned for illegalities and embezzlements, but always amnestied because ex-Tsar Ferdinand found in them the most subservient of tools wherewith to carry on his personal policy; for unable to depend on popular support they were obliged to seek that of the Crown, which they elicited through their abject servility. The programmes of these three groups had no fundamental differences and they co-operated whenever Ferdinand expressed such a desire.

The reason for the inordinate subdivision of Bulgarian parties was the desire of the politicians to secure Ministerial seats. As the number of such posts was limited, whenever a group grew to have an undue number of aspirants to these honours which it could not satisfy simultaneously, it split and a readjustment was effected based on a more equitable proportion of the number of posts and favours available for distribution to the number of candidates enrolled in the party. This

•665 fissiparous tendency was naturally greatly encouraged formerly by Ferdinand, who was not slow to realise that the weakening of the political parties and their mutual hostilities constituted the best guarantee for the maintenance of his dominating position in the country.

Party spirit was extremely virulent and political intrigue had no limits; antagonism between political parties and politicians was bitter and uncompromising because their conflicts were not due to divergences in ideals, but mainly caused by sordid material interests or personal animosity. The mainspring of political activity consisted in the quest of well paid posts and sinecures which provided means for amassing fortunes. Such base and narrow aims engendered venomous rivalries and mortal envies, because politicians aware of the motives which impelled them, could hardly ascribe to their antagonists any higher aims, which could command respect. As Dr. Seton-Watson remarked very appropriately in his „Europe in the Melting-pot, p. 358:

„The secret of Ferdinand's power has lain in his skill in calculating the psychological moment for driving each batch of swine from the trough of power and still more in his policy, pursued with a relentless and uncanny mastery of detail, of supervising their diet".

What rendered these politicians still more contemptible, was their readiness to hire themselves indiscriminately to the service of any foreign bidder. A foreign bank or industrial establishment would appoint a prominent politician as director or legal adviser, and in exchange for the emoluments he received, he would lend his support and that of his party to further the interests of the institution, however these might clash with those of his wretched country. Though a law had been enacted forbidding deputies to participate in the management of enterprises likely to have dealings with the State, the law was seldom respected. M. Tsolakov-Zarin, a former director of the

National Bank, in one of his numerous writings („Dans le tourbillon de la Haute Spoliation") cites several cases of infringement by prominent members of the Democratic party. 665

The leadership of the National or popular party was assumed by I. E, Gueshov after Stoilov's death, and its foreign policy was characterised by a moderate friendship for Russia. Some of its prominent members were the veteran politicians, M. Madjarov, St. Bobtchev and the late T. Todorov. Political parties in Bulgaria were, prior to the war, mainly distinguished by the measure of sympathy or suspicion they professed for Russia. The Democratic party avowed itself equally Russophile, but was more amenable to Court influence and on occasions ready to follow a pro-Austrian policy at the request of Ferdinand. In a public address its leader had declared to Ferdinand that he was the party's load star and that its programme could be summarised in the following words: „With you, by you, and for you."Some of its best known members were. Malinov. the late Liaptchev, Mushanov, Dr. Ghirghinov, and Stefanov.

While the Democratic party was still presided over by Karavelov, its most idealistic followers seceded on a question of principle and formed the Radical party, which together with the Socialists, formed what may be styled as the „ginger" groups in the Sobranye, Both, leaders and rank and file of this party were distinguished by their integrity and idealism. Its founder, Naitso Tsanov, was the noblest political figure Bulgaria possessed, and his attractive and kindly personality was assisted by powerful gifts of reasoning and exposition. He was the only politician who declared that he would refuse to accept office from Ferdinand if this request did not emanate also from a majority in the Chamber. He never wearied in his scathing condemnation of the arbitrary and unconstitutional acts of

•665 Ferdinand, but in spite of the exemplary attitude of its leaders, the Radical party failed to attract the masses to its orbit, because it was always opposed to the practice followed by the other parties, which promised favours and offices in advance to those who would support them at the elections and secure their return to power. The existence of the Radical party proves that it was not for lack of leaders that parliamentarism failed in Bulgaria, but owing to the unwillingness or inability of the masses to perceive where their true interests lay. They preferred to sell their votes to the higher bidder, and naturally it was the bigger demagogues who imposed themselves by their cleverness and astuteness. M. Naitso Tsanov was supported by some very able colleagues among whom were, Ilia Gheorgov, Stoyan Kosturkov, Dr. Patev, Anghel Stankov, G. T. Vlaikov and Ivan Kepov, the distinguished writers, Dr. Burilkov, the president of the Temperance League, Peter Todorov, former Minister of Finance, and one of the most promising young intellectuals and parliamentarians, Prof. G. P. Ghenov. It is sad to reflect that the centrifugal forces so conspicuous in Bulgarian politics, made themselves felt even among this group of idealists, and that dissent was not always absent from their ranks. Discord, the cardinal vice in Bulgarian politics could not be eradicated even emong those whose programme was based on harmony and co-operation and who were the pioneers of true democracy in Bulgaria. And if this most progressive and idealistic party succumbed to this canker, one may justly infer that the democratic form of government is not the appropriate one to the Bulgarian temperament.

The Progressive party led by Danev was distinguished by its extreme Russophilism. „We have no secrets from Russia". Danev used to affirm, he however, does not seem to have kept consistently to this principle at the time of the Balkan wars and this would go a long way to explain

the disaster which followed and which made him then declare that his „policy had gone bankrupt". 665

Just as the despotism of Stambulov brought into being the Socialist party, so the oppressive measures adopted by the Radoslavov, or Liberal party, caused while it was in power during the years 1899/1901, the formation of the Agrarian. The Radoslavov Government unable to raise a foreign loan attempted to introduce anew the tithe in 1900. The country had suffered from a series of bad harvests during the preceding years, and the peasantry was expecting to make up for its losses by the abundant harvest of 1900 when it learnt to its consternation that the government had decided to divest it of the fruits of its labour. Incited by the Opposition parties the peasantry rose in several districts and the Government had recourse to violence in order to crush the outbreaks. The disorders which ensued caused such indignation that the Cabinet had to resign. Having thus taken cognizance of its force, the peasantry started to organise itself under the guidance of certain teachers, like D. Draghiev, Tsanko Bakalov and Zabunov. Despised, exploited, imposed upon by the political parties, which only thought of the peasantry when elections were approaching in order to wrest from them their votes throught the most misleading promises and ensnaring artifices, the peasantry attempted to free itself from this political and economic servitude by creating an organisation which would defend its rights. At first it was in the form of a strictly professional or syndicalist organisation, aiming at the defence of the interests of the rural population, and it did not at all aim at securing office. Their desiderata were: the curtailment of the growing powers of the Crown, retrenchment and economy in all branches of the administration, the disbanding of the army, the creation in its stead of a militia and the relinquishment of Ferdinand's Imperialistic policy. So long as the move- 665 668

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ment was in control of Draghiev, a man of the most austere morality, and leading the life of a Christian apostle, the agrarian movement could be regarded as the most hopeful portend in the public life of the country, as it seemed capable of regenerating the body politic by the eventual dominating position which the Agrarian party would have obtained owing to its vast numerical preponderance. Draghiev, and some of those who seconded him, like St. Montchev, were protestants, and lived a life of Spartan simplicity and of exemplary virtue, which enabled Draghiev to exert, owing to the respect and prestige he enjoyed, a strict discipline on his followers. Unfortunately when the world war broke out, the Entente Powers attempted to suborn some of the Agrarian deputies by commissioning them to buy up the wheat supply on their behalf. The cupidity of these peasant deputies having been aroused, it continued to be exploited by the then Radoslavov Government, with the object of enlisting their support. Those among the Agrarians who had had dealings with the Entente agent, Des Closiéres, were threatened with being courtmartialed if they would not agree to support the Government, while if they did not show themselves recalcitrant, they were offered opportunities for participating in profitable speculations. Intimidation and cupidity thus brought about disintegration in the party. The Spartan Draghiev refused to tolerate these manifest infractions of the moral principles and rigorous discipline he had imposed on the party, and finding himself in a minority seceded and established a new party. Though many of the inculpated members offered to make amends, Draghiev was adamant and refused to readmit them to the fold, declaring that after their moral degradation they could no longer represent the Agrarian organisation and that their fall should be judged by the Party Congress at the end of the war.

A party tribunal was in fact set up, and it passed severe sentences on those inculpated. Had the verdicts been upheld, the Agrarian party, cleansed of all tainted elements might have proved a decisive factor in regenerating public life in Bulgaria. Unfortunately Stambuliiski, the former secretary of the party, who had been imprisoned during the war, and who was making capital out of his incarceration by assuming the aureole of a martyr, thought it opportune to make use of his influence to mitigate these sentences in order to gain the support of the incriminated members and of their sympathisers, and oust Draghiev and his adherents from the party. This unhappily was achieved, and the Agrarian party having thrown overboard its moral ballast, rapidly degenerated into an organisation of professional office-seekers and demagogues, who while in office outdid all their predecessors in the committal of excesses and abuses. All right-thinking men in Bulgaria are at one in admitting that the Agrarian regime of Stambuliiski completed the work of demoralisation introduced by Ferdinand, and that the havoc and devastation it has caused are such that the work of moral recuperation now requires superhuman energies if it is to be tackled with some chance of success. When after Stambuliiski's death, Draghiev was approached and invited by the Agrarians to re-organise the party, he blankly refused to have anything further to do with them, declaring in their faces that they were:

> Without Christian and civic consciousness, that they placed above all their personal ambitions, interests and happiness, and that if Stambuliiski was gone, new adventurers were ready to spring up from among their ranks rendering his immixture in their affairs superfluous."

The autocratic regime of Stambulov brought into being in 1890 the Socialist party, the founders of which were Sakuzov and Blagoev. They initiated a spirited campaign

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against the dictatorial methods in vogue at the time, and rallied a large number of intellectuals around them. The doctrine of Karl Marx, however, was not appropriate to Bulgarian conditions owing to the lack of an industrial proletariat. In its absence, the Socialists attempted to recruit adherents from among the State functionaries. The class which showed the greatest proneness to support this movement was the teaching profession which embraced the new doctrine with enthusiasm and became fanatical votaries of this new gospel. These well meaning but uncritical enthusiasts in their zeal to spread their new faith met with the stolid opposition and incredulity of the peasant mass, among whom they lived, and to whom these strange new doctrines appeared more than heretical. In order to make these tenets acceptable to the mass it was thought that the best method was to undermine existing beliefs and traditions, and the teachers thus began sowing the seeds of disintegration instead of working for the awakening and consolidation of the national consciousness. They heaped ridicule and abuse on the Church, the State and such „bourgeois" conceptions as duty and morality, and thereby contributed to arouse the suspicion and hatred of the peasantry for all intellectuals. Even among the urban working classes, the influence of the Socialists was nefarious, for they endeavoured to indoctrinate their supporters with a savage hatred for the bourgeois, denouncing the present order and holding it up to execration as the only obstacle to the realisation of the messianic conditions which were to prevail on the advent of the Socialist State. The adoption of such wild beliefs by an uncritical and uneducated mass had on the whole a disintegrating effect on the nation, and though most of the leaders of the Socialist movement hold leading places among the elite of the Bulgarian intelligentsia, they were too far removed above

the level of the mass of their supporters to make themselves understood. They rather chose to leave the task of guiding their partisans to the more demagogically inclined among them, who excelled in the art of invective, and abuse [1] while they themselves reserved their exertions for parliamentary work. In this their activity was both commendable and fruitful, and their criticisms mostly opportune, and helped to raise the general level of the debates in the Sobranye. Sakuzov and his colleagues, Dr. Djidrov, Assen Tsankov, and Yannulov have equally distinguished themselves in the literary field, especially Dr. Djidrov who is the editor of one of the leading Bulgarian reviews on economics. Other prominent adherents of the party were Pastuhov and Kazazov, the latter having played a prominent part in the coup d'etat of June 9, 1923 and having since persistently worked for a rapprochement between his country and Yugoslavia, owing to which he has now been fittingly appointed Bulgarian Minister at Belgrade. Long before the suppression of the parliamentary regime in Bulgaria, dislocation set in among the ranks of the Socialists and its most prominent members seceded from the party, which was weakened to such an extent that it practically ceased to exert any influence on politics, Already in 1903, a cleavage had taken place in the party and the more doctrinaire partisans seceded to form the group of the so-called „Narrow" socialists under Blagoev, and who gradually merged themselves with the communists. Their influence from every point

[1] This explains how campaigns of slander and diffamation against political opponents who were on the whole respectable, were often indulged in by the Socialist party, though they often ended to the clear injury of the initiators. The most resounding one, was the electoral campaign against Prof. P. Stoyanov, a radical candidate, when the Socialists did not hesitate to publish on the eve of the election a forged letter purporting to be his, giving him no time to dispel the imputations levelled at him.

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of view was disastrous, for instead of lending their support to the more progressive elements in the country, they sided with the most disreputable, in order to enhance disorder and dissatisfaction and thereby hasten the advent of the proletarian revolution.

"The worse, the better for us", seemed to have been their motto. The impact of these advanced doctrines on half-cultured and uncritical minds has been most detrimental to the latter, They consider themselves as outright enemies of the community within which they live and they work for its destruction instead of for its advancement, and this forces the authorities to deal drastically with these fanatics. Their ranks were swollen by a large proportion of the teaching profession and of the lower grades of public functionaries. In the revolutionary outbreak of September 1923, over 1000 teachers joined the revolutionary bands. M. D. Kazazov, who for a short time acted as Minister of Railways, declared in the Sobranye on February 27, 1925 that prior to the revolutionary outbreak of September 1923, the railways and the telegraphs were in complete control of the communist party and that some 700 functionaries had to be dismissed from these State departments owing to their fanaticism which rendered them unreliable. Many among the teachers, and even women teachers, are fanatical converts of communism. One often hears of teachers who forbid their pupils to read the works of the poet Vazov, as being too patriotic, or who make blasphemous discourses to the students. One should not feel surprised at the astounding spread of Communism in Bulgaria, because all idealistically minded young people have nothing else to turn to. The corruption, venality and debasement of the political parties repelled all but the most prosaic. The only other focus of attraction, the Radical party, abstained from all misleading propaganda, and instead of holding out the

lure of an early advent to power, openly prepared for a long peregrination in the wilderness, which was enough to benumb the enthusiasm of the less intrepid. The intensive propaganda carried on by the Russian Bolsheviki, the close relations existing between Bulgarian Communist leaders and their Russian colleagues[1], the similarity of the language, and the immense influence which Russian literature has exerted on the Bulgarian intelligentsia for generations, makes the Bulgarians the most promising adepts of Bolshevism. Except for a mere handful of the well-off, all the rest of the people are either fervently hoping for the advent of Bolshevism or indifferent to its coming. They are convinced that the present system has brought only disillusion; Bolshevism, even if it did not improve matters could hardly make them worse, and it would certainly bring in its wake a much needed relief, that o the emancipation of a third of the Bulgarian people from the intolerable foreign servitude it has been placed under. The existing 'Bourgeois' regime has no countervailing attraction to offer. Maladministration, crushing taxation, and exploitation, not only by the local pillars of the bourgeoisie, but also by the representatives of the Western States. French bondholders extort from the starving Bulgarian peasant five times more for what he owes them than they are permitted to exact from their own co-nationals. And this crying injustice is complacently looked upon by the League of Nations, which equally tolerates the persecution and victimisation of the Bulgarian minorities incorporated in the adjoining Balkan States, despite the Treaties which

[1] One of the moving spirits of the Russian revolution was the Bulgarian Rakovski. The Russian *Pravda* recently affirmed that there were over 600 Bulgarians occupying responsible posts in the Russian administration among whom may be cited, Stomaniakov, assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Telalov, adviser of the Soviet Minister in China, Peitchev and Petrunov, secretaries of the Soviet Legations in Paris and London etc.

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guarantee certain elementary human rights, the enjoyment of which the League of Nations has never attempted to secure for these minorities.

At the elections of 1931, in spite of the fact that the Communist party had been outlawed and the endless persecution it was exposed to, yet it succeeded in sending 12% of the deputies elected to the Sobranye camouflaged as working men.

The extreme wretchedness of the bulk of the nation and the mass of destitute refugees have created new foci for Communist proselytism, and the country is to-day literally honeycombed with Bolshevism which only awaits a favourable opportunity to break out. Until quite recently, Communism was openly professed to be the coming form of government, and both peasant families and bourgeois, hastened alike to enroll officially some of their members in this party in order to secure an eventual protector on its advent which was considered imminent.

FERDINAND AT THE HELM

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Having with the support of the united Opposition got rid of the man who brough him to Bulgaria and who consolidated his throne, and having in turn made use of its services in order to reconcile himself with Russia, Ferdinand hastened to sow discord and suspicion among the members of the Stoilov Cabinet, so as to get rid of them now that with their help he had achieved his purpose. He thus intrigued against Gueshov, Madjarov and Stoilov, complaining alternatively to each of his other colleagues, using insinuations, slander and insult.[1]

In 1899 Grekov was entrusted with the formation of a new Ministry with the support of the Radoslavovists who far outnumbered his adherents. At the elections the Rado-

[1] Cf. V. T. Veltchev's: „Pages of our new political history".

head of youthful peasant converts and set about capturing municipalities, evicting the mayors and proclaiming the commune in anticipation of the advent of the Russians who never came. Considerable damage was caused and some 3,000 were killed in this outbreak. Some 2,500 of those who participated in these risings had fled into Yugoslavia and persisted in carrying on an active agitation against the Tsankov Government which was continually provoked by an underhand campaign conducted by both Agrarians and Communists. M. Malinov, who was the leader of the legal Opposition in the Sobranye, far from criticising Tsankov for the measures he took to repress this agitation, on the contrary approved them. Speaking in the Sobranye on September 10, 1924 about a manifesto circulated by the Communists and Agrarians in which a new insurrection to be followed by an irruption of the political refugees in Yugoslavia was being preached, he affirmed that this was a provocation and a challenge which no Government could allow to pass unheeded and that it ought to be taken up and drastically dealt with. The Socialist leader Sakuzov who followed, fully agreed with Malinov and admitted that the policy of repression adopted by the Government had been forced upon it by the Agrarians.

The Government was now giving all its attention to the merging of all the political parties into one, that of the Democratic Entente. But in so doing they overlooked the necessity of sifting the wheat from the chaff and allowed the incorporation in the newly created political amalgam, of compromised politicians who prevented it from coalescing into a workable entity, and whose presence moreover, obstructed the inclusion of a certain number of more idealistically disposed politicians who refused to co-operate with these discredited individuals. As a result, the much-striven after unity was only temporarily and partially attained. The Democratic, Radical, and Socialist parties continued to

•665 subsist, though, in a weakened form, their individuality having been sucked out of them as several of their members transferred their allegiance to the Democratic Entente, into which other political parties with a worse record, allowed themselves to be wholly absorbed as they had little chance of surviving as distinct entities. This effort of Tsankov to rejuvenate parliamentarism by creating a new political force miscarried. Since it only succeeded in forming a desiccated body without a soul which was nothing else save a combination of interests and appetites. It dealt a fatal blow to the existing democratic forces by undermining the stability of such existing political parties as the Democrats, Radicals and Socialists, which it had taken half a century of efforts to develop, and which, on the whole, were promising political forces. The Government dissolved the Communist party in 1924 and declared it illegal, forcing thereby its activities into underground channels. Both Agrarians and Communists were now openly receiving subsidies from Yugoslavia and they started a campaign against the Macedonian organisation, assassinating its famous leader, Todor Alexandrov, on August, 1924. Retaliatory murders followed and prominent Communists were executed by the Macedonians. The Communisst, and Agrarians constituted a common front and organised brigand bands which terrorised the country, amply supplied with arms and money from Russia and Yugoslavia. The official organ of the Agrarians, the *Zemledelsko Zname*, which was now being published in Yugoslavia early in June began inserting incendiary articles foretelling the near outbreak of a revolution in Bulgaria and inviting Tsar Boris to leave the country. The police was helpless to put a stop to the prevailing terrorism, the intensity of which may be gauged by General Russev's, (The Minister of the Interior) declaration in the Sobranye on June 17, 1924: „I walk in the streets of Sofia with the same feeling

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666 to the majoritarian voting system being in use. There were only three districts in which it obtained clear majorities, the Rustchuk, Shumen and Plovdiv regions, in which large Moslem populations exist which invariably vote for the Government. In 1931 the mandate of the Chamber was expiring. Liaptchev felt that his Government needed new blood, and Malinov was approached and sounded as to an eventual co-operation. He demanded five ministerial portfolios. This was deemed too much. After protracted bargaining, Liaptchev was entrusted by Tsar Boris to supervise the new elections timed to be held on June 21, 1931, much to the annoyance of the general public which desired that a neutral, or coalition government, should be specially nominated to superintend this function in order that the national will might find expression and not be falsified by the usual electoral artifices and malpractices in vogue. The elections much to the surprise of all concerned, proved a success to the four Opposition parties which united to fight in common, namely the Agrarians, Democrats, Liberals and Radicals, their common lists secured the majority of the poll, the Democratic Entente was beaten, and made way for a government presided over by Malinov and later by Mushanov.

• 665 The advent of the new coalition government was hailed by all as a great triumph of the democratic forces and great hopes were raised. It was not fit, however, for team work and from the first it became evident that it was divided against itself by fundamental and unbridgeable divergences. The Democrats and Radicals though differing on the economic programme (the former favouring the maintenance of the existing high protective dues, the latter their revision, for the purpose of bringing prices down to the level of agricultural produce) could, had they been by themselves, have co-operated harmoniously and done much to restore order in the administration. In the eyes of the

more orthodox members of these two parties, the election pact concluded with the Agrarians and Liberals was looked at askance. There were even Radicals who seceded from their party rather than co-operate with the discredited Liberals, whose former leader was the abhorred Radoslavov. The views of the Agrarians on the now predominant economic questions coincided with those of the Radicals, while those of the Liberals were identical with the opinions of the Democrats. But there was another basic notion which radically separated Democrats and Radicals, from Agrarian and Liberals. The two former parties had a certain conception of their duties and at least made some efforts to govern decently and honestly, the latter two however, were out for loot and made no pretence about the aims which actuated them. The groups were too miscellaneous in origin, too self-seeking and rotten by private animosities and had neither the internal nor the external discipline required to make good their promises to the electorate. The post of Minister of Justice devolved on a Liberal and within a year there were grave complaints of his tampering with the course of Justice, formulated by the unions of judges, and by that of the legal profession. An Opposition deputy, M. Dumanov interpellated the government on December 22, 1932, and the scandals revealed were so grave, that the incriminated Minister was forced to resign. He was replaced by another Liberal, who refused to deviate from the line of conduct of his predecessor, and naturally, recriminations and complaints were not slow to appear. (Cf. *Mir* 7. VI. 1933, 13. IX. 1933 and 10. X. 1933).

The Liberals soon split up into three antagonistic fractions owing to their inability to divide equitably the spoils they derived from such offices as they occupied. Those who had been ousted from office were waging a surreptitious campaign against their nominal colleagues,

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661 665 even going to the extent of plotting with the Opposition to bring about the fall of the Cabinet. The Agrarians from the first were divided into some five groups, three of which published party newspapers called the *Zemledelsko Zname*, and each of which pretended to be the official organ of this splintered up party. A bitter and uncompromising campaign was being conducted among the warring fractions. Some Agrarians were openly in receipt of subsidies from Yugoslavia and France, and endeavouring to foist on the country a policy which was considered anti-national. One of the Agrarian leaders Obov, was accused of receiving 100,000 francs monthly from France. The most revolting and scandalous exposures were daily being made as to the activities of the Agrarians by their mutually antagonistic Press. The most disgusting tales were circulated which completely undermined the prestige of the Government. The Agrarian Ministers had accepted a gift of 800,000 leva for the election campaign from Obov and K. Todorov, who for years had been at the service of the Yugoslav government, but when they secured their nomination to office, they turned their backs on these donators[1]. They were no longer needed now that they could

[1] Most of these Agrarians politicians seem to form the scum of the community. After Stambolilski's fall they went abroad and worked in close intelligence with their country's enemies. As revealed in the Sobranye in November 1927, they accepted 5 million drachmae from the Greeks, promising in exchange that when they would seize power they would renounce the Bulgarian claim to an outlet on the Aegean. Later they transferred their activities to Belgrade living there at the expense of the Yugoslav Government which utilised them to foment troubles in Bulgaria. A letter was read in the Sobranye on Dec. 24, 1931 purporting to be written by the brother of Obov to a murdered Opposition deputy in 1924, and which contained the following remarks: „Before we return to Sofia many of our prominent adversaries will be killed. It will be well if you wrote us what persons we must murder... I want from you a list of persons who have to be murdered, numbers of Sofia garrison, police etc...

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dabble unchecked in the State coffers. A scathing exposure of one of the Agrarian Ministers, appeared in the Belgrade *Politika* on June 16, 1933 which was widely reproduced in the Bulgarian Press. 661 665

Virgil Dimov was accused of having concluded a pact with the Macedonian Committee, promising to reverse the pro-Serbian policy hitherto followed by the Agrarian organisation and to adopt a strictly nationalistic one, such as was approved of by Italy. In exchange he and his friends would receive, the support of the Macedonians, and subsidies from a foreign country, Italy. He was further accused of having in a very short time amassed a considerable fortune. This scandal reached its culmination on November 10, 1933, when the president of the Sobranye, N. Zachariev, another Agrarian, rose up and declared: „I was a colleague of V. Dimov, who was a poor man. But for two years he has been a minister and to-day he is a millionaire. I can no longer associate with these people". All attempts to maintain a semblance of unity disappeared, the Agrarians threatened to force a new election campaign by overthrowing the Government and proceeded accordingly to work up the peasant electorate, inciting it to avoid paying taxes and promising to absolve it from such payments if the Agrarians were returned. A final attempt was made to maintain the tottering Cabinet by throwing over the Radical Minister Kosturkov and dividing among Agrarians and Liberals the emoluments and benefits which this additional ministry would assure to its occupants. Democracy had deteriorated to such a degree that it became a farse and a make-belief,

we must destroy this government and create a friendly Bulgaria ... and a confederation with Serbia". The most revolting revelations were made concerning all the colleagues of the late Stambuliiski in the Sobranye on Jan. 4, 1932.

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665 which no one could further trust. One of the leading Sofia newspapers, the *Mir*, wrote on May 12, 1934 :

„In Bulgaria there is no longer any State authority. At the head of the State are puny uncultured people who destroy and are incapable of constructing. And all these petty personalities are asking for more offices, more ministerial porfolios, more public funds for their political friends. Our Government is not a democracy, but purely and simply an organisation of marauding bands. The patient and submissive citizen asks how long will this state of affairs last?

668 Against this canker of demoralisation the reserve officers, the only organised and patriotic force in the country, had several times protested and drawn the attention of the Government. They dispatched a deputation on January 18, 1933 to the Prime Minister recommending the adoption of certain measures which would curtail existing abuses. At the end of April 1933, they held a congress and they passed a resolution appealing to all men of goodwill to group themselves together and form a non-party government which might extricate the country from the bog in which it was wallowing. In another congress held at the end of 1933, they again insisted on the formation of a non-party Cabinet in order that the people might be saved from the prevailing demoralisalion which had set in among the political parties. These reminders however, had been disregarded.

When in May 1934, the Radical member of the Cabinet was so rudely unhorsed by his colleagues, it became apparent that the Mushanov Cabinet was at the end of its tether. There were only two political forces powerful enough to replace it The Agrarians, and Tsankov's Democratic Entente. They were utterly hostile to one another and each intent on excluding its rival from all participation in office. The advent of either to power meant the outbreak of a civil war, more bitter than that which had been waged in 1925. To prevent this calamity, the

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BULGARIA CONTAMINATED

> Great are your achievements, Comrade Kostov, as the builder of the Party, as the teacher and instructor of the Party members. Under your leadership and inspired by your heroic life, thousands of Communists were educated into unquestionable loyalty to the Party.
>
> Declaration by the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party on Traicho Kostov's 50th birthday in 1947

ONLY a month after the Greek rebel radio announced that Markos had been liquidated, victim of a fatal inability to forget that he was a Greek as well as a Communist, the Bulgarian Communist Party was forced to admit that nationalist symptoms had appeared in its ranks also. The sufferer was the Deputy Premier of Bulgaria, Traicho Kostov, Secretary-General of the Party since 1944. On March 27, 1949, he was deprived of his office and dismissed from the Politburo. We have been supplied with a full Stalinist diagnosis of his case.

Kostov had been a member of the Party since 1919, had spent fourteen years in Bulgarian prisons, had been Bulgaria's leading Communist organizer and would have seemed as immune to criticism on the score of discipline and orthodoxy as Georgi Dimitrov himself, chief Bulgarian émigré in Moscow, hero of the Reichstag fire trial and former Secretary-General of the Comintern. It was to Dimitrov that Kostov relinquished control in 1945 when Dimitrov returned to Sofia in the wake of the Red Army; and Dimitrov made him one of his trusted lieutenants, as Deputy Prime Minister and chairman of the economic and financial planning committee. Kostov

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wrote the Constitution of 1947, the Party pamphlets and the Five Year Plan. As things turned out, the most risky of his functions was planning and administering the national economy, for it involved making Bulgaria a service station for the Soviet economic machine. But this danger was not apparent at first. Kostov's long years of hazardous service in the underground, the intensity of his Communist faith and Dimitrov's affection and favor combined to make him the Number 2 man in the régime, and when Dimitrov became ill his mantle fell naturally enough on Kostov as Acting Prime Minister.

It was from this pinnacle of power that Kostov was toppled in March 1949. The grounds for his expulsion from the Politburo and his removal as Acting Prime Minister were "gross political and Party errors," "insincere and unfriendly policy regarding the Soviet Union" and "nationalistic deviations." On April 15, the news leaked out that Dimitrov had been sent to Russia "on leave" to repair his health. The Prime Minister's illness had evidently inaugurated a struggle for his succession. At the right moment the Kremlin issued its orders. Kostov, leader of the wing of the Party that had been more closely identified with the revolutionary struggle inside the country than with the international headquarters in Moscow, was dismissed and disgraced, and Vassil Kolarov, an elderly man of 73 who had spent most of the time since the twenties in Moscow, part of it as an official of the Comintern, became Acting Prime Minister in his place. Subsequently, Kostov was removed from the Central Committee of the Party, then from his position as a deputy in Parliament, and finally from the Party itself. On July 20 Parliament voted to have him indicted and tried for "economic sabotage."

Kolarov explained that his predecessor's crimes were particularly atrocious since they were not haphazard but formed "a system of political mistakes based on a glaringly expressed nationalist deviationism and anti-Bolshevik attitude towards the methods of Party leadership." Specifically, during the time that Kostov was acting as Prime Minister he had broadened the law against divulging state secrets and had applied it to the officials dealing with the Soviet trade representatives in Bulgaria; as a result, the Soviet agents had

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not been able to find out at what prices Bulgaria was selling her products to capitalist countries. In this way Kostov revealed his mistrust of the U.S.S.R. and went counter to the accepted rule that "secrets and commercialism" do not figure in Bulgarian-Soviet relations. A man's attitude toward the Soviet Union, Kolarov explained, defines his whole ideological orientation; anti-Sovietism is "the most heinous form of national deviation." [1]

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The reader will recall that when opposition to the Soviets appeared in Poland it was dealt with at first quite circumspectly. Gomulka's connection with Tito was carefully concealed. Nothing of the sort was attempted in Kostov's case. By now the Cominform acknowledged that Titoism was not peculiar to Jugoslavia but was an infectious disease menacing the whole Stalinist empire.

The events which awakened Kostov's resistance were like those which had antagonized other satellite leaders. In 1948 the Bulgarian tobacco crop amounted to about 20 million kilos, of which the Soviets bought between 18 and 19 million kilos at arbitrarily fixed prices. When the time came for Bulgaria to market what remained of her crop, after the Soviets had taken the lion's share and after she had provided for her own domestic consumption, she found that she was competing in Italy, Egypt and New York with her own Bulgarian tobacco, offered by the Soviets at less than prevailing world prices. The Soviets profited in the same way with attar of roses, of which Bulgaria possesses almost a world monopoly. The Soviet purchasing agents in Sofia bought up the entire 1948 crop and resold it at higher prices in New York.[2] Later they laid hands on the store of this valuable essence accumulated during the war by the Bulgarian National Bank and disposed of it at whatever prices the world market would stand. Kostov apparently could not bear to see his country cheated in this way. In one sense it does not matter that the sums which the Soviet Government credits to the Bulgarian Government for its purchases in Bulgaria bear no relationship to the prices at which it later resells those same products abroad; it is all a matter of bookkeeping anyway, and Bulgaria cannot win. What does matter is that as the Soviet Government resells in hard-cur-

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[1] *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*, Bucharest, May 15, 1949.
[2] *The Economist*, London, July 16, 1949.

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439 rency areas, the dollars which it gets from the sale of Bulgarian products go to finance imports not into Bulgaria but into the Soviet Union. That ends the last vestige of Bulgaria's freedom of economic manœuvre.

Bukharin might have called this sort of finagle the absence of "selfish competition," just as Kolarov called it the absence of "secrets and commercialism." Kostov decided that it was good old-fashioned exploitation, the sort of thing which he had always heard denounced as a mean capitalist trick. When he tried to tighten up the government agencies which dealt with the Soviet purchasing agents, however, he found that he was a "nationalist deviationist."

665 661 The Sofia morning papers of November 30, 1949, carried the text of the formal indictment against Kostov,[8] based on a 32,000-word statement purporting to have been signed by him in prison and on similar statements by ten codefendants, all of them high government and Party officials. Kostov is described as a consistent supporter of "Left-sectarian," Trotskyite policies. While an émigré in Moscow in 1933–34 he supposedly formed contacts with many other Trotskyites, including Bela Kun and Tito; plotted to replace Dimitrov and Kolarov as leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party; and, as an official of the Balkan Secretariat of Communist Parties, recommended Tito for political work in Jugoslavia. All this seems vague and farfetched, no reason being given why with such a consistently bad record he was allowed to continue as Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Party and was promoted to be acting head of the government.

The indictment goes on to make the bland statement that when Germany's "final defeat" had been sealed on the Soviet front as far back as 1942 (*sic*), the British and American intelligence services, faced with this apparently unwelcome fact, and seeing how Soviet prestige was growing in Southeastern Europe, began to smuggle their agents into the underground Communist Party. Among those allegedly recruited besides Kostov was a former Minister of Finance, Stefanov, who was accused of having given the British information on the budget and on military expenditures in 1946 and 1947, and

[8] A translation in English is to be found in a supplement to the *New Times*, Moscow, December 7, 1949.

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Nikola Pavlov, former administrative secretary of the Politburo and Deputy Minister of Construction. These three were accused of having formed a "conspiratorial center" aimed at "overthrowing the lawful government of the country and replacing it by a criminal government headed by Kostov." The indictment also asserted that they had "endeavored to disrupt business, commercial and other economic ties between Bulgaria and the other People's Democracies headed by the Soviet Union, in order to deprive our country of the generous and disinterested aid of the U.S.S.R."

Of special interest is the further charge that Kostov "entered into secret criminal connections with Jugoslav leaders" with the intention of "depriving Bulgaria of her national sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence by joining her to Jugoslavia." The "plot" for a federation is supposed to have begun when Kardelj, as already recounted, visited Sofia towards the end of 1944. Dimitrov was still in Moscow, Kostov was the undisputed leader on the spot and it was with him that Kardelj discussed the pros and cons of the project. The indictment admits that Kostov made no secret of this; he "informed the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party, which he headed in 1944, that Kardelj had been in the country and had suggested a federation between Bulgaria and Jugoslavia," as well as that the Jugoslavs would submit a written proposal to this effect shortly. What he failed to tell his colleagues, says the indictment, was that the arrangement "was directed against the U.S.S.R." According to the indictment, Kardelj told Kostov that "the British and Americans had supplied the Jugoslav guerrillas with arms and ammunition on condition that, when the war was over, Tito would keep Jugoslavia away from the U.S.S.R.;" that in Tito's view Jugoslavia should "not definitely tie herself with the U.S.S.R., but should pursue a policy of her own and maintain and develop ties with the Western states;" that he would request withdrawal of Russian troops as soon as the war was over; that Soviet troops should leave Bulgaria too; and that the best means of bringing this about would be for Bulgaria to join Jugoslavia immediately, for then she would no longer be regarded as an enemy but as part of an Allied state, which would make the presence of Soviet troops on her soil "superfluous and entirely unjustified." Kostov contended that he had expressed

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doubts about all this, giving among other reasons his opinion that the Allies might oppose the idea of federation; and in fact the British Government did issue a formal warning that Bulgaria could not take any independent action until after there had been a treaty of peace. On this point the indictment merely mentions Kardelj's comment that if Allied protests were made they would be window-dressing. The project failed in the end, the indictment concludes, because of a warning sent by Dimitrov from Moscow.

In the summer of 1946, Kostov was sent on a formal visit of friendship to Belgrade on behalf of the Bulgarian Communist Party and is supposed to have used the opportunity to continue his subversive work. Alexander Rankovich, Jugoslav Minister of the Interior, is alleged to have talked with him about Tito's plan to create "a great comity of Southeastern European countries," while Tito himself spoke approvingly of the idea of a federation which "would dictate its will in the Balkans, and would represent a serious factor in international politics." The plot supposedly was carried further when Tito came to Sofia in November 1947 to sign the treaty of friendship. On this occasion, it was alleged, he urged Kostov to reorganize the Bulgarian Communist Party, form a new government and proclaim the union with Jugoslavia. If he found he needed help, Tito is supposed to have said, the Jugoslav Army stood ready to supply it, and since the help would be "within the framework of the federation," it would be a domestic affair and "no one could qualify it as an act of aggression."

Such, said the indictment, was the "criminal conspiracy against the state of Bulgaria, plotted and headed by Kostov." Before examining the evidence we might note that on their face some of the Bulgarian Government's contentions seemed improbable. Kardelj had reported that Kostov was very reserved on the federation question, indeed much more reserved about it than Dimitrov and the others. And Tito has asserted that he always distrusted Kostov as the most anti-Jugoslav of all the Bulgarian leaders. This would indicate that although Kostov's complaint against Moscow was similar to Tito's, he did not support Tito in the Cominform dispute. In September 1948, in fact, he strongly attacked Tito and his col-

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leagues; but of course he may simply have been endeavoring to offset criticisms being voiced against him by Party colleagues.

The trial was held in December 1949 in accordance with a new law, passed for the purpose, before a new court, set up for the purpose and from which there was no appeal. The sensation of the trial, and something new for Communist judges, was that Kostov in open court repudiated the confession which he was alleged to have signed in prison. The whole case against him was based on that confession and on the similar confessions of the other defendants. These did not revoke what they had said in jail but instead fell over themselves to confirm the worst of it and to find new grounds to inculpate both Kostov and themselves. While Kostov did not hide the fact that he had opposed Dimitrov in ideological and Party matters, or that he had miscalculated the strength of *kulaks* and other Bulgarian reactionary elements, he did categorically deny that he had ever been a spy or foreign agent, that he had had anything to do with sending Tito to Jugoslavia in 1934 or that he had been Tito's stooge in the negotiations for a Jugoslav-Bulgarian federation.

The judges at first could not believe their ears, and when Kostov insisted on repudiating his "confession" in spite of hoots from the audience and rebukes by his own counsel, they hastily adjourned court for half an hour to enable him to "rest" and "refresh his memory." After the rest period he still stuck to his guns. For two days the Communist press maintained a stunned silence. Then *Pravda* commented that Kostov had a "soft and oily voice" and the "cunning eyes of a thief," details which his colleagues might have noticed in the last twenty or thirty years, and a "bent back," which *Pravda* did not bother to explain he had acquired in 1924 when he jumped from a window in attempting to escape torture by the Sofia police.[4]

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The account of the negotiations for a Bulgarian-Jugoslav federation produced at the Kostov trial omits many well known facts and runs contrary to many others. Nothing is said about the active and

[4] *Cf. The Economist*, London, December 24, 1949; for details of the trial see also *The New York Times*, December 8 and successive days.

has since told why.[8] In February and early March of 1948 Kardelj and Djilas were in Moscow trying to speed up Soviet economic aid. A Bulgarian delegation was there at the same time, headed by Dimitrov, Kolarov and Kostov. "In the presence of that delegation," asserts Tito, "Stalin himself imperatively demanded the immediate conclusion of an act of federation between Jugoslavia and Bulgaria, while on the other hand the Soviet was against a federation with Albania." But in view of the fact that Jugoslav relations with the Soviet Union "were already strained" Tito looked on this renewal of the old plan with a fishy eye. "We came to the conclusion," he continues, "that the demand was put forward in order to facilitate the overthrow and subjugation of Jugoslavia."

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Speaking of this matter with me, Tito explained that the creation of a Jugoslav-Bulgarian federation would have brought many Bulgarian leaders to Belgrade. Some would have received high places in the new joint government, and as they would have been under Russian orders Moscow would in this way have received a direct voice in Jugoslav affairs. He already was subject to so many kinds of Soviet interference that he was unwilling to open new doors for it. In any case, he added, not he but Dimitrov had taken the initiative for a federation to include Rumania and perhaps even Czechoslovakia. Dimitrov was unhappy over Bulgaria's increasing dependence on the Soviet Union and hoped to reverse the process by finding a place for her in a strong grouping. To a question as to why Dimitrov had not realized that this would get him into difficulties in Moscow, Tito replied that Dimitrov had just been in Bucharest, where his head had been turned a bit by the enthusiastic reception which he received from the Rumanian Communists and by the discovery that they too were restive under the tight Soviet rein. As a result, said Tito, Dimitrov became a bit too daring. Whether Dimitrov suffered physical punishment will never be known. He died in Russia in the summer of 1949 and Stalin stood among the honor guard by his catafalque.

Of all these matters no word was said at Kostov's trial. On December 14, 1949, he was found guilty on all charges and sentenced to death. The ten other defendants had tearfully inculpated both

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[8] Tito's speech at the opening of the Jugoslav National Assembly, April 26, 1950 (*Yugoslav Fortnightly*, Belgrade, May 5, 1950).

[i.e. the account of the negotiation for a Bulgarian-Yugoslav federation, see cat. 116, pp. 205-209 --- Analyst]

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him and themselves in every imaginable sort of crime against the Bulgarian state, the Bulgarian Communist Party and, worst of all, the Soviet Union. They received prison sentences and fines. Kostov, according to witnesses, took the verdict calmly. It was the second time he had heard a death sentence pronounced against him, the first having been in 1942 when a royal Bulgarian military court ordered him shot for resistance to the Germans. This time the sentence was carried out. He was hanged on December 16, and the next day the Sofia press carried the text of a new "confession." There was of course no way of verifying it. It seems wildly improbable that after being sentenced Kostov would have recanted, even under torture, what he had previously maintained under torture and the threat of death.

A day after this show of Communist justice the electors of Bulgaria gathered in their polling places, decorated with pictures of Stalin, Bulgarian flags and doves of peace, to take part in national "elections." These had been scheduled for November but delayed to give time for the complete elimination of "Kostovism"—called "nothing but Titoism on Bulgarian soil" by Kostov's successor, Deputy Prime Minister Vulko Chervenkov (described to me by an American diplomat as "the most rigid and unintelligent of the Bulgarian Communists, with a neck like a bull and a face like a bullfrog"). As there was only a single list of candidates, the news that this list had been elected was not startling.

As good as any of the obituaries for Kostov was one inserted by Pijade in the speech already quoted: "If Traicho Kostov was hanged merely for wanting a federation with Jugoslavia, although he insisted on precisely the same form of federation, with Bulgarian hegemony, as all the other members of the Bulgarian Politburo, then, from their standpoint, from the standpoint of the indictment of that shocking trial, they have hanged an innocent man. But though they did hang a certain Kostov, the truth about the federation of the Southern Slavs cannot be hanged. Neither the hangman in Sofia nor his teachers are tall enough for that."

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XVIII

PRESCRIPTION: FORCE

Faceless as water, naked as the dust.
Stephen Vincent Benét, "Litany for Dictatorship"

DICTATORS — and other demagogues when they are able—divert their publics from real miseries by denouncing foreign machinations, staging spectacular parades, sports shows, funerals and rallies, and starting witch hunts which always end in the conviction of an enemy, real or fictitious. We have no way of knowing how much this motive may have entered into the Kostov affair. He may have become genuinely troublesome to Moscow, and the decision to liquidate him may have been taken on grounds which are logical to a dictator and even to the victim, he having accepted the hazards of the game from the start. But even if Kostov was merely a scapegoat, he deserves and will receive no tears. His noose was made from the same rope that he had ordered used for so many others. 000

The terror started by the Bulgarian Communists against their rivals and opponents after the war was really ferocious, even for Communists and even by Balkan standards; and Kostov was in the lead in planning the hangings and shootings. Official Bulgarian reports state that by March 25, 1945, there had already been 131 political trials, at which over 10,000 persons had been found guilty, of whom over 2,000 had been executed.[1] Among them there certainly were Nazi collaborationists, but there also were anti-Communists of every stripe, including some who had been the bravest leaders of the anti-Nazi resistance and were the strongest surviving exponents of free and democratic government. In practice, collaborationists 661-665

[1] Statistics issued by G. Dimitrov, October 7, 1945, quoted by Albert A. Brandt, *Harper's Magazine*, December 1947.

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usually fared better in the "People's Courts" than liberals; having compromised successfully with one dictatorial régime they knew how to compromise with another to save their skins.

The Agrarians, Socialists and others had joined with the Communists in forming the "Fatherland Front" to take over from the Nazis. It was a mistake—the same mistake being made by liberals in all countries of supposing that they could collaborate on fair terms with Communists. The Bulgarian democratic elements also erred in not recognizing that American and British policy in the Balkans was chaotic and could not be depended upon after the war to prevent the spread of Soviet power in Eastern Europe. The first to pay for these mistakes were the leaders of the old Agrarian Party founded by the peasant hero, Alexander Stambuliski. As they had always worked to raise peasant living standards within the framework of the general welfare, they were the most dangerous rivals of the Communists and became their first targets. The head of the Party, Dr. G. M. Dimitrov, ceded his place to Nikola Petkov under Soviet pressure in January 1945 and escaped abroad. Petkov, who had been one of the four signers of the 1944 armistice, still trusted the word of the Communists that the Fatherland Front would be a real coalition and that the Agrarians would be permitted to carry on independent political activity. He was executed September 23, 1947. The State Department protested that his trial was a "travesty on justice" and contrary to the rights guaranteed to Bulgarian citizens at Yalta. Kostov personally prepared the case against Petkov.

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With the last of the powerful and avowed opponents of dictatorship out of the way, the Communists were free to proclaim Bulgaria a one-party state. They did so on February 4, 1948, securing for their country the honor of being the first satellite to abandon the pretense of a popular front. This was the period, one recalls, when Dimitrov was being rebuked by *Pravda* for favoring a Balkan or Danubian federation, and was issuing his denials, and when Moscow was beginning to talk secretly inside the Cominform about expelling Tito. The connection of these events is not to be missed.

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Ordinarily Dimitrov might not have gotten off so lightly, but there were reasons for not sullying the name of such a great Communist luminary, the hero of the Reichstag fire trial, at the very moment

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when another Communist of world-wide repute was headed for disgrace. Some do not agree that Dimitrov was probably informed of Tito's impending fate and allowed to save himself by disavowing the policies to which Moscow objected. I have even heard it said that Dimitrov was Moscow's agent-provocateur, deliberately luring Tito to destruction. The official Jugoslav view, however, is that Dimitrov may have been weak but that he meant well. Mosha Pijade has written that Dimitrov was "the only man among the leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party who sincerely wished for brotherly relations with Jugoslavia." [2] He also has told of an incident when Dimitrov was passing through Belgrade early in April 1948, that is, some little time before the Tito affair was finally thrashed out in the Cominform. Pijade says that Dimitrov "told us to 'remain steadfast.' " In Belgrade I heard some details of this meeting, which took place in the Bulgarian Prime Minister's sleeping car on a siding at Topchider, a Belgrade suburb. Dimitrov supposedly said to Djilas, the Jugoslav participant: "Tito must stand firm or we shall all be lost." Djilas referred to Dimitrov's weak behavior in the recent federation crisis and asked whether he would knuckle under again to Moscow on the question of the right of Communist nations to develop along their own lines. Would he "stand firm" for Tito while Tito was "standing firm" for the others? Though Dimitrov appears not to have made a direct answer to this, the current Jugoslav view is that if Dimitrov had been in good health he would have taken a stronger stand. The Jugoslavs assume as a matter of course that even if Dimitrov was not quietly liquidated while "regaining his health" in the Soviet Union his death certainly was hastened by the grilling he received there. Tito himself attributes Dimitrov's subservient attitude toward Moscow not only to his broken health but to the fact that Bulgaria's geographical and military position is so weak in comparison to Jugoslavia's.

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Obviously the Jugoslavs have much to gain by making out that a Marxist theologian of Dimitrov's eminence was on their side, but their liking for him seems quite spontaneous—in contrast to their dislike of Kostov, at any rate, whom they always considered an enemy. To emphasize that Dimitrov remains a hero to all pure Com-

[2] *Borba*, Belgrade, September 29, 1949.

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munists, meaning of course those who think like the true-blue Communists of Jugoslavia, and to show that he is not to be glorified only by Stalin and his lackeys, the Jugoslav Government has changed the name of a town in eastern Serbia from Tsaribrod to Dimitrovgrad.

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Regardless of any trouble that Kostov's nationalism may really have made for the Soviets, marking him in any case for prompt liquidation, there was a so-to-speak impersonal reason for starting proceedings against him—namely, that a political *divertissement* of some sort was greatly needed at the moment and that he was eminent enough to draw everybody's attention as a prisoner in the box. What could be a more piquant warning to other Communists who might secretly share his views than the sight of their old Party mentor writhing under the prosecutor's relentless invective and of course in the end crumpling up in a helpless panic of self-inculpation? But a more general reason for staging a public spectacle was that the revolution was lagging in Bulgaria as in the other East European satellites, and Moscow had decreed a speed-up in socialization measures and a "cleansing" of Communist Parties.

The impact of the new line was especially severe in Bulgaria, which was the satellite state where Stalin was determined that full success should come first. Dimitrov indicated this in a speech on December 15, 1948, when he raised the sights of the Bulgarian revolutionary movement to a degree which possibly startled his hearers, Party leaders assembled from all over the country, for it was the first time that the Cominform program adopted in consequence of Tito's defection had been placed squarely before them. The speech, which in typewritten form fills nearly eighty pages, had as its theme the real meaning of a "people's democracy."

Just after the war, said Dimitrov, the Bulgarian revolution had been in a transitional phase. The "armed people's uprising" of September 1944 had succeeded, with "the decisive aid of the heroic Red Army," in wresting control from "the capitalist bourgeoisie and the Monarcho-Fascist minority of exploiters," but "the old bourgeois state machine was not completely smashed" and the Communists remained a minority in the new cabinet. The Nazis were still in the Balkans and nothing could be allowed to interfere with the task of

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expelling them. For this reason, "social transformations" had to be delayed, even to the point of working with "some anti-German elements of the bourgeoisie." Impatient Party members had to be restrained. Even after the Fatherland Front had been "consolidated," Dimitrov admitted, there was a "certain lag" in "revolutionary changes." "We continued," he said, "to speak of the possibility of coördinating the interests of private industrialists and merchants with the general interests of the state." But in the last year and a half fresh progress had been made—a new republican constitution had been adopted, industry nationalized and progress recorded in socializing agriculture. It had finally become possible, also, to let the last "vacillating and unstable" elements in the Fatherland Front "drop off"—or, if they did not do that, to "kick them out." Now at last there had emerged a "mass political organization" suited to the task of "constructing the foundations of Socialism via the people's democracy . . . under the leadership of the working class." Henceforth there was to be "a relentless class struggle against the capitalistic elements, and for their liquidation." Dimitrov did not assert that the end of the road had been reached. Bulgaria and the other new democracies, he simply said, were now "marching toward Socialism . . . creating the conditions necessary for the building of So-

This boiled down to saying that Bulgarian Communism was still in a transitional stage, though a new one of relentless attack against all remaining capitalist elements. The second half of the proposition would have been the impressive point for Dimitrov's Bulgarian audience. It was the first half, however, that the Jugoslav Communists seized upon. What! they jibed, did the Bulgarian and other Cominform Parties still not dare proclaim the dictatorship of the proletariat? Could they still only say that they were "on the way?"

Even so, Dimitrov had talked very differently in more easygoing days. As recently as September 1946, for example, he had addressed a delegation of foreign trade union delegates as follows:

With great satisfaction we acknowledge Comrade Zilliacus' statement that the working class, the English working people represented by the

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665 Labor Party, are on the way to Socialism and endeavoring to reach it in a peaceful way. . . . I should like to tell our English friend that we too feel that it is quite possible in Bulgaria, granted the work and necessary preparations, to pass on to Socialism some day without dictatorship of the proletariat, on the basis of democracy and a parliamentary régime.

Now, however, the British Labor Party had become a horde of imperialist hyenas, lackeys of Wall Street. Now Socialism was to be attained in Bulgaria not in a peaceful parliamentary way but by force. To make sure that his audience would swallow this strong meat Dimitrov threw in the ominous warning that the program had been developed under the guidance of Stalin himself; he "personally" had helped with advice and explanations so that any "mistakes" which were made could be "corrected quickly."

The Dimitrov talk, though derided in Jugoslavia as postponing indefinitely the advent of Socialism, nevertheless gave notice that the proletarian revolution would now be pushed in Bulgaria by all means and at all costs. Applied to the agrarian problem, it meant that the class war was to begin in earnest in the villages. Collectivization had not proved any more popular with Bulgarian peasants than it had in other agricultural countries. Even at their face value, the official figures of progress in forming collectives (more delicately called "working agricultural enterprises") were not impressive. And one hesitates to accord them face value because of the ample opportunity and great temptation to juggle statistics. Changes are made frequently in the rules for membership, the presidents of village councils (soviets) are desperately anxious to make a good showing in their reports to Sofia, and the Minister of Agriculture himself hopes to save his skin by reporting progress to Moscow.

474 241 423 At the end of 1948, according to a published Soviet source, 73,000 Bulgarian peasant households owning 300,000 hectares of land were joined in 1,000 agricultural coöperatives (collectives); and by August 1, 1949, the figures had become 146,583 households, owning 538,458 hectares, in 1,594 coöperatives.[3] Writing in the official Cominform journal in November 1949, T. Chernokolev, a member of the

[3] N. Vorobyev, *New Times*, Moscow, September 7, 1949.

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[For the economic and political position of Bulgaria under Soviet control since the death of Stalin, see 85: Zinner, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, Pp. 157B-163B.]

113, 665 Bulgaria EE1

[For a discussion of the new statute of the Communist Party of Bulgaria modeled on the statute of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of October 1952 and compared with the party statutes in the other states of the eastern bloc, see E1 Europe, 10: Mehnert, category 116, pp. 1-10]

[For a reprint of the preamble to the statute, see pp. 11-12]

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642 under Liapchev (1926-31) sought to reduce party strife and international
668 friction. It secured a loan from the League of Nations to help in the settlement of refugees, but seemed powerless to prevent raids upon neighboring states by the IMRO which, after the assassination of Protoguerov in 1928, was dominated by Mihailov who openly defied the Sofia government and virtually reigned supreme in some frontier districts. The elections of June, 1931 brought a shift again to the left. The cabinets of Alexander Malinov and his successor, Nikola Mushanov, both of whom were Democrats representing middle class and intellectual groups, were supported by the Agrarians. This coalition found itself threatened by the rise of the Communist party which nearly captured a majority in the Sofia municipal elections of September, 1932. In the communal elections of November, however, the Agrarians and Democrats won a victory which emboldened them in an attempt to suppress both the Communists and the Macedonians in the following year.

643 Meanwhile Tsar Boris III, had steadily gained in authority and influ-
669 ence. The rapprochement with Italy signalized by the marriage of Boris to the daughter of King Victor Emmanuel III in 1930, and the part played
642 by the Tsar in steps taken toward reconciliation with Yugoslavia and Romania (1933-34) helped to bring him to the fore. Then a series of domestic events enabled the Tsar to make himself a virtual dictator. Colonel Velchev, secretary of the Military League founded in 1930, and Kimon Georgiev, prominent in *Zveno* which was a fascistic civilian organization working for reform and a "strong" government, again helped to stage a *coup d'état,* May, 1934, ousting the Democratic-Agrarian Coalition and making Georgiev premier of a dictatorial government with Velchev as his principal adviser. Parliament was dismissed and political parties dissolved by decree. Vigorous action was taken against IMRO, forcing Mihailov to flee. Most of the promises of the new government, however, and especially the solution of the financial crisis, remained unfulfilled. Velchev's known hostility toward Boris III and his alleged republicanism alienated older army circles which helped to supplant Georgiev by General Zlatev who had the backing of the Tsar. Continued financial mismanagement and a reaction within the army itself to its political activities paved the way for a return to civilian government and the dissolution of the Military League after several of its members, including Velchev, had been convicted of conspiracy. This left Boris III master of the situation, although he proclaimed his intention of restoring constitutional rule.

646 Since the anomolous political situation within the country brought an
●666 inevitable reaction against the regime, elections for a new *sobranie* were

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eventually held in March, 1938, under a changed electoral law which permitted married women to vote but forbade candidates to run as members of the old political parties. In May, 1938, the *sobranie* met for the first time since 1935, but found itself reduced to the position of a consulting body. 646 666

The political crises of the period after 1933 were but outward expressions of the serious economic condition in which Bulgaria, along with all other predominantly agrarian countries of eastern Europe, had found itself as a result of the world-wide economic depression. At the same time both Italy and Germany sought to bring Bulgaria into their political and economic orbits. Bulgaria for several years seemed to waver between them and their rivals in power politics. Although its refusal to join the Balkan Entente, because of its revisionist territorial claims, seemed to align Bulgaria with Italy, a tense situation was avoided by the signature of a Pact of Friendship with Yugoslavia on January 24, 1937. In 1938 when the east European atmosphere had become clouded because of Germany's annexation of Austria and the developing Munich crisis, Bulgaria gained recognition of the right to rearm by means of an agreement in July with Greece who acted on behalf of the Balkan Entente. This was followed by an Anglo-French loan amounting to ten million dollars to assist in Bulgarian rearmament, although Germany had already supplied much material toward this end. Nevertheless, Germany had two advantages over its rivals. One was its freedom to encourage Bulgarian revisionist ambitions which, after the Bulgar-Yugoslav pact, tended to create greatest tension with Romania over the Dobruja. The other was the powerful economic tie developed between the two countries by means of trade agreements. After Austria and part of Czechoslovakia had been incorporated in the Nazi Reich in 1939 about 52 per cent of Bulgaria's exports went to Germany and about 63 per cent of its imports came from there. 648 [439]

It is doubtful, however, if the developing ties with Germany influenced the feelings of the Bulgarian people. Tsar Boris and his governments, even though they sanctioned agreements by which the political police cooperated with the Gestapo in pursuing "Communists," sought to keep down native fascism. There was, moreover, very little antisemitism in Bulgaria. The political opposition composed of the former Agrarian, Liberal, Radical, Socialist, and Democratic party elements, was by its nature antagonistic to Nazism. And, finally, the people had always retained a deepseated feeling of sympathy and respect for Russia against whom the Nazis were ostensibly aligned. Indeed, right down to 1941 there was much ground for believing that Bulgaria might well maintain neutrality in the second World War. 648 186 665

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Y 648 fusing to attend the conference called at Paris to consider the Marshall Plan for European reconstruction, Yugoslavia manifested her determination to stand by Soviet Russia economically as well as politically.

B *The Fatherland Front in Bulgaria*

642 648 665 In attempting to fulfill the terms of the armistice and to prepare for parliamentary elections, the Georgiev government in Bulgaria, like that of Tito in Yugoslavia, was accused of pursuing totalitarian tactics. The United States and Great Britain entered protests against the conduct of the elections of November, 1945, in which 88 per cent of the vote was reported to be in favor of the Fatherland Front. The effort of the two powers to bring about the admission to the government of two representatives of "other democratic groups" proved unavailing, despite the agreement of Soviet Russia to the proposal at the Moscow Conference in December. [666] The National Assembly which chose Vassil Kolarov, a Communist, to be its president, arranged for a plebiscite, September 9, 1946, on the form of government. When the results went overwhelmingly in favor of a republic, the Assembly on September 15, declared Bulgaria to be a People's Republic. Elections in October, following the drafting of a constitution, returned an Assembly less predominantly Communist than Yugoslavia's, though whether this outcome was designed or came about because of a failure to crush the opposition effectively is not clear. The Fatherland Front majority of 366 deputies was made up of 279 Communists (Workers' Party), sixty-nine dissident Agrarians, nine *Zveno* members, eight dissident Social Democrats, and one Radical; while the opposition of 99 was composed of ninety Agrarians under the leadership of Petkov, and nine Social Democrats led by Lelchev.[10] In November Georgiev resigned as premier and was succeeded by Georgi Dimitrov, an eminent Communist who had been made famous by the Reichstag Fire Trial in 1934 and had been living in Russia until the end of the war. Like Yugoslavia, Bulgaria had entered upon the path of a Soviet-orientated state.

Peacemaking and Foreign Relations

Y-B 648 Beginning with the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco in 1945, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, whenever represented or discussed at international conferences, have been led or supported by Soviet Russia. Thus they are both aligned with the "Eastern"

[10] For a brief description of the elections and the policies of the Dimitrov regime by a sympathetic observer, see Commander Edgar P. Young, "'People's Republic Bulgaria'," *Contemporary Review*, CLXXI (March, 1947), 162-66.

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a *paterfamilias,* with a unique concentration of power in his hands. 596
If his grown children did not submit to his control, then they could 178
leave his house but had no means of removing him against his will. Death alone could do that.

Such was the family situation in Dragalevtsy with the coming 178
of liberation after the Russo-Turkish War in 1878. The changes 642
which have occurred in the family since then have been related in
no small degree to the political fortunes of Bulgaria. The Bulgarian 596
constitution was drawn up in Tirnovo in imitation of the constitutions of the West, and made Bulgaria a constitutional monarchy with a national parliament. Unfortunately, the new frame of government disregarded many traditional practices of the peasants and sought to impose upon them foreign ideas and strange governmental processes.

In April, 1879, Alexander of Battenberg, who was an officer 175
in the Prussian army and the favorite nephew of Tsar Alexander II of Russia, was elected Prince over the country. In September, 1885, Bulgaria united with Eastern Rumelia, an area which had been placed back under nominal Turkish control by the Treaty of Berlin. Prince Alexander, because he did not collaborate sufficiently with the Russians in their desire to make Bulgaria completely subservient to Russia, was abducted from Sofia and forced to abdicate in 1886. Then the Bulgarian leaders shopped around Europe for another Prince, and finally in 1887 chose Prince Ferdinand of the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha line. He did much to make Bulgaria a stronger state, but he showed poor judgment in ordering Bulgarian troops to attack Serbia, thereby starting the Second Balkan War in which Bulgaria suffered catastrophic defeat at the hands of her former allies in the First Balkan War. In 1918, because he had been a party to the alliance of Bulgaria with the Central Powers in the First World War, he was forced to abdicate in favor of his son Boris.

From her inception as a state Bulgaria tried to make a success 642
of representative government. Men were urged to vote; in fact, they 666
were fined the equivalent of five dollars if they failed to vote. But in [687]
spite of the dream of Young Bulgaria at Tirnovo, in spite of her

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642 666 vibrant youth and living hope, her fling at democracy failed, primarily because ballots were given to peasants who were not being taught the meaning of citizenship in a national state.

178 623 Those interested in democracy have much to learn from the story of government in Dragalevtsy. At the outset the informal rule of the elders, which had been recognized by the Turks, was replaced by a commune or *obshtina* with regularly elected officials. At first these units included a number of villages. By 1890 the increase in population necessitated the breaking up of the larger *obshtini* so as to include only two or three villages. In other words, the pendulum was swinging back in the direction of greater local control, the swing being further accentuated after the First World War.

665 Political parties grew like mushrooms in Bulgaria. In 1930 the country had more than sixteen significant parties; in the village of Dragalevtsy, with its total population of about sixteen hundred, there [557] were six important parties with recognized leaders and platforms. To be a party leader in the village meant added prestige; to be one in the city or on a national scale meant power. In order for a Dragalevtsy man to become a local party leader he had to be acquainted with important people in Sofia. Even though he had only one influential friend in the city, he could persuade this man to come out and help organize a party. Other peasants were invited to the organizational meeting and officers were elected. Naturally, the one who took the initiative would be chosen to an important post. Because of the multiplicity of parties and the intense strife among them, many people throughout the country breathed a sigh of relief when the authoritarian government, which came into power on May 19, 1934, abolished by decree all political parties and started the practice of appointing uni- [622] versity graduates as mayors in villages. This meant that the head of the government in a village was not dependent upon the will of the populace but had to produce results satisfactory to the officials over him. The breakdown of the party system was associated, especially as far as the conservative peasant population was concerned, not only with forces outside the village but also with the failure of popular education to develop into "a bulwark of people rule."

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623 Local administration of justice was not the only thing the mayor had changed. Upon his arrival in Dragalevtsy he had replaced the traditional Village Council, composed of peasants, with an Advisory Council, made up of other public officials. Later, when the national authorities wanted to restore the appearance of representative government they worked out a scheme for establishing a new Commune Council. They took care, however, to rid it of any candidates that they did not like.

● 666 623 On March 28, 1937, six councilors were elected for the Dragalevtsy commune: three from Dragalevtsy proper, two from Simeonovo, and one from the "quarter" near Sofia. In addition to these six, the following were ex officio members of the council: the mayor, the representative of merchants, the representative of the agricultural zadruga, the director of the school, the physician, and the veterinarian. To obtain its three members, the village of Dragalevtsy was divided into three districts, from each of which one representative was chosen. Any man over thirty and with an elementary school education who signed the following petition could nominate himself as a candidate for office.

To the Judge of the Commune
in the village of_____
County _____

PETITION

With this I wish to declare:

1. that I wish to offer my candidacy for a village councilor in the elections which will take place on _____ 19__ for the purpose of electing members of the commune councils.
2. that I offer my candidacy in _____ elective district of _____ commune _____ county.
3. that I do not belong to any secret or open organization forbidden by the laws of the country.
4. that I do not have ideas against the government, that I am not in favor of communist, anarchist or violent methods for social and political struggles.
5. that if I am elected as a commune councilor I will not favor any class, society, groups, nor will I serve my personal interests, and in my work I shall be guided by the common interests of the commune of which I am a member, and

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6. that I have been registered under No._____ in the election list of the commune. 666 623
I wish to have my candidacy recognized as legal and confirmed.
I enclose certificate No._____ from _____ 19__ year issued from _____ commune, which shows that:
(a) I have the right to elections (commune elections)
(b) that I am 30 years of age and have completed my military service (or the regular labor service)
(c) that I have completed _____ (education)
Village, City _____ year 19__

Respectfully:_____

The names of those wishing to run were posted publicly by the mayor; all the villagers had the opportunity to contest the fitness of any candidate; afterwards the mayor sent the names to Sofia with his own recommendations. The final decision was in the hands of the judge in Sofia. Thirteen Dragalevtsy men decided to stand for election. Three of these were rejected by the authorities. People from each district voted only for a candidate from their district. Mothers were the only women permitted to vote.

Before the election, with the permission of the mayor, the candidates were allowed to make speeches. After the election, as is frequently the case in countries elsewhere, some people were dissatisfied with the results and demanded a new election. However, everything seemed to go off in an orderly way and the voting was fairly done. This election, though, was the prelude to the national elections which were later held, resulting in the restoration, after a fashion, of the *Subranie,* or National Parliament.

Re-establishing a commune council seemed to be a very complicated affair to the average peasant, and afforded quite a contrast to his usual way of getting things done. In order to fulfill the law requiring ex officio members to represent the merchants and the agriculturists, two new organizations had to be started in the village before the time of the election. The merchants organized a Merchants' Association, had one or two meetings, elected a representative, and discussed general policies for the future. Although nothing definite had taken shape by the time I left the village, the merchants hoped to 623 441 241

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[661] 668 munists, they were traitors. The priest still considered them children of God and officiated anyway, although they were not buried in the local cemetery.

[665] 648 By the New Year, 1945, many of the political leaders in the Fatherland Front discerned the handwriting on the wall. The Agrarians and the Democratic party especially recognized the Front for what it was—a Communist screen for actual control. All the while, the Communists—a minority party—had been growing stronger and were nurtured by the Red Army officers who really directed Bulgarian affairs. British and American army officers were represented in the Allied Control Commission which was under arbitrary Russian direction. American and British diplomatic representatives were somewhat more effectual, but only within a rather limited sphere of activity. With the cards stacked in their favor, the Communists controlled the key ministries, chief among them being the Ministry of Interior which had charge of the police and local administration. Therefore, early in 1945 there was a gradual loss of popular enthusiasm for the Fatherland Front, with the real defection coming in May. At that time the leading representatives of the Agrarian and Democratic parties, as well as a section of the Socialist party, withdrew from the Front to form an opposition. In Dragalevtsy, this move met with tremendous support, for there the Agrarian was the major party. The Zveno group, which had engineered the *coup d'état* of 1934 against the king, stayed with the Fatherland Front in which they held the premiership and other prominent positions.

A few former acquaintances of mine had joined the Communist party and were sincerely trying to win their fellow countrymen to their cause. They were inclined to be impatient with those who differed from them, and still felt very much on the defensive. Their condescending attitude toward members of other parties co-operating with them in the Fatherland Front was expressed in a comment making the round: "Oh, these other members of the Front are our water boys.' They'll carry the water to the top of the hill for us and then we'll take it over."

[666] The next political crisis arose in August, 1945. The government had scheduled an election through which it had planned to obtain a

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parliament, whose first duty would have been to approve the previous actions of the government and to give the Front broad powers to continue on its way of reform and reconstruction. Because of the claims by the opposition—those who had withdrawn from the Fatherland Front—that they were not being given a fair chance for representation in the elections, the American and British governments insisted that the elections be postponed and threatened to recognize no government coming into power under the proposed arrangements. The elections were postponed. Most Dragalevtsy people again wholeheartedly approved.

But that was the heyday of the opposition. Those who did not like the way matters were moving put their faith in America and expected her to stop further Communistic consolidation within the country. In the taverns of Dragalevtsy the buzzing must have reminded one of bees in a swarm when the Agrarian leader of the opposition, Georgi M. Dimitrov, sought refuge with the American Political Representative, Maynard B. Barnes, and spent part of the time in Barnes's villa near the Sofia-Dragalevtsy highway, with a handful of American soldiers on guard to protect Dimitrov whose life was endangered. The American authorities assumed some personal risks in sheltering him, and eventually secured his departure from the country. Thus, in the minds of the people as well as in the minds of the Bulgarian authorities, America more and more became identified as the chief support of the opposition and as an enemy of the new state being created. Because lines of antagonism had been drawn so sharply, the peasants of the opposition asked, "When will the war between America and Russia take place?" Those favoring the government asked in an uncertain tone, "Will there be a war between America and Russia?"

News of the atomic bomb gave the opposition increased hope since many of them expected America to use the bomb immediately as a threat in the bargaining and jockeying going on between the Western and Eastern powers.

American popularity rode another high wave when Secretary of State Byrnes sent Mark Ethridge to Bulgaria and Rumania to make a study of the situations in these two countries. Mr. Ethridge, a well known Louisville, Kentucky, newspaperman and a keen student of in-

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648 668 ternational affairs, conducted himself with such astuteness that he became almost a legendary figure in a short time. In fact, he enters this account in an authentic way because he visited Dragalevtsy quite unexpectedly, ate meat balls at the tavern with the peasants, and endeared himself in particular by treating the crowd to two or three rounds of drinks. "Setting up the house" was a practice none too common in the frugal economy that characterized the village. Most of those present spoke quite freely, but two Russian soldiers, definitely ill-at-ease, remained stolidly silent. One old villager did throw caution to the winds and sidled up to tell the distinguished guest, "We are not satisfied, Mr. Ethridge. Don't believe all of the things these young fellows have been telling you." Mr. Ethridge, upon leaving the tavern, was surprised to see Renaissance Square filled with enthusiastic villagers, who cheered him and presented him with many bouquets of flowers.

[666] Later the Secretary of State's special emissary wrote a critical report on the existing Bulgarian government and pointed out what he judged to be its undemocratic features. The American representatives were unable, however, to persuade the Bulgarian authorities to postpone the elections for a second time, so the voting went off as scheduled on November 18, 1945, with the opposition groups abstaining from the balloting.

[687] In spite of these political developments, the peasants in the Agrarian party (the majority in Dragalevtsy) continued to regard Mr. Barnes and Mr. Ethridge in a favorable light. They like to tell stories of the way these Americans supposedly outwitted the Bulgarian authorities. One of these stories, with no foundation in fact, shows how rumors rise in the Balkans. Mr. Ethridge and his small party were said to have visited a concentration camp for political prisoners near Dupnitsa. Since they were planning to visit the historic and beautifully situated Rila Monastery, they obtained permission to stop off en route at this particular camp. According to the peasants' version, when the party arrived they found comparatively few people in the camp; the place was clean, and the prisoners seemed well cared for. That was that; farewells were said and the party moved on to the Monastery. Late in the afternoon, instead of going to the provin-

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668 fruit-growing area of the country. Mr. Ethridge, in his search for the
687 truth, reputedly approached some of the local inhabitants:

"How are you getting along? Are you satisfied with conditions as they are?"

"Oh, yes, Mr. Ethridge. We are quite satisfied, for this is just like Paradise [the Garden of Eden]."

The visitor was jolted a bit to hear so much enthusiasm after the many tales of woe which had been poured out to him elsewhere. "What do you mean? In what way is this like Paradise?"

"Kyustendil is just like Paradise," came the reply, "because we have plenty of apples to eat but no clothes to wear."

668 As time passed, the Communists became more determined to make their position secure. To accomplish this, Bulgarian-born Georgi Dimitrov came down from Russia, where he had once been Secretary of the Comintern, to take over active direction of party strategy. (This Georgi Dimitrov was quite a different person from the Agrarian leader, Georgi M. Dimitrov.) Occasionally peasants would joke about the high board fence around Communist Dimitrov's
[666] yard in Sofia, built to protect him from any would-be assassin. The elections of November 18, 1945, revealed to the leaders of the National Front their relatively weak position. Great numbers of people had abstained from voting, a fact commonly interpreted as a vote for the opposition. Few foreign observers in Sofia actually believed the highly favorable figures which the government claimed in the announced election returns. In the Dragalevtsy district, for instance, thirteen hundred people had been eligible to vote. This number included for the first time all women and all young people 19 years of age and over. It also included the industrialized area, called the Mahala, which lies just below the village on the Sofia road. Approximately 800 votes were cast, of which 200 were against and 600 for the government, or Fatherland Front. Well informed people connected with the Ministry of Interior said that most of the five hundred abstainers had been peasants and that most of the votes cast for the government had come from the industrialized Mahala, which was known as a Communist center. In other words, as one village man succinctly expressed it, "Our people in Dragalevtsy are not for the present government."

who had been appointed to arbitrate in various disputes with contractors of public works or to various sinecures. 661

The Socialist organ *Narod* in its issue of July 7,1931 gives some samples of the profligacy of the Liaptchev Cabinet:

„In Albania where there is one Bulgarian school, a special inspector has been sent with a monthly salary of 20,000 leva. A special delegation was sent to the Budapest mint in order to supervise and receive the silver coins ordered there, though these coins could have been easily controlled on their delivery here. Ministers Burov and Mollov have wasted millions of public money in their endless peregrinations abroad, Minister Mollov even had his decorations sent to Geneva with a special messenger in order to put them on at an official banquet etc".

Another newspaper decried the practice of granting 200 Swiss francs per day to Government delegates sent on missions abroad when delegates of other nations receive much less. (Americans were said to be paid $ 8, and Italians $ 12 per diem) Opposition newspapers daily filled their columns with details of the prevailing corruption among government circles and laid stress on the utter apathy of Liaptchev as to the consequences. The latter was reported to have said in justification: „Our foreign creditors will de obliged to come and save their investments in Bulgaria, and then they will put our finances right".

The governmental structure had for some time been shaken by internal convulsions and dangerous fissures were making themselves visible. That political amalgam, the Democratic Entente, was slowly disintegrating into its heterogeneous component parts. The Liaptchev Cabinet was never a popular one; at the legislative elections held in 1927, it received a total of 495,000 votes against 556,000 given to the Opposition parties, but succeeded in getting 163 deputies elected as against the 86 obtained by the Opposition, owing to the latter being disunited, and owing 666

666 to the majoritarian voting system being in use. There were only three districts in which it obtained clear majorities, the Rustchuk, Shumen and Plovdiv regions, in which large Moslem populations exist which invariably vote for the Government. In 1931 the mandate of the Chamber was expiring. Liaptchev felt that his Government needed new blood, and Malinov was approached and sounded as to an eventual co-operation. He demanded five ministerial portfolios. This was deemed too much. After protracted bargaining, Liaptchev was entrusted by Tsar Boris to supervise the new elections timed to be held on June 21, 1931, much to the annoyance of the general public which desired that a neutral, or coalition government, should be specially nominated to superintend this function in order that the national will might find expression and not be falsified by the usual electoral artifices and malpractices in vogue. The elections much to the surprise of all concerned, proved a success to the four Opposition parties which united to fight in common, namely the Agrarians, Democrats, Liberals and Radicals, their common lists secured the majority of the poll, the Democratic Entente was beaten, and made way for a government presided over by Malinov and later by Mushanov.

665 The advent of the new coalition government was hailed by all as a great triumph of the democratic forces and great hopes were raised. It was not fit, however, for team work and from the first it became evident that it was divided against itself by fundamental and unbridgeable divergences. The Democrats and Radicals though differing on the economic programme (the former favouring the maintenance of the existing high protective dues, the latter their revision, for the purpose of bringing prices down to the level of agricultural produce) could, had they been by themselves, have co-operated harmoniously and done much to restore order in the administration. In the eyes of the

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XXVII

BULGARIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

DWIGHT E. LEE

Introduction

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BULGARIA and Yugoslavia emerged from the war of 1914-1918 in contrasting positions—the one a defeated power and the other a victor. This situation, a repetition of that following the Second Balkan War only six years before, helped to perpetuate a feeling of rivalry and bitterness toward each other. Both nations, however, faced serious political and economic problems at home which were far from satisfactorily settled when the war of 1939-1945 caught them up again and threw them once more on opposite sides of the struggle.

Bulgaria[1]

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The military collapse of Bulgaria in September, 1918, was followed shortly afterward on October 4 by the abdication of Tsar Ferdinand and the succession of Boris III. Although the pro-German premier, Radoslavov, had resigned some months before, his successors who signed the armistice were unable to stem the current of discontent and disillusionment caused by wartime suffering and the prospect of a severe peace. Accordingly, in the elections of August, 1919, the leftist Agrarian party won a significant victory under the leadership of Alexander Stambolisky who had gone to jail for three years because of his opposition to entry into the war and, upon his release in 1918, had sought to set up a republic. Of peasant stock, he was the embodiment of the hopes for a new era held by the Bulgarian farmers who constituted nearly 80 per cent of the population. After

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[1] The best studies on contemporary Bulgaria are the following: A. Bulatsel, *Ocherki sotsialno-politicheskoi zhizni Bolgarii* (Moscow, 1925); K. Dimitriev, *Bolgariya* (Moscow, 1941); A. Girginov, *Ot voĭnata kŭm mir* (Sofia, 1937); T. Girginov, *Istoricheski razvoĭ na savremenna Bŭlgariya* (2 v.; Sofia, 1934-1935); N. Iliev, *Boris III, tsar na Bŭlgaritĕ* (Sofia, 1936); A. P. Malinov, *Stranichki ot nashata nova politicheska istoriya* (Sofia, 1938); N. D. Stoyanov, *Aleksandŭr Stambolĭĭski. Lichnost i idei* (Sofia, 1930); N. Stanev, *Istoriya na nova Bŭlgariya, 1878-1928* (Sofia, 1929); K. Todorov, *Politička istorija savremene Bugarske* (Belgrad, 1938). Sources in Slavic languages have been supplied by Professor C. E. Black of Princeton University.

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After

becoming premier in October, 1919, Stambolisky's first task was that of signing the peace terms drawn up by the victorious Allies. 728

The Treaty of Neuilly, November 27, 1919, reduced Bulgaria to a smaller area than it had held before the First Balkan War of 1912 and imposed new burdens. Bulgaria lost the Aegean coast (Western Thrace) to Greece, southern Dobruja to Romania, and strips of land on the west to Yugoslavia. The army was limited to a total of 20,000. Reparations amounting to $450,000,000 were to be paid in thirty-seven years, beginning in 1921. The existence of Bulgarian minorities in all the neighboring states furnished a basis for revisionism which steadily grew, particularly after the rise of fascism throughout Europe in the thirties.[2] The provision for an exchange of populations with Greece greatly heightened the volume of refugees who streamed into Bulgaria, adding to the political ferment and economic burdens of the country. In these and other ways, the settlement exacerbated conditions under which radicalism throve. [131] [701] [668] [167]

Stambolisky won a commanding position in the parliamentary elections of March, 1920, and proceeded to ride roughshod over both the middle class and conservative parties on the right and the Communists on the left. He instituted a number of reforms, including a land law designed to break up the crown lands and larger estates, the imposition of a heavy income tax, and the establishment of a compulsory labor service which in the first four years of operation secured the equivalent of five million wage days of work for the Ministries of Public Works and Railways. In foreign policy he sought to fulfill the treaties and to effect a reconciliation with Yugoslavia among whose Communist and Agrarian parties his concepts of Slavic federation found support. His dictatorial methods, however, won him enemies on all sides, not least among them being the Macedonians who opposed his policy of rapprochement with Yugoslavia. In June, 1923, he was overthrown by a *coup d'état* organized by a group of intellectuals, led by Professor Tsankov, and the League of Army Reserve Officers, among whom Colonels Velchev and Georgiev were leaders. A few days later Stambolisky was assassinated. 643 185 656 648 669

Following the Stambolisky regime, the Tsankov government (1923-26) represented a swing to the right. "Communist" insurrections and violence were suppressed with great severity. The increased activity of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) caused difficulties at home and abroad, although after the assassination of its leader Alexandrov (1924) it was split into two factions under Protoguerov and Mihailov who became bitter rivals. A threat of war with Greece arose, but was averted by the action of the League of Nations. A more conciliatory government 642 668

[2] See G. P. Genov, *Bulgaria and the Treaty of Neuilly* (Sofia, 1935).

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642 under Liapchev (1926-31) sought to reduce party strife and international
668 friction. It secured a loan from the League of Nations to help in the settlement of refugees, but seemed powerless to prevent raids upon neighboring states by the IMRO which, after the assassination of Protoguerov in 1928, was dominated by Mihailov who openly defied the Sofia government and virtually reigned supreme in some frontier districts. The elections of June, 1931 brought a shift again to the left. The cabinets of Alexander Malinov and his successor, Nikola Mushanov, both of whom were Democrats representing middle class and intellectual groups, were supported by the Agrarians. This coalition found itself threatened by the rise of the Communist party which nearly captured a majority in the Sofia municipal elections of September, 1932. In the communal elections of November, however, the Agrarians and Democrats won a victory which emboldened them in an attempt to suppress both the Communists and the Macedonians in the following year.

643 Meanwhile Tsar Boris III, had steadily gained in authority and influ-
669 ence. The rapprochement with Italy signalized by the marriage of Boris to the daughter of King Victor Emmanuel III in 1930, and the part played
642 by the Tsar in steps taken toward reconciliation with Yugoslavia and Romania (1933-34) helped to bring him to the fore. Then a series of domestic events enabled the Tsar to make himself a virtual dictator. Colonel Velchev, secretary of the Military League founded in 1930, and Kimon Georgiev, prominent in *Zveno* which was a fascistic civilian organization working for reform and a "strong" government, again helped to stage a *coup d'état,* May, 1934, ousting the Democratic-Agrarian Coalition and making Georgiev premier of a dictatorial government with Velchev as his principal adviser. Parliament was dismissed and political parties dissolved by decree. Vigorous action was taken against IMRO, forcing Mihailov to flee. Most of the promises of the new government, however, and especially the solution of the financial crisis, remained unfulfilled. Velchev's known hostility toward Boris III and his alleged republicanism alienated older army circles which helped to supplant Georgiev by General Zlatev who had the backing of the Tsar. Continued financial mismanagement and a reaction within the army itself to its political activities paved the way for a return to civilian government and the dissolution of the Military League after several of its members, including Velchev, had been convicted of conspiracy. This left Boris III master of the situation, although he proclaimed his intention of restoring constitutional rule.

646 Since the anomolous political situation within the country brought an
666 inevitable reaction against the regime, elections for a new *sobranie* were

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Communists, Agrarians, Democrats, and republicans. In the summer the Soviet Union, against whom Bulgaria had not declared war, began to press for the ousting of the Germans and a reversal of the policy pursued since 1941. On September 2, a new Bulgarian government, headed by a former secretary of Stambolisky, Konstantin Muraviev, and including former Premier Mušanov, announced the full restoration of democratic freedom and rights, a return to neutrality, and the nullification of the Tripartite Pact. It also dispatched representatives to Cairo to negotiate an armistice with Great Britain and the United States and, on September 8, declared war on Germany. In the meantime, however, Russia, not fully satisfied with the course being pursued, declared war on Bulgaria on September 5. This confusing situation was clarified four days later when Muraviev was succeeded by a new government which had the full support of the "Fatherland Front." It was led by Kimon Georgiev, who was alleged to have experienced a change of heart since his participation in the *coup d'état* of 1934, and included his former colleague, Colonel Velchev.

Before the end of September Russian military forces had moved into the country and were rapidly turning the Bulgarian army, now placed under the command of a Russian General, Tolbukhin, against the fleeing Germans. By the formal armistice terms, signed in Moscow on October 28, 1944, Bulgaria promised to withdraw from all territories occupied in Greece and Yugoslavia, to restore all properties of the United Nations and make reparation for damages, to rid Bulgaria of all pro-Axis organizations, to coöperate in the arrest and trial of war criminals, and to accept an Allied Control Commission which would regulate and supervise the execution of the armistice. Since Russia held a dominant position in the Commission and since Bulgaria was prepared to follow Communist leadership, her lot as an ex-Axis satellite differed little from that of Yugoslavia.

Reconstruction and Peacemaking

Reconstruction in both Yugoslavia and Bulgaria took the form of a revolution led by Communists and was patterned after the policies and practices of the Soviet Union.

The National Front in Yugoslavia

The Tito government, established in Yugoslavia in 1945, promised that it would "comply with the fundamental and general principles of constitutional government" and that it intended to found a democratic, federative state. This was to consist of Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia. Provisional governments were formed in each of these units in April and May, 1945. While Tito's ter-

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CHAPTER XI

COMMUNISM KNOCKS AT THE DOOR

668 COMMUNISM came in the dead of the night. Dragalevtsy people awoke on September 6, 1944, the morning after Russia had declared war on Bulgaria, to find big posters proclaiming throughout the village such slogans as "Welcome to the Heroic Red Army" or "Long Live Stalin."

The peasants realized in retrospect how well organized everything must have been, for these signs showed that the local Communist sympathizers had been ready for this big event. One or two had fought in the mountains against the Germans as Bulgarian Partisans and had been schooled in the part they were to play when the Germans were finally driven out.

668 648 186 On September 16, 1944, at least eighty villagers from Dragalevtsy had gone to Sofia to welcome the Russians. Traditions live long in Dragalevtsy, and especially the tradition of brotherly Russia and its overwhelming contribution in emancipating Bulgaria from the Turks in 1878. So this demonstration of admiration for the Russians was genuine and spontaneous. Many parents took their children along so the youngsters could describe to their children and their children's children the excitement and greatness of this day. And the spectacle was one that was memorable, not like the arrival of the Nazis for whom there had been admiration mixed with fear, but rather the arrival of brother Slavs who would help Bulgaria grow great and strong. Thus the peasants had thought.

But news travels fast in Bulgaria and usually becomes altered in the traveling. Within five days, the people of Dragalevtsy heard so many rumors about the Russians that they soon had become afraid. They were especially nonplussed by the Russians' disregard for property. They heard about a man from another village who had been

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hauling corn in his oxcart. Russian soldiers told him to stop, get out, and give them the oxen, the cart, and the corn. He insisted that they must pay him, at which they laughed. Stubborn as only a *Shop* peasant can be, he sat rigidly in his cart to protect his own. From this point on versions differed: some said he was pulled out and beaten, others that he was shot and left dead by the roadside. And always the tale ended with, "The Germans always paid us, but the Russians never did." 668 648 186

But the Communists offered an explanation for the differences in the behavior of the two armies. The Russians invaded in battle order, which necessitated eating off the land on a catch-as-catch-can basis. The Germans, on the other hand, had sent large staffs ahead to make preparations for the coming of their troops. The net effect upon the peasant mentality was radically different, since property rights seemed violated by the Russians and respected by the Nazis.

Eventually a detachment of Russians had been established around Dragalevtsy. They frequented the taverns so constantly and with such enthusiasm that the peasants had a new saying: "There's nothing worse than drunken Russians." They began to judge the Russian nation by the off-time indulgences of its soldiers.

Although the "great disillusionment" regarding Russian soldiers had begun soon after their arrival, the people still hoped that all would go well politically. Most of the major political parties—the Agrarians, the Zveno, and the Democrats—joined with the Communists in September, 1944, to form a coalition, which they called the Fatherland Front. It was this government that conducted the purge, or the sentencing of about three thousand men and women by the people's courts on the grounds of collaboration with the enemy. About two thousand of these were executed. Some observers now feel, in the light of later developments, that the real basis of selecting victims for trial was not only their complicity with the Germans but also their danger as potential rallying points for a counterrevolution against the Fatherland Front. Two Dragalevtsy young men were tried and executed for collaboration with the Nazis. According to village reports, Communist sympathizers tried to exert pressure upon the new priest in the hope of preventing his officiating at any funeral ceremonies or memorial services for these men. According to the Com- 668 [661]

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[661] 668 munists, they were traitors. The priest still considered them children of God and officiated anyway, although they were not buried in the local cemetery.

[665] 648 By the New Year, 1945, many of the political leaders in the Fatherland Front discerned the handwriting on the wall. The Agrarians and the Democratic party especially recognized the Front for what it was—a Communist screen for actual control. All the while, the Communists—a minority party—had been growing stronger and were nurtured by the Red Army officers who really directed Bulgarian affairs. British and American army officers were represented in the Allied Control Commission which was under arbitrary Russian direction. American and British diplomatic representatives were somewhat more effectual, but only within a rather limited sphere of activity. With the cards stacked in their favor, the Communists controlled the key ministries, chief among them being the Ministry of Interior which had charge of the police and local administration. Therefore, early in 1945 there was a gradual loss of popular enthusiasm for the Fatherland Front, with the real defection coming in May. At that time the leading representatives of the Agrarian and Democratic parties, as well as a section of the Socialist party, withdrew from the Front to form an opposition. In Dragalevtsy, this move met with tremendous support, for there the Agrarian was the major party. The Zveno group, which had engineered the *coup d'état* of 1934 against the king, stayed with the Fatherland Front in which they held the premiership and other prominent positions.

A few former acquaintances of mine had joined the Communist party and were sincerely trying to win their fellow countrymen to their cause. They were inclined to be impatient with those who differed from them, and still felt very much on the defensive. Their condescending attitude toward members of other parties co-operating with them in the Fatherland Front was expressed in a comment making the round: "Oh, these other members of the Front are our water boys.' They'll carry the water to the top of the hill for us and then we'll take it over."

[666] The next political crisis arose in August, 1945. The government had scheduled an election through which it had planned to obtain a

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parliament, whose first duty would have been to approve the previous actions of the government and to give the Front broad powers to continue on its way of reform and reconstruction. Because of the claims by the opposition—those who had withdrawn from the Fatherland Front—that they were not being given a fair chance for representation in the elections, the American and British governments insisted that the elections be postponed and threatened to recognize no government coming into power under the proposed arrangements. The elections were postponed. Most Dragalevtsy people again wholeheartedly approved.

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But that was the heyday of the opposition. Those who did not like the way matters were moving put their faith in America and expected her to stop further Communistic consolidation within the country. In the taverns of Dragalevtsy the buzzing must have reminded one of bees in a swarm when the Agrarian leader of the opposition, Georgi M. Dimitrov, sought refuge with the American Political Representative, Maynard B. Barnes, and spent part of the time in Barnes's villa near the Sofia-Dragalevtsy highway, with a handful of American soldiers on guard to protect Dimitrov whose life was endangered. The American authorities assumed some personal risks in sheltering him, and eventually secured his departure from the country. Thus, in the minds of the people as well as in the minds of the Bulgarian authorities, America more and more became identified as the chief support of the opposition and as an enemy of the new state being created. Because lines of antagonism had been drawn so sharply, the peasants of the opposition asked, "When will the war between America and Russia take place?" Those favoring the government asked in an uncertain tone, "Will there be a war between America and Russia?"

News of the atomic bomb gave the opposition increased hope since many of them expected America to use the bomb immediately as a threat in the bargaining and jockeying going on between the Western and Eastern powers.

American popularity rode another high wave when Secretary of State Byrnes sent Mark Ethridge to Bulgaria and Rumania to make a study of the situations in these two countries. Mr. Ethridge, a well known Louisville, Kentucky, newspaperman and a keen student of in-

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648 668 ternational affairs, conducted himself with such astuteness that he became almost a legendary figure in a short time. In fact, he enters this account in an authentic way because he visited Dragalevtsy quite unexpectedly, ate meat balls at the tavern with the peasants, and endeared himself in particular by treating the crowd to two or three rounds of drinks. "Setting up the house" was a practice none too common in the frugal economy that characterized the village. Most of those present spoke quite freely, but two Russian soldiers, definitely ill-at-ease, remained stolidly silent. One old villager did throw caution to the winds and sidled up to tell the distinguished guest, "We are not satisfied, Mr. Ethridge. Don't believe all of the things these young fellows have been telling you." Mr. Ethridge, upon leaving the tavern, was surprised to see Renaissance Square filled with enthusiastic villagers, who cheered him and presented him with many bouquets of flowers.

[666] Later the Secretary of State's special emissary wrote a critical report on the existing Bulgarian government and pointed out what he judged to be its undemocratic features. The American representatives were unable, however, to persuade the Bulgarian authorities to postpone the elections for a second time, so the voting went off as scheduled on November 18, 1945, with the opposition groups abstaining from the balloting.

[687] In spite of these political developments, the peasants in the Agrarian party (the majority in Dragalevtsy) continued to regard Mr. Barnes and Mr. Ethridge in a favorable light. They like to tell stories of the way these Americans supposedly outwitted the Bulgarian authorities. One of these stories, with no foundation in fact, shows how rumors rise in the Balkans. Mr. Ethridge and his small party were said to have visited a concentration camp for political prisoners near Dupnitsa. Since they were planning to visit the historic and beautifully situated Rila Monastery, they obtained permission to stop off en route at this particular camp. According to the peasants' version, when the party arrived they found comparatively few people in the camp; the place was clean, and the prisoners seemed well cared for. That was that; farewells were said and the party moved on to the Monastery. Late in the afternoon, instead of going to the provin-

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cial town of Somokov as originally scheduled, Mr. Ethridge asked his driver when they reached a crossroad to take the fork of the road which circled back past Dupnitsa. Once more at the camp, he asked to be admitted and saw for himself the conditions of overcrowding all too evident when the prisoners who had been sent to the woods for the day were back in their quarters. Without wasting any words Mr. Ethridge merely smiled to the attendants, got back into the automobile, and returned to Sofia.

But stories of camps for political prisoners took my mind back to the 1930's when the government then in power was fearful of Communism and conducted frequent raids upon Communist-operated printing presses. Much doctrinaire literature was seized and the offenders were given heavy prison sentences. A member of an opposition group has never felt very safe in the Balkans. The Zveno group, which has already been mentioned, came into power in 1934 and which still was co-operating with the Fatherland Front, worked out a new wrinkle in the treatment of political prisoners. On March 19, 1935, I wrote in a letter to America:

> Just a little sidelight on political life in Bulgaria. Students who make radical speeches or editors who print little articles opposed to the *status quo* are forcefully invited to leave Sofia for a rest-cure in one of the provincial towns of Bulgaria. They go, for instance, to Karlovo and are "put up" by the government. They are perfectly free with the exception that they must stay in Karlovo, must report to an official at eight each morning, at noon, and must be in their room by eight in the evening, and cannot venture forth until eight the next morning. Such an "invitation" usually holds good for one month, after which the chastened individuals are permitted to return to Sofia, the political cauldron of Bulgaria.

More and more, Balkan governments must be judged not only in terms of the four freedoms which we publicize in America but also in terms of the governments which have preceded them. That is, they must be interpreted, although not justified, in the light of the cultural setting out of which they have sprung.

There was another apocryphal Ethridge story, which illustrated the use of humor as a weapon of the opposition groups to make their life more endurable. The scene was laid around Kyustendil, the chief

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668 fruit-growing area of the country. Mr. Ethridge, in his search for the
687 truth, reputedly approached some of the local inhabitants:

"How are you getting along? Are you satisfied with conditions as they are?"

"Oh, yes, Mr. Ethridge. We are quite satisfied, for this is just like Paradise [the Garden of Eden]."

The visitor was jolted a bit to hear so much enthusiasm after the many tales of woe which had been poured out to him elsewhere. "What do you mean? In what way is this like Paradise?"

"Kyustendil is just like Paradise," came the reply, "because we have plenty of apples to eat but no clothes to wear."

668 As time passed, the Communists became more determined to make their position secure. To accomplish this, Bulgarian-born Georgi Dimitrov came down from Russia, where he had once been Secretary of the Comintern, to take over active direction of party strategy. (This Georgi Dimitrov was quite a different person from the Agrarian leader, Georgi M. Dimitrov.) Occasionally peasants would joke about the high board fence around Communist Dimitrov's
[666] yard in Sofia, built to protect him from any would-be assassin. The elections of November 18, 1945, revealed to the leaders of the National Front their relatively weak position. Great numbers of people had abstained from voting, a fact commonly interpreted as a vote for the opposition. Few foreign observers in Sofia actually believed the highly favorable figures which the government claimed in the announced election returns. In the Dragalevtsy district, for instance, thirteen hundred people had been eligible to vote. This number included for the first time all women and all young people 19 years of age and over. It also included the industrialized area, called the Mahala, which lies just below the village on the Sofia road. Approximately 800 votes were cast, of which 200 were against and 600 for the government, or Fatherland Front. Well informed people connected with the Ministry of Interior said that most of the five hundred abstainers had been peasants and that most of the votes cast for the government had come from the industrialized Mahala, which was known as a Communist center. In other words, as one village man succinctly expressed it, "Our people in Dragalevtsy are not for the present government."

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Granting then that a personal sampling of public opinion, conversation with both Communists and Agrarians in the village, and the rough approximation of election returns all added up to a fair statement of the case, Dragalevtsy would definitely be labeled an opposition village. In fact, before I had even revisited the village a number of people in Sofia had told me that I would find this to be the case. Therefore, as I went around among the people and watched the government in action, I asked myself how it happened that a minority could so easily gain control of all effective governmental machinery. The chief secret lay, of course, in capturing the central government in Sofia, which since 1934 had more and more become a dominant influence in the country. But there were other methods adopted by the Communists which, when multiplied in the five thousand villages throughout the land, would explain to some degree why Communism's knock on the door might be said to have turned into a banging. Some of these techniques of political power were proving successful in Dragalevtsy, while others were not. 668 ●

Effective party work in the villages would normally be guaranteed and to some extent guided by the organs of the state, such as the controlled militia (police) and the hand-picked mayors and secretaries of the communal councils. But even with this provision all was not smooth sailing in Dragalevtsy for the newcomers back in 1945. The difficulties over the mayor would be a case in point. 668 622

In September, 1944, the Central Ministry of Interior appointed a young Communist as mayor. Because local public opinion was either indifferent or unfriendly his work was relatively ineffectual. The following July the members of the Agrarian party, which at that time still participated in the Fatherland Front, held a meeting to protest against their present mayor. They went even further and elected a mayor of their own choosing, with the backing of the mayor of Sofia who was well disposed toward their cause. Although this election was not declared legal, the new mayor took over and began to function. His status remained unclarified because the Communists in the Ministry of Interior did not feel sure enough of themselves to force the issue at that time. By December, 1945, the situation had become further complicated since the incumbent mayor lacked the education necessary

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622 668 to qualify for governmental retirement benefits and his former supporters were now a part of the opposition. Sofia, too, had a new mayor. It seemed to the village dignitary that all of his trouble was becoming a labor of love for which he would receive little financial return. Upon last report he was seeking a way out of office and was subject to a great deal of jesting in the taverns. The men all laughed one day in December, 1945, when a visitor from Sofia addressed him as "Mr. Mayor," because nobody knew at that time whether he was the mayor or not.

An office more important, however, than that of the mayor was that of the Commune Secretary. In Dragalevtsy this man was a Communist and, although he did not take the public limelight as much as a regular mayor would, he was the key person in the local government. Communist party matters frequently cleared through him, and he was in position to inform higher authorities about all phases of village government. Whereas the mayor's allegiance was primarily to the people of Dragalevtsy and secondarily to the Agrarian party, a luncheon conversation with the Secretary showed me that his loyalty was first of all to his party. Through serving it he felt he was best serving the people.

668 575 883 178 Part of the secret of Communist control in the local community lay in the success which the Communists had in enlisting the aid of many of the young people. In a traditionalistic society, such as one finds in Dragalevtsy, young people have no place of importance. Prestige is reserved for the old; and wisdom is the prerogative of the aged. Therefore a young person is constantly being urged to conform; and whatever idealism may flare up within him in his late teens becomes dissipated in the face of his placid parents and the other apostles of the past. The Communists showed real insight, therefore, in their glorification of the young people, in giving them a place in the sun, as it were. One of the first things they did was to get control of the *Chitalishte*, or Reading-Room Association, and use that as the core for their young people's program. In the house just back of the *Obshtina* they set up clubrooms where members of the *RMS* (Workers Youth Union) could hold meetings, study up on party doctrines, or loaf. The members of this particular organization, although not

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representing the majority of the young people, had an increasing voice in village affairs and were aggressive in their approach to practical problems. Part of this aggressiveness was directed against the young people at that time still active in the *ZMS* (Agrarian Youth Society), which was a part of the opposition. 668 575 883 178

Another means by which the Communists gained support was in the favoritism shown to party members in the distribution of rationed articles. Just as the ward boss of an American city or the prewar mayor of Dragalevtsy learned that gratitude prompts support or that favors done call for favors in return, so the Fatherland Front made good use of its opportunities. Some of its generosity served purely political ends. The mayor of Sofia, so the Dragalevtsy peasants said, gave one million leva at Christmas time to the *Septemvriche,* or National Children's Communist Organization. Opposition groups, of course, received no such largesse. 668 661

But many of the criticisms of pork-barrel politics were due to misunderstanding. The peasants of Dragalevtsy could usually procure no clothing coupons if they had wool at home, and most of them did have a small supply which they were allowed to keep. This amount was based on family size and any surplus was requisitioned by the government. Artisans and laborers, however, who had no sheep, who worked in factories or at their trade, received the clothing coupons, for that was the only way they had of obtaining wearing apparel. Wool and cotton, thread, and goods were still so scarce in both villages and cities that no one group was content with what it had, and peasants were inclined to ascribe whatever others received as due to favoritism rather than the merits of the case. The proof that wool was scarce was the relative inactivity of the carding and spinning *sedenki,* the working bees so popular among the women.

"Why don't you have *sedenki* now," I asked.

"We have no wool to work," was the plausible answer.

Communist party members who used their political standing for self-aggrandizement and enrichment were supposed to be severely dealt with by the party authorities. One story making the rounds in Dragalevtsy had done much to discredit the Communists with those in the opposition. Since living in a Balkan village is a great deal like 668 661 687

668 661 687 living in a goldfish bowl, it was not long before the peasants knew that almost a million leva (notice how rounded or approximate the numbers are in such stories) had disappeared from local public funds. There was no official explanation as to its whereabouts, but one Communist had become quite rich and built himself a house better than the village expected of him. Later he was expelled from the party, reputedly because of conversion of funds, but even this action did not restore the funds to the public treasury.

Unquestionably, a loyal supporter of the Fatherland Front was able at times to use his political connections for personal advantage. The peasants would have been surprised if this were not the case, for they philosophically said, "Whoever sticks his fingers in honey is apt to lick them."

207 668 Mention was made in the last chapter of the phenomenal increase in radio ownership since 1937. Now about every third home has a receiving set and is thus in contact with the propaganda line of the government-controlled broadcasting service. Listening to the radio had become a new recreational pattern for many people. Over and over again I asked them what programs they preferred. The men, perhaps because they deemed it the proper answer, often said that they listened to the news. Quite a few were quick to add, "It's nothing but lies though." Many of the women preferred the folk music, and the young people jazz. Long speeches claimed few listeners. The net effect of radio listening then was recreational, with some political influence exerted upon the devotees of the newscast. As yet, the radio had not become a channel for education or raising the standard of living. I wondered, too, just when it would, for the peasants had little hesitation in turning off the set if the program became too serious, and most educational programs under Communist leadership were inclined to be serious.

204 668 American and British influence was sufficiently strong to force the Fatherland Front officials to allow an opposition press. Although this press was beset with difficulties in 1945, it nevertheless became a vehement, at times vitriolic, critic of the regime in power. It took a strong pro-American, pro-British complexion, though never out-and-out anti-Russian. A good check on Agrarian claims of majority sup-

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port was the unquestioned popularity in Dragalevtsy of the *Green Banner*, the newspaper published by the opposition Agrarian group. As long as the opposition press continued to circulate throughout the country, the tried and trusted technique of one-sided interpretation could not be brought into full play. Schoolbooks could be rewritten, pamphleteering could be done in the Communist children's and youth organizations, but these activities were much less effective when other groups could print their versions to serve as antidotes. One-party control, such as the Fatherland Front wanted for Bulgaria, was authoritarian. It preferred to have no alternative opinions presented to the people, and felt that as long as it alone could tell the people what they ought to believe, the people would be well off, for they would be indoctrinated with the truth, as the Communist saw the truth.

Another weapon which the Communists hoped to use as a means of penetration was Pan-Slavism, especially among the Bulgarians. The members of the Red Army, however, instead of being missionaries of this mystic racial dogma, did it the greatest harm. Occupying armies seldom become popular, especially when the mass is held accountable for the sins of the few. The peasants were only too prone to fall into the error of the "lumping fallacy," and condemned all Russians on the basis of a few spectacular events which occurred in the village. One happening which Dragalevtsy peasants used in forming their attitude involved two peasant girls whom I had photographed as children several years before. Now that they were in their late teens they proved unusually attractive to two drunken Russian privates who tried to break into their house late one night. Although a noncommissioned officer came to order them away, these soldiers cursed him and kept on pounding against the door of the living-room. The door held fast, and they finally gave up and went away. Had they but known it, the lock had already been smashed; all they needed to do was to turn the knob and enter a room where the peasant family sat in mortal fear. The father knew that to fight for the honor of his daughters would have meant a bullet from a drunken soldier's pistol; the mother sat in prayer before the crude iconostas, while the girls cried softly at the thought of what seemed to be in store for them. In a village where immorality was frowned upon so strongly, this

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668 attempted assault was an experience which would be told and retold
186 generation after generation, with some such bitter moral at the end as "And those were our brother Slavs."

668 Perhaps the most important technique of control was the effective
626 play upon the fears of the people. Fearful people are a paralyzed people, and it was this creeping paralysis which was beginning to wear down the opposition and make possible Communism's eventual triumph. Sometimes events reached such a climax that fear was turned into action, but matters in December, 1945, were not reaching such a climax. Little by little the people were being made more fearful of the future, especially with the decline of British and American prestige. One never knew when the walls might have ears, or whom one could trust, or when one's home would be invaded and searched. One woman Communist spread a story about a neighbor's hoarding; he was twice arrested and his house searched three times, although the rumor was apparently unfounded. Grudges were sometimes "settled" when one of the parties tipped off the authorities to the failure of the other party to follow some unpopular regulation. Accompanying this fear was the belief that one would not have due protection of the law at a trial, since the new law was being written as cases came up, with little reference to prewar statutes or precedents. One was at the mercy of the court where the all-important question too often had become, "Did you or did you not fight against the Fascist German hordes?" Conceivably in the not-too-distant future the "sixty-four dollar question" might be, "Have you ever been sympathetic to Anglo-American interventionists and reactionaries?"*

When I asked my Communist acquaintances how they justified the interpretation of justice which I have been describing, they flashed back, as though well drilled: "But in America does the Negro or the poor man get justice? Don't the courts serve the interests of the rich? Here in Bulgaria our courts do not serve the interests of the privileged, but rather the good of the masses." I already knew that some of these Communist converts had been motivated by the highest idealism, that they felt they had a remedy for the economic and political evils of their country, and that any means they used to correct those evils would

* An observation made in 1946, which has become only too true in 1948.

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be justified in their opinion. They argued further that all social change was costly, and they firmly believed that the time was ripe for change, their kind of a change.

Many of them[1] felt confident of the future, but some qualified their anticipation by saying, "It all depends upon America and England. If we are left alone, we can work matters out. We want no interference." And as I reviewed the methods by which they attained their present dominant position nationally in the face of hostile opinion in many quarters, I could see that if left alone for a long enough period, they would succeed in instituting the changes they wanted, whatever might be the cost. They controlled the national government and could rely upon Russia for help whenever needed; they were making headway with the young people; they increasingly directed the chief decisions made by village councils and through these councils and secret police knew what was happening throughout the land; they had control over the radio and were biding their time until they could also control the press completely; education was a function of the national government; economic dependence of the peasants upon the local and national authorities was increasing, and there were both tangible and intangible rewards for Communist party membership; fears could be aroused or played down as the government desired, and courts had become not the servant of abstract justice but the instrument of the state.

The time element was of utmost importance. Before the Russian armies left Bulgarian soil upon the conclusion of the peace treaty, the Communists had to have everything well in hand or face the possibility that dissatisfied cliques in the old Bulgarian army could step in to throw the Communists out and set up a military dictatorship which, while anti-Russian, would certainly have few of the earmarks of the democracy known in the West. It would be a recrudescense of irredentist nationalism, and Bulgaria would be on sale to the highest bidder promising to keep the Russian bear at bay. Without the army the Agrarians, who had a realistic, well-thought-out program, would be powerless; but reliance upon the army for a long period would negate most of their plans and make them the bulwark of a dictatorship which they professed to abhor. Such was the unfortunate dilemma

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668 confronting anyone seeking a rational solution to the Balkan impasse back in 1945.

178 578 My visits to Dragalevtsy, however, were not for the purpose of involving myself in the weighty matters of Balkan politics. I simply wanted to see how the village had changed, but soon found that an understanding of political events was necessary to an interpretation of the present situation. This became further apparent when I discovered that the three most significant differences between 1937 and 1945 were heightened factionalism, an increased feeling of insecurity, and a shifting of the relative importance of village institutions. Each of these deserves further explanation.

668 178 578 The coming of Communism had fostered factionalism to a degree never before experienced in Dragalevtsy. That, in fact, was its chief sociological effect. During the times when political parties were flourishing with abandon in the late 1920's and early 1930's the competition between party members was more a recreational pursuit than serious political maneuvering. All parties had had considerable backing from their respective leaders in Sofia, and all to that extent were on a similar footing. With the coming of the Germans some villagers ardently supported Nazi ideology and considered Bulgaria fortunate to be allied with the Axis powers; others had their misgivings, but never to the point of splitting up the village on factional lines. Upon the formation of the opposition in 1945, matters were different. No longer was the political competition an internal affair alone, but was one in which outside powers took an active interest. The Communists openly boasted about the might of Russia and spoke with assurance of Russian support; those in the opposition took what comfort they could from British and American actions and speeches but could not claim unqualified aid.

The splitting up of the village into Communists and non-Communists had therefore caused a tear in the total social fabric. For example, children who belonged to the Fatherland Front organization —the *Septemvriche*—received many small favors from the state. Little *Septemvristi* were sent to conferences within Bulgaria and even to Yugoslavia where they performed for their neighbor Slavs. Children who did not belong because their parents disapproved were taunted

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by the others. They answered back, repeating many of the comments heard around the house, comments definitely unfavorable to Communism and its cause. So the bickering reached into the schoolhouse and the playground, and children early became conscious of political differences not of their own making. 668 178 578

With the young people, as already indicated, the division on the basis of political sympathy was even more marked. The Agrarian young people tended to associate with each other, and watched with dismay the active role that the members of the Communist youth group were playing in village life. Some enamoured couples, where each had differing political loyalties, disregarded political barriers in their devotion to each other, but when broaching the question of marriage to the parents often met stern disapproval. A girl's father would say, "I don't want my daughter marrying a Communist" or "You do what you want, but if you marry a Communist never come back to my house."

The controversy over politics extended also to the various "working groups" which had been such a basic part of village life in the past. A woman who was organizing a corn-hoeing group would invite only those whose political interests were similar. She knew that little work would be done in her fields if she got together women who differed over the present government.

At this stage of accommodation, therefore, factionalism was based on political differences and expressed itself in a separatism which seriously affected village life. People who differed politically simply stayed apart; where they had to mingle, such as on a bus, they made the best of it by teasing and horseplay which seemed to be all in fun but which often gave voice to deeply rooted emotions.

Accompanying the disagreements within the agricultural group itself were disagreements between the Agrarians and the artisans. The peasants of the opposition resented intensely the attempt on the part of the government[1] to classify them with "workers," or men who owned little or no land and who depended entirely upon some skill for a livelihood. The peasant in the past had felt superior, or at least claimed to be more favored in social position than the artisan such as the tailor, although envious of the "easy work" that the tailor had to 668 578 554 178

1. [The Communist government in 1945 - Analyst]

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668 578 554 178 do. Owing to the Communistic agitation in Dragalevtsy, lines were more sharply drawn between the peasants on the one hand and the artisans on the other. Most of the artisans had learned their trade in Sofia, had been subjected to city influences, and many of them had become acquainted with Communist ideas there before the war. Even Bai Milosh, the village patriarch so frequently mentioned in this account, had a son who had become an ardent Communist. This son was not the one who took over the management of field crops, nor the one responsible for the livestock. Instead he had become a cobbler. He thought of himself as a worker, whereas his brothers thought of themselves as farmers.

668 578 178 [888] Quarreling between the young and old also characterized the factionalism. Although the Agrarian young people opposed the Communists, they were certainly influenced by the actions of their more progressive or radical contemporaries. The older peasants who were opposed to the present regime emphasized time and time again the danger of having young people run the affairs of the land. This displacement of the aged rather than the indifference of Communists to God seemed to be causing the gravest concern to those who had been steeped in the traditional way of life.

668 178 626 But factionalism was not the only pronounced change which I noted. I found everywhere an insecurity which was foreign to the Dragalevtsy I had once known. The opposition supporters could be expected to feel insecure, for they had to face the possibility that Communism would carry the day. But even the Communists who were definitely in the good graces of the party were having many troubled moments. The wife of one Communist was active in the opposition, and when I asked him why he tolerated such political division in his family he simply laughed. I continued to question him: "Aren't you the boss in this family? Why do you let your wife have such independence?"

He then became deadly serious and sought to lead me out of my cloud of ignorance. "You see, it's this way. Suppose the Communists are overthrown. Where would I be then? But if my wife is active in the Agrarian group, she can then speak for me and get me out of trouble."

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But some of the peasants who turned Communists were having 668
their days of religious doubt. They asked quite frequently, "Can we 178
be Communists and still believe in God?" They voluntarily sent 626
their children to the priest's class in religion held in the schoolhouse. "And the Communist children know their lessons better than the children of the opposition," was the opinion of a member of the intelligentsia.

The ideas of many new converts to the Marxist doctrine had been [789]
rudely shaken the previous summer at the time of the church processional for rain. The drought had been devastating. Corn was drying up; pastures were turning brown. So a band of villagers, with some Communists who went along for old times' sake, accompanied the priest on a circuit of the fields. The boys carried the church relics and the priest walked faithfully along in his hot, black vestments. No rain came and the Communists thoroughly enjoyed scoffing at those who had started out with such bright hopes. Conditions grew worse and worse, so the religious leaders thought another processional in order. The whole performance was repeated, with Communists along again. This time the priest went up high on the mountainside, so as to include village properties not previously visited. His prayers were efficacious, for a shower which later turned to steady rain burst forth upon the band of villagers, wetting them to the skin before they could return to shelter in the village. The religious people thus had the last word when atheism was discussed.

The prevalent feeling of insecurity included more, however, than 668
beliefs and basic attitudes about religion and politics. It stemmed 178
also from the economic uncertainty which characterized the period. 626
Always lurking in the peasant's consciousness was the fear that his 423
holding, his precious acres, would be collectivized as was done in 829
Russia. It mattered not to him that his farming was inefficiently done or that such inefficiency was no solution for the overpopulation which characterized his land. He wanted no part of a great impersonal *kolkhoz* where in the long run he would become a worker instead of an owner, or where he would work land which he could not call his own. That to him was serfdom; it was not freedom. And discussions of these topics trailed off into many beside-the-point objections, which

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668 nevertheless seemed important to the peasant. I recall one such
178 discussion which dealt with the idea of a shortened work-week at the
626 factories. The peasants disapproved of the whole plan and used it
429 as a basis for condemning land collectivization because "We want to
829 be able to work as long as we want without having people tell us that we have to stop working."

Peasants were greatly confused, therefore, over the farm policies to be pursued in the next two or three years. They planned and schemed and talked endlessly about what they should plant, what they should do about their debts, or whether the aged fathers should distribute their land to their sons before they died. But always there was the great unknown of government policy which upset their calculations and kept them insecure.

668 Another important social change was occuring in the institutional
178 pattern of Dragalevtsy. In earlier chapters we noted how the en-
596 croachment of the state was making considerable impact upon the traditional familistic patterns, while economic life was becoming more commercialized and religious activities were declining in importance. The coming of the Communists had begun to weaken the family ties even further, for the Fatherland Front had given votes to all women and had thus attacked the dogma of male supremacy; it had honored the young at the expense of the aged; and it had turned brother against brother as the struggle for control grew more bitter. As the representative of the central government, the Fatherland Front was affecting an even larger area of life than the prewar regime did, especially when its economic regulations and its threat to the hallowed traditional system of landownership.

668 Another disturbing effect was the substitution of Moscow as
771 the center of the universe, for the Communist adherents at least, when
178 formerly Dragalevtsy or perhaps Sofia by courtesy was thought to be
829 the center. These innovations of the present government had done much to prejudice it in the eyes of the people, who made decisions not upon the basic issues which the government was striving to champion, but resisted blindly and perhaps fanatically simply because the new regime spelled the end of their way of life. As they realized this, some of the peasants turned more and more to the church, the institu-

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tion which had kept Bulgarian nationality alive through the centuries and had become the champion of an independent Bulgaria in days gone by. In Dragalevtsy church attendance had increased and more attention was paid to the forms and ceremonies, although fasting was not gaining any in popularity. Nor were the peasants too trustful of Archbishop Stefan, the politically minded head of their church. But they knew that the church and the family served as mutual supports and that if one suffered the other suffered too. Government which was once tolerated as a necessary evil now had become an active menace to be combated whenever possible. The means of struggling against the government were inadequate, but the peasants had patience and said that they would bide their time. But as they bided their time many of them died and were replaced by men and women who had grown up under the tutelage of the Fatherland Front, who had forgotten about the days of village elders, of large family groups, and no longer reverenced out-of-date superstitions or valued quaintness in contrast to that which was modern.

A new Dragalevtsy was thus being born. Change was nothing new to the village, but this time changes were occurring so fast that the old way of life could no longer absorb the impact of strange traits and differing social values. The transition period was proving painful for those who still wanted to live in the past. Whether it held promise for those gazing toward the future depended upon the decisions or indecisions of men sitting around conference tables in countries thousands of miles away.

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RETROSPECT, 1948

000 As soon as I began to understand what was happening in Dragalevtsy I knew that I was in touch with something tremendously important. Here, in a Bulgarian village which I had once known intimately, I was encountering the same peasant reactions which I had found in many parts of Yugoslavia, a country which also was experiencing political and social upheaval. The Yugoslavs had a National Liberation Front under Tito which paralleled Bulgaria's Fatherland Front under Georgi Dimitrov. Throughout Serbia, in Dalmatia, Croatia, and parts of the Vojvodina I heard Yugoslav peasants complaining about their new regime in the same overtones and undertones as did my Dragalevtsy friends.

What was there about the Communist-dominated governments that the peasants did not like? It was not until I had left the Balkans, and was weatherbound in Vienna, that I had time to formulate the reasons. Some of these have already been mentioned in the discussion of postwar changes in Dragalevtsy, but they can be accurately applied to those other areas in the Balkans where landed peasants are the rule.

● 668 423 471 The Communists are aware of the peasant's hunger for more land and have instituted land reforms to bring about a greater mass ownership of the farming areas, on the principle that "the land belongs to those who till it." But in the case of those who have land, even in quantities small enough not to be affected by the reform laws, the governments have given little assurance that the land will remain private property for an indefinite period. Constitutions guarantee this, to be sure, but constitutions mean little to many authoritarian regimes. The greatest insecurity in the rural Balkans today, as previously pointed out in the case of Dragalevtsy, is the ever-present threat that one's land may sooner or later be taken over by the state and operated as a government holding. Part of the Communist policy may be the promotion of this uncertainty on the theory that insecure people are more easily controlled. But when one tampers

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with a relationship as deep-rooted as that of the Balkan peasant to his land, he is also creating the seeds out of which a spontaneous resistance movement could grow. There is little evidence of collectivization at present, but the peasants are not convinced that it is not just around the corner. 668 423 471

Then too, the Balkan peasants, especially in the settled agricultural areas, have not taken kindly to Communism because they characterize it as an urban movement. When seasoned Communists try to converse with peasants about the merits of the Russian system their factory-oriented dialectic falls flat. Nor have they developed an agricultural vocabulary with which to communicate intelligibly with the rural people. The more the Balkan Communists talk, the more the peasants are convinced of the urban orientation of the new government. They consider it anti-Agrarian and anti-peasant. In an attempt to overcome this reserve to their program the Communists organize deputation teams of artisans who spend Sundays out in carefully selected villages helping the peasants repair their wagons, mend their pots and pans, or they even bring along a corps of barbers to cut the villagers' hair. The spirit behind such a move is to have the artisans show by their deeds, "You see, we are your friends. We're all brother Bulgarians [or Yugoslavs, as the case may be]." But it takes more than this to sell such a radical program as Communism to the capitalistic-minded peasant. 668 369 829

The rural villagers elsewhere in the Balkans, as well as in Dragalevtsy, resent the term worker. Newspapers studiously attempt to get the worker ideology accepted by the rural citizens, but the social statuses of the peasant and the worker are such that the government is asking the former to step down a rung, in the peasant's estimation. So Communism is thought to represent a backward rather than a forward move, and is related to the all-important matter of land: the peasant generally possesses it, whereas the worker is usually landless.

Many analyses of the Balkan problems play up rightly the role of the church, whether it be Eastern Orthodox or Roman Catholic, in the peasants' lack of enthusiasm for Communism. Others stress the generations-old nationality antipathies which have some influence. Certainly Pan-Slavism is not paying high dividends in rural areas in 668 641 186

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spite of heroic efforts by Russian ballet and athletic troupes who tour the provinces of all the Balkan lands. Other writers seek to show that modern Communism is merely a fulfillment of the traditional Communism of the zadruga, but they fail to point out that the zadruga was built around the family and land owned by that family, whereas modern Communism is centered around an impersonal state and ideology. To shift their loyalties from the family to such a state or to replace their religion with a new ideology is asking a great deal of the relatively inelastic peasant mass. State loyalties in the past were built upon joining the army and fighting, even to death, when one's country was threatened, but in times of peace one returned to the native village and had as little as possible to do with the national government after that. But the new turn of events in the Balkans seeks to whip up enthusiasm for the government, morning, noon, and night, when all that the peasants ask is "Please leave us alone."

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The future seems to hold little peace for the landed peasants. Russia is in the Balkans to stay. Granting no American armed intervention, only some great upheaval in the heart of Russia itself could weaken the grip of the present National Front governments to the point that the opposition in the Balkan countries could take over the control. Given enough time, the Communists can coerce compliance and can train up a new generation which would enthusiastically repudiate the past, thereby consolidating the Communist position.

The process will, however, not be one-sided. The peasants of the Balkans will in turn influence Communism and indirectly help fashion a type which, like Chinese Communism, is somewhat different from that imported from the Kremlin. (Since this was originally written, Tito's failure to push the collectivization of the Yugoslav peasants has gotten him into trouble with Moscow.)

Americans then must more and more regard the area as Russian-occupied, a conquest of war, which the Reds will continue to dominate because of their advantageous diplomatic and geographic position. Out of their occupation Russian sympathizers have argued that two decided gains would come: the lessening of the nationality and ethnic differences, which have heretofore been such a fertile field of ex-

668 on as the Bulgarian Workers' for Communist Party. Until the creation of the Bolshevik state in Russia, which threw its full support [162] behind the Communist organizations all over the world, the number of Bulgarian Communists, in spite of all efforts, never exceeded 5,000—less than 0.1 per cent of the entire population. Aware that parliamentary means could advance them no further, they resorted, under Moscow's guidance, to the only alternative with some probability of success: the forceful overthrow of the constitutional government. Yet, in 1919, 1923 and 1925, when three desparate attempts to seize power were made, the Bulgarian Communists lacked support by either the Red Army from outside, or infiltrated agents from within the government, so that their failure was complete. The only important result of those Communist experiments was that the Bulgarians and their "working class" were enabled to understand clearly the real intentions of Communism 30 years ago.

The preceding remarks seemed necessary in order to substantiate the conclusion that the pre-Communist Bulgarian reality proved to be an awkward ground for any Communist ac- [162] tivity. Even the Bulgarian workers (about 160,000 before the war) who were the primary Communist target did not find any particular appeal in Communist ideology and promises because there were no relevant reasons for dissatisfaction and many reasons for repudiating the Communist alternative. No risk is taken in assuming that, were it not for Bulgaria's invasion by the Red Army and the simultaneously staged Communist coup d'état, of September, 1944, Communism would never have taken hold in Bulgaria.[4]

[4] It is not well known that the Soviet Union declared war on Bulgaria when the latter had broken with Nazi Germany, had reestablished a democratic government, and was waiting for the armistice's signature with the Western Allies, whose attitude, at the time, is still

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105 The Bulgarian case seems particularly apropos for such a study. Unlike Czarist Russia or the countries of Asia, pre-Communist Bulgaria had developed a relatively free and advanced society. Within the framework of a most liberal and democratic constitution, of a social structure without any noticeable class differences and of a predominantly agricultural economy based on independent small landholdings, Bulgaria had produced a social legislation among the [162] most progressive of our time. Native intelligentsia and labor alike represented only about 20 per cent of the population and were nothing more than recent offspring of the nation's backbone—the peasantry—so that no logical conflict of interests had a chance 466 to develop in Bulgaria. Labor, in particular, 461 had attained, as early as the twenties, the status of free labor with all necessary requisites, such as freedom of professional organization, free collective bargaining and impartial settlement of labor disputes, the right to strike, freedom of choosing and changing job, and a firm legal protection, including social security. In fact, by 1924, Bulgaria had incorporated into her domestic legislation all recommendations of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations.[3]

● 668 In such a harmonious environment, Communism could not and did not have any chance of success. Still, Communist attempts to artificially create a "social problem" and exploit it for their own purposes go way back to the turn of the century, when, in 1903, a small group of Lenin's followers split from the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party and formed a radical-revolutionary nucleus, known later

113 [3] For detailed background information and source material, see author's study *Trade Unions and Labor Legislation in Bulgaria (1878-1953)* (New York: Mid-European Studies Center, 1953).

the disaster which followed and which made him then declare that his „policy had gone bankrupt". 665

Just as the despotism of Stambulov brought into being the Socialist party, so the oppressive measures adopted by the Radoslavov, or Liberal party, caused while it was in power during the years 1899/1901, the formation of the Agrarian. The Radoslavov Government unable to raise a foreign loan attempted to introduce anew the tithe in 1900. The country had suffered from a series of bad harvests during the preceding years, and the peasantry was expecting to make up for its losses by the abundant harvest of 1900 when it learnt to its consternation that the government had decided to divest it of the fruits of its labour. Incited by the Opposition parties the peasantry rose in several districts and the Government had recourse to violence in order to crush the outbreaks. The disorders which ensued caused such indignation that the Cabinet had to resign. Having thus taken cognizance of its force, the peasantry started to organise itself under the guidance of certain teachers, like D. Draghiev, Tsanko Bakalov and Zabunov. Despised, exploited, imposed upon by the political parties, which only thought of the peasantry when elections were approaching in order to wrest from them their votes throught the most misleading promises and ensnaring artifices, the peasantry attempted to free itself from this political and economic servitude by creating an organisation which would defend its rights. At first it was in the form of a strictly professional or syndicalist organisation, aiming at the defence of the interests of the rural population, and it did not at all aim at securing office. Their desiderata were: the curtailment of the growing powers of the Crown, retrenchment and economy in all branches of the administration, the disbanding of the army, the creation in its stead of a militia and the relinquishment of Ferdinand's Imperialistic policy. So long as the move- 665 668

665 668 ment was in control of Draghiev, a man of the most austere morality, and leading the life of a Christian apostle, the agrarian movement could be regarded as the most hopeful portend in the public life of the country, as it seemed capable of regenerating the body politic by the eventual dominating position which the Agrarian party would have obtained owing to its vast numerical preponderance. Draghiev, and some of those who seconded him, like St. Montchev, were protestants, and lived a life of Spartan simplicity and of exemplary virtue, which enabled Draghiev to exert, owing to the respect and prestige he enjoyed, a strict discipline on his followers. Unfortunately when the world war broke out, the Entente Powers attempted to suborn some of the Agrarian deputies by commissioning them to buy up the wheat supply on their behalf. The cupidity of these peasant deputies having been aroused, it continued to be exploited by the then Radoslavov Government, with the object of enlisting their support. Those among the Agrarians who had had dealings with the Entente agent, Des Closiéres, were threatened with being courtmartialed if they would not agree to support the Government, while if they did not show themselves recalcitrant, they were offered opportunities for participating in profitable speculations. Intimidation and cupidity thus brought about disintegration in the party. The Spartan Draghiev refused to tolerate these manifest infractions of the moral principles and rigorous discipline he had imposed on the party, and finding himself in a minority seceded and established a new party. Though many of the inculpated members offered to make amends, Draghiev was adamant and refused to readmit them to the fold, declaring that after their moral degradation they could no longer represent the Agrarian organisation and that their fall should be judged by the Party Congress at the end of the war.

A party tribunal was in fact set up, and it passed severe sentences on those inculpated. Had the verdicts been upheld, the Agrarian party, cleansed of all tainted elements might have proved a decisive factor in regenerating public life in Bulgaria. Unfortunately Stambuliiski, the former secretary of the party, who had been imprisoned during the war, and who was making capital out of his incarceration by assuming the aureole of a martyr, thought it opportune to make use of his influence to mitigate these sentences in order to gain the support of the incriminated members and of their sympathisers, and oust Draghiev and his adherents from the party. This unhappily was achieved, and the Agrarian party having thrown overboard its moral ballast, rapidly degenerated into an organisation of professional office-seekers and demagogues, who while in office outdid all their predecessors in the committal of excesses and abuses. All right-thinking men in Bulgaria are at one in admitting that the Agrarian regime of Stambuliiski completed the work of demoralisation introduced by Ferdinand, and that the havoc and devastation it has caused are such that the work of moral recuperation now requires superhuman energies if it is to be tackled with some chance of success. When after Stambuliiski's death, Draghiev was approached and invited by the Agrarians to re-organise the party, he blankly refused to have anything further to do with them, declaring in their faces that they were:

"Without Christian and civic consciousness, that they placed above all their personal ambitions, interests and happiness, and that if Stambuliiski was gone, new adventurers were ready to spring up from among their ranks rendering his immixture in their affairs superfluous."

The autocratic regime of Stambulov brought into being in 1890 the Socialist party, the founders of which were Sakuzov and Blagoev. They initiated a spirited campaign

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against the dictatorial methods in vogue at the time, and rallied a large number of intellectuals around them. The doctrine of Karl Marx, however, was not appropriate to Bulgarian conditions owing to the lack of an industrial proletariat. In its absence, the Socialists attempted to recruit adherents from among the State functionaries. The class which showed the greatest proneness to support this movement was the teaching profession which embraced the new doctrine with enthusiasm and became fanatical votaries of this new gospel. These well meaning but uncritical enthusiasts in their zeal to spread their new faith met with the stolid opposition and incredulity of the peasant mass, among whom they lived, and to whom these strange new doctrines appeared more than heretical. In order to make these tenets acceptable to the mass it was thought that the best method was to undermine existing beliefs and traditions, and the teachers thus began sowing the seeds of disintegration instead of working for the awakening and consolidation of the national consciousness. They heaped ridicule and abuse on the Church, the State and such „bourgeois" conceptions as duty and morality, and thereby contributed to arouse the suspicion and hatred of the peasantry for all intellectuals. Even among the urban working classes, the influence of the Socialists was nefarious, for they endeavoured to indoctrinate their supporters with a savage hatred for the bourgeois, denouncing the present order and holding it up to execration as the only obstacle to the realisation of the messianic conditions which were to prevail on the advent of the Socialist State. The adoption of such wild beliefs by an uncritical and uneducated mass had on the whole a disintegrating effect on the nation, and though most of the leaders of the Socialist movement hold leading places among the elite of the Bulgarian intelligentsia, they were too far removed above

the level of the mass of their supporters to make themselves understood. They rather chose to leave the task of guiding their partisans to the more demagogically inclined among them, who excelled in the art of invective, and abuse [1] while they themselves reserved their exertions for parliamentary work. In this their activity was both commendable and fruitful, and their criticisms mostly opportune, and helped to raise the general level of the debates in the Sobranye. Sakuzov and his colleagues, Dr. Djidrov, Assen Tsankov, and Yannulov have equally distinguished themselves in the literary field, especially Dr. Djidrov who is the editor of one of the leading Bulgarian reviews on economics. Other prominent adherents of the party were Pastuhov and Kazazov, the latter having played a prominent part in the coup d'état of June 9, 1923 and having since persistently worked for a rapprochement between his country and Yugoslavia, owing to which he has now been fittingly appointed Bulgarian Minister at Belgrade. Long before the suppression of the parliamentary regime in Bulgaria, dislocation set in among the ranks of the Socialists and its most prominent members seceded from the party, which was weakened to such an extent that it practically ceased to exert any influence on politics. Already in 1903, a cleavage had taken place in the party and the more doctrinaire partisans seceded to form the group of the so-called „Narrow" socialists under Blagoev, and who gradually merged themselves with the communists. Their influence from every point

[1] This explains how campaigns of slander and diffamation against political opponents who were on the whole respectable, were often indulged in by the Socialist party, though they often ended to the clear injury of the initiators. The most resounding one, was the electoral campaign against Prof. P. Stoyanov, a radical candidate, when the Socialists did not hesitate to publish on the eve of the election a forged letter purporting to be his, giving him no time to dispel the imputations levelled at him.

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of view was disastrous, for instead of lending their support to the more progressive elements in the country, they sided with the most disreputable, in order to enhance disorder and dissatisfaction and thereby hasten the advent of the proletarian revolution.

"The worse, the better for us", seemed to have been their motto. The impact of these advanced doctrines on half-cultured and uncritical minds has been most detrimental to the latter, They consider themselves as outright enemies of the community within which they live and they work for its destruction instead of for its advancement, and this forces the authorities to deal drastically with these fanatics. Their ranks were swollen by a large proportion of the teaching profession and of the lower grades of public functionaries. In the revolutionary outbreak of September 1923, over 1000 teachers joined the revolutionary bands. M. D. Kazazov, who for a short time acted as Minister of Railways, declared in the Sobranye on February 27, 1925 that prior to the revolutionary outbreak of September 1923, the railways and the telegraphs were in complete control of the communist party and that some 700 functionaries had to be dismissed from these State departments owing to their fanaticism which rendered them unreliable. Many among the teachers, and even women teachers, are fanatical converts of communism. One often hears of teachers who forbid their pupils to read the works of the poet Vazov, as being too patriotic, or who make blasphemous discourses to the students. One should not feel surprised at the astounding spread of Communism in Bulgaria, because all idealistically minded young people have nothing else to turn to. The corruption, venality and debasement of the political parties repelled all but the most prosaic. The only other focus of attraction, the Radical party, abstained from all misleading propaganda, and instead of holding out the

lure of an early advent to power, openly prepared for a long peregrination in the wilderness, which was enough to benumb the enthusiasm of the less intrepid. The intensive propaganda carried on by the Russian Bolsheviki, the close relations existing between Bulgarian Communist leaders and their Russian colleagues[1], the similarity of the language, and the immense influence which Russian literature has exerted on the Bulgarian intelligentsia for generations, makes the Bulgarians the most promising adepts of Bolshevism. Except for a mere handful of the well-off, all the rest of the people are either fervently hoping for the advent of Bolshevism or indifferent to its coming. They are convinced that the present system has brought only disillusion; Bolshevism, even if it did not improve matters could hardly make them worse, and it would certainly bring in its wake a much needed relief, that o the emancipation of a third of the Bulgarian people from the intolerable foreign servitude it has been placed under. The existing 'Bourgeois' regime has no countervailing attraction to offer. Maladministration, crushing taxation, and exploitation, not only by the local pillars of the bourgeoisie, but also by the representatives of the Western States. French bondholders extort from the starving Bulgarian peasant five times more for what he owes them than they are permitted to exact from their own co-nationals. And this crying injustice is complacently looked upon by the League of Nations, which equally tolerates the persecution and victimisation of the Bulgarian minorities incorporated in the adjoining Balkan States, despite the Treaties which

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[1] One of the moving spirits of the Russian revolution was the Bulgarian Rakovski. The Russian *Pravda* recently affirmed that there were over 600 Bulgarians occupying responsible posts in the Russian administration among whom may be cited, Stomaniakov, assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Telalov, adviser of the Soviet Minister in China, Peitchev and Petrunov, secretaries of the Soviet Legations in Paris and London etc.

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665 guarantee certain elementary human rights, the enjoyment
668 of which the League of Nations has never attempted to secure for these minorities.

At the elections of 1931, in spite of the fact that the Communist party had been outlawed and the endless persecution it was exposed to, yet it succeeded in sending 12% of the deputies elected to the Sobranye camouflaged as working men.

The extreme wretchedness of the bulk of the nation and the mass of destitute refugees have created new foci for Communist proselytism, and the country is to-day literally honeycombed with Bolshevism which only awaits a favourable opportunity to break out. Until quite recently, Communism was openly professed to be the coming form of government, and both peasant families and bourgeois, hastened alike to enroll officially some of their members in this party in order to secure an eventual protector on its advent which was considered imminent.

FERDINAND AT THE HELM

661 Having with the support of the united Opposition
648 got rid of the man who brough him to Bulgaria and who consolidated his throne, and having in turn made use of its services in order to reconcile himself with Russia, Ferdinand hastened to sow discord and suspicion among the members of the Stoilov Cabinet, so as to get rid of them now that with their help he had achieved his purpose. He thus intrigued against Gueshov, Madjarov and Stoilov, complaining alternatively to each of his other colleagues. using insinuations, slander and insult.[1]

In 1899 Grekov was entrusted with the formation of a new Ministry with the support of the Radoslavovists who far outnumbered his adherents. At the elections the Rado-

[1] Cf. V. T. Veltchev's: „Pages of our new political history".

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665 661 which no one could further trust. One of the leading Sofia newspapers, the *Mir*, wrote on May 12, 1934 :

„In Bulgaria there is no longer any State authority. At the head of the State are puny uncultured people who destroy and are incapable of constructing. And all these petty personalities are asking for more offices, more ministerial porfolios, more public funds for their political friends. Our Government is not a democracy, but purely and simply an organisation of marauding bands. The patient and submissive citizen asks how long will this state of affairs last?

•668 701 Against this canker of demoralisation the reserve officers, the only organised and patriotic force in the country, had several times protested and drawn the attention of the Government. They dispatched a deputation on January 18, 1933 to the Prime Minister recommending the adoption of certain measures which would curtail existing abuses. At the end of April 1933, they held a congress and they passed a resolution appealing to all men of goodwill to group themselves together and form a non-party government which might extricate the country from the bog in which it was wallowing. In another congress held at the end of 1933, they again insisted on the formation of a non-party Cabinet in order that the people might be saved from the prevailing demoralisalion which had set in among the political parties. These reminders however, had been disregarded.

When in May 1934, the Radical member of the Cabinet was so rudely unhorsed by his colleagues, it became apparent that the Mushanov Cabinet was at the end of its tether. There were only two political forces powerful enough to replace it. The Agrarians, and Tsankov's Democratic Entente. They were utterly hostile to one another and each intent on excluding its rival from all participation in office. The advent of either to power meant the outbreak of a civil war, more bitter than that which had been waged in 1925. To prevent this calamity, the

military decided much against their will to assume control of State affairs. This was done by the coup d'ètat of May 19, 1934, which met with the apparent approval of the bulk of the population, heartily sick of the disgusting squabbles of the political parties. 668 701

The military had warned in time the politicians that they should sink their quarrels and attend to the proper governing of the country; they had insisted on the necessity of the civilians combining to form a decent government, and seeing that their objurgations remained unheeded they had taken at last the task in their own hands. Even when they assumed power and in contrast with the politicians, they manifested no anxiety to fill the public offices with their adherents; they still appealed to certain civilians who enjoyed the reputation of being honest and capable men and entrusted them with responsible positions in the Government. The new Cabinet presided over by Kimon Gheorghiev had a distinctly civilian appearance, the military contented themselves with back seats, but they kept vigilant and alert and for once the rusty State machine began to function at a pace it had not experienced for years. In a manifesto to the people, drawn up in concise and blunt terms, the Government made known the reasons for which the army had decided to act, and exposed the programme it was intent on applying. The Government had learnt from the experiment of Tsankov that it was futile to seek the fusion of political parties in order to work with their support and by prescribed parliamentary methods; it therefore proceeded to dissolve both the Chamber and the political parties, declaring that the latter had outlived their usefulness. It made it known that it contemplated working out a scheme for the creation of a corporative Parliament in which all professions would be represented as well as certain political currents, but this was a matter for the future and in the meanwhile 668 642 701

668 642 701 the Cabinet would govern by decrees. The Gheorghiev Cabinet fully justified the hopes placed in it. Never since its liberation did Bulgaria have such and efficient government; the reforms, improvements and innovations accomplished were most commendable and efficacious, and for this reason when its resignation was announced on January 22, 1935 the news caused deep disillusion and painful surprise to all those who had Bulgaria's well-being at heart.

668 701 General Zlatev, the new Premier, was Minister of War in the Gheorghiev Cabinet; in a public speech delivered on February 24, 1935, while affirming that the programme of the Government remained identical with that proclaimed in the manifesto of May 19, he explained some of the reasons which had brought about his predecessor's resignation. According to him, his predecessors had somewhat swerved from the wishes of the army which had set them in power. Instead of prosecuting and suppressing indiscriminately all Macedonian organisations they had dissolved only the Michailovist wing (alleged to be subsidised by Italy) while the Protogerovist section (pro-Yugoslav) was allowed full liberty of action M. Kimon Gheorghiev was alleged to have sought inordinate powers for himself, wishing to wield an authority like that of Signor Mussolini! For this purpose he had demanded that certain prerogatives of the Crown should be curtailed These views had hurt the loyalist feelings of the army which was profoundly attached to Tsar Boris, and it had therefore decided on the Cabinet's reconstruction as a measure likely to cement the unity of the army which was threatened by the enunciation of such views. Those who know M. Kimon Gheorghiev and his colleagues, all of whom are distinguished by their extreme modesty have some difficulty in believing that either he, or any of his collaborators aspired or contemplated to don the mantle of a dictator. What they de-

sired was to restrain such powers as the Crown possessed which had rendered its intervention often disastrous in the past, as had been the case for example on June 29, 1913[1]. It is with misgivings therefore that friends of Bulgaria have seen her drop these trusty pilots who have been quite gratuitously charged with fostering disunity in the army[2].

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[1] The desire to abrogate such prerogatives of the Crown as that of disposing of all promotions and appointments in the army, and of nominating the war Minister, was a thoroughly democratic conception, for Tsar Ferdinand had largely abused of these privileges and had rendered the exercise of democracy illusory.

The breed of reptilian personalities which unfortunately abounds in Bulgaria and to which the consolidation af a regime, like that of K. Gheorghiev, spells disaster, has done its utmost to poison the mind of Tsar Boris against the promoters of such a liberal scheme, and especially against Colonel Damian Veltchev, to whose courage and abnegation he largely owes his maintenance on the throne, for it must not de forgotten that Colonel D. Veltchev as one of the chief organisers of the coup d'état of June 9, 1923 which averted the proclamation of a republic by Stambuliiski.

That the retention of such rights by the Crown is a dangerous weapon becomes obvious from the fact that in October 1935 some 80 capable officers were forcibly retired, for no other reason save that of being suspected of sympathising with Colonel D. Veltchev and his colleagues.

The breaking of the careers of so many promising young officers is not likely to promote the unity which Bulgarians are vainly striving to attain; on the contrary, such arbitrary measures are likely to gravely compromise the popularity which the Crown has hitherto enjoyed and nullify one of the few centripetal forces which so far have helped to bind the nation together.

[2] To all appearances the brief spell of decent government ushered in by M. K. Gheorghiev and his colleagues will remain a unique episode in Bulgarian history and future Bulgarian poets will probably celebrate its memory after the style of Byron's effusions on Miltiades:

The tyrant of the Chersonese
Was freedom's best and bravest friend
That tyrant was Miltiades!
Oh! that the present hour would lend
Another despot of the kind!
Such chains as his were sure to bind".

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Unity and concord unhappily are not the distinguishing virtues of the Bulgarians, and they are not likely to be fostered by the elimination of such devoted and courageous men as M. Kimon Gheorghiev's colleagues from office. It was rumoured that Colonel Veltchev, the able supporter and adviser of the former Cabinet, aimed at dispensing with the monarchy, (this was a deliberate lie, for the new Constitution which was being prepared provided for its maintenance) that the older officers resented this and that with their aid Tsar Boris had been able to turn the tables, taking advantage of the unfavourable report of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations on the financial reforms of the Government. Whatever the intimate wishes of Colonel Damian Veltchev, former director of the military academy, and one of the most intelligent, chivalrous, and progressive officers in the Bulgarian army, it is certainly not he who can be accused of sowing disharmony in the ranks of the army. Some six years ago when he was forced to resign from his post, he published an open letter in which he made it clear that certain army circles were intent on doing away with him. This letter created a sensation. The Sofia Press at the time (October 1929) declared that:

„The facts exposed profoundly revolted the public. No one could have suspected that behind the curtains such disgusting and black intrigues could be carried on in Bulgaria, and that even if only a fourth of what had been divulged were true, the letter constituted a crushing condemnation for a community which could not guarantee security to its distinguished members".

When this document is recollected it would appear that the older officers reared in the school of Tsar Ferdinand and most of whom had not been asked to participate in the „coup d'état" of May 19, because of their participation in that of Prof. A. Tsankov had proved the undoing of his movement, resented the independence shown by their younger colleagues, and had engineered

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a cabal by which they succeeded in removing them from power. The principie of hierarchy and military discipline which had apparently been infringed on May 19, 1934 especially since this „coup" was carried out without considering the wishes of Tsar Boris, the supreme head of the army, was thus vindicated and restored. But whether unity will be promoted by such methods in the army remains to be seen. For there is another point of cleavage; Colonel Veltchev favoured a policy of reconciliation with Yugoslavia and was supported by the junior officers, as well as by the organisation of the non-commissioned officers of the reserve, while the older officers sided with General Vulkov, of rather sinister fame, former minister in the Tsankov Cabinet, and later minister in Rome, who is held to be a favourite of the Court and headed the pro-Italian wing of the army. The fact that he was dismissed from his post at Rome on the accession to power of the Gheorghiev Cabinet is indicative of the existing tension between the two groups into which the military are divided. Unity and harmony seem to be foreign to the mentality of the Bulgarians; there must always be some disunity and scission; as of old, the political parties were split into Russophiles and Austrophiles, so now there are slowly evolving pro-Italian and pro-Yugoslav currents into the vortex of which both the army and the Macedonian organisation are being steadily drawn.[1] These senior officers are, as may be expected, rather of too conservative tendencies, and one may, question the advisability for a little country like Bulgaria embaking on an intensely nationalistic educational programme as had been decided upon at this belated hour. The utility of such methods is disputable even for large States like Germany; but for small

[1] It is fortunate indeed for Bulgaria that at the time of writing Italy and Yugoslavia seem to be composing their senseless quarrel so that they will cease fomenting disunity in Bulgaria.

668 countries like Bulgaria the adoption of such an outgrown policy may prove suicidal. Dictatorship aims at achieving unity and submission by appealing not to reason, but to sentiment, hence the praise of nationality and the fostering of patriotism which is one of the most powerful sentiments. But the Bulgarians are an unemotional folk, and the attempt to play on their feelings will probably miscarry. They can only be won over by more positive performances and the certainty of an impending improvement of their lot, which at this time of crisis is altogether a more complicated and difficult task, which may well strain beyond measure any dictatorship. It is admissible that every dictatorship which wishes to perpetuate itself is confronted with the problem of remoulding the mentality of its subject population and adjusting it to the regime under which it is to live. If it can not turn out men fit for its purposes, confiding in its ideals, approving in its methods, and capable of responding enthusiastically to its exhortations, it will collapse for lack of men willing and apt to work under it. But such men have to be *grown* and they need a special environment in which they can be carefully nurtured. It is not by such antidotes that the all pervading Bolshevik virus will be combated. Those who believe that Bulgaria, being a country of smallholders, has nothing to fear from communism are ignorant of the profound transformation which has lately happened. One of the most serious Sofia newspapers, the *Mir*, was writing as follows on August 24, 1933:

„Is it not true that 30°/₀ of our people is clearly bolshevised and that a large part of the remainder has no faith and no guiding principles and does not know how to think and how to act?

At the municipal elections held in Sofia in September 1932 out of a total poll of 47,823; 16,000 votes were recorded in favour of the Communists who remain in spite of all the persecution they have been subjected to, the

only disciplined force outside the army. And the communist conspiracies and cells which are almost daily discovered among all layers of Bulgarian society, are convincing proofs that communism is a theory which exerts an irresistible attraction for this long suffering people. An effective antidote to this doctrine is not conservatism, but an enlightened liberal policy which would release the community from the restrictive legacies and entanglements of the past. Such a forward looking policy was the one inspiring the colleagues of Kimon Gheorghiev who constituted a group of public-minded men, courageous enough to break with tradition, and capable of creating common interests with Bulgaria's western neighbour to replace the separate interests which had hitherto divided the two States. They tried to release Bulgaria from the crippling tradition of national sovereignty, from the economic exploitation of her parasitic industrialists and from the strangulation of her crushing and inelastic debts. Vested interests, local and foreign, leagued themselves to plot their overthrow. But Bulgaria is at the cross-roads, the path which she has just engaged herself in leads backwards to the past. A living society cannot afford to live on the past, it has to face new situations, it must evolve new ways of thinking, forge new instruments for new struggles, it has to adapt itself to new circumstances otherwise it is apt to go under. If Bulgaria wishes to go forward and ahead she must retrieve her steps and stride along the road indicated by Kimon Gheorghiev and his colleagues, or choose the only alternative course, the broad avenue leading to Bolshevism. 668

Since the above was written owing to the lack of unity among the officer corps, their attempt at reform missed fire. General Zlatev, having resorted to the high-handed measure of arresting Colonel K. Gheorghiev and 642

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[For a discussion of Bulgarian political activities in Macedónia in 1911, and Serb-Bulgar relations concerning the Macedonian question, see E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, category 116, pp. 131-134]

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After

becoming premier in October, 1919, Stambolisky's first task was that of signing the peace terms drawn up by the victorious Allies. 728

The Treaty of Neuilly, November 27, 1919, reduced Bulgaria to a smaller area than it had held before the First Balkan War of 1912 and imposed new burdens. Bulgaria lost the Aegean coast (Western Thrace) to Greece, southern Dobruja to Romania, and strips of land on the west to Yugoslavia. The army was limited to a total of 20,000. Reparations amounting to $450,000,000 were to be paid in thirty-seven years, beginning in 1921. The existence of Bulgarian minorities in all the neighboring states furnished a basis for revisionism which steadily grew, particularly after the rise of fascism throughout Europe in the thirties.[2] The provision for an exchange of populations with Greece greatly heightened the volume of refugees who streamed into Bulgaria, adding to the political ferment and economic burdens of the country. In these and other ways, the settlement exacerbated conditions under which radicalism throve. [131] [701] [668] [167]

Stambolisky won a commanding position in the parliamentary elections of March, 1920, and proceeded to ride roughshod over both the middle class and conservative parties on the right and the Communists on the left. He instituted a number of reforms, including a land law designed to break up the crown lands and larger estates, the imposition of a heavy income tax, and the establishment of a compulsory labor service which in the first four years of operation secured the equivalent of five million wage days of work for the Ministries of Public Works and Railways. In foreign policy he sought to fulfill the treaties and to effect a reconciliation with Yugoslavia among whose Communist and Agrarian parties his concepts of Slavic federation found support. His dictatorial methods, however, won him enemies on all sides, not least among them being the Macedonians who opposed his policy of rapprochement with Yugoslavia. In June, 1923, he was overthrown by a *coup d'état* organized by a group of intellectuals, led by Professor Tsankov, and the League of Army Reserve Officers, among whom Colonels Velchev and Georgiev were leaders. A few days later Stambolisky was assassinated. 643 185 656 648 669

Following the Stambolisky regime, the Tsankov government (1923-26) represented a swing to the right. "Communist" insurrections and violence were suppressed with great severity. The increased activity of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) caused difficulties at home and abroad, although after the assassination of its leader Alexandrov (1924) it was split into two factions under Protoguerov and Mihailov who became bitter rivals. A threat of war with Greece arose, but was averted by the action of the League of Nations. A more conciliatory government 642 668

[2] See G. P. Genov, *Bulgaria and the Treaty of Neuilly* (Sofia, 1935).

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642 under Liapchev (1926-31) sought to reduce party strife and international
668 friction. It secured a loan from the League of Nations to help in the settlement of refugees, but seemed powerless to prevent raids upon neighboring states by the IMRO which, after the assassination of Protoguerov in 1928, was dominated by Mihailov who openly defied the Sofia government and virtually reigned supreme in some frontier districts. The elections of June, 1931 brought a shift again to the left. The cabinets of Alexander Malinov and his successor, Nikola Mushanov, both of whom were Democrats representing middle class and intellectual groups, were supported by the Agrarians. This coalition found itself threatened by the rise of the Communist party which nearly captured a majority in the Sofia municipal elections of September, 1932. In the communal elections of November, however, the Agrarians and Democrats won a victory which emboldened them in an attempt to suppress both the Communists and the Macedonians in the following year.

643 Meanwhile Tsar Boris III, had steadily gained in authority and influ-
669 ence. The rapprochement with Italy signalized by the marriage of Boris to the daughter of King Victor Emmanuel III in 1930, and the part played
642 by the Tsar in steps taken toward reconciliation with Yugoslavia and Romania (1933-34) helped to bring him to the fore. Then a series of domestic events enabled the Tsar to make himself a virtual dictator. Colonel Velchev, secretary of the Military League founded in 1930, and Kimon Georgiev, prominent in *Zveno* which was a fascistic civilian organization working for reform and a "strong" government, again helped to stage a *coup d'état,* May, 1934, ousting the Democratic-Agrarian Coalition and making Georgiev premier of a dictatorial government with Velchev as his principal adviser. Parliament was dismissed and political parties dissolved by decree. Vigorous action was taken against IMRO, forcing Mihailov to flee. Most of the promises of the new government, however, and especially the solution of the financial crisis, remained unfulfilled. Velchev's known hostility toward Boris III and his alleged republicanism alienated older army circles which helped to supplant Georgiev by General Zlatev who had the backing of the Tsar. Continued financial mismanagement and a reaction within the army itself to its political activities paved the way for a return to civilian government and the dissolution of the Military League after several of its members, including Velchev, had been convicted of conspiracy. This left Boris III master of the situation, although he proclaimed his intention of restoring constitutional rule.

646 Since the anomolous political situation within the country brought an
666 inevitable reaction against the regime, elections for a new *sobranie* were

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668 Communists, Agrarians, Democrats, and republicans. In the summer the
Soviet Union, against whom Bulgaria had not declared war, began to press
642 for the ousting of the Germans and a reversal of the policy pursued since
648 1941. On September 2, a new Bulgarian government, headed by a former secretary of Stambolisky, Konstantin Muraviev, and including former Premier Mušanov, announced the full restoration of democratic freedom and rights, a return to neutrality, and the nullification of the Tripartite Pact. It also dispatched representatives to Cairo to negotiate an armistice with Great Britain and the United States and, on September 8, declared
721 war on Germany. In the meantime, however, Russia, not fully satisfied
642 with the course being pursued, declared war on Bulgaria on September 5. This confusing situation was clarified four days later when Muraviev was succeeded by a new government which had the full support of the "Fatherland Front." It was led by Kimon Georgiev, who was alleged to have experienced a change of heart since his participation in the *coup d'état* of 1934, and included his former colleague, Colonel Velchev.

Before the end of September Russian military forces had moved into the country and were rapidly turning the Bulgarian army, now placed under the command of a Russian General, Tolbukhin, against the fleeing
728 Germans. By the formal armistice terms, signed in Moscow on October 28, 1944, Bulgaria promised to withdraw from all territories occupied in Greece and Yugoslavia, to restore all properties of the United Nations and make reparation for damages, to rid Bulgaria of all pro-Axis organizations, to coöperate in the arrest and trial of war criminals, and to accept an Allied Control Commission which would regulate and supervise the execution of the armistice. Since Russia held a dominant position in the Commission and since Bulgaria was prepared to follow Communist leadership, her lot as an ex-Axis satellite differed little from that of Yugoslavia.

Reconstruction and Peacemaking

Y-B
Reconstruction in both Yugoslavia and Bulgaria took the form of a revo-
●669 lution led by Communists and was patterned after the policies and practices of the Soviet Union.

The National Front in Yugoslavia

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The Tito government, established in Yugoslavia in 1945, promised that
642 it would "comply with the fundamental and general principles of consti-
[631] tutional government" and that it intended to found a democratic, federative state. This was to consist of Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia. Provisional governments were formed in each of these units in April and May, 1945. While Tito's ter-

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THE PASSING OF DEMOCRACY

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The announcement that Bulgaria had abandoned on May 19, 1934 the Parliamentary and democratic system of government and set up in its place a military semi-Fascist dictatorship was received with undisguised regret in countries where the democratic traditions were deep-rooted and traditional. This act of Bulgaria, which was considered as the most democratic country in the Balkans, was viewed with disappointment and vexation, it was considered as an open defection of a minor member of the same confraternity of liberal-minded peoples, to the triumph of whose conceptions and principles of government is due in the main, the progress achieved by the Western nations.

Such an opinion, however it might appear concordant with outward appearances. does not seem to be justified. For Bulgaria was never a democratically governed country, in spite of its Parliament and Constitution. And as for M. Kimon Gheorghiev and his colleagues, who effected the coup d'état, no one can uphold that they resemble in the least Plato's tyrant who, serves as prototype to modern dictators. This model tyrant was characterised by effecting „Just the reverse of medical purgation. For doctors remove the worst and leave the best; he does the opposite." (G. Lowes Dickinson, „The dialogues of Plato" p. 155). The Gheorghiev government far from putting into practice such precepts, has on the contrary administered the most salutary „purges" to Bulgaria, which effected a true catharsis, delivering the State from such disintegrating elements as the Macedonian Revolutionary organisation and the political coteries. The military who planned, car-

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ried out and imposed the change of government did this much against tneir will, and only after repeated warnings and objurgations to the politicians to mend their ways, had failed to call the latter back to reason and to duty. Far from assuming sole control of the ship of state, they have appealed to men of character and integrity and sought their co-operation and they have even confided to these civilians the direction of some of the most important branches of the administration. This liberal attitude is again in direct contradiction with the traditional behaviour of the model tyrant of Plato, for „he must have a sharp eye also for the man who is courageous or high minded or wealthy; and it is his greatest happiness to have to be the enemy of all such whether he like it or not, and plot against them until he purge the city of their presence.... Apparently he must do it if he is to rule". It is obvious therefore that the semi-military oligarchy which has assumed the reins of power in Bulgaria differs radically from the traditional enemy of democracy. In justice to the men who effected the coup d'état, it must be admitted, that they have never declared themselves admirers or exponents either of Fascism or of Hitlerism, and that they have never impugned democracy for faults which sprang from the abandonment of democracy. Their overt aim was to stave off corruption which was threatening the State with dissolution and to implant civic duties among their countrymen which will eventually render them fit for self-government. In fact by conforming themselves to Lysistrata's recipe they attempted to inculcate among their compatriots the idea of Good Citizenship, (this was according to Meredith the dominant idea of Aristophanes comedies.).

„ . . . Next, for the clubs, the cabals, and the coteries,
banding unrigtheously, office to win,
Treat them as clots in the wool and dissever them,
lopping the heads that are forming therein.
Then you should card it, and comb it, and mingle it,

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THE PASSING OF DEMOCRACY

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all in one basket of love and unity,
Citizens, visitors, strangers, and sojourners,
all the entire, undivided community."

The first effect of liberty on those who are unprepared for it is often confusion, if not license, and the Bulgarian people were never trained to make a judicious use of the rights which the ultra-liberal Constitution prematurely foisted on Bulgaria, conferred on them. So far, Bulgarian political leaders, with some very rare exeptions, though they have masqueraded under every conceivable brand of democracy, ranging from social-democracy to make-believe Liberalism („Conservative" was too unattractive a party name for the astute and cunning Bulgarian demagogues to parade under and even those of conservative tendencies preferred to disguise themselves in the garb of the progressive, or of the populist) have miserably failed to educate the Bulgarians as to the elementary duties of citizenship; on the contrary all they did was to cultivate among them an inordinate sense of their rights, which was fostered by intensive appeals to their egoistic instincts. It is only those who are superficially acquainted with the inner working of parliamentary and democratic forms of government in most European countries that can remain intransigent supporters of all forms of self-government. For the latter often assume the most repulsive aspect of government, that leading to wholesale corruption and to the undermining of the moral fibre of a nation. The unlimited vista of putridity recently revealed in France and Rumania by the Stavisky scandal, and the Scoda affair, which impelled even a former Rumanian Premier, Dr. Vaida-Voevod to make on March 23, 1933 from the tribune of the Rumanian Chamber the astounding admission „that thare was something rotten in the organism of his country which must be amputated and cleansed before it could aspire to health", show that it is paying lip service to

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661 the whole length and breadth of our unhappy country and it is the worst form of corruption we have yet experienced for it has revolutionised village life from its very foundations." This depressing diagnosis is confirmed by Dr. Djidrov, a distinguished economist and political writer, who in a speech in the Sobranye on Nov. 16, 1927 characterised the Agrarian regime as „the most destructive Bulgaria had experienced and the one which completed the ruin caused by the war." The nefarious influence which this high flood of demagogy has had on village life in general may be gauged by the concluding lines of M. Petko Rossen's most readable and instructive book „Among the people," and published in 1933: „Every right-thinking man who is capable of observation will be struck with dismay. To-day our village is in the pangs of such a religious, moral and public crisis, that he who entertains the hope of saving the State and public order on this, the thickest layer of our community, is bound to seek refuge in a monastery in his despair."

• 669 The Ministerial crisis which broke out in May 1934 was pregnant with grave consequences. Bulgaria was faced with the dilemma of placing the Agrarians, the most numerous political party, anew in the seat of power, or of delivering herself up, hands and feet bound to Prof. Tsankov, who had in the meanwhile donned a brand-new black shirt of a Fascist, and was garrulously exhorting his compatriots to adopt the Mussolinian creed. It was a case of Hobson's choise, with the certitude of a bloody trial of strength between the two rival factions, both being resolutely intent to secure control of the administration at all costs. This spelt anarchy and civil war, to avoid which, the military stepped in between the combattants, before the latter were quite ready for the fray. It was neither greed nor ambition which had goaded the military on the high road of politics, but the consciousness that

their intervention was indispensable to safeguard their country and stave off disaster. 669

Far seeing and patriotic Bulgarians had long since sensed the dangers inherent in the pseudo-democratic system hitherto in force. The master-mind of Stoyan Mihailovski as far back as 1919, in a series of articles published in the *Napred*, launched a campaign in favour of installing in power „an iron-handed saviour". He expounded that there could be no democracy in Bulgaria so long as the soul of the average Bulgarian is not recast and rendered capable of solidarity and love for its fellows, and that it was imperative to teach first what constituted duty and that after that Bulgarians could be initiated as to what rights they possessed as members of the community. The head of the Bulgarian Church, the venerable Excharch Joseph in an interview granted to Richard von Mach, on Feb. 24, 1914, and recorded in the latters' „Aus Bewechter Balkanzeit" likewise stressed the need of a strong and virile leader such as was Stambulov", a purified Stambulov". And Dr. Djidrov, who is a socialist in principles, in a political pamphlet published in 1934, in which he enlarged on the impasse, party government had brought Bulgaria to, could suggest no other course of salvation than that of appealing to Tsar Boris to exert himself autocratic powers, a course which could be followed without violating the Constitution, and by giving a rather elastic interpretation to some of its articles!

The writer, as a pupil of the late L. T. Hobhouse does not wish to be mistaken for an advocate of the authoritarian State. It savours too much of the Hegelian conception of the State, completely demolished by that masterly criticism of L. T. Hobhouse as expounded in the latter's „Metaphysical Theory of the State." The present writer realises the truth of his master's statement that „if efficiency is improved at such cost of freedom as to destroy

them remember that G. B. Shaw, another irrepressible wit, who has much in common with Mihailovski, made one of his characters say of the British: „Every true Englishman detests the English. We are the wickedest nation on earth and our success is a moral horror." (Cusins in „Major Barbara.") 000

NEW BROOMS SWEEP CLEAN

The most important and the most difficult achievement of the Gheorghiev Cabinet was the suppression of the Macedonian revolutionary organisation. Since the Balkan wars, the Macedonian revolutionaries were almost autonomous rulers in the south western districts of Bulgaria, in which they levied taxes and administered summary justice. This region formed a fortress whence no Bulgarian Government had been able to dislodge them in spite of repeated efforts. From this retreat, the revolutionaries were able to control the whole body of Macedonian immigrants in 669

exporters to that country on their guard, and in order to bring the book to their knowledge made an application for the insertion of an advertisement on his book in the annual „Report" on that country prepared by the „Department of Overseas Trade" and published by H. M. Stationery Office. The latter, after acknowledging a cheque sent to defray the cost of publication, reimbursed the money three months later, and when pressed for an explanation, the writer received this edifying answer: „the book contained material of a political and critical kind, some of it hostile to the Rumanian Government. It is therefore obvious that in the interest of diplomatic comity such a book could not possibly be advertised in an official publication of H. M. Government." British citizens must obviously congratulate themselves on possessing such internationally-minded public servants who place diplomatic comity before national interest; though this extreme deference to ceremonial forms has cost Lancashire manufacturers dearly. Had the facts exposed in this book been brought to their notice, there is little doubt that a large part of their two million sterling risked lightheartedly since 1932 in Rumania, and now apparently as good as lost, would never have left our shores at all. 000

•669 Bulgaria and keep them in readiness for an eventual military invasion of their native country. It is this latent danger which incited the neighbouring Balkan States to make such persistent efforts at Sofia for the dissolution of the Macedonian organisation. The removal of this ever present peril of war through the sudden incursion of Macedonian bands in Yugoslav, or Greek territory, has vastly increased the chances of a Bulgaro-Yugoslav rapprochement and promoted the work of pacification in the Balkans. Even if the Gheorghiev Cabinet had left no other record of its activities than this suppression of the Macedonian organisation, this would be sufficient for it to have secured a valid claim to the gratitude of all peace loving men and of the Bulgarian people above all. For the activities of the revolutionaries made themselves felt in Bulgaria far more than abroad, frequent murders, blackmailing, terrorism, flouting of justice, disregard for the prestige of the State's authority by the adherents of the revolutionary organisation, rendered its survival in Bulgaria a public danger and a factor of demoralisation, since the crimes and abuses its votaries committed were but very rarely punished.

631 663 Another laudable reform was the reduction of the administrative districts from sixteen to seven, while the rural communes, numbering 2552, were reduced to 800 approximately. This change will not only effect a diminution in the administrative staff and an economy in expenditure, estimated at between 80 to 100 million leva annually, but will also permit of a more rational economic organisation of the country. By regrouping the rural communes 632 663 and lessening their numbers, more resources will be available for the communal autorities to carry on their work with more effectively. The perpetual feuds between villages over the possession of communal lands over which so much treasure and time was spent have ceased as if by

THE WORLD WAR

Though the situation of the Bulgarian army was known to be critical, yet no one in Sofia foresaw that disaster was imminent. The offensive, undertaken in September 15, against the Bulgarian positions at Dobro Pole met with complete success, the defence was overwhelmed and a complete breach through secured, which permitted the Entente troops to advance unopposed up the Vardar valley, attaining Veles by September 26. But apparently the extent of the disaster was not fully realised in Sofia. Malinov telegraphed to the Bulgarian representative in Berlin on September 19, insisting on the Germans conceding the Bulgarian demands on the Dobrubja in order that the morale of the troops might be raised. On September 21 Ferdinand who was in Uskub, was advised of the critical position of the army and that there was little hope of help arriving from Germany in time to retrieve the situation. It was only on September 23 that the Bulgarian army Headquarters informed the Government that some 10 divisions with artillery would be needed to stop the gap made by the enemy. A ministerial council was convoked, and on September 23 without the consent of Ferdinand, decided to demand the cessation of military activities. A Bulgarian delegation left for the front and on September 29 an armistice was concluded at Salonica. Malinov hastened to advise the German Minister in Sofia on September 26 of these intentions of his Government, and that it was useless to send help from Germany as it would arrive too late. Demoralisation had set in meanwhile in the army;the Government attempted to induce the troops to hold their positions until the conclusion of the Armistice by dispatching certain Agrarian deputies to the front headed by Stambuliiski who was purposely set free from prison, where he had been kept since the beginning of hostilities, and on September 27, Stambuliiski proclaimed a republic and made preparations for overthrowing the Go-

728 669 vernment, but was unable to carry through his plan for lack of support. People were averse to any change in the Government at this critical time fearing lest the delegates sent to Salonica might be prevented from coming to terms with the Entente through the invalidation of their credentials brought about by such a change. In spite of the disapproval of this plan, the mutinied troops headed by Stambuliiski's colleague, R. Daskalov, attempted to march on Sofia but were dispersed on its outskirts by the few loyal troops which rallied to the support of the Government and with the assistance of some Germans who had just arrived from Odessa. On October 1, the delegation sent to Salonica returned; on the following day a conference of the leaders of all the political parties took place and Malinov was commissioned to inform Ferdinand that he owed a certain reparation to Bulgaria. With great reluctance and after vain pleading Ferdinand was persuaded to abdicate in favour of his heir, signing a manifesto to this purpose on October 3 and left for Germany followed by Radoslavov under the protection of German troops.

728 The demobilisation of the army to some extent appeased the existing discontent, in spite of the difficulties the Government was meeting through the exhaustion of foodstuffs. The dearth was relieved through the timely arrival of flour from the United States. The Malinov Cabinet resigned on November 19 as a protest against the Entente's decision to cede southern Dobrudja to Rumania, contrary to the stipulations of the Salonica Armistice. It was succeeded by a broad coalition ministry presided over by T. Todorov. In May the Cabinet was reconstructed with the participation of Stambuliiski in view of the holding of elections on August 17 at which however, no party obtained a majority. The Agrarians being the most numerous party in the new Chamber assumed the task of con-

661 the reins of power he would only hand them over to the
648 Communists, „my faithful hounds", as he aptly styled them. This open flirtation with the Soviets estranged him from the more sensible leaders of the Green international and this prevented him from heading this movement. When the Bolsheviki were on the outskirts of Warsaw in the summer of 1920, he became so elated at their success as to remark to a group of intimate friends that it would not be long before he would administer to the Entente the lesson it deserved. In April 1923 it became known that he contemplated celebrating his jubilee on August 30, when an extraordinary congress of the Agrarian Union was to be convoked for the purpose. In May he declared that he was about to convene an extraordinary Sobranye for the purpose of altering the Constitution and proclaiming a republic. He withdrew secretly 100 million leva from the Bulgarian National Bank for the pretended purpose of bribing the members of the Reparation Commission at Sofia and obtaining their consent. The threat of a repu-
• 669 blican move was taken advantage of by Stambuliiski's numerous opponents to persuade Tsar Boris to give his consent to the overthrow of his too domineering Prime Minister, and on June 9, 1923, the Agrarian regime was unexpectedly overthrown, after Tsankov, Smilov and Kazazov had obtained from Tsar Boris the signature of the decrees appointing the new Government, (Cf. Gr. Tsesmedjiev's", Rays of light on the mystery of the conspiracy").

No one was averse to this consummation, and even foreign governments made it known that they would acquiesce in this move owing to the deplorable effects the Agrarian regime was having on such foreign capital as was invested in Bulgaria as well as on the public finances of the country. In fact after the fall of the regime, criminal proceedings were instituted against practically all the members of the Agrarian Government, who were indicted for

appropriating public funds, issuing false documents and violating the Constitution. The minutes of the Sobranye sittings of July 1924 are full of details about the malpractices committed by the Agrarian regime. When the budget for 1924 came up for discussion, the Minister of Finance, M. Peter Todorov, announced that 70 million leva had been found in Stambuliiski's home, but that Stambuliiski must have appropriated at least 120 millions. That there had been an item of 6 million gold francs in the budget of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, destined for propaganda, (this will explain the dithyrambic peans sung by foreign journalists on the activities of these *sui-generis* Agrarian reformers) and what of this sum was not spent abroad was divided up among the Ministers. It was stated that Stambuliiski was shot down on June 14 while trying to flee from his capturers. Minister Pechev in his „Historical Events and Actors", relates that he was cut down in his own vineyard where he was buried. In order that his corpse might not be found it was subsequently removed and hidden on the banks of the Maritsa, from which hiding place his father was allowed later to fetch it and bury it at the village of Tsangarly.

Stambuliiski had attempted to oppose the coup d'état. According to the version of deputy S.Vassilev, he rallied some peasants to his support and marched at their head to seize the town of Tatar-Pazardjik where regular troops easily overwhelmed him, for most of the peasantry made common cause with the army and turned against him. He was being convoyed to Sofia and while traversing his village was killed in a fray provoked by the villagers, but it is not known whether they had sought to kill or to liberate him. The only other place where the Agrarians displayed some resistance was at Pleven, under the leadership of Obov, a colleague of Stambuliiski. A few weeks previously, so sure was the latter of his posi-

669 tion that he had declared: „The Agrarian Union will govern Bulgaria for at least forty years more".

It must not be thought that Stambuliiski remained to the last the favourite of the peasantry. His popularity was on the wane. The relative freedom from taxation enjoyed by the rural masses under his regime was offset by the arbitrary exactions of his local henchmen. What kept him in power so long was his reckless appeals to the prejudices of the ignorant rural masses and his reiterated bombastic assurances that they were predestined to break up and replace the collapsing urban culture through the Green International, (the international peasant federation).

RECENT HISTORY: 1923—1935

The coup d'etat of June 9 1923 was brought about by a handful of patriots supported by the army with the object of restoring the political liberties of the population which had been suppressed by the Agrarians, and one of the first acts of the new Government, presided over by Prof. Alexander Tsankov, was to release all the incarcerated politicians from their prison at Shumen. The Tsankov Government believed that it could achieve the pacification of the country by restoring constitutional methods and on its advent to power, it went out of its way in endeavouring to govern according to prescribed parliamentary forms. For this reason, it wasted most of its energy in attempting to fuse under its sponsorship the various political parties into one and thus obtain an imposing majority in the new Chamber. It overlooked however, one essential fact, namely that the masses after having tasted power would no longer allow themselves to be governed by a small minority, such as the urban po-

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

pulation, however well intentioned the latter might be. The rural masses had got drunk on the spoils of office and were decided not to renounce such advantages as detention of power conferred on them. Democratic government was no longer possible in Bulgaria, now that the masses had become conscious of their power, except in the form of a semi-Bolshevik dictature as had just been experienced, (the writer does not wish to cast a slur on the Russians by comparing them to the Bulgarian Agrarians, for the former are certainly idealists and therefore worthy of respect even if we do not share all their views), or in that of a Communist commonwealth. Had Tsankov attempted to govern as a dictator, and proclaimed martial Law at the time of his advent to power he would have discouraged both Agrarians and their friends and allies, the Communists, from lifting their heads; but by reiterating as he did, his devotion to constitutionalism he simply incited Agrarians and Communists to regain office.

Tsankov and his colleagues among whom the most prominent were the Radical Peter Todorov, Minister of Finance, and the Socialist D. Kazazov, Minister of Railways, were still convinced devotees of democratic forms. They had not yet drawn the logical inferences from recent events which had effectively demonstrated the dangers inherent in the exercise of power by an untutored democracy and they had evidently not heard of the salutary counsel Sir Norman Angell had recently dispensed, namely that: „We may hope to make democracy safe if we face squarely the fact that the voice of the people is usually the voice of Satan."

If Democracy were to be maintained in an undiluted form, the Agrarians and Communists forming the vast majority of the people. had every title to the privileges of office, and consequently Tsankov and his supporters were simply wasting their time in a vain attempt to clothe them-

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

669 selves in the garb of legality. So sure were the Communists of securing with the support of the Agrarians an overwhelming majority at the new elections which had been fixed to take place in November, that Vasil Kolarov, the secretary of the Moscow International, and a Bulgarian by birth, who had been dispatched by Zinoviev to stir up a revolution in Bulgaria, on the fall of the Agrarian regime disregarded these orders, for Bulgarian Communists convinced him that the eventual triumph of the social revolution in Bulgaria was assured of itself. The growing agitation of the Communists, finally alarmed the Tsankov Government and induced it to arrest the leaders, and the Communists fearing they would thereby be seriously handicapped in the approaching electoral struggle decided to revolt in September 1923. The movement miscarried because the bulk of industrial workers as well as its intellectual urban leaders refused to rise[1] and only the rural teachers, who were fanatical devotees of Communism and who had succeeded in imparting their convictions to the Agrarian masses amongst whom they moved, answered the call. These deluded idealists were convinced that the Soviet army would come to their help and in heroic abnegation, worthy of a better cause, placed themselves at the

[1] Mr. Iordan Tabakov, who has written some very enlightening books on social questions does not entertain a very high opinion of the professional political leaders of the Communist party. According to him, most of the subsidies they received from the Soviets they used for building houses for themselves. As for the rank and file, their main incentive was plunder. In September 1923 the Communist bands which went to attack the town of Lom and were dispersed, abandoned in their flight a big quantity of bags which they had brought with them in order to carry away loot. (Cf. „Causes of Social Chaos in Bulgaria.") This proves convincingly that these Bulgarian candidates for Communism are far from being adjusted to it, and that consequently they are not fit for any less chaotic social order than our own.

head of youthful peasant converts and set about capturing municipalities, evicting the mayors and proclaiming the commune in anticipation of the advent of the Russians who never came. Considerable damage was caused and some 3,000 were killed in this outbreak. Some 2,500 of those who participated in these risings had fled into Yugoslavia and persisted in carrying on an active agitation against the Tsankov Government which was continually provoked by an underhand campaign conducted by both Agrarians and Communists. M. Malinov, who was the leader of the legal Opposition in the Sobranye, far from criticising Tsankov for the measures he took to repress this agitation, on the contrary approved them. Speaking in the Sobranye on September 10, 1924 about a manifesto circulated by the Communists and Agrarians in which a new insurrection to be followed by an irruption of the political refugees in Yugoslavia was being preached, he affirmed that this was a provocation and a challenge which no Government could allow to pass unheeded and that it ought to be taken up and drastically dealt with. The Socialist leader Sakuzov who followed, fully agreed with Malinov and admitted that the policy of repression adopted by the Government had been forced upon it by the Agrarians.

The Government was now giving all its attention to the merging of all the political parties into one, that of the Democratic Entente. But in so doing they overlooked the necessity of sifting the wheat from the chaff and allowed the incorporation in the newly created political amalgam, of compromised politicians who prevented it from coalescing into a workable entity, and whose presence moreover, obstructed the inclusion of a certain number of more idealistically disposed politicians who refused to co-operate with these discredited individuals. As a result, the much-striven after unity was only temporarily and partially attained. The Democratic, Radical, and Socialist parties continued to

665 subsist, though, in a weakened form, their individuality having been sucked out of them as several of their members transferred their allegiance to the Democratic Entente, into which other political parties with a worse record, allowed themselves to be wholly absorbed as they had little chance of surviving as distinct entities. This effort of Tsankov to rejuvenate parliamentarism by creating a new political force miscarried. Since it only succeeded in forming a desiccated body without a soul which was nothing else save a combination of interests and appetites. It dealt a fatal blow to the existing democratic forces by undermining the stability of such existing political parties as the Democrats, Radicals and Socialists, which it had taken half a century of efforts to develop, and which, on the whole, were promising political forces. The Government dissolved the Communist party in 1924 and declared it illegal, forcing thereby its activities into underground channels. Both Agrarians and Communists were now openly receiving subsidies from Yugoslavia and they started a campaign against the Macedonian organisation, assassinating its famous leader, Todor Alexandrov, on August, 1924. Retaliatory murders followed and prominent Communists were executed by the Macedonians. The Communisst, and Agrarians constituted a common front and organised brigand bands which terrorised the country, amply supplied with arms and money from Russia and Yugoslavia. The official organ of the Agrarians, the *Zemledelsko Znome*, which was now being published in Yugoslavia early in June began inserting incendiary articles foretelling the near outbreak of a revolution in Bulgaria and inviting Tsar Boris to leave the country. The police was helpless to put a stop to the prevailing terrorism, the intensity of which may be gauged by General Russev's, (The Minister of the Interior) declaration in the Sobranye on June 17, 1924: „I walk in the streets of Sofia with the same feeling

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as when I was visiting the trenches during the war". Between October 1923 and the end of April 1925 there had been thirty two armed incursions into Bulgaria by the emigrant Agrarians in Yugoslavia. Nevertheless the Cabinet in spite of all this provocation did not apply any extraordinary repressive measures and it was only after the attempt on the life of Tsar Boris and the blowing up of the cathedral in which the whole Cabinet, the officer corps and prominent members of Sofia society were present on April 16, 1925, for the funeral of a general who had been murdered by Communists, (in which outrage 128 were killed and several hundred wounded) that martial law was proclaimed and the Government proceeded to deal with a heavy hand with its opponents. But the revolt which followed can hardly be ascribed to the belated severity of the Tsankov Government, for the Agrarians had not ceased to declare the imminence of an outbreak aiming at the overthrow of the Government. The revolt was ruthlessly quelled and unwonted violence shown on both sides; for a few months a veritable reign of terror prevailed. It is computed that over 20,000 were killed and serious destruction to property was inflicted. But no Government could have done otherwise after the provocation it had received, and the incitements to vengeance on the part of the relatives of the victims of the outrage of April 16, with which it was besieged. Taking advantage of the unrest which obtained, the Greek dictator Pangalos seized the occasion to invade distraught Bulgaria hoping to win thereby easy laurels and enhance his prestige. Fortunately the League of Nations supported by the Great Powers rushed in to stamp out a new conflagration and not only forced Pangalos to beat a hasty retreat but made him disburse an indemnity of 30,000,000 leva for the damage caused by his troops in the Petritch district.[1]

[1] Had the League intervened in the conflict which arose between Italy and Greece in 1923 and prevented the Italian bombard-

643 had stopped at no crime in order to further their nefa-
697 rious designs, the Government dealt a heavy blow to the prestige of Justice and undermined among the people confidence in law and morality. The real aim of the Goverment in passing this measure was to emancipate itself from the threat of finding itself placed in a minority through the defection of its more idealistically minded supporters, who very often disapproved of its policy. By winning over the partisans of Radoslavov by the grant of an amnesty to their leaders, the Government was hoping that it would ward off such a threat by eventually replacing their disgruntled followers by the Radoslavovists. Apparently the moral code of the trinity at the head of the government was not a very strict one as is manifest from the financial policy it foisted on the country and the liabilities it so lightheartedly assumed.

669 The commuting of punishments, and the granting of amnesties does not seem to have appeased either the Agrarians or the Communists, for towards the end of 1929 there was a distinct recrudescence in their activities. Armed bands penetrated from Yugoslavia and committed depredations and murders. A train was stopped and the passengers robbed, a number of judges were arrested and brutally shot near Sevlievo, the leader of the criminal band, responsible for these crimes, the notorious Dontso Uzunov, later took refuge in France, and though the Bulgarian Government applied for his extradition, this was refused on the pretext that the crime committed was of
661 a political character. The Government and its supporters paid little heed to the needs of the country, they were too intent on dividing among themselves the spoils of office. The booty was abundant, as it had been increased by the foreign loans recently concluded and there was enough for all their hungry followers. Millions were being showered upon prominent supporters of the Government

464 reasons, and thereby affect the labor discipline and the fulfillment of the production plans of the enterprises, have to be reported to the Office of Labor Mobilization . . . ."[13] The Board of Labor Reserves, in particular, obtains manpower "in two ways: through organized drafting of manpower from villages and towns—these persons will go directly into production—and through the preparation of skilled labor cadres in the schools for labor reserves."[14]

466 681 It should be clear that the Communist authorities not only decide a youth's profession for good but they also deprive any Bulgarian worker of even an elementary freedom of choice and movement. A Bulgarian citizen must either submit to the governmental labor agencies or be "mobilized" for work by the Office of Labor Mobilization. Further disobedience leads to confinement to "labor-educational work," that is, forced labor camps, under the Law on the People's Militia[14] or to punishments under the Penal Code. The desire for complete control over the labor force is further evidenced by the elimination of any unemployment insurance from Bulgaria's social legislation.

466 [671] But the full captivity of the Bulgarian worker appears even clearer when one considers some of the provisions of the Labor Code as well as some supplementary legislation. Thus, Article 26 of the code officially sanctioned the right of the government to transfer workers and employees "to a different work in the same or another enterprise or in another locality, even without their consent, on order by the respective minister." And Article 2 of the Law for Establishing Stability of the Labor Force in the Enterprises and Offices[14] explicitly prohibited "the arbitrary quitting of the job," under threat of heavy penalties in Article 4, such as imprisonment for up to four months or corrective labor for up to one year, if no greater offense of the Penal Code is envisaged. These acts violate a basic human

[13] Newspaper *Izgrev*, March 8, 1951 (Bulgarian).

[13] *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Worker's Deed), organ of the Bulgarian Communist Party, May 14, 1952 (Bulgarian). The Board was created by Ordinance No. 199 of the Council of Ministers, in *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year III, No. 45, April 25, 1952.

[14] *Durzhaven Vestnik*, No. 69, March 25, 1948 (Bulgarian). For details on Bulgarian forced labor legislation and practice, cf. Roger N. Baldwin, ed., *A New Slavery* (New York: Oceana Publications, 1953), chapter on Bulgaria based on author's research. See also United Nations, *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour* (Geneva: E/2431, 1953).

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conditions of the alleged individual or collective "agreements," without any negotiation on the part of the workers. Actually, the "labor contract" represents a model form, prepared in advance by the government, and submitted for signature to the labor arm of the government—the trade union committee—thus legally binding all workers to a document in the formulation of which they have not at all participated.

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The secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chankov, calls the labor contract an "economic-political document . . . a means for the mobilization of the working class for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan" and frankly states that "the job of the trade unions with respect to the collective labor contracts by no means ends with the unions' task to sign the contracts. In fact, it starts only then. The most important aspect of their function is that, after the contracts have been signed, the trade unions exercise uninterrupted control and criticism of the administration of the contracts and mobilize the workers and employees for the contracts' fulfillment."[27]

It is obvious that those "contracts" represent nothing but a legally enforceable document with which the government imposes one-sided obligations upon the Bulgarian workers. The only consideration of the Communists in resorting to them seems to be their desire to give the outside world the impression of free labor relations within the Soviet orbit.

The provisions related to the settlement of labor disputes are also symptomatic in this respect. While using the term "labor disputes," the Bulgarian Communists not only shrink its subject matter to predominantly technical problems on the factory level, but also proclaim the supremacy of the executive over the judiciary in settling the disputes.[28] In practice, the dispute seldom leaves the first stage, the so-called conciliatory commission, composed of the persons who signed the collective agreements and reflecting the identical source of authority—the Communist government. It seldom happens, therefore, that the representatives of the government-employer and of the government-controlled committee are allowed

[27] Work cited at footnote 24, pp. 54-55.

[28] Cf. Pt. II, Ch. IX of the Code of Labor. Also, supplementary decrees in *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Nos. 38, May 9, 1952, and 47, June 3, 1952. Art. 143 of the Code, in particular, prohibits appeals to conciliation boards and courts for disputes involving disciplinary punishments or dismissal by the trade union or the governmental authori-

468 656 to disagree on the settlement of a labor dispute. If they should, the last word is explicitly reserved for the executive.

The collapse of collective bargaining and the regimentation of the labor force have restricted labor relations to technical questions and have transformed labor law into a means for enforcing governmental policy. The key institution of the Communist system vis-à-vis labor has become the so-called socialist discipline of labor.

466 656 "Socialist labor discipline" represents a system of rules affecting the conduct of the workers in any Communist enterprise, office or organization. Its aim is to increase production and productivity of labor without any particular regard to the real capacities of the national economy and of the labor force, including the individual worker. Within the limits of a governmentally recruited, directed and controlled labor force, "socialist labor discipline" embraces all regulations enacted by the Communist administration of every establishment which fix the specific obligations of the workers. In short, it is the regime under which the worker must perform his daily work, to which he is assigned and which he cannot leave.

It has been said that labor remuneration in Communist Bulgaria is based on the piece-work system. Accordingly, the primary requirement of the administration is that the worker fulfills his daily norm in order to get his full wage. But since norms are established by the State Institute for Labor Norms on the basis of the capacity of 5 to 10 per cent of the most productive workers, the remaining 90 to 95 per cent are driven to catch up by the rigorous labor discipline.[29]

466 ● 671 The only possible way to reach the norm is to work more. That is why Article 43 of the Labor Code announces a "nonfixed working day" and Article 46(a) to (f) allows overtime work for a variety of purposes, in spite of general provisions to the contrary in Articles 39 and 43. The Decree for Overtime Work[30] dispels possible doubts by stating, in its Article 11, that "workers and employees cannot refuse . . . to perform overtime work. If they think that the imposed overtime work is unlawful, they

ties. In such cases the worker or employee may only appeal to higher administrative authorities.

[29] Cf. Leland Stowe, *Conquest by Terror* (New York: Random House, 1952), p. 135. While norms are constantly revised and increased, wages remain almost the same, so that, in 1951 alone, there was an automatic wage reduction of up to 25 per cent (p. 136).

[30] Text of decree in *Trud*, May 15, 1952.

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should report to the committee without discontinuing their work." The decree declares two hours overtime is "lawful," so that the working day in Bulgaria usually consists of ten hours, six days a week, and neither the recesses nor even the time when the workers are paid are included in the working time.[31] Furthermore, "it is an archaic damaging tradition for some workers to be absent from work during religious holidays."[32] And Article 79 of the Labor Code regulates the labor remuneration in cases of work on Sundays and the seven official holidays in a year, thus rendering any day of the year a potential, and usually an actual, working day. A Communist source itself admitted that Bulgarian enterprises "regularly use overtime work and deprive the workers of their week ends."[33]

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Usually, overtime work does not help to fulfill or overfulfill the norm either. But even if it does, the quest for more production and productivity of labor never stops. The principal means for extracting a maximum effort from the workers are the so-called socialist competitions or emulations. They represent officially staged contests between individual workers or among plants to "overfulfill" the established norms. The cruelty of this system lies in the fact that as "competitions" are labelled "voluntary," no worker can claim overtime pay. Furthermore, competitions lead inexorably to the establishment of higher quotas and automatically lower the piece rates of even the general wage level.

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"Socialist competition has become a law of the socialist society and has turned into one of the most important methods for Communist education of the working people, an instrument for making them participate in the governmental build-up and the process of production," the Soviet Encyclopedia frankly states.[34] That Communist Bulgaria follows the identical path is plainly evident from the words of the president of the Bulgarian trade unions, Prakhov, who, in 1951, proclaimed "socialist competitions" as "a permanent system for building socialism" and gave the number of participants at "about 70 per cent" of all Bulgarian workers.[35]

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Within the framework of this almost suicidal drive for ever-increasing daily per-

[31] Art. 49, par. 3, and Art. 71 of the Code of Labor.
[32] *Trud*, December 27, 1951.
[33] *Trud*, October 10, 1951.
[34] *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Encyclopediya*, 2d Ed., Vol. 14; *Disciplina Trudoj*, in Russian.

659 then had been conducted in all schools, to the removal of the
798 presence of church officials at the taking of the oath and to the introduction of civil marriage, which became obligatory, instead of the religious one, which hitorto was required
[E71] (Articles 1 and 2 of the Decree having force of Law concerning Marriage, Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 108, May 12, 1945).

Although there was no formal declaration of the separation of Church and State, representatives of the church no longer appeared at public functions and the part which the church played in public life was mutely but radically reduced.

659 Nevertheless, the government continued to subsidize the church by allotting funds to it in the State budget. Moreover, in a purely political move, it amended the Statute
[E71] of the Exarchate with a special Decree-Law (Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 11, January 15, 1945) and authorized the election of an Exarch. Apparently the government preferred to deal in the future with one man - the Exarch - instead of a Synod. Again the Bulgarians were always strongly in favor of having a single prelate at the head of their national church.

793 In January 1945 Archbishop Stefan of Sofia was elected Exarch of the Orthodox Church of Bulgaria. The new Exarch was an arden Russophile, but not a bolshevik or communist sympathizer. Immediately after the election he journeyed to Moscow to pay a visit to the Moscow Patriarch, Alexis, which demonstrated a recognition of the primacy of the Moscow Patriarchate, and sent a delegation to the Patriarchate of Constantinople to negotiate for the removal

B. The General Law of 1949

1. Summary and Analysis

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The Communist Government promulgated, on March 1, 1949, a general law on the religious denominations in the country (Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 48, March 1, 1949). The full text of the law is given infra, (2). This law was promulgated while the trial of the Protestant pastors was in progress. Although it recognizes that the "Bulgarian Orthodox Church is the traditional religion of the Bulgarian people associated with its history" and suggest that "it may become the people's democratic church" (Section 3), the law introduces a uniform regime for all denominations, the over-all detailed control of which is vested in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. While it restates the constitutional provisions for freedom of conscience and religion and separation of church and state, the law recognizes only the exercise of "religious rituals" (Section 2) and makes no mention of activities for the propagation of the faith. To exist, a denomination requires recognition by the government granted through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Section 6) subject to arbitrary withdrawal. Recognition by the government of a denomination carries with it the status of a legal entity for its church.

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The governing bodies of the denominations are responsible before the government (Section 9) and must be composed of Bulgarian nationals (Section 10). Clergymen who "act against the democratic institutions of the state" may be

659 Thus, in a veiled but easily enforceable form, the law of 1949 established a complete control over religion by the state. By means of the various supervisory devices the authorities have the legal power to suppress, restrict, harrass or use the religious denominations, including the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, as their policies may require.

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2. Translation of the Law

Law Concerning Religious Denominations
(Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 48, March 1, 1949)

Section 1

The freedom of conscience and religion shall be guaranteed to every citizen of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Section 2

The religious denominations, as religious communities, shall be separated from the State.

They may freely exercise their religious rituals within the limits set by the Constitution and the laws of the country.

Section 3

The Bulgarian Orthodox Church is the traditional religion of the Bulgarian people associated with its history and has such form, contents and spirit that it may become the people's democratic church.

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Section 4

Nobody may be prosecuted or restricted in his civil or political rights, nor may he be relieved of the execution of his obligations imposed upon him by the laws of the country because he belongs to one or another denomination or for being registered as having no denomination. This rule applies to all the ministers of various denominations.

Section 5

The denominations may, in their organizational structure, ritual and services, be guided by their canons, dogmas and provisions of their statutes if these do not contradict the laws, public order, and good morals.

Section 6

A denomination shall be considered recognized and shall obtain the status of a legal entity from the date when its statute is approved by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. From that date on the status of legal entities shall be obtained also by the local subdivisions of the religious denominations.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs may withdraw a granted recognition indicating his reasons if the activities of a denomination violate laws, public order or good morals.

Section 7

The denominations may build and open for their needs prayer houses and exercise in them, publicly, religious, rituals

671 and services.

Religious services and processions in the open air shall be subject to the general laws and administrative regulations.

Section 8

The denominations may convoke, for the whole country or for individual regions, councils, conferences, general meetings and the like which shall be subject to the general laws and administrative regulations.

Section 9

Every denomination shall have a leadership responsible to the state.

The statute of every denomination shall determine the management and representative agencies and the method by which they are elected or appointed.

The ministers of denominations which maintain canonical regulations with foreign countries may not exercise their office without prior approval granted by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Section 10

Only persons who are Bulgarian nationals and who are honest, reliable and were not deprived of their rights by a final judgment of a court, may be ministers of denominations and officers of any denomination.

Section 11

The denominations may, in accordance with their canons and dogmas, establish disciplinary councils for their ministers

671 and other officers of the church. The organization and the rules of procedure shall be established in the statute concerning the particular religious denomination.

The imposition of a disciplinary penalty shall be invalid if it is contrary to the laws, public order or good morals.

Section 12

Clergymen and other officials who violate laws, the public order or good morals or act against the democratic institutions of the state may, in addition to other applicable penalties, be provisionally suspended or removed from office upon the request of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Suspension or removal from office shall be immediately carried out by the respective leadership of the religious denomination upon receiving the request from the Minister of Foreign Affairs. If a clergyman is not removed by the responsible leadership, he shall be removed by an administrative order.

Section 13

The religious denominations may collect revenues and make expenditures under budgets prepared in accordance with their statues. When necessary, the State may subsidize them.

The religious denominations must submit their budgets to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The financial activities of the religious denominations shall be subject to control by the governmental financial agencies.

Section 14

671 Each religious denomination may establish, with the permission of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, secondary or higher religious schools for the training of ministers of religion.

The organization and the curriculum of the educational institutions shall be governed by a special regulation, approved by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The sending of young men to religious institutions abroad must be authorized by the Minister of Foreign Affairs,

Section 15

All agencies of the religious denominations shall be required to submit to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in advance, their messages, their circular letters and all material of public importance issued by them.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs may stop the circulation or the carrying out of all messages, circular letters and other papers and publications contrary to the laws, public order, and good morals.

Section 16

The central directive agencies of the religious denominations must register with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the directing organs of local subdivisions with the local People's Soviets, submitting a complete roster of their members.

Section 17

The Bulgarian language shall be used as the official

671 language in the relations between the religious denominations and the public authorities, as well as in the records of the religious denominations. In their relations with the faithful and in their services, another language may be used.

Section 18

Any references to the supreme government authority and its agencies may be made by the religious denominations in their various religious services and festivals only by using the wording approved by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Section 19

The religious denominat ons shall inform the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of their names, symbols, and the seals which they use.

Section 20

The formation of societies with moral purposes of a religious character, as well as the publication of material for religious education, shall be subject to the general laws and administrative directives.

The education and the organization of youth shall be carried on under the care of the government and shall not be within the province of the religious denominations and their ministers of religion.

Section 21

The denominations may not establish hospitals, orphanages, and similar institutions.

The existing institutions of that kind shall pass under

●671 the control of the Ministry of Public Health or the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, and their property shall become government property. The owners of the property shall receive a fair indemnity, to be determined by a commission appointed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and composed of a representative of the Ministry of Finances, and a representative of the People's Soviet in whose district the property is located.

An appeal from the decisions of the commission may be taken to the regional court whose decision shall be final.

Section 22

The religious denominations may maintain relations with religious denominations, departments, organizations, or official persons abroad only with the authorization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Section 23

The religious denominations or their subdivisions (orders, congregations, missions, and the like), established abroad, may not establish subdivisions (orders, missions, congregations, and the like) within the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Such subdivisions as now exist shall be closed within a month from the date on which the present law takes effect.

All property of the subdivisions to be closed under the preceding paragraph shall become government property with the payment of a fair indemnity, which shall be determined as established in Section 21 of the present law.

Section 24

671 The religious denominations may recive financial assistance and gifts from abroad only with the authorization of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Section 25

Religious denominations which have property abroad shall be represented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in all transactions involving that property. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs shall also protect the religious interests of Bulgarian citizens abroad.

Section 26

Any preaching of hatred on religious grounds by work, print, or other menas shall be punished by imprisonment and a fine up to 10,000 leva.

Section 27

Whoever by force or threat, interferes with the religious practices of citizens or recognized denominations which are not prejudical to the laws, public order, or good morals shall be punished by imprisonment for a period up to one year.

Whoever forces anyone to participate in the religious practices of a denomination shall be subject to the same punishment.

Section 28

Whoever forms political organizations on a religious

671 basis and whoever by word, print, or any other means uses the church and religion for propaganda against the public authority and its undertakings shall be punished by imprisonment unless his act is subject to a more severe punishment.

Section 29

Any violation of the present law shall be punished, in addition to any punishment under any other law, by a fine up to 10,000 leva, which shall be imposed by a decision of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. An appeal from his decision may be taken under Chapter 5, volume VI, of the Code of Criminal Procedure.

Section 30

All questions connected with the financial upkeep, as well as with the internal organization and management of the various religious denominations, insofar as they are not settled by the present law, shall be regulated in detail for each denomination by special statutes. These statutes shall be prepared by the heads of the various denominations in accordance with the laws of the Republic and shall be submitted, for approval, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs within three months from the day on which the present law takes effect.

If the statute submitted for approval contains provisions contrary to the laws of the land, the public order or good morals, the Minister of Foreign Affairs may demand their omission. If the religious denomination fails to comply with that demand, the Minister of Foreign Affairs may refuse

671 to confirm the statute.

Section 31

Within a month from the date on which the present law takes effect, the central directive agency of each denomination must submit to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs rosters of their ministers and religious representatives; these may retain their positions if the Minister of Foreign Affairs raises no objection.

Objections may be raised against those ministers who do not fulfill the qualifications established by the present law.

Section 32

The present law repeals all legislation which contradicts it.

The carrying out of the present Ukase shall be entrusted to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

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V. Minority Denominations

There are four minority denominations in Bulgaria: Mohammedan, Jewish, Protestant and Catholic. Each has its religious communities, which are administered by a Central Authority established in Sofia, with the exception of the Protestants who are subdivided into several groups (Methodists, Baptist, Episcopal, Etc.), each with its own Administrative Authority.

A. Mohammedan Minority

Of the minority denominations the Mohammedan has been and is the most numerous. It numbers more than 600,000

government, and King Boris, after signing the law, preferred to suspend its application for six months with the hope that events would allow him to abandon it as an unnecessary measure against public opinion. The government confined itself to the mere registration of all Jewish property, movable and immovable. However, when the German Army entered Bulgaria in March 1941, and in April, crushed and occupied Yugoslavia and Greece, anti-Jewish legislation could no longer be deferred. Since King Boris disliked to sign outright discriminatory laws, a law was passed which authorized the Council of Ministers to issue decrees designed to settle the Jewish and related questions. Another law assessed a levy of 20 percent on all property of the Jews. A third law took away from the Jews the concessional pharmacies by obliging them to liquidate their business. (In Bulgaria pharmacies are opened only with a concession from the authorities which give these concessions under strict conditions, and for strictly limited sections of the community under state control.)

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Acting on the authority of the powers given him by the legislature, the Council of Ministers established a special Commissariat for Jewish Affairs, which was given extensive powers, and which was placed under the direction of one of the most embittered persons in the country, acting in close cooperation with the German Legation in Sofia. It was this Commissariat which introduced the regime of limitations for the Jews who were required to sell all apartments and houses not used as personal residences; i.e., those which were rented, as well as the stock piles of various articles which they had

exile to renunciation of the Bulgarian character of the school. With their few belongings that they managed to salvage, they sought refuge in Bulgaria. 795 797 563

The Uniate movement did not expand after the establishment of the Exarchate in 1871 and the creation of a Bulgarian State in 1879. The towns of Adrianople and Kukash were devastated and almost destroyed by the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913. Turkey and Greece soon thereafter expelled most of the Bulgarian population of these regions. The Uniates among them were dispersed throughout Bulgaria and disappeared as an organized religious community. 795 175

Between the two world wars a powerful Catholic action was begun by Italy in the Balkans and particularly in Bulgaria. This action was carried out by a special religious organization called "Pro Oriente". It did not, however, pursue religious aims but pure Italian propaganda and there is beyond the scope of this report.

The foreign denominations, however, have even enjoyed the greatest freedom in Bulgaria, this freedom being consecrated by the Constitution itself (see supra) and were under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which also took care of the ecclesiastic affairs of the Bulgarian Church. The Constitution of 1879 had created in this Ministry a bureau in charge of the denominations. 656

The need for a special law for the foreign denominations was not even felt under the pre-war regime. Such a law was not 671

promulgated until 1949. Sections 5, 7-15, 17, 18, 20-24, 28, 30, and 31 of this law especially affect the Roman Catholic Church. 671

D. Prostestant Church

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The activities of the Protestant Churches are described in more detail in Appendix B. No law was disclosed which would specifically regulate the position of the Protestant Church in Bulgaria. The activity of this church was primarily educational, that is, the Protestants opened and conducted several private schools in Bulgaria. They did not come under some special denominational churches which were treated like any other private schools. For this reason such activities are being reported in a separate appendix to this digest, which is primarily designed to give a picture of the legal status of the church.

APPENDIX A

to Chapter IV

Elections of the Exarch in Detail

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The eledtion of the Exarch was performed by a body consisting of both the representatives of the clergymen and the laymen parishioners. The mandates of some of these representatives of the clergymen and the laymen parishioners. The mandates of some of these representatives elected before expired in some dioceses but they were extended by government decree because the Diet (Sobranie, Decree having Force of Law for the Extension of the Mandates of the Lay and the Ecclesiastic Electors within each Diocese under Article 59 of the Statute of the Exarchate, Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 9, January 12, 1945). Since, moreover, the Statute required the participation of the President and of the Vice-Presidents of the Diet which had been dissolved, the Council of Ministers passed a resolution replacing these two delegates with three representatives of the Fatherland Front coalition, because of the impossibility of holding legislative elections (Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 9, January 12, 1945).

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Needless to say, the representatives of the Fatherland Front played the most important part in the election.

The Communists had no use for an Exarch. They agreed to the election only under pressure from the other members of the coalition and under the expressed condition that the latter would, on their part, agree to the immediate introduction of

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Bulgaria EE1

871 794 was idyllic, in spite of a rather constant exchange of uncomplimentary remarks with the Greeks.

C59 The first approach to the Church by the Communists was made rather gingerly and was not unfriendly. They seemed, indeed, to regard this venerable institution as a political instrument worth keeping in repair. True enough, religious instruction was banned from the public schools, and the control of marriage legislation was reserved to the State. Previously the Church not only had married aspirants to wedlock, but had maintained an elaborate system of marriage counseling and of divorce courts—courts with rules far more lenient than those recognized by either Catholic or conservative Protestant Churches in Western Europe. But the State budget continued to provide for the support of the clergy, and the prosecution of priests and prelates for alleged subversive activities was minimal.

[642] A drastic change took place when the Communist Party assumed complete control during December, 1947, following the return of Georgi Dimitrov from Russia. The Constitution signed on the fourth day of that month dealt with religion in the customary Soviet manner: guaranteeing freedom of conscience and religion, and specifically endorsing freedom of worship; on the other hand, decreeing separation of Church and State, and prohibiting political organizations based on re-
659 ligious belief and political activities by the Churches. During
671 February, 1949, statutes were decreed which outlined in detail the relationship of the Churches to the government. Control over ecclesiastical matters was lodged in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which could hold the recognized authorities of each Church responsible. All such authorities had to be Bulgarian citizens, and to register with the Ministry, which might insist upon the removal from office of any clergyman it deemed undesirable. These laws, which subjected the Church to the

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domination of the State, clearly implied that Orthodoxy was to have an opportunity to qualify as the "people's religion." Note, for example, the language of Section 12: C59 C71

> Clergymen and other officials guilty of violating the laws, public order, or good morals, or of acting in a manner hostile to the democratic institutions of the State, may, over and above other applicable penalties, be provisionally suspended or removed from office on the request of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Upon receipt of such a request from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, suspension or removal from office shall be effected immediately by the leadership of the respective religious denomination. If the clergyman is not removed by the responsible leadership, he shall be removed by administrative order.

We shall now see how the legislation described was put into effect. C59 793

In so far as the Orthodox Church is concerned, the story opens with the removal from office of Exarch Stephan I, who was said to be an overly ambitious prelate bent on skillfully juggling the disparate objects of Communist ideology and Christian tradition. Apparently Church and State agreed on his removal to the small town of Karlovo, the former because it deemed him too dictatorial and the latter because it no longer had any use for him. Ecclesiastical authority was lodged anew in the Holy Synod, which had already learned that the Communists took seriously ordinances abolishing religious marriage, prohibiting the teaching of religion in the schools, banning religious observances from military establishments, and subjecting the public to barrages of irreligious propaganda. Absolute dependence upon the State was associated with absolute surrender of traditional privileges.

It must be noted that the Exarch, during his tenure of office, had sounded almost every note in the scale which Dimitrov may have dreamed of as the ideal music for an ideal Church.

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
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a court for trial and sentence. The Law on Labor Mobilization of Idlers and Vagrants, originally enacted on April 30, 1946, and subsequently amended announced: 697 466 [671]

Section 1. All Bulgarian nationals of both sexes, between 16 and 50 years of age [45 for women], fit for work but who have taken to idling and vagrancy or who spend most of their time in saloons, coffee shops, bars, pastry shops, and the like, shall be mobilized for compulsory labor.

Section 2. The purpose of the labor mobilization shall be to make the draftees accustomed to useful work, to develop in them a love of socially useful labor, to eradicate their bad habits, and at the same time to utilize their physical energies and their intellectual endowments for the increase of the population and the welfare of the country.

Section 3. The labor of the draftees shall be used on projects of general usefulness, such as road construction, railroad tracks, canals, dams, buildings, levees, river constructions, tillage of government or public farms, work in mines, quarries, factories, workshops and the like, according to the sex and age of the draftees.

The lot of the "draftees" in such camps as those in the Dobrudja, Bulgaria's most fertile area, has been described by persons who have escaped. A typical camp is that for women near the city of Tutrakan. It is a network of primitive barracks in each of which are to be found two rows of wooden bunks, each row in three tiers. The prisoners work on a large State-owned farm. The camp director gives the assignments. For example, the prisoner may be told to dig up such and such an acreage of sugar beets, or to spade a specified amount of soil in preparation for the planting of paprika. The daily wage is 900 grams of black bread. Failure to complete the task causes the ration to be diminished. As a rule each inmate works eleven hours a day. At ten P.M. there is a roll call, after which each prisoner solemnly promises to do everything she possibly can "for the building up of the People's Republic of Bulgaria."

647 ghiev's successors to grapple with it and destroy root and
661 branch this foul growth which has so far poisoned public life and undermined morals in the country. By their abillity to deal with this pressing question cabinets will be judged and their fate decided. The urgency of the matter may be gauged by the following illuminating article which appeared in the *Mir* on November 24, 1933, and a summary of which is given below:

[674] „Official statistics show that criminality has increased from 426 per 100,000 inhabitants in 1910, to 631 in 1923 and to 726 in 1929. Crime has been much more frequent in the urban districts and the class which has been most indicted, excluding that of people without a fixed occupation, is that of State and municipal functionaries. The percentage of crime among this category has been 470 per 100,000 in 1910, 751 in 1923, 1936 in 1926, 2169 in 1927, 1995 in 1928 and 1718 in 1929. The percentage of increase in crime for the whole population between 1910 and 1929 has been 64%, while that for public functionaries, has been 435% during the same period. In 1928, 22.6% of all crimes in Bulgaria had been committed by functionaries of the State or of municipalities (excluding officials in the railway and post-office administrations, whose misdeeds if accounted for would have further increased this figure of 22.6%) and it becomes obvious that our functionaries are corrupt to a frightful extent. The causes are not only the bad economic conditions, but also our political manners.

When a manager of an autonomous institute appoints capable and fit persons in possession of the required training prescribed by the regulations, the Minister in charge dismisses them and appoints in their stead his partisans. Inculpated functionaries who ought to be dismissed and arraigned before a court are maintained and even promoted if they belong to the same party as the Minister in charge".

Instability in tenure of office must equally tend to render officials remiss in their functions, there is no incitement for them to display zeal since they know that they will be evicted as soon as their party is driven from power. According to a statistical table prepared in 1911, the average period of service of State functionaries was only seven and a half years. Out of a total number of

464 reasons, and thereby affect the labor discipline and the fulfillment of the production plans of the enterprises, have to be reported to the Office of Labor Mobilization . . . ."[12] The Board of Labor Reserves, in particular, obtains manpower "in two ways: through organized drafting of manpower from villages and towns—these persons will go directly into production—and through the preparation of skilled labor cadres in the schools for labor reserves."[13]

466 681 It should be clear that the Communist authorities not only decide a youth's profession for good but they also deprive any Bulgarian worker of even an elementary freedom of choice and movement. A Bulgarian citizen must either submit to the governmental labor agencies or be "mobilized" for work by the Office of Labor Mobilization. Further disobedience leads to confinement to "labor-educational work," that is, forced labor camps, under the Law on the People's Militia[14] or to punishments under the Penal Code. The desire for complete control over the labor force is further evidenced by the elimination of any unemployment insurance from Bulgaria's social legislation.

466 [671] But the full captivity of the Bulgarian worker appears even clearer when one considers some of the provisions of the Labor Code as well as some supplementary legislation. Thus, Article 26 of the code officially sanctioned the right of the government to transfer workers and employees "to a different work in the same or another enterprise or in another locality, even without their consent, on order by the respective minister." And Article 2 of the Law for Establishing Stability of the Labor Force in the Enterprises and Offices[15] explicitly prohibited "the arbitrary quitting of the job," under threat of heavy penalties in Article 4, such as imprisonment for up to four months or corrective labor for up to one year, if no greater offense of the Penal Code is envisaged. These acts violate a basic human

[12] Newspaper *Izgrev*, March 8, 1951 (Bulgarian).

[13] *Rabotnicheskо Delo* (Worker's Deed), organ of the Bulgarian Communist Party, May 14, 1952 (Bulgarian). The Board was created by Ordinance No. 199 of the Council of Ministers, in *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year III, No. 45, April 25, 1952.

[14] *Durzhaven Vestnik*, No. 69, March 25, 1948 (Bulgarian). For details on Bulgarian forced labor legislation and practice, cf. Roger N. Baldwin, ed., *A New Slavery* (New York: Oceana Publications, 1953), chapter on Bulgaria based on author's research. See also United Nations, *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour* (Geneva: E/2431, 1953).

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should report to the committee without discontinuing their work." The decree declares two hours overtime is "lawful," so that the working day in Bulgaria usually consists of ten hours, six days a week, and neither the recesses nor even the time when the workers are paid are included in the working time.[31] Furthermore, "it is an archaic damaging tradition for some workers to be absent from work during religious holidays."[32] And Article 79 of the Labor Code regulates the labor remuneration in cases of work on Sundays and the seven official holidays in a year, thus rendering any day of the year a potential, and usually an actual, working day. A Communist source itself admitted that Bulgarian enterprises "regularly use overtime work and deprive the workers of their week ends."[33]

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Usually, overtime work does not help to fulfill or overfulfill the norm either. But even if it does, the quest for more production and productivity of labor never stops. The principal means for extracting a maximum effort from the workers are the so-called socialist competitions or emulations. They represent officially staged contests between individual workers or among plants to "overfulfill" the established norms. The cruelty of this system lies in the fact that as "competitions" are labelled "voluntary," no worker can claim overtime pay. Furthermore, competitions lead inexorably to the establishment of higher quotas and automatically lower the piece rates of even the general wage level.

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"Socialist competition has become a law of the socialist society and has turned into one of the most important methods for Communist education of the working people, an instrument for making them participate in the governmental build-up and the process of production," the Soviet Encyclopedia frankly states.[34] That Communist Bulgaria follows the identical path is plainly evident from the words of the president of the Bulgarian trade unions, Prakhov, who, in 1951, proclaimed "socialist competitions" as "a permanent system for building socialism" and gave the number of participants at "about 70 per cent" of all Bulgarian workers.[35]

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Within the framework of this almost suicidal drive for ever-increasing daily per-

[31] Art. 49, par. 3, and Art. 71 of the Code of Labor.
[32] *Trud*, December 27, 1951.
[33] *Trud*, October 10, 1951.
[34] *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Encyclopediya*, 2d Ed., Vol. 14; *Disciplina Trudoj*, in Russian.

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[204] After metal type for printing has been "set" on a machine like the one whose keyboard is shown on the cover, the type is "locked up" in "chases" on a "stone," which means that it is fastened into a rectangular frame on a table. When the letter-press method is used, the type then goes directly to a press.

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formance, the "socialist labor discipline" represents the most immediate threat facing the worker on the job. Its most important features are absenteeism and inefficiency. Thus, a Bulgarian worker violates the labor discipline and may incur disciplinary or court punishment when he is absent from work, when he is late for work, when he leaves work prematurely, or when he is not efficient enough during his working day.[28] The disciplinary punishment imposed by the administration of the enterprise may range from a warning, reprimand, severe reprimand or transfer, to a lower-paid job in the same or a different enterprise, or dismissal.[29] With the exhaustion of the disciplinary punishments the way is open for criminal prosecution, either under the new Penal Code or under the Law of the People's Militia.[30]

Immediate dismissal is imposed when the worker is "negligent toward his obligations" or "comes to work in evidently drunken condition" and also when he is "absent from work without valid reasons for more than half of a working day as well as late for more than

[28] *Trud*, December 17, 1951.
[29] Cf. Art. 129 of the Labor Code.
[30] Cf. Art. 130 of the Labor Code.
[30] Penal Code in *Izvestiya na Narodnoto Sobranje*, No. 13, February 13, 1951. Law on the People's Militia, cited at footnote 14.

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The Soviet trade unions generally supervise the carrying out of the plans for the construction of dwellings and communal buildings and take part in the distribution of new buildings to the workers, and in this connection their proposals have a decisive importance.—Leonid Nikolaevich Solovyov, Secretary, All-Union Central Council of Trades Unions, USSR.

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half an hour more than twice a month."[39] It should be understood that the minimum consequence of a dismissal is labor mobilization.

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The following remarks of an authority on Soviet labor have full validity for Communist Bulgaria as well: "The fear of being late became a nightmare to workers, many of whom had no watches or clocks, and sent them speeding to work in frantic haste. The same fear made them gulp their lunch as quickly as possible."[40] It sounds unbelievable that such a casual infraction as tardiness can ultimately lead to imprisonment or forced labor.

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As to inefficiency, the recently enacted Decree for Payment of Dead Time and Rejects in Industry, Construction and Transport[41] supplemented the disciplinary punishments of the Labor Code by introducing financial liability for stoppage and defective output. The most unusual feature represents the fact that a worker is deprived of up to 30 per cent of his wage even if he is not responsible for the stoppage or defective output.[42]

This Communist anomaly is even more clear in the provisions regulating the financial responsibility for damages caused to the enterprise. Guided by the principle that "socialist property" is more precious than

[39] Grounds for dismissal in Art. 33 of the Labor Code.

[40] Work by Schwarz, cited at footnote 1, p. 105.

[41] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, No. 32, April 21, 1953.

[42] Art. 2 and 7 of the Decree for Payment of Dead Time and Rejects.

[43] Cf. Arts. 1 and 51 of the Penal Code of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic (*Ugolovnij Kodex RSFSR*, in Russian). Also, Arts. 1 and 31 of the Bulgarian Penal Code of 1951.

[44] Art. 98 of the Labor Code.

[45] Cf. Art. 2 of the Penal Code.

[46] Art. 206, par. 2 of the Labor Code.

[47] This complete disregard for tradition and objective conditions has so much disorganized the national economy and antagonized the

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2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

428 578 [423] was also conflict over the location of boundary stones. At first I could scarcely believe my eyes when I was shown how the peasants distinguished their fields. Taking some landmark such as a tree, a bend in the road, or a stream, the peasants marked off their strips by small piles of stone. Fences and hedgerows were impracticable because the strips were too small to justify the expense of enclosure. Since every farmer possessed several strips, possibilities of conflict over the boundaries were numerous. The wonder is that there was so little trouble, in view of the fact that every foot of the strip must be utilized if the farmer was to make any profit.

578 ●685 422 Animals too proved a source of dispute. The oxen, for instance, strayed into an unprotected field and did considerable damage to the growing crop. The person incurring loss often took the matter to the mayor for trial in his magistrate's court. Once an effort was made to have all funds collected from such disputes turned over to the local *Chitalishte,* or Library Association, but this received little public support. For some time there was very bad feeling between the shepherds and the dairymen over the question of pasturage. [656] The *Obshtina,* or local government, passed an ordinance that grazing should be done on one's own land and the common pasture abolished. The shepherds, accustomed to roaming over a considerable area in a day's time, were violently opposed to the new measure; those possessing five or six head of cattle naturally favored it.

Other types of conflict also arose over animals. The widow Zdravka, in explaining to me why she was not on good terms with her neighbor Dimiter, brought another case of disagreement over livestock to my attention:

"Just before St. Peter's Day, Dimiter's dogs fell upon my sow as she passed his yard on her way home from pasture. The pig, which was to bear young the next day, became frightened and fell into a ditch. I immediately went to the veterinarian who told me that the pig's young would be stillborn, and sure enough, they were. I went to the priest and the mayor to ask for justice, but Dimiter told them that he didn't let his dogs out and the accident wasn't his fault. Since he was a man, nothing was done to him and I can't do anything about it myself."

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

When I asked her if she and Dimiter had quarrels about other things, Zdravka answered: 578 685 422

"We don't quarrel for I keep quiet, and he only speaks to me 'between his teeth.'"

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A visit to the village courtroom convinced me that money was also the basis for much misunderstanding. The court records were full of cases of men who had argued over financial matters until one of them haied the other into court. Most of these disputes were settled by the mayor, but many people left his courtroom still dissatisfied. Because the Dragalevtsy peasant was penurious, every lev was cherished and spent only when absolutely necessary. Such frugality was a virtue from one point of view, but it became a vice when it led to disruptive conflict. 691 578

This increased emphasis upon money permeated even the family relationships. One woman exclaimed:

"Relatives don't even lend sewing machines to one another without payment. I have a sister-in-law who has a machine, but she won't let my daughters use it unless I pay."

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What happened if a man owed some money and didn't pay? If the sum owed was over 1,000 leva, the people had to go to Sofia to court. If it was under 1,000 leva, the people appealed to the village court (the mayor was judge, and the registrar was secretary). The creditor made an application for the sum due, and had either to give a certificate that the sum was due or, having no certificate, swear by a cross and the Bible that his claim was just. 686

What happened in case two men got into a fight and hurt each other? In case of a fight or a disturbance of the peace, the men were subject to fine up to 500 leva. However, the mayor smiled when he said: "I haven't given any fines for fighting yet, for I am a man with a Christian soul." Should the mayor feel less virtuous he would fine a drunk, together with the tavern keeper who let him get drunk. The fine would range from two to three hundred leva, leniency being shown to drunken men because they are "not responsible for their actions when drunk." 683

How did people transfer property? The transfer of animals was performed at the *Obshtina.* A bill of sale was made out and signed by the mayor. The transfer of land and houses had to be made through a notary public in Sofia since the banks in such cases usually needed to be consulted regarding indebtedness on the property. 425

How were public lands administered? Because the forest pertaining to the village was not large enough to justify a special forester, it was placed under the care of the *Okoliyski* (county) fo[illegible] who was in charge of planting new trees. A forest police[illegible]gularly employed by the *Obshtina,* saw to it that the villagers cut no wood without the special permission of the local authorities. The land belonging to the *Obshtina* had decreased greatly during the past twenty years because of its sale as building sites. If the *Obshtina* decided to sell land valued at less than 200,000 leva, then the *Okoliyski* governor could give permission. For more than that, the Minister of Interior had to approve the transfer. 659

Who saw that roads were kept up and bridges repaired? If a bridge was broken, the fact was reported to the mayor, who sent a man to repair it. The State took care of all the roads outside the village, and the *Obshtina* of those inside. 653

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a *paterfamilias*, with a unique concentration of power in his hands. 596
If his grown children did not submit to his control, then they could 178
leave his house but had no means of removing him against his will. Death alone could do that.

Such was the family situation in Dragalevtsy with the coming 178
of liberation after the Russo-Turkish War in 1878. The changes 642
which have occurred in the family since then have been related in 596
no small degree to the political fortunes of Bulgaria. The Bulgarian constitution was drawn up in Tirnovo in imitation of the constitutions of the West, and made Bulgaria a constitutional monarchy with a national parliament. Unfortunately, the new frame of government disregarded many traditional practices of the peasants and sought to impose upon them foreign ideas and strange governmental processes.

In April, 1879, Alexander of Battenberg, who was an officer 175
in the Prussian army and the favorite nephew of Tsar Alexander II of Russia, was elected Prince over the country. In September, 1885, Bulgaria united with Eastern Rumelia, an area which had been placed back under nominal Turkish control by the Treaty of Berlin. Prince Alexander, because he did not collaborate sufficiently with the Russians in their desire to make Bulgaria completely subservient to Russia, was abducted from Sofia and forced to abdicate in 1886. Then the Bulgarian leaders shopped around Europe for another Prince, and finally in 1887 chose Prince Ferdinand of the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha line. He did much to make Bulgaria a stronger state, but he showed poor judgment in ordering Bulgarian troops to attack Serbia, thereby starting the Second Balkan War in which Bulgaria suffered catastrophic defeat at the hands of her former allies in the First Balkan War. In 1918, because he had been a party to the alliance of Bulgaria with the Central Powers in the First World War, he was forced to abdicate in favor of his son Boris.

From her inception as a state Bulgaria tried to make a success 642
of representative government. Men were urged to vote; in fact, they 666
were fined the equivalent of five dollars if they failed to vote. But in [687]
spite of the dream of Young Bulgaria at Tirnovo, in spite of her

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648 668 ternational affairs, conducted himself with such astuteness that he became almost a legendary figure in a short time. In fact, he enters this account in an authentic way because he visited Dragalevtsy quite unexpectedly, ate meat balls at the tavern with the peasants, and endeared himself in particular by treating the crowd to two or three rounds of drinks. "Setting up the house" was a practice none too common in the frugal economy that characterized the village. Most of those present spoke quite freely, but two Russian soldiers, definitely ill-at-ease, remained stolidly silent. One old villager did throw caution to the winds and sidled up to tell the distinguished guest, "We are not satisfied, Mr. Ethridge. Don't believe all of the things these young fellows have been telling you." Mr. Ethridge, upon leaving the tavern, was surprised to see Renaissance Square filled with enthusiastic villagers, who cheered him and presented him with many bouquets of flowers.

[666] Later the Secretary of State's special emissary wrote a critical report on the existing Bulgarian government and pointed out what he judged to be its undemocratic features. The American representatives were unable, however, to persuade the Bulgarian authorities to postpone the elections for a second time, so the voting went off as scheduled on November 18, 1945, with the opposition groups abstaining from the balloting.

[687] In spite of these political developments, the peasants in the Agrarian party (the majority in Dragalevtsy) continued to regard Mr. Barnes and Mr. Ethridge in a favorable light. They like to tell stories of the way these Americans supposedly outwitted the Bulgarian authorities. One of these stories, with no foundation in fact, shows how rumors rise in the Balkans. Mr. Ethridge and his small party were said to have visited a concentration camp for political prisoners near Dupnitsa. Since they were planning to visit the historic and beautifully situated Rila Monastery, they obtained permission to stop off en route at this particular camp. According to the peasants' version, when the party arrived they found comparatively few people in the camp; the place was clean, and the prisoners seemed well cared for. That was that; farewells were said and the party moved on to the Monastery. Late in the afternoon, instead of going to the provin-

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687

cial town of Somokov as originally scheduled, Mr. Ethridge asked his driver when they reached a crossroad to take the fork of the road which circled back past Dupnitsa. Once more at the camp, he asked to be admitted and saw for himself the conditions of overcrowding all too-evident when the prisoners who had been sent to the woods for the day were back in their quarters. Without wasting any words Mr. Ethridge merely smiled to the attendants, got back into the automobile, and returned to Sofia.

But stories of camps for political prisoners took my mind back to the 1930's when the government then in power was fearful of Communism and conducted frequent raids upon Communist-operated printing presses. Much doctrinaire literature was seized and the offenders were given heavy prison sentences. A member of an opposition group has never felt very safe in the Balkans. The Zveno group, which has already been mentioned, came into power in 1934 and which still was co-operating with the Fatherland Front, worked out a new wrinkle in the treatment of political prisoners. On March 19, 1935, I wrote in a letter to America:

> Just a little sidelight on political life in Bulgaria. Students who make radical speeches or editors who print little articles opposed to the *status quo* are forcefully invited to leave Sofia for a rest-cure in one of the provincial towns of Bulgaria. They go, for instance, to Karlovo and are "put up" by the government. They are perfectly free with the exception that they must stay in Karlovo, must report to an official at eight each morning, at noon, and must be in their room by eight in the evening, and cannot venture forth until eight the next morning. Such an "invitation" usually holds good for one month, after which the chastened individuals are permitted to return to Sofia, the political cauldron of Bulgaria.

More and more, Balkan governments must be judged not only in terms of the four freedoms which we publicize in America but also in terms of the governments which have preceded them. That is, they must be interpreted, although not justified, in the light of the cultural setting out of which they have sprung.

There was another apocryphal Ethridge story, which illustrated the use of humor as a weapon of the opposition groups to make their life more endurable. The scene was laid around Kyustendil, the chief

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668 fruit-growing area of the country. Mr. Ethridge, in his search for the truth, reputedly approached some of the local inhabitants:

687 "How are you getting along? Are you satisfied with conditions as they are?"

"Oh, yes, Mr. Ethridge. We are quite satisfied, for this is just like Paradise [the Garden of Eden]."

The visitor was jolted a bit to hear so much enthusiasm after the many tales of woe which had been poured out to him elsewhere. "What do you mean? In what way is this like Paradise?"

"Kyustendil is just like Paradise," came the reply, "because we have plenty of apples to eat but no clothes to wear."

669 As time passed, the Communists became more determined to make their position secure. To accomplish this, Bulgarian-born Georgi Dimitrov came down from Russia, where he had once been Secretary of the Comintern, to take over active direction of party strategy. (This Georgi Dimitrov was quite a different person from the Agrarian leader, Georgi M. Dimitrov.) Occasionally peasants would joke about the high board fence around Communist Dimitrov's [666] yard in Sofia, built to protect him from any would-be assassin. The elections of November 18, 1945, revealed to the leaders of the National Front their relatively weak position. Great numbers of people had abstained from voting, a fact commonly interpreted as a vote for the opposition. Few foreign observers in Sofia actually believed the highly favorable figures which the government claimed in the announced election returns. In the Dragalevtsy district, for instance, thirteen hundred people had been eligible to vote. This number included for the first time all women and all young people 19 years of age and over. It also included the industrialized area, called the Mahala, which lies just below the village on the Sofia road. Approximately 800 votes were cast, of which 200 were against and 600 for the government, or Fatherland Front. Well informed people connected with the Ministry of Interior said that most of the five hundred abstainers had been peasants and that most of the votes cast for the government had come from the industrialized Mahala, which was known as a Communist center. In other words, as one village man succinctly expressed it, "Our people in Dragalevtsy are not for the present government."

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representing the majority of the young people, had an increasing voice in village affairs and were aggressive in their approach to practical problems. Part of this aggressiveness was directed against the young people at that time still active in the *ZMS* (Agrarian Youth Society), which was a part of the opposition.

Another means by which the Communists gained support was in the favoritism shown to party members in the distribution of rationed articles. Just as the ward boss of an American city or the prewar mayor of Dragalevtsy learned that gratitude prompts support or that favors done call for favors in return, so the Fatherland Front made good use of its opportunities. Some of its generosity served purely political ends. The mayor of Sofia, so the Dragalevtsy peasants said, gave one million leva at Christmas time to the *Septemvriche,* or National Children's Communist Organization. Opposition groups, of course, received no such largesse.

But many of the criticisms of pork-barrel politics were due to misunderstanding. The peasants of Dragalevtsy could usually procure no clothing coupons if they had wool at home, and most of them did have a small supply which they were allowed to keep. This amount was based on family size and any surplus was requisitioned by the government. Artisans and laborers, however, who had no sheep, who worked in factories or at their trade, received the clothing coupons, for that was the only way they had of obtaining wearing apparel. Wool and cotton, thread, and goods were still so scarce in both villages and cities that no one group was content with what it had, and peasants were inclined to ascribe whatever others received as due to favoritism rather than the merits of the case. The proof that wool was scarce was the relative inactivity of the carding and spinning *sedenki,* the working bees so popular among the women.

"Why don't you have *sedenki* now," I asked.

"We have no wool to work," was the plausible answer.

Communist party members who used their political standing for self-aggrandizement and enrichment were supposed to be severely dealt with by the party authorities. One story making the rounds in Dragalevtsy had done much to discredit the Communists with those in the opposition. Since living in a Balkan village is a great deal like

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668 661 687 living in a goldfish bowl, it was not long before the peasants knew that almost a million leva (notice how rounded or approximate the numbers are in such stories) had disappeared from local public funds. There was no official explanation as to its whereabouts, but one Communist had become quite rich and built himself a house better than the village expected of him. Later he was expelled from the party, reputedly because of conversion of funds, but even this action did not restore the funds to the public treasury.

Unquestionably, a loyal supporter of the Fatherland Front was able at times to use his political connections for personal advantage. The peasants would have been surprised if this were not the case, for they philosophically said, "Whoever sticks his fingers in honey is apt to lick them."

207 668 Mention was made in the last chapter of the phenomenal increase in radio ownership since 1937. Now about every third home has a receiving set and is thus in contact with the propaganda line of the government-controlled broadcasting service. Listening to the radio had become a new recreational pattern for many people. Over and over again I asked them what programs they preferred. The men, perhaps because they deemed it the proper answer, often said that they listened to the news. Quite a few were quick to add, "It's nothing but lies though." Many of the women preferred the folk music, and the young people jazz. Long speeches claimed few listeners. The net effect of radio listening then was recreational, with some political influence exerted upon the devotees of the newscast. As yet, the radio had not become a channel for education or raising the standard of living. I wondered, too, just when it would, for the peasants had little hesitation in turning off the set if the program became too serious, and most educational programs under Communist leadership were inclined to be serious.

204 668 American and British influence was sufficiently strong to force the Fatherland Front officials to allow an opposition press. Although this press was beset with difficulties in 1945, it nevertheless became a vehement, at times vitriolic, critic of the regime in power. It took a strong pro-American, pro-British complexion, though never out-and-out anti-Russian. A good check on Agrarian claims of majority sup-

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659 nals, one of them the organ of the Communist-dominated
793 Synod, made propaganda at the government's behest. Every-
626 one who gave any indication of fidelity to the Christian creed in its true significance and glory had to reckon with the possibility that he would speedily be sentenced to one of the dreaded prisons—Kolarovgrad, for example—which were always crammed with the unfortunate victims of tyranny.

659 The Orthodox Church having been transformed into an ab-
798 ject lackey of the State, Communist wrath descended on the religious minorities. Protestants were the first victims. Missionaries had come to Bulgaria from Turkey, and had established schools which, despite wars and upheavals, gave a good education to boys and girls. An exemplary woman introduced the kindergarten system and trained native teachers. By the close of World War I, hostility to Protestants had pretty largely died down; and although the small congregations did not grow rapidly they successfully maintained their identities. Their pride and joy was the American College, situated near Sofia. It was closed by the Nazis in 1942 and has not been reopened. The work of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. was suppressed at the same time, and the Communist regime has not lifted the prohibition.

691 The legislation adopted during February, 1949 (often re-
● 687 ferred to as the Canonical Purity Laws) contained a number
648 of provisions designed to render impossible any religious activity under the auspices of a Church or institution with headquarters outside Bulgaria. It stipulated, for example, that any Church or any clergyman desiring "canonical relations with or aid or gifts from" institutions, organizations, or official personages abroad must secure permission in advance from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. It was presumably under this legislation that fifteen Protestant pastors were brought to trial for high treason during 1949. It was the first large-scale action

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against Protestants in any satellite country, though to be sure Protestant Churches had suffered grievously in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland. The pastors, none of whom had occupied a position of eminence, were confronted with a lengthy list of charges. In particular they had, the Public Prosecutor contended, given military, economic, and political information to representatives of hostile foreign powers. They were also accused of having "spread malicious rumors about Russia." Those indicted—the Reverend Basil Ziapkov, for example—made confessions of the length desired and pleaded for mercy. The Court pronounced sentences of varying severity.

Manifestly this trial was also a blow struck at the prestige of the United States, from which most of the support for the Protestant congregations had come. Its primary effect was, no doubt, that the curtain was rung down on any hopes Bulgarian citizens might have that diplomatic intervention by the West would blunt the edge of the Soviet sickle, or that Washington could defend the interests of Americans in regions under Russian domination. How complete the resulting loss of morale was can be deduced from the official statements issued by the other Churches on the subject of the ordeal to which Protestantism had been subjected. The Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church declared, for example:

> In accordance with our Church's traditional solicitude for fostering the aspirations of the people and maintaining loyalty to the State, the Holy Synod has always exhorted its clergy to look upon themselves as preachers of the Divine Word and as guardians of the Holy Spirit, and to remain aloof from all political influences hostile to the country and its people. We must add that the pastors of the Holy Orthodox Church have consistently obeyed our admonition. Not one of them has been prosecuted by the authorities on account of religious activities.
>
> The Holy Synod strongly condemns all subversive activities carried

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735 on by the faithful, all actions detrimental to our People's Republic,
658 and anything which may threaten the independence and liberty of our people. And we condemn such things even more strongly when they are carried on by those who profess other creeds.

The statements made by the Catholic bishops, both of the Latin and of the Greek rite, contained professions of loyalty to the government but did not comment on the trial of their Protestant brethren.

653 The Catholic Church wielded an influence in Bulgaria which
687 was wholly disproportionate to its size. Fewer than ten persons
793 in a thousand professed to belong to this Church, which of course was also hampered by the division according to the two rites. But Catholics had played a stirring part in the struggle for liberation from Turkish rule, and so their heroes were eminent in the nation's song and story. Educational institutions created and developed by members of religious orders were likewise held in high esteem, and many of the graduates were prominent in the civil service and the professions. These institutions have been nationalized, and the Church itself is circumscribed by the laws affecting religion. During 1949, the Catholic Bishops acceded to the government's request and sent a message to the United Nations affirming the existence of religious freedom in Bulgaria. Subsequently the lot of both clergy and laity grew steadily worse; but the first spectacular and drastic action taken against the Church was the arrest of a bishop, more than a score of priests, and a number of laymen, on the usual charge of conspiring with a hostile foreign power. The Bishop and three priests were sentenced to death for high treason, and twenty-four priests and twelve laymen received prison sentences. Therewith an almost mortal blow was struck at the life and organized activity of the Church.*

000 * Most of the more than half a million Mohammedans in Bulgaria were of Turkish descent. During 1950 the government began deporting them to Turkey,

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Dragalevtsy. In general, though the division of labor was traditional, the specialization of occupation was increasing. Though unemployment was absent from the village, this in no way implied that all had the kind of work they wanted. It was astounding enough that even in times of world depression all did have a way of earning a living. 464

In Bulgaria, as in most countries, property passed from parent to child. There too the laws governing this transfer were very complicated. However, as a general principle in the villages sons inherited twice as much land as daughters. Usually the sons received equal amounts, but a father while still alive could divide the land, taking an equal share for himself, which he later gave to his favorite son. Quite often a sister said when the time of division arrived: "Why should I take land away from my brothers?" and forfeited her claim. In some cases she would sell her share of the estate cheaply to a favorite brother. If she was married, however, her husband could insist that she take what was her due and might even go to court to pursue the case. Every year there were a few Dragalevtsy people involved in long-drawn-out lawsuits originating over the division of inherited land. More often than not, lawyers' fees used up a great part of the value of the property. 428 593 [697]

A heavy inheritance tax accompanied any such transfer of property from the father to his children. One man at work in the hayfield took time off to tell me of the arrangement being worked out in his family: 428 651

"Our father, who is still living, told us three brothers to divide his property equally among us. We have not made the division officially as yet, because if we did we would have to pay an inheritance tax amounting to about four hundred dollars. We divide the land by lot. We take strips of land, both meadows and fields of equal value, and draw lots for the strips. Of course, our father has kept some of the land for himself, but we shall divide that among the three of us after his death."

The most serious conflicts in the village arose when there was disagreement over the division of a patrimony. Brother turned against brother, and whole families became involved in the dispute. There 428 578

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The girls of Dragalevtsy had no way of proposing to a boy. The girl waited and, if nobody proposed to her, she remained unmarried. 583 562

Sometimes unmarried young people had sexual intercourse. If the boy did not want to marry the girl, then she told her parents; the boy was brought before the *Obshtina* and, if the charge was proved, was made to marry the girl. As one peasant said in matchless understatement: "In such cases they do not have a happy life." 836

One such case occurred during my sojourn in the village and was an exciting topic of conversation. A girl with an unsavory reputation, in the hope of gaining a certain young man as a husband, accused him of having had intimate relations with her; the parents, too, insisted upon his marrying their daughter. He refused and the matter was taken up before the village court, where several of his friends swore that they likewise had had intimate relations with the same girl. Whether the friends swore truthfully or falsely was still a matter of doubt in the minds of many villagers, but the young man was freed from all responsibility in the matter. [691]

Chastity ranked high in the scale of village social values. Even though some couples had illicit relationships before they married, they were running a grave social risk. Public indignation was especially great in the case of illegitimacy. A girl giving birth to an illegitimate child was forced to leave the village. On this subject I had the following conversation with one of the more respected villagers: 848 836 558

"Where does the girl go if she is driven out of the village?"

"She goes to Sofia because she's a bad girl."

"Do the villagers try to find out who the father was and punish him for his part?"

"The father? Why should they? The girl is to blame, not the man."

"Are many illegitimate children born in the near-by villages?"

"In my time [the last thirty-five years] there have been two in Bistritsa, one in Dragalevtsy, and none in Simeonovo."

There was no particular stigma attached to being a widow or a widower, but the village mores decreed that, when remarrying, widows had to choose widowers, and vice versa. The explanation for this went back to the villagers' belief of the afterlife. They thought of 587 775

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TABLE 13

FREQUENCY OF TRIPS TO VILLAGES, MALE AND FEMALE FAMILY HEADS, DRAGALEVTSY, 1934*

FREQUENCY	NUMBER		PER CENT	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Monthly:				
6 times	2	0	0.8	0.0
5 times	0	2	0.0	0.8
4 times	2	4	0.8	1.6
3 times	3	2	1.2	0.8
2 times	8	9	3.1	3.5
1 time	68	52	26.4	20.3
Yearly:				
6 times	4	8	1.5	3.1
5 times	2	3	0.8	1.2
4 times	14	8	5.4	3.1
3 times	21	17	8.1	6.7
2 times	13	19	5.0	7.4
1 time	8	8	3.1	3.1
No times	113	124	43.8	48.4
Total	258	256	100.0	100.0

*Unreported: 11 males, 11 females.

Roughly speaking, about half of the family heads (men and women) do not go to other villages in the course of a year. For those who go, the greatest frequency of visitation is once a month.

Men born in Dragalevtsy visit the other villages more than do their fellow-villagers not born in Dragalevtsy; however, women born in Dragalevtsy visit less than those born outside.*

Children seldom go with their parents to other villages, though certain young men make numerous visits to parties during the year.

There are other contacts which the peasant makes with the outside world away from the village, but these are not important enough for separate consideration. There is, for instance, "the iron grip of the law." Since the mores of Dragalevtsy are still strictly observed, no criminals were led off to prison from the jail-less village during the three-year period in which I studied Dragalevtsy. Annually there are four or five lawsuits, involving about thirty people and taking on an average ten days' time for each person. For those

* Eighty-three per cent of the male family heads but only 55 per cent of the female heads were born in Dragalevtsy. The 45 per cent of non-native wives come from villages ranging in distance from two to ten miles.

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691 involved, the trial is a big, important event, but the effect upon the village is slight. What does have an effect is the quarrel which leads to the lawsuit, but that is an internal and not an external matter.

THE "OUTSIDE WORLD" VISITS THE VILLAGE

609 369 1. THE MOUNTAIN AND THE MONASTERY. The "white-collar" people of Sofia are enthusiastic hikers. On sunny days, both winter and summer, they start out on an extended hike, usually in the direction of Vitosha, a majestic mountain which towers seven thousand feet above the Sofia plain. If very active, they climb to Hizha Aleko, the mountain hotel below the summit, there to spend the night. Or if interested only in a Sunday afternoon stroll of ten miles, they visit *God's Consecrated Spot on Vitosha,* a historic monastery from which they get a magnificent view of the Sofia plain, the city, and the Balkan peaks twenty miles to the north.

Dragalevtsy, hugging as it does a shoulder of the mountain, is on the main road leading from Sofia to the monastery (twenty minutes' walk above the village) and the mountain hotel far above the monastery. Dragalevtsy's taverns serve, therefore, as resting places for the weary, hungry, and thirsty trampers. Especially in Bai Penko's tavern is there mingling between the village "elite" (intelligentsia and richer peasants) and these Sofia visitors—"people of the world." The peasants laugh at the sight of the women dressed in winter in ski trousers or in shorts in summer. No one ever explains to the peasant that sport styles are extreme.

One evening in Bai Penko's tavern I was with a group of peasants who chortled when they saw a fat betrousered woman attempt unsuccessfully to get her loaded knapsack off. Turning to one of them I asked what he thought of such women, "Oh, we know what they are like," was the answer. When I pressed him further as to what he meant, he said: "They are the worst kind." Then I could not resist asking: "What would you do if your daughter came home dressed like that?" and the retort flared back, "Why, damn it, I'd kick her out of the house."

Estimates vary as to the number of *turisti,* as the Bulgarians call them, who pass through the village each year. Suffice it to say that on holidays and week ends there is a steady stream pouring through unless the weather is too forbidding. On August 28th, the Day of the Virgin, thousands flock to the monastery for the special services there as well as for the setting. Many of these hikers visit Dragalevtsy, whose square has been changed overnight into a lively market lined with temporary restaurants and a ramshackle merry-go-round.

369 The chief influence that these visitors have upon the villagers is to make them think that life in the city is as gay and carefree as the singing groups who

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659 nals, one of them the organ of the Communist-dominated
793 Synod, made propaganda at the government's behest. Every-
626 one who gave any indication of fidelity to the Christian creed in its true significance and glory had to reckon with the possibility that he would speedily be sentenced to one of the dreaded prisons—Kolarovgrad, for example—which were always crammed with the unfortunate victims of tyranny.

659 The Orthodox Church having been transformed into an ab-
798 ject lackey of the State, Communist wrath descended on the religious minorities. Protestants were the first victims. Missionaries had come to Bulgaria from Turkey, and had established schools which, despite wars and upheavals, gave a good education to boys and girls. An exemplary woman introduced the kindergarten system and trained native teachers. By the close of World War I, hostility to Protestants had pretty largely died down; and although the small congregations did not grow rapidly they successfully maintained their identities. Their pride and joy was the American College, situated near Sofia. It was closed by the Nazis in 1942 and has not been reopened. The work of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. was suppressed at the same time, and the Communist regime has not lifted the prohibition.

691 The legislation adopted during February, 1949 (often re-
687 ferred to as the Canonical Purity Laws) contained a number
648 of provisions designed to render impossible any religious activity under the auspices of a Church or institution with headquarters outside Bulgaria. It stipulated, for example, that any Church or any clergyman desiring "canonical relations with or aid or gifts from" institutions, organizations, or official personages abroad must secure permission in advance from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. It was presumably under this legislation that fifteen Protestant pastors were brought to trial for high treason during 1949. It was the first large-scale action

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against Protestants in any satellite country, though to be sure Protestant Churches had suffered grievously in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland. The pastors, none of whom had occupied a position of eminence, were confronted with a lengthy list of charges. In particular they had, the Public Prosecutor contended, given military, economic, and political information to representatives of hostile foreign powers. They were also accused of having "spread malicious rumors about Russia." Those indicted—the Reverend Basil Ziapkov, for example—made confessions of the length desired and pleaded for mercy. The Court pronounced sentences of varying severity.

Manifestly this trial was also a blow struck at the prestige of the United States, from which most of the support for the Protestant congregations had come. Its primary effect was, no doubt, that the curtain was rung down on any hopes Bulgarian citizens might have that diplomatic intervention by the West would blunt the edge of the Soviet sickle, or that Washington could defend the interests of Americans in regions under Russian domination. How complete the resulting loss of morale was can be deduced from the official statements issued by the other Churches on the subject of the ordeal to which Protestantism had been subjected. The Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church declared, for example:

> In accordance with our Church's traditional solicitude for fostering the aspirations of the people and maintaining loyalty to the State, the Holy Synod has always exhorted its clergy to look upon themselves as preachers of the Divine Word and as guardians of the Holy Spirit, and to remain aloof from all political influences hostile to the country and its people. We must add that the pastors of the Holy Orthodox Church have consistently obeyed our admonition. Not one of them has been prosecuted by the authorities on account of religious activities.
>
> The Holy Synod strongly condemns all subversive activities carried

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to the State, either as a soldier or a *trudovak*. All had served in one of these capacities, else they would not have been employed.

The young men were the only ones called to leave the village. As for the rest of the people, the national government went to them in the persons of its civil servants, who comprised most of the intelligentsia. Even the priest was a government employee, since the state supported the church. The doctor received most of her salary from public funds, since private practice in a village would have been financially unrewarding. In addition to these, the veterinarian, the schoolteachers, and an occasional lecturer from outside formed the advance guard of the national State. All of these public servants knew that they would be held accountable by their supervisors or inspectors, and identified themselves much more readily with the national bureaucracy than with the peasants whom they were supposed to help. Of these, the mayor was the spearhead in the attack on the old ways. One of his duties was to preside over the village court, where he stood for the law and order of the land.

One day as I was leaving the office of the mayor he asked me to stay and attend court. I sat in the corner of the room next to a bookcase jammed with documents. The mayor sat behind his desk, covered on such occasions by the white, green, and red Bulgarian flag, on which there was a stack of folders, one for each case to be heard. On the wall over his head were pictures of the King and Queen, a beautifully colored coat of arms of Bulgaria, and a patriotic calendar. Through the window I could see the small memorial garden in which forty-four fruit trees had been planted in memory of the forty-four local sons killed in the battles of Bulgaria's several wars. Two rifles for use when the policemen were on patrol stood in the gun rack not far from the desk. A bench lined another wall close to the small cast-iron stove. Near me there was a hat rack, and a spittoon less popular than the floor. A muddy, unshaven policeman stood at the door to bark people in and out.

The first man to come in was Iliya Trunin, a thirty-two year old villager in a *kozhuh* (sheepskin coat), who was being sued by Ivan Katsarov, a tavern keeper. Iliya, instead of going to the expense of running an electric line from the main electric cable, had arranged

659 ever occurred, not even military parades, without the blessing and prominent presence of the representatives of the Church.

Thus, a close cooperation was established between the State and the Church, and the Bulgarian people considered it quite important even though Bulgarians were not very religious. The Bulgarian people saw in the church a national institution for which they had fought bitterly before they had obtained statehood, and which was a source of encouragement in good and of solace in bad days. These were not two separate concepts but actually two parts of one and the same national concept. Given this union it is not at all astonishing that some prelates temporarily left their religious duties and assumed political or diplomatic functions, as it was the case, immediately after the liberation of Bulgaria, of Clement, the Bishop of Stara Zagora, who in 1879-80 was Prime Minister for several months and later headed the Bulgarian delegations frequently sent to St. Petersburg before the Russian Tzar. In later times and during World War II, two bishops, Stefan of Sofia (a Russophile) and Paisii of Vratza (a germanophile), became notorious by their endeavors to play a part in politics and aspire to the position of Prime Minister.

B. Ecclesiastic Courts, Marriage and Divorce*

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692 Not being separated from the State, the Bulgarian Church performed, up to the advent of the communist regime, certain public functions. Religious celebration was required for the validity of a marriage, vital statistics were kept by the clergy and even the legal questions of marriage and divorce

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were under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastic courts. The participation of laymen in these courts rendered them national and democratic in character.

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* The matter is treated in Part VI of the Statute of the Exarchate, completed only in 1897 and passed by the National Assembly the same year (Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 85, April 22, 1897).

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with Katsarov to extend the line from Katsarov's tavern to Trunin's tavern for a sum of five hundred leva. Bai Ivan, in testifying before the court, said that on the Day of the Virgin he had let his friends talk him into favoring Iliya, although he knew he was helping a competitor. A year passed, however, without the sum being paid to Katsarov, so the case had been brought to court. The witnesses upheld the plaintiff's side and the mayor charged Iliya to make the payment.

A peasant man in ragged clothes, worn *tsarvuli* (pigskin moccasins), and uncut hair, brought action against a peasant proprietor, who had engaged the plaintiff's son to work for him for a small amount of money from May until the time school should begin. The defendant claimed that the boy was to serve until the eighth of November. The father maintained that the agreement had been until the beginning of school in September and not until the eighth of November. Unfortunately for the father, in writing out the official charge he had mistakenly said that the contract period ended on November 8. The mayor, seeing the situation, persuaded the peasant proprietor to release the boy for school against a partial refund of the wages on the part of the boy's father. This satisfied both parties.

After these two men went out, Trayko Danev, whom the reader knows by now as one of the richest peasants in the village, brought charge against a Sofia merchant for breach of contract in a financial transaction involving hay. Trayko apparently had justice on his side and was ready to prove his case by the use of two witnesses, one of whom was to testify regarding the agreement made and a second to testify regarding the partial fulfillment of the agreement. The first witness testified:

"As I recall the incident, I was at the table with this merchant and Trayko Danev and heard them make an agreement whereby Trayko said he would give 780 leva for hay. He went away and that is all I remember."

Trayko then asked for the testimony of the second witness whose name had been written on the brief as Nikola.

The Judge (Mayor): "Nikola, Nikola. But the last name is not written."

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The Merchant (Defendant): "Your Honor, I object. This man has not indicated the last name of his second witness and God knows how many Nikolas there are in Bulgaria. Furthermore, the second witness was present in the courtroom while the first witness was testifying. Therefore, the second witness, according to law, cannot testify, no matter what his last name is."

Trayko: "I didn't tell him to come in here. It's not my fault."

Judge: "The defendant's objection sustained. We cannot accept the testimony of the second witness unless the defendant agrees."

Defendant: "I do not agree."

Judge: "In that case, the plaintiff loses, since he cannot use the second witness and cannot prove his charge."

Trayko: "I am just a villager but I don't want any crook stealing money from me. I'll take this to a higher court."

The defendant (who had just walked toward the door) returned and said:

"Your Honor, I want it put in the record that this man called me a crook so that when he takes this to a higher court, I'll show him that I, too, know how to act."

I could see that the Sofia merchant was well posted on legal procedure. Afterwards Trayko and his two witnesses went to Bai Penko's tavern for a round of drinks which seemed to do little to console Trayko's aggrieved feelings.

The next suit did not get very far because the plaintiff wanted the judge to have the defendant swear that he did not owe the plaintiff any money. The defendant answered:

"I will swear if the plaintiff will swear first that the sum mentioned in the statement of the case is accurate down to the very last lev."

The plaintiff was unwilling to do this because the mayor, in the short time he had been in the village, had made the peasants afraid to swear falsely, something which they commonly did before. The plaintiff, seeing that he was at a disadvantage, agreed to compromise.

Court adjourned with a brief formality and the mayor came over to discuss the afternoon's proceedings, with evident enjoyment of the flashes of humor.

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travelers, dressed in their brightest, newest garments, were speeded 788
on their way. The friends and relatives loaded them with money 181
and presents of clothing, food, and wool, which the pilgrims were to donate to the great and holy monastery. The whole ceremony of leave-taking was made a part of the bright landscape by the flowers everywhere—on the dress of the pilgrims, fastened to the gifts, and carried in huge bunches. Upon their return a few days later the dusty pilgrims were met at the outskirts of the village and escorted home through the blue twilight by those eager to hear of every adventure during the days and nights in the great mountains, whose jagged walls have protected Rila Monastery for hundreds of years.

Formal piety, as shown in pilgrimages, was only one of the major 212
characteristics which these Bulgarian villagers possessed. The Dragalevtsy people, especially the men, were predominantly literate. Bulgaria, despite what seems a forbidding Cyrillic alphabet, has the highest rate of literacy of all Balkan countries, a fact which can be attributed to the tendency to regard education as a panacea for individual and social ills. While only 44 per cent of the women over fifteen years of age could read and write, 92 per cent of the men were literate. Of course, I often came upon groups of peasants crowded around a friend slowly spelling out a newspaper article aloud, but these little clusters of attentive listeners originated because of the scarcity of newspaper subscribers, not necessarily because of illiteracy.

The Dragalevtsy people were also law-abiding. During the first 181
three years I knew the village, and informants said that the record went 697
much farther back than that, no Dragalevtsy peasant had been taken to Sofia for imprisonment. There was no local jail, nor any need for one. This was not a sign of the inefficiency of local police, but rather an indication of the peaceable and honest traits of the people.

In many other characteristics the villagers shared what have come [181]
to be known as the universal "rural virtues," for theirs was an 463
agrarian way of life. More than three-fourths of the family heads 565
were peasant proprietors. In addition to these, there were two other 524
occupational groups: the intellectuals and the artisans. Despite their 361
small number, the intelligentsia, as they were called by the peasants, 517
were the most influential group in the community. Whenever the

lace favourite, and General Russev, the Minister of the Interior. Impartial politicians in Bulgaria generally absolve Tsankov of this violence. Thus, M. Muchanov speaking in the Sobranye on April 1, 1926 stated: 661

„1924 and 1925 were not normal years. Never before had we such internal unrest and such fratricidal struggles in Bulgaria. I understand the mentality of those who were administering the country at the time. In many cases they carried out their duty in a worthy manner, but at many placed certain exaggerations occurred, but I personally shall abstain from blaming the Minister of the Interior for these."

And the Radical leader Kosturkov, who was one of the most outspoken critics of the Tsankov administration equally admitted in the Sobranye on December 21, 1926: „The Tsankov Government had been provoked by the Agrarians and Communists and the blood it shed was in self-defence".

The advent of the Liaptchev administration coincided with the temporary exhaustion of the Agrarians and for some time relative tranquillity prevailed which permitted the Government to devote its attention to the pursuance of its financial programme and the raising of loans, which can hardly be said to have aided the country, as may be inferred from a perusal of the chapter devoted to the story of the League of Nation's loans. 643

Another act by which this administration is likely to be remembered was the voting in 1929 of a large amnesty which included Radoslavov and Tontchev, rightly commemned by a State Court for violating the Constitution and facilitating Tsar Ferdinand's efforts to plunge Bulgaria into the war on the side of the Central Powers in opposition to the manifest desire of the people. The other colleagues of Radoslavov had already benefited from a previous amnesty, but public opinion at the time was utterly opposed to the inclusion in it of these two ex-Ministers. By granting an amnesty to these two discredited politicians who 643 697

[L cf. cat. 110, pp. 84-118 — Analyst]

643 had stopped at no crime in order to further their nefa-
697 rious designs, the Government dealt a heavy blow to the prestige of Justice and undermined among the people confidence in law and morality. The real aim of the Goverment in passing this measure was to emancipate itself from the threat of finding itself placed in a minority through the defection of its more idealistically minded supporters, who very often disapproved of its policy By winning over the partisans of Radoslavov by the grant of an amnesty to their leaders, the Government was hoping that it would ward off such a threat by eventually replacing their disgruntled followers by the Radoslavovists. Apparently the moral code of the trinity at the head of the government was not a very strict one as is manifest from the financial policy it foisted on the country and the liabilities it so lightheartedly assumed.

669 The commuting of punishments, and the granting of amnesties does not seem to have appeased either the Agrarians or the Communists, for towards the end of 1929 there was a distinct recrudescence in their activities. Armed bands penetrated from Yugoslavia and committed depredations and murders. A train was stopped and the passengers robbed, a number of judges were arrested and brutally shot near Sevlievo, the leader of the criminal band, responsible for these crimes, the notorious Dontso Uzunov, later took refuge in France, and though the Bulgarian Government applied for his extradition, this was refused on the pretext that the crime committed was of
661 a political character. The Government and its supporters paid little heed to the needs of the country, they were too intent on dividing among themselves the spoils of office. The booty was abundant, as it had been increased by the foreign loans recently concluded and there was enough for all their hungry followers. Millions were being showered upon prominent supporters of the Government

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185 829 War a program of cooperative farming was inaugurated on a voluntary membership basis, the vast majority of farmers were small landowners of the type which once was so characteristic of the Ukraine. As early as August, 1945, the first of a series of decrees was promulgated, to liquidate the hated kulak and incorporate him into the kolkhoz, or State farm, system. At the same time a blueprint of industrialization was drawn, on the [466] basis of the familiar Two- and Five-Year Plans. The blueprint required first of all cheap compulsory labor in quantity. The published legislation outlines the methods by which that labor force was to be obtained. The police received authority "to commit to communities for educational labor, or to a new place of residence, persons guilty of fascist or antidemocratic manifestations." It was also decreed, soon after the seizure of power, that many hundreds of thousands of persons should be "sent to the factories or shifted to industry." On none of these matters was any effort made to maintain secrecy.

[371] Soon dams and electric power plants were being constructed 697 in various parts of the country. The exploitation of Bulgaria's 466 very modest coal deposits was greatly intensified. In order to supply the needed labor force, concentration camps were erected in a surprising variety of places. One of the better known is that at Belene, the inmates of which work at digging canals. Here are cooped up many prominent Bulgarian intellectuals, businessmen, and officers of divers political organizations once opposed to Communism. The Communists themselves have advertised widely this camp, where, it is estimated, 9,000 persons are interned under the most primitive penal conditions. If the accounts of prisoners who have escaped from it are to be credited (and there is no reason why they should not be), it is in all truth an infamous place. The methods of committing people to it have been spelled out in carefully devised legislation, which makes no provision for haling anyone before

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a court for trial and sentence. The Law on Labor Mobilization of Idlers and Vagrants, originally enacted on April 30, 1946, and subsequently amended announced: 697 466 [671]

Section 1. All Bulgarian nationals of both sexes, between 16 and 50 years of age [45 for women], fit for work but who have taken to idling and vagrancy or who spend most of their time in saloons, coffee shops, bars, pastry shops, and the like, shall be mobilized for compulsory labor.

Section 2. The purpose of the labor mobilization shall be to make the draftees accustomed to useful work, to develop in them a love of socially useful labor, to eradicate their bad habits, and at the same time to utilize their physical energies and their intellectual endowments for the increase of the population and the welfare of the country.

Section 3. The labor of the draftees shall be used on projects of general usefulness, such as road construction, railroad tracks, canals, dams, buildings, levees, river constructions, tillage of government or public farms, work in mines, quarries, factories, workshops and the like, according to the sex and age of the draftees.

The lot of the "draftees" in such camps as those in the Dobrudja, Bulgaria's most fertile area, has been described by persons who have escaped. A typical camp is that for women near the city of Tutrakan. It is a network of primitive barracks in each of which are to be found two rows of wooden bunks, each row in three tiers. The prisoners work on a large State-owned farm. The camp director gives the assignments. For example, the prisoner may be told to dig up such and such an acreage of sugar beets, or to spade a specified amount of soil in preparation for the planting of paprika. The daily wage is 900 grams of black bread. Failure to complete the task causes the ration to be diminished. As a rule each inmate works eleven hours a day. At ten P.M. there is a roll call, after which each prisoner solemnly promises to do everything she possibly can "for the building up of the People's Republic of Bulgaria."

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There is an austere puritanical fanaticism about the regulations which is difficult for an American, inured to doing what he pleases, to comprehend.

Virtually all potential foes of the Communist regime in Bulgaria have been sent to such camps, which means that any person who deviates in the slightest degree from the established Communist norm invites the public prosecutor to get on with incarcerating him. It is difficult to believe that the system is as far-flung and well established as it is; but the Communist authorities themselves have made available a substantial amount of information on its extent. There are at least thirty slave-labor camps in Bulgaria, and it has been estimated that at least 500,000 persons have been confined in them during the seven years of Communist rule. Among the inmates have been whole families—men, women, and children. Before we condemn the Bulgarian Churches for cowardly behavior it may be well to ask what we ourselves might have done in the circumstances.

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Rumania was not fully subordinated to the Communist Party until the close of 1947. On the eve of the invasion of the country, which had been the only one to lend full support to the Nazi cause, young King Michael overthrew the Iron Front government and its strong man, General Antonescu, by a *coup d'état*. The new Government, in which a general also served as Premier, accepted the terms of armistice. Nevertheless by March 6, 1945, the Communists were unmistakably in control, although a fellow traveler, Dr. Petru Groza, was selected to head a government in which they had the upper hand. At the Potsdam Conference the United States, Great Britain, and Russia agreed to sign a treaty of peace with Rumania as soon as a government should be formed which was "broadly repre-

The ecclesiastic courts applied church law. An ecclesiastic court was attached to each diocese (there are ten of these in Bulgaria), nominally presided over by the bishop who was usually represented by his assistant, the vicar. These ecclesiastical courts were of two kinds:

1. Disciplinary courts whose function it was to try delinquent priests. They consisted of bishop and two priests from the diocese. At present they continue to function, though improperly.

2. Courts whose function it was to settle legal questions, arising from marital relations, and to grant devorces. They consisted of the vicar and two diocesm councilmen who were secular members of the Diocesan Council functioning at the see of the bishop; this Council annually elected two of its members to serve as Diocesan judges.

The decisions of these courts could be appealed to the Holy Synod, which had a special section for divorce cases, and which, sitting in full session, acted as a court of the last resort. The Holy Synod, also had the sole right to try delinquent bishops whenever called upon to do so. In such cases the trial was conducted before a court composed of the president and two members of the Holy Synod, especially designated for that purpose.

Before giving consideration to a request for divorce, the diocesan court always attempted to reconcile the parties. Even after the cases had been taken up by the court, if the

evidence was not sufficient, the court could order a temporary separation of the parties with the recommendation that they themselves explore all possibilities of reconciliation. Only after all such possibilities had been exhausted did the court grant the divorce. 698

C. Religious Instruction and Training of Priests

Religious instruction in public schools and theological training of priests were conducted in a manner different from that used in many other countries. The Bulgarian Church did not operate any denominational schools open to all. For a period of time it had no special schools for training of the priests, and, finally, religion was not always taught at public schools by clerics. Special schools for the training of future priests became definitely established only after the Exarchate came into being and in some respect were under the supervision of the State. 793 874

After the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate and especially after the Bulgarian State was restored, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church took measures to raise the cultural standard of its hierarchy. Until then its higher dignitaries had been instructed first at the Greek Theological Academy on the island of Halki (one of the Princely Isles off Constantinople in the Marmara Sea) and later (after 1878), in Moscow, the corresponding centers in Switzerland, Germany, and Austria-Hungary (mainly at Czernowitz in Bukovina). To carry out its

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After

becoming premier in October, 1919, Stambolisky's first task was that of signing the peace terms drawn up by the victorious Allies. 728

The Treaty of Neuilly, November 27, 1919, reduced Bulgaria to a smaller area than it had held before the First Balkan War of 1912 and imposed new burdens. Bulgaria lost the Aegean coast (Western Thrace) to Greece, southern Dobruja to Romania, and strips of land on the west to Yugoslavia. The army was limited to a total of 20,000. Reparations amounting to $450,000,000 were to be paid in thirty-seven years, beginning in 1921. The existence of Bulgarian minorities in all the neighboring states furnished a basis for revisionism which steadily grew, particularly after the rise of fascism throughout Europe in the thirties.[2] The provision for an exchange of populations with Greece greatly heightened the volume of refugees who streamed into Bulgaria, adding to the political ferment and economic burdens of the country. In these and other ways, the settlement exacerbated conditions under which radicalism throve. [131] [701] [668] [167]

Stambolisky won a commanding position in the parliamentary elections of March, 1920, and proceeded to ride roughshod over both the middle class and conservative parties on the right and the Communists on the left. He instituted a number of reforms, including a land law designed to break up the crown lands and larger estates, the imposition of a heavy income tax, and the establishment of a compulsory labor service which in the first four years of operation secured the equivalent of five million wage days of work for the Ministries of Public Works and Railways. In foreign policy he sought to fulfill the treaties and to effect a reconciliation with Yugoslavia among whose Communist and Agrarian parties his concepts of Slavic federation found support. His dictatorial methods, however, won him enemies on all sides, not least among them being the Macedonians who opposed his policy of rapprochement with Yugoslavia. In June, 1923, he was overthrown by a *coup d'état* organized by a group of intellectuals, led by Professor Tsankov, and the League of Army Reserve Officers, among whom Colonels Velchev and Georgiev were leaders. A few days later Stambolisky was assassinated. 643 185 656 648 669

Following the Stambolisky regime, the Tsankov government (1923-26) represented a swing to the right. "Communist" insurrections and violence were suppressed with great severity. The increased activity of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) caused difficulties at home and abroad, although after the assassination of its leader Alexandrov (1924) it was split into two factions under Protoguerov and Mihailov who became bitter rivals. A threat of war with Greece arose, but was averted by the action of the League of Nations. A more conciliatory government 642 668

[2] See G. P. Genov, *Bulgaria and the Treaty of Neuilly* (Sofia, 1935).

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

665 which no one could further trust. One of the leading
661 Sofia newspapers, the *Mir*, wrote on May 12, 1934 :

> „In Bulgaria there is no longer any State authority. At the head of the State are puny uncultured people who destroy and are incapable of constructing. And all these petty personalities are asking for more offices, more ministerial porfolios, more public funds for their political friends. Our Government is not a democracy, but purely and simply an organisation of marauding bands. The patient and submissive citizen asks how long will this state of affairs last?

668 Against this canker of demoralisation the reserve
701 officers, the only organised and patriotic force in the country, had several times protested and drawn the attention of the Government. They dispatched a deputation on January 18, 1933 to the Prime Minister recommending the adoption of certain measures which would curtail existing abuses. At the end of April 1933, they held a congress and they passed a resolution appealing to all men of goodwill to group themselves together and form a non-party government which might extricate the country from the bog in which it was wallowing. In another congress held at the end of 1933, they again insisted on the formation of a non-party Cabinet in order that the people might be saved from the prevailing demoralisalion which had set in among the political parties. These reminders however, had been disregarded.

When in May 1934, the Radical member of the Cabinet was so rudely unhorsed by his colleagues, it became apparent that the Mushanov Cabinet was at the end of its tether. There were only two political forces powerful enough to replace it The Agrarians, and Tsankov's Democratic Entente. They were utterly hostile to one another and each intent on excluding its rival from all participation in office. The advent of either to power meant the outbreak of a civil war, more bitter than that which had been waged in 1925. To prevent this calamity, the

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

military decided much against their will to assume control of State affairs. This was done by the coup d'état of May 19, 1934, which met with the apparent approval of the bulk of the population, heartily sick of the disgusting squabbles of the political parties. 668 701

The military had warned in time the politicians that they should sink their quarrels and attend to the proper governing of the country; they had insisted on the necessity of the civilians combining to form a decent government, and seeing that their objurgations remained unheeded they had taken at last the task in their own hands. Even when they assumed power and in contrast with the politicians, they manifested no anxiety to fill the public offices with their adherents; they still appealed to certain civilians who enjoyed the reputation of being honest and capable men and entrusted them with responsible positions in the Government. The new Cabinet presided over by Kimon Gheorghiev had a distinctly civilian appearance, the military contented themselves with back seats, but they kept vigilant and alert and for once the rusty State machine began to function at a pace it had not experienced for years. In a manifesto to the people, drawn up in concise and blunt terms, the Government made known the reasons for which the army had decided to act, and exposed the programme it was intent on applying. The Government had learnt from the experiment of Tsankov that it was futile to seek the fusion of political parties in order to work with their support and by prescribed parliamentary methods; it therefore proceeded to dissolve both the Chamber and the political parties, declaring that the latter had outlived their usefulness. It made it known that it contemplated working out a scheme for the creation of a corporative Parliament in which all professions would be represented as well as certain political currents, but this was a matter for the future and in the meanwhile 668 642 701

668 642 701 the Cabinet would govern by decrees. The Gheorghiev Cabinet fully justified the hopes placed in it. Never since its liberation did Bulgaria have such and efficient government; the reforms, improvements and innovations accomplished were most commendable and efficacious, and for this reason when its resignation was announced on January 22, 1935 the news caused deep disillusion and painful surprise to all those who had Bulgaria's well-being at heart.

668 701 General Zlatev, the new Premier, was Minister of War in the Gheorghiev Cabinet; in a public speech delivered on February 24, 1935, while affirming that the programme of the Government remained identical with that proclaimed in the manifesto of May 19, he explained some of the reasons which had brought about his predecessor's resignation. According to him, his predecessors had somewhat swerved from the wishes of the army which had set them in power. Instead of prosecuting and suppressing indiscriminately all Macedonian organisations they had dissolved only the Michailovist wing (alleged to be subsidised by Italy) while the Protogerovist section (pro-Yugoslav) was allowed full liberty of action M. Kimon Gheorghiev was alleged to have sought inordinate powers for himself, wishing to wield an authority like that of Signor Mussolini! For this purpose he had demanded that certain prerogatives of the Crown should be curtailed These views had hurt the loyalist feelings of the army which was profoundly attached to Tsar Boris, and it had therefore decided on the Cabinet's reconstruction as a measure likely to cement the unity of the army which was threatened by the enunciation of such views. Those who know M. Kimon Gheorghiev and his colleagues, all of whom are distinguished by their extreme modesty have some difficulty in believing that either he, or any of his collaborators aspired or contemplated to don the mantle of a dictator. What they de-

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

sired was to restrain such powers as the Crown possessed which had rendered its intervention often disastrous in the past, as had been the case for example on June 29, 1913[1]. It is with misgivings therefore that friends of Bulgaria have seen her drop these trusty pilots who have been quite gratuitously charged with fostering disunity in the army[2].

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[1] The desire to abrogate such prerogatives of the Crown as that of disposing of all promotions and appointments in the army, and of nominating the war Minister, was a thoroughly democratic conception, for Tsar Ferdinand had largely abused of these privileges and had rendered the exercise of democracy illusory.

The breed of reptilian personalities which unfortunately abounds in Bulgaria and to which the consolidation af a regime, like that of K. Gheorghiev, spells disaster, has done its utmost to poison the mind of Tsar Boris against the promoters of such a liberal scheme, and especially against Colonel Damian Veltchev, to whose courage and abnegation he largely owes his maintenance on the throne, for it must not de forgotten that Colonel D. Veltchev was one of the chief organisers of the coup d'état of June 9, 1923 which averted the proclamation of a republic by Stambulliski.

That the retention of such rights by the Crown is a dangerous weapon becomes obvious from the fact that in October 1935 some 80 capable officers were forcibly retired, for no other reason save that of being suspected of sympathising with Colonel D. Veltchev and his colleagues.

The breaking of the careers of so many promising young officers is not likely to promote the unity which Bulgarians are vainly striving to attain; on the contrary, such arbitrary measures are likely to gravely compromise the popularity which the Crown has hitherto enjoyed and nullify one of the few centripetal forces which so far have helped to bind the nation together.

[2] To all appearances the brief spell of decent government ushered in by M. K. Gheorghiev and his colleagues will remain a unique episode in Bulgarian history and future Bulgarian poets will probably celebrate its memory after the style of Byron's effusions on Miltiades:

The tyrant of the Chersonese
Was freedom's best and bravest friend
That tyrant was Miltiades!
Oh! that the present hour would lend
Another despot of the kind!
Such chains as his were sure to bind".

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

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-Unity and concord unhappily are not the distinguishing virtues of the Bulgarians, and they are not likely to be fostered by the elimination of such devoted and courageous men as M. Kimon Gheorghiev's colleagues from office. It was rumoured that Colonel Veltchev, the able supporter and adviser of the former Cabinet, aimed at dispensing with the monarchy, (this was a deliberate lie, for the new Constitution which was being prepared provided for its maintenance) that the older officers resented this and that with their aid Tsar Boris had been able to turn the tables, taking advantage of the unfavourable report of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations on the financial reforms of the Government. Whatever the intimate wishes of Colonel Damian Veltchev, former director of the military academy, and one of the most intelligent, chivalrous, and progressive officers in the Bulgarian army, it is certainly not he who can be accused of sowing disharmony in the ranks of the army. Some six years ago when he was forced to resign from his post, he published an open letter in which he made it clear that certain army circles were intent on doing away with him. This letter created a sensation. The Sofia Press at the time (October 1929) declared that:

„The facts exposed profoundly revolted the public. No one could have suspected that behind the curtains such disgusting and black intrigues could be carried on in Bulgaria, and that even if only a fourth of what had been divulged were true, the letter constituted a crushing condemnation for a community which could not guarantee security to its distinguished members".

When this document is recollected it would appear that the older officers reared in the school of Tsar Ferdinand and most of whom had not been asked to participate in the „coup d'état" of May 19, because of their participation in that of Prof. A. Tsankov had proved the undoing of his movement, resented the independence shown by their younger colleagues, and had engineered

11: Logic S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

a cabal by which they succeeded in removing them from power. The principle of hierarchy and military discipline which had apparently been infringed on May 19, 1934 especially since this „coup" was carried out without considering the wishes of Tsar Boris, the supreme head of the army, was thus vindicated and restored. But whether unity will be promoted by such methods in the army remains to be seen. For there is another point of cleavage; Colonel Veltchev favoured a policy of reconciliation with Yugoslavia and was supported by the junior officers, as well as by the organisation of the non-commissioned officers of the reserve, while the older officers sided with General Vulkov, of rather sinister fame, former minister in the Tsankov Cabinet, and later minister in Rome, who is held to be a favourite of the Court and headed the pro-Italian wing of the army. The fact that he was dismissed from his post at Rome on the accession to power of the Gheorghiev Cabinet is indicative of the existing tension between the two groups into which the military are divided. Unity and harmony seem to be foreign to the mentality of the Bulgarians; there must always be some disunity and scission; as of old, the political parties were split into Russophiles and Austrophiles, so now there are slowly evolving pro-Italian and pro-Yugoslav currents into the vortex of which both the army and the Macedonian organisation are being steadily drawn.[1] These senior officers are, as may be expected, rather of too conservative tendencies, and one may, question the advisability for a little country like Bulgaria embaking on an intensely nationalistic educational programme as had been decided upon at this belated hour. The utility of such methods is disputable even for large States like Germany; but for small

[1] It is fortunate indeed for Bulgaria that at the time of writing Italy and Yugoslavia seem to be composing their senseless quarrel so that they will cease fomenting disunity in Bulgaria.

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia
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increased U.S. aid to Monarcho-Fascism; and so forth." The Party line, the radio added, was formally changed. Henceforth the emphasis would be on "the organization and leadership of the political and economic struggles of all the strata of the working people—above all, the working class and employees, the displaced peasants, the hundreds of thousands of wounded, the war victims, the women and the youth." G 665 648

The admission that Greek nationalism had won a military victory and that Greek Communism must try to regain its hold on the masses by returning to the first principles of social action did not mean, of course, that propaganda warfare or even terroristic acts had to cease. Soon Nicolas Zachariades was writing in the Cominform journal that the American aim of creating a "Belgrade-Athens axis" must be fought "concretely, daily, constantly and tirelessly." As an example of what he meant he suggested sabotage of Jugoslav railway lines. But nothing could hide the fact that once again the feud with Belgrade had damaged Soviet Russia. It had drawn attention to the difference between her interests and those of her satellites. It had split the Greek Communist forces. It had helped the Truman Doctrine achieve its purpose sooner than might otherwise have happened.

In the autumn of 1950 as so often in the past Russia faced the old dilemma that if she favored one Balkan nation too openly she would outrage the others. The Soviet leaders now were aware, too, that when they spoke of a nation they could not exclude the Communists in it: Tito had added a complication to the Soviet game instead of simplifying it. The temptation to set the Bulgars loose against Tito must nevertheless have been very strong. The Bulgarian Army was newly equipped with Russian arms and had been reorganized by the new Minister of Defense, Lieutenant-General Peter Panchevsky, a former Soviet Army officer. Another former Soviet officer, General Novikov, was in command at the key center of Plovdiv. The size of the Bulgarian Army was not known precisely—certainly it was in excess of the 55,000 permitted by the peace treaty—but in any case, though growing, it was still smaller than the Jugoslav Army and inferior to it also in training and morale. Nevertheless Korea B 701 000

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

CHAPTER IX

THE NATIONAL STATE AS INTRUDER AND REFORMER

In Dragalevtsy, as in agricultural villages throughout the world, the national state was building up a loyalty in competition with the unquestioned loyalty people used to give to their family group and their community. The spread of the government-sponsored school, though its scientific teachings were elementary, weakened the hold of the formalistic, institutionalized religion which went along with a familistic society. Because of the school there was increased conflict between the older and younger generations. 178 656

Not only in time of war but also in time of peace the national government had been calling its young men to leave their plows and their cattle to take up pick or rifle. The *trudovatsi* handled the picks, and those in military training the rifles. 466 656 702

After the first World War Bulgaria initiated an ambitious program of compulsory labor as a substitute for military training, formerly required. The original plan called for service from both young men and young women. Recruiting of women later ceased for they proved unsuited to the system. The young men of the country were enrolled in labor camps where they performed their *trudova* (compulsory labor). Each young *trudovak* was required to serve eight months, though for two thousand leva, or less than $25, he could buy himself off at the end of six months. Some young men paid a total ranging from 9,000 leva to 32,000 leva, according to their economic status, to be entirely exempted from service.

The *trudovatsi* built many highways and bridges, and worked without pay in government shops, factories, and lumber plants. Their achievements were significant although much of this potential man power was unused or misused because of the lack of sufficient engineers to give proper direction to the work.

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The *trudova* system existed in principle until Bulgaria joined the Axis, though, she like all countries defeated in the first World War, passed through a period when compulsory labor was gradually replaced by compulsory military service. After the *coup d'état* of May, 1934, various groups of army officers controlled many of the country's policies; so it was not surprising to learn of the strengthening of the military forces of the nation. One sign of the government's changed policy was the fact that in 1935 not a single young man from Dragalevtsy went as a *trudovak,* but sixteen were called to do military service. Those eligible for service were called before a commission of army officers and examined; the successful ones passed on to receive military training, and the rest were returned home. Those who were rejected lost some standing in the eyes of the villagers, because it was thought that they had inherited some family weakness. The *family* rather than the individual was blamed.

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There was undeniably a great influence exercised upon the village by the practice of taking young men, in their impressionable years, away from the village for an interval of several months. They lived in an army barracks or a *trudovak* camp with other young men from different parts of the country. For a time they ceased doing some things which the village thought essential, and they learned to do other things which older family members would perhaps have frowned upon. They went out from a family system where each member worked more or less as a part of the whole; they returned often very conscious of their own individuality, and had to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought once more closed about them. There were some individuals who never again fell completely into line and who turned to Sofia for employment and a more congenial atmosphere.

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Older men who returned to the village as retired noncommissioned officers enjoyed a certain prestige that lingered after brass buttons and clumping boots had been exchanged for the conventional village attire. On the wall of the office of the Village Clerk, the names of all local officials and public employees were posted. There was considerable information regarding each man, but the concluding and perhaps most important item was the statement of the person's service

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Flower bazaar and tavern: It is around the fourth destination on Fridays that fondest memories cling, because this is the spot near the Sofia flower bazaar where young people from surrounding villages go upon completing their morning duties in town. It is here that romance blossoms and young men from one village are introduced to girls from another. While the younger people are amusing themselves here the older people, especially the men, gather at the tavern called *Dulgata Mehana,* the particular establishment to which Dragalevtsy peasants are loyal.[7] They lunch and drink here, they rest here, and here they swap their stories. Nor is it without pride that they tell how Fiodor Chaliapin, the celebrated opera singer, in 1934 spent a very merry evening in this *Dulgata Mehana,* enjoying its drink and atmosphere. Seldom, however, does the peasant get to converse with the Sofia citizenry in this tavern. Here again he is in a peasant world; if he were not, he would feel decidedly uncomfortable. Should he decide to see a movie, in the afternoon he would go to a cheap theater on a side street and guffaw with his fellow peasants.[8]

2. To Serve His Country. The *trudova* system, or that of compulsory labor for the young men of Bulgaria, has received much attention in the West. It served a magnificent purpose, taking as it did young men from villages throughout the land, mixing them up in labor camps, and providing them with picks and shovels for the construction of highways, bridges, and other public works. But now the young Bulgarian citizen is given military training instead. This is not in keeping with the Treaty of Neuilly, which limited Bulgaria's armed forces to 33,000, but what nation in Europe, the Bulgarians ask, has been abiding by the treaties? The trend from *trudova* to military service is shown by the fact that in 1935 not a single youth was called from Dragalevtsy to do *trudova* service, but sixteen went to be trained as soldiers.

The effect of life in a labor camp or a military barracks upon the young men is apparent upon their return to the village. They have gone out from a family system where each member works unquestioningly as a part of the whole; they return, in spite of military discipline, often very conscious of their own individuality, and have to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought again close in about them. However, before the returning young men are reabsorbed by the community, reverberations of struggle are felt throughout parts of the social structure. There are some who never again fall completely into line and who naturally

[7] Every village over a period of years has tended to select one tavern where peasants from that village spend their leisure time while in Sofia.

[8] Fifty-five per cent of the villagers (babies, children, and adults) have never seen a cinema. Out of 265 families reporting, *all* members of 73 families had seen a cinema; *no* members of 78 families had done so.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

156 turn to Sofia for employment and sympathy. But the significant fact is that
● 702 most young people do submit to the process of resocialization and as they grow older adopt the conservatism of their elders. In other words, no attempt is made in the army experience to teach them new farming methods, bee-keeping, animal breeding, or anything else which they might apply in a useful way upon their return to the village.

554 3. For the Good of His Soul. When asked "Why do you go on pil-
788 grimages to various Bulgarian monasteries?" the peasants often answer: "We
484 go for the good of our souls." No mention is made of the enhanced social status that is theirs as a result of such a trip or the excitement of being sped on their way at the edge of the village by the priest and a flock of relatives or welcomed back far outside the village by the same relatives two or three days later. The most popular place to visit is Rila Monastery, the historic, magnificent establishment in the heart of the Rila Mountains to which thousands come at Easter time. The Dragalevtsy peasants (only thirty-five from the village went in 1934) mix with the assembled multitudes at Rila, attend the services, buy sacred objects, and snatch what sleep they can before starting on the return journey. If they are walking, the pilgrimage requires five or six days; if they go by automobile from Sofia, they spend one day en route each way. In olden days pilgrimages played a great part in creating social contacts between the villages and the outside world. Now we can safely conclude that as other means of making social contact increase, the importance of making pilgrimages decreases.

484 4. To Visit Socially. Once a year a Bulgarian village has an "At Home
574 Day." This event always falls on the name day of the saint, angel, or member of the Trinity for whom the local church is named and is commemorated by the preparation of immense quantities of stews for the few hundred guests from outside. Many of these guests are old residents returning with their families for a visit. There is a special service at which bread and boiled corn is blessed, the priest in return receiving a portion of the food. At the meal afterwards, to which all guests are invited, pledges are made for the upkeep of the local church. Many guests would rather go to the homes of friends and relatives than partake of the common meal; this makes more intimate visitation possible. These "At Homes" of neighboring villages are the chief attractions drawing the peasants from Dragalevtsy to other villages. Table 13 on the following page shows us how often Dragalevtsy family heads visit other villages (for the "At Home" as well as other purposes).

484 Combining the data in this table with other information obtained we can make the following conclusions regarding the social visits of Dragalevtsy people to other villages:

1: Lee H-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
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Communists, Agrarians, Democrats, and republicans. In the summer the Soviet Union, against whom Bulgaria had not declared war, began to press for the ousting of the Germans and a reversal of the policy pursued since 1941. On September 2, a new Bulgarian government, headed by a former secretary of Stambolisky, Konstantin Muraviev, and including former Premier Mušanov, announced the full restoration of democratic freedom and rights, a return to neutrality, and the nullification of the Tripartite Pact. It also dispatched representatives to Cairo to negotiate an armistice with Great Britain and the United States and, on September 8, declared war on Germany. In the meantime, however, Russia, not fully satisfied with the course being pursued, declared war on Bulgaria on September 5. This confusing situation was clarified four days later when Muraviev was succeeded by a new government which had the full support of the "Fatherland Front." It was led by Kimon Georgiev, who was alleged to have experienced a change of heart since his participation in the *coup d'état* of 1934, and included his former colleague, Colonel Velchev.

Before the end of September Russian military forces had moved into the country and were rapidly turning the Bulgarian army, now placed under the command of a Russian General, Tolbukhin, against the fleeing Germans. By the formal armistice terms, signed in Moscow on October 28, 1944, Bulgaria promised to withdraw from all territories occupied in Greece and Yugoslavia, to restore all properties of the United Nations and make reparation for damages, to rid Bulgaria of all pro-Axis organizations, to coöperate in the arrest and trial of war criminals, and to accept an Allied Control Commission which would regulate and supervise the execution of the armistice. Since Russia held a dominant position in the Commission and since Bulgaria was prepared to follow Communist leadership, her lot as an ex-Axis satellite differed little from that of Yugoslavia.

Reconstruction and Peacemaking

Reconstruction in both Yugoslavia and Bulgaria took the form of a revolution led by Communists and was patterned after the policies and practices of the Soviet Union.

The National Front in Yugoslavia

The Tito government, established in Yugoslavia in 1945, promised that it would "comply with the fundamental and general principles of constitutional government" and that it intended to found a democratic, federative state. This was to consist of Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia. Provisional governments were formed in each of these units in April and May, 1945. While Tito's ter-

1: Lee H-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
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side of the East-West division that seems to have split Europe and the world.

With respect to boundary settlements, Yugoslavia failed to get Trieste and an additional slice of Carinthia, although she won most of the Istrian Peninsula and much of Venezia Giulia which she had demanded. At the same time Bulgaria retained the part of southern Dobruja awarded her in 1941, but failed to get an outlet to the sea through "Aegean Macedonia" as she desired. Although both governments, along with Albania's, were guilty of permitting, if not fostering, attacks upon Greece by armed bands in support of Greek Communists and refused to coöperate fully with the United Nations investigating committee, it is not yet clear whether they hoped to wrest part of Macedonia from Greece by force or looked forward to a secession by a Communist group which would join the Yugoslav federation.

It is certain, however, that Bulgaria's relations with Yugoslavia were conducted in the spirit of the declaration of January 10, 1945 in favor of "the closest possible collaboration with the peoples of the new Yugoslavia." Tito more than once reciprocated this sentiment, raising the conjecture that perhaps the federal structure of Yugoslavia might be extended to embrace Bulgaria. Until August, 1947, however, collaboration took the form of an agreement, completed on August 2, upon a mutual assistance pact and full cultural and economic coöperation, described in the announcement as virtually wiping out the frontier between them. At the same time Yugoslavia made a series of agreements with Albania that integrated its economy closely with Yugoslavia's. Thus the century-old dream of Balkan Slavic leaders came close to realization by means of the binding force of Communism. In this and in many other respects Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are experiencing a revolution still at full tide. What the ultimate ebb and flow may bring still remains obscured by the uncertainties and imponderables not only within their boundaries, but perhaps even more by those in the world around them.

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* The author wishes to acknowledge the valuable assistance of Miss Ruth Savord, Librarian of the Council on Foreign Relations, in compiling this bibliography.

8. Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 FE1 Bulgaria EE1

for new wars. Nevertheless, Bulgaria obtained an outlet on the Aegean Sea and this was recognized as a reasonable act by all Balkan peoples (1913). 175

The events in Europe that brought about the First World War found Bulgaria on the side of Germany. The violation of essential Bulgarian rights after the Balkan wars and the outrage exercised by the former allies (1912) of Bulgaria over the Bulgarian population, left under the foreign domination, had much to do in leading Bulgaria to take this fatal decision, which was absolutely opposed to the highest interests of the Bulgarian nation. The Carnegie Foundation made an investigation (1914) to establish the truth about cruelties practiced by both sides over the peaceful population and their abuse of the international rules for carrying on war. We may safely say that Bulgaria came out with honor as a result of this investigation, while the same could not be said about the Greek army, as we will point out this further in our study. 721

The World War of 1914-1918 ended for Bulgaria with the Treaty of Neuilly. Bulgaria was punished in an unprecedented manner. The biggest punishment, however, was depriving her from the outlet on the Aegean Sea, which all Balkan peoples unanimously recognized as her reasonable right in spite of their inimical attitude. 728

26. The Peace Treaty of Neuilly, 1919. If we consider the Peace Treaty of Berlin as a fatal step for the peace in Europe, then the Treaty of Versailles - Neuilly was the unpardonable repetition of the same fault for the Balkans. It was a peace arrangement fostered by statesmen who were blinded by revenge. Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Balfour, Sonino and Orlando were the authors of a peace of „politicians". Dillon[1]) speaks of them as follows: „They were novices in international affairs. Geography, ethnology, psychology and political history were forbidden books for them. What they lacked might have been supplied, to a large degree, by a selection of counsellors more widely informed than they. They chose, however, the help of mediocrities. Since the heads of the main governments, by implication, pretended to be the authorized representatives of the human

[1]) Dillon, The Peace Conference; cif. H. G. Wells, opus cit. vol. III, p. 1114.

March 3,1918, and reiterated by a communist deputy on May 25,1932. Ferdinand did not sign the mobilisation order until the money was advanced to him.[1] 648

The Powers to whom the existence of the Balkan Alliance had become known, made a belated attempt to impose the acceptance of reforms on Turkey in order to avoid the threatened war, and even Sazonov, at the instigation of France ,did his best to restrain the combative mood of the Balkan States which he had encouraged, but an Albanian revolt, and a massacre of Bulgarians in the Macedonian town of Kotsana, followed by tbe massihg of Turki h troops in Thrace, forced the hands of the Balkan States, which replied by hurriedly mobilising their armies. On October 8, Montenegro declared war on Turkey, the Porte followed by declaring war on Serbia and Bulgaria on the 17th, and finally Greece declared war on Turkey on the 18th. The Bulgarian victories in Thrace were not utilised to the full owing to tne mutual jealousies of the commanding generals. General Kutintchev, the commander of the first army refused to lend his support to the third army under General Radko Dimitriev at Lule Burgas because he had been frustrated in his hopes that both the first and third army 721

[1] A few years ago a Communist interpellated the German government in the Reichstag as to the disbursements which were being made to Ferdinand, and it was then revealed that this modern Judas had received thirty million marks in order to involve Bulgaria in the world war on the side of the Central Powers, and that moreover he was drawing a yearly allowance. In a resounding interview published in the Austro-German press immediately after his abdication, Ferdinand had boasted that for thirty years he had faithfully served the interests of the Central Empires so that there is nothing untoward if the Germans are now granting him a pension.

Madol in his "Ferdinand of Bulgaria" p. 233 attempts fo dispel the depressing impression caused by these revelations of the contemptible behaviour of his patron by offering what could only be a very lame apology.

721 would have been placed under his command. After the fall of Kirk-Kilisse, General R. Dimitriev was prevented from pursuing the retreating enemy, and instead was ordered by Head Quarters to stop and entrench. This permitted the Turks to make a further stand at Visa and Lule Burgas. After defeating them at the latter place he was again prevented from following them up and ordered to entrench in spite of his assurances that the Turks were in full flight. The Turks themselves admit that had the Bulgarians followed up their success at Kirk-Kilisse they would have reached Constantinople before them. (Cf. Sherif Pasha's „Quelques reflections sur la Guerre." p. 28) Bulgarian Head Quarters could not forgive General R. Dimitriev his brilliant victories. (Cf. V, T. Veltchev's „Towards the Pogrom").

728 The Turks had been so cowed by their defeats that their ambassador in St. Petersburgh demanded on October 22, Russia's mediation in order that the Bulgarians might not enter Constantinople. The Ministerial Council received on October 29 from the Grand Vizier Kiamil Pasha an offer for the conclusion of an armisrice and preliminary peace, approved of it and transmitted it to Ferdinand who replied only on November 1, forbidding them to transmit it to the allies of Bulgaria, and only allowed this offer to be communicated to them after ordering the attack on the Tchataldja lines. The megalomania of Ferdinand may be gauged by the text of his reply: „Deeply grieved by the Grand Vizier soliciting peace, I, as leader of the victorious and indomitable Bulgarian armies encamped under the walls of Constantinople in the name and for the honour of our country forbid the government to communicate the Turkish offer to our Allies. No steps to be taken until I consult with the leaders of the army . . . no one can oppose the desire of a 300,000 army". The Bulgarian staff however, was able to restrain to some

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

648 Russia if he felt himself unsupported, and Sazonov readily sensed this when he replied on June 25 to Bobtchev, the Bulgarian Minister in St. Petersburgh:

„You are following Austria's counsels, you are free... The Emperor did not expect an ultimatum as to a time limit in his decision in the dispute. After your declaration, expect nothing from us, forget that some responsibility may devolve on us through the Treaty of 1902".

In fact Russia had clearly intimated to Bulgaria as late as June 24, that she would not arbitrate in the Bulgaro-Serbian dispute so long as Bulgaria refused to submit to arbitration her difference with Greece (Russian Orange Book, document No. 251). Danev as late as June 28 wired to Bobtchev: „I shall negotiate alone if I come. Please do not talk of any arbitration concerning Greece." This shows that Danev had never accepted Russia's conditions and that he was playing for time. In fact the Bulgarian Cabinet had agreed on June 22 that it would accept Russian arbitration provided the Tsar agreed to issue his verdict by June 29, and within the stipulations of the Bulgaro-Serbian Treaty, and these conditions Russia declined to comply with, so that Gueshov's contention that Bulgaria had accepted the arbitration of the Tsar of Russia can not be upheld. Events would certainly have taken another turn if the arbitrator had been a more energetic person that the late Tsar Nicolas II and if he had interceded firmly and not allowed the quarrel to drag on and become envenomed.

648 721 In a public lecture delivered in Sofia on April 23, 1933, General Kovatchev, the commander of the 4th Bulgarian army, which attacked the Serbians on June 29, 1913, gave some striking details which illustrate the morbid ambition which haunted Ferdinand concerning Constantinople, his abnormal treatment of his subordinates, and a narrative of the events which led to the issuing of the

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936. EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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fatal order to attack. Though his version does not agree in all particulars with others, General Kovatchev also concluded that Danev was bound to know of what was brewing. The lecture may be summarised as follows:

The General began by narrating how Ferdinand attempted to excite the anger of the officer corps against Russia, presenting the latter as the sole obstacle to Bulgaria's securing an outlet on the sea of Marmara. In an interview which Kovatchev had on February 8, 1913, Ferdinand complained to him of Generals Savov, Nikiforov and Fitchev and made most disparaging remarks about them. At a Cabinet meeting held after the Easter holidays, all the army commanders save Fitchev expressed the opinion that the Bulgarian army was in a position to wage war on Serbia and Greece, and that while Gueshov's partisans were for a peaceful solution, Danev's supporters were warlike. General Savov related to the speaker that the conflict which arose between him and Tsar Ferdinand was due to the latter's resolve not to end the war without securing Rodosto on the Marmara. Ferdinand ordered him on April 8 to write to the Prime Minister, Gueshov, in the name of the army, that it refused to conclude peace until the above object had been attained. Savov answered that he could not agree to this demand and expose the army's prestige needlessly. Ferdinand reiterated his demand which Savov again categorically rejected, whereupon Ferdinand convoked him in his presence and began reprobating him for his insubordination reviling him and accusing him of ingratitude, since he had taken him out of the dock and placed him in this high post, and instead of showing gratitude, he was discrediting him in the eyes of the army. This flow of invective put Savov out of humour and he coolly replied that when he would be tried he would not hesitate to unravel matters which would clearly reveal who of the two was responsible for the misdeeds which were being ascribed to him, after which Savov bowed and withdrew. Kovatsev met Savov again on May 31 and was told that the army was now being moved to the west in order to impress Russia, France and England into coercing Serbia to accept the Treaty stipulations, as these three Powers were most anxious to maintain the Balkan Alliance. Concerning the issuing of the order to attack, General Kovatsev affirms that both Ferdinand and Savov did not want to provoke war, but that they were seeking to impress not only the Serbians and Greeks, but also the Tsar of Russia, in order that the latter might arbitrate in favour of Bulgaria. Savov had not informed Danev of the intended attack, but he supposed that

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Tsar Ferdinand had done so. Savov could hardly assume that the two had not acted in concert, for Danev was kept imformed of matters of even a more delicate nature, so that he could not be ignorant of what was happening, since Palace circles were cognisant, and they would have reported it to him. Another proof that Danev was acquainted with what was occurring, was the telegrams which he addressed on the morning of June 30 to the Bulgarian representatives abroad to the effect that the attack had been started by the Serbians and Greeks and not by the Bulgarians, and secondly the order Danev transmitted simultaneously to the military censors to prevent the publication of any news concerning what was happening at the front.

When the attack miscarried, the Cabinet attempted to disculpate itself by showing that it knew nothing of the attack. After consulting with the Russian Minister in Sofia, it ordered the suspension of hostilities, without making sure whether the Serbian and Greek armies would condescend to do likewise. Russia promised to put a stop to the fratricidal war if Bulgaria would accept the territory between the Bregalnitsa and Vardar, the Belassitsa Mountains and the Struma, with the towns of Kotshana, Radovitch Pehtsevo, Drama, Cavalla and possibly Serres, but Danev refused and resigned, declaring that „his policy had gone bankrupt". His resignation and the advent of the Austrophile Cabinet of Radoslavov brought about the failure of Russia's effort to help Bulgaria out of the mess she had got in. Tsar Ferdinand immediately suspended General Savov from his functions for having obeyed the injunctions of the Government. The Serbians who were so long spoiling for a fight, now that they had been offered an excellent justification for doing so [1] rejected all offers for

[1] The Serbian military circles had formally declared to the Serbian Government that they had definitely resolved to retain the lands they occupied and that they would not yield them up. Proclamations declaring war on Bulgaria in which the date was left blank were seized on Serbian prisoners and this shows that the Serbians were contemplating to declare war on Bulgaria and were waiting for a favourable occasion; the Bulgarians merely forestalled

an armistice, and turned a deaf ear to Russia's injunctions counterattacked the Bulgarians who had been ordered to cease fighting and badly mauled them. It took some time for the Bulgarian army to recover from these initial rebuffs, but in a few weeks under the able leadership of general R. Dimitriev, the situation had been retrieved. The Bulgarians were advancing on Nisch and threatening to cut the communications of the Serbian army in Macedonia, while the Greek army seemed as if it would suffer a Sedan in the Kresna defile but all these efforts of the troops were unavailing. The Rumanian army unrestrained by Russia, which could not allow Serbia to be crushed, had invaded Bulgaria and was advancing unopposed on Sofia, while Turkey, following the example set by Rumania, reoccupied Adrianople. Bulgaria was forced to capitulate and throw herself on the mercy of her vindictive enemies.

By the ensuing Treaty of Bucarest signed on August 10, Bulgaria was deprived of all share in Macedonia save the upper part of the valley of the river Struma, and received as her share of the spoils wrung from Turkey, a short stretch of coast line of the Aegean, between the rivers Mesta and Maritsa with its hinterland, the mountainous region of the Rhodopes. She was obliged to cede to Rumania the whole of the southern Dobrudja in spite of the fact that this region of 7609 sq. klm. with a population of 290000 souls contained only 2.2% of Rumanians One would have expected that both the Balkan States and the Great Powers would have at least exerted themselves a little in order to secure for Bulgaria that part of Thrace up

an attack on their allies. Sazonov in his „Fateful Years", p. 95, admits that it was Russia who prevented Serbia from opening hostilities: „The army was confident of success. I replied that I did not consider myself in a position to offer strategic advice, but from a political no less than a moral point of view.such a policy would cause irreparable damage to Serbia, damage for which no military success could compensate her.

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

648 der-in-chief and chief of the army staff, whose participation in enginering the attack on June 29, 1913 is graphically described in Minister Pechev's Memoirs. Some 30,000 Macedonians were enrolled and trained long before the publication of the mobilisation decree on the night of September 21, in order that they might be used if necessary as a bludgeon to overawe the Bulgarians into accepting the policy which had been decided on. The Macedonians had made repeated efforts to convince the Allies of the necessity of transferring their native land to Bulgaria, but disgusted at the irresoluteness the Entente displayed, they finally threw in their lot with the Germans and actively assisted the latter in putting into operation their plans. Dr. Vladov one of their leaders had approached at an early date Savinsky, the Russian ambassador in Sofia and told him:

„If only you succeed in obtaining for Bulgaria the Macedonian territories which should be hers according to the Bulgaro-Serbian agreement of 1912, the whole country will be up in arms and fight at your side. Should the Government try and oppose us, we would force them to desist: as to the King, we who have more than once faced death, would not hesitate to do away with him should he attempt to thwart our political ambitions". (Recollections of a Russian diplomat. p. 204).

648 721 The ministers of the Triple Entente presented an ultimatum on October 4 summoning Bulgaria to break off relations with the Central Powers, to which Radoslavov replied with an indignant protest of innocence that could hardly be surpassed in duplicity; this having been considered as unsatisfactory, the Entente representatives severed diplomatic relations with Bulgaria and left on October 7. A few days later the Bulgarian army, as it had been prearranged, crossed into Serbia in order to support the Austro-German attack on that country which had already begun.[1]

[1] (For details of the military operations see the writer's contribution to „Bulgaria & Rumania." in the Nations of to-day series, published by Hodder & Stoughton).

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721 The occupation of Macedonia did not render the Radoslavov Gevernment any the more popular in the eyes of the people. The chief brunt of the fighting fell on the Bulgarians, because the Germans after reaching Kragujevats withdrew their forces and left only one army corps to support Bulgaria. This relieved to some extent the pressure on the Serbian army and enabled it to retreat through Albania to the Adriatic. Apparently von Mackensen's plan was to open up communications with Turkey and did not consist of annihilating the Serbian army which would have involved much greater sacrifices for the Germans. After completing the conquest of Macedonia, the Bulgarian army leaders insisted on occupying Salonica, so as to eliminate an eventual enemy thrust from that quarter in order that they might then proceed to the partial demobilisation of the army; to this demand, however, the Germans opposed a resolute refusal. They considered that the maintenance of the Salonica front suited best their purpose, for the Bulgarian army which could not be employed in th west, could be used to tie down a corresponding number of Entente troops which would necessarily be detached from the Western front where otherwise they would have to be faced by Germans. Radoslavov in his „Bulgaria and the world crisis", p.137/8, affirms that:

„The attack on Salonica was not undertaken because it was believed that Greece would eventually join the Central Alliance. She had already permitted the taking of Rupel, Drama, and Cavalla according to a written prearranged plan. Early in 1916 von Falkenhayn decided not to take Salonica and was supported by Hindenburg though General Conrad von Hötzendorf held the contrary view. Soon after the occupation of Serbia, serious divergences arose between Bulgaria and Austria over Prizren and Prishtina, both States demanding their incorporation into their respective territory".

724 648 Serious difficulties were created also through the Germans attempting to lay hands on all available supplies in Bulgaria and through their forcing the Bulgarian army

724 648 commissariat to furnish provisions far beyond those necessary for the limited number of German troops on the Macedonian front. In the State Trial of the Radoslavov Cabinet it was revealed that while the Germans had between 16,000 and 18,000 troops on the Southern front they were drawing rations for over 100,000 men. The balance above their requirements was sent to Germany. Each German soldier had the right to send 5kg of foodstuffs a week home, and for this purpose there was a perpetual stream of German soldiers arriving in Bulgaria from occupied Serbia buying up provisions and returning. This extensive draining of the resources of Bulgaria, increased through the illicit export of provisions systematically undertaken by the Ministers and their supporters, caused a serious dearth. Minister Pechev notes in his Memoirs, 22. XII. 1935:

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in the conflict. The Rumanian Minister in Sofia gave assurances that Rumania would support Bulgaria's claim to Macedonia, that she would retrocede southern Dobrudja, and that she would intervene in order that a separate peace be concluded with the Entente, and that finally, Bulgaria would secure the Midia-Enos line in Thrace. The Opposition did its best to convince Radoslavov of the expediency of this policy, it also sent delegates to Ferdinand to plead in favour of the adoption of this plan, but Ferdinand rejected them with contumely and ordered Radoslavov to declare war on Rumania which was done on September 1, 1916, four days later than Germany. 721 648

After the occupation of the Dobrudja, the Germans started requisitioning all the available supplies and this gave rise to continuous incidents between the Bulgarians and the Germans The occupation of the railway lines and the installing of German administrative authorities in certain parts of the Dobrudja which was claimed in its entirety by Bulgaria, caused a very grave conflict between the two allied governments, and strained relations almost to breaking point. 727

In the early spring of 1917, General Sarrail showed activity on the Salonica front and on July 2, Greece, after King Constantine's expulsion, officially declared war on Bulgaria. The Bulgarians appealed for assistance to Germany but received nothing save the advice to shorten their front by retreating. The dearth of foodstuffs and the ever-increasing pressure of the enemy on the Salonica front was rendering the situation in Bulgaria desperate. General Jekov was often in complete disagreement with the Government and refused to take orders from it. On September 20 the Agrarians sent a letter to the commander-in-chief proposing to him to overthrow the Radoslavov Government and assuring him of their willingness to continue the policy of co-operation with Germany. 722

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●722 The manifesto was signed by Tsanko Bakalov, Omartsevski, Al. Dimitrov and N. Atanassov. subsequently appointed ministers in the Stambuliiski Cabinet, This was not the first manifestation of open revolt against Radoslavov. In July 1916, while the budget was being voted, the Opposition and the adherents of Ghenadiev declared themselves against it and the Government would have been overthrown if Gueshov's party, bribed by the promise of securing the amnesty of three of its prominent members, compromised in the Des Closières, affair, turned round and voted in support of the Government. At the end of 1917, the Stambulovist wing had openly seceded from the Government and the latter was barely maintaining itself by various artifices. The conclusion of peace with Bolshevik [728] Russia on February 9, 1918, did not improve the situation, for a grave conflict arose over the Dobrudja and the signing of peace with Rumania was being purposely postponed. The Germans refused to concede Northern Dobrudja and the Turks were demanding the retrocession of Western Thrace up to the Mesta river. When peace was signed at Bucarest on May 6, 1918 Northern Dobrudja was adjudjed a condominium until the disputes between the allies were settled.

This temporary solution exacerbated to the utmost the army circles and the civilians against Radoslavov. After the military success obtained by the Greek troops on May 30, General Jekov presented a scathing report on the administration accusing it of demoralising the army through its incapacity, corruption and inability to impose on the Germans the carrying out of their promises to support Bulgaria. The Bulgarian soldiers were described as being clothed in rags, destitute of food and short of artillery munitions. Ferdinand, in view of the seriouseness of the situation was forced to part with his favourite and on June 21 a coalition Cabinet headed by Malinov and Kosturkov, the leaders

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of the Democrats and Radicals was constituted in the hope of appeasing the army and public opinion. It was generally believed that the new Cabinet would attempt to conclude a separate peace with the Entente, but this was not within the domain of the possible, for the Cabinet could not count on the army which was entirely in the hands of the Germans and of Ferdinand. Besides, the railways were practically under the control of the Germans who could easily have flooded the country with their troops quartered in the adjoining regions. All Malinov could do was to insist on the Germans carrying out the stipulations of the Treaty, in order to secure some relief for the Bulgarian troops, and to improve the food supply while endeavouring to promote the conclusion of peace by supporting Austria in her endeavours. To this effect Malinov addressed on August 12 1918 a strongly worded note to the Central Powers complaining that since February, Bulgaria had ceased receiving war supplies, protesting against the stopping of the subsidy of 50 millions which had been so far granted to Bulgaria every three months, and demanding the dispatch of Germans reinforcements in order to strengthen the Salonica front where the Entente was continually massing troops. This note met apparently with some success since the Bulgarian representative in Berlin advised Malinov that the Germans would resume payment of the subsidy, forward munitions, and would despatch one German division to Macedonia. (Bulgarian Orange Book. vol II № 1542).

Ferdinand was resolutely opposed to the conclusion of a separate peace with the Entente. According to the deposition of the Bulgarian Minister in Vienna, Tochev, at the State Trial of the Radoslavov Cabinet, Ferdinand had declared to him in 1916: „That the war was lost, but that he would not conclude a separate peace and become a traitor to his allies".

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Ferdinand had no illusions about the outcome of the struggle: On June 11, 1918, he addressed a telegram to General Jekov expressing his forebodings as to the impending close of his activity in the Near East. Jekov replied that a change in the Government might raise the drooping morale of the troops, but the newly constituted Malinov Cabinet, though it was aware of the difficult position the army was in, was not helped by Ferdinand in its desire to conclude a separate peace. It would perhaps have acted more energetically if it had been a broad coalition Cabinet instead of being composed of two parties only, the remainig parties not appearing desirous of assuming any responsibility at the time. In spite of the reluctance of Ferdinand to the conclusion of a separate peace, the Cabinet entrusted seveval persons abroad with the task of sounding Entente circles as to the possibility of coming to terms. President Wilson was the only person to respond favourably to these advances by dispatching Mr. Murphy to Sofia in order to facilitate the Bulgarian Government's task in its efforts to conclude peace. Both Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Robert Cecil were favourably disposed to the conclusion of a separate peace with Bulgaria and at the conferences which took place in Paris during July 1918 expressed themselves in support of this idea, but the French, were utterly opposed; General Guillaumat, who had a short time previously been relieved from his post of commander of the Salonica army, expressed the view that the Bulgarians could be easily beaten and that it was useless to make concessions to them. Mr, Lloyd George was finally won over to the opinions of General Guillaumat, and early in September the British, who were previously opposed to the undertaking of an offensive in Macedonia, gave their consent and General Franchet d'Esperay, the new commander-in-chief, hastened to carry out the plan which had been prepared by his predecessor several months previously.

11: Logio S-4. (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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THE WORLD WAR

Though the situation of the Bulgarian army was known to be critical, yet no one in Sofia foresaw that disaster was imminent. The offensive, undertaken in September 15, against the Bulgarian positions at Dobro Pole met with complete success, the defence was overwhelmed and a complete breach through secured, which permitted the Entente troops to advance unopposed up the Vardar valley, attaining Veles by September 26. But apparently the extent of the disaster was not fully realised in Sofia. Malinov telegraphed to the Bulgarian representative in Berlin on September 19, insisting on the Germans conceding the Bulgarian demands on the Dobrubja in order that the morale of the troops might be raised. On September 21 Ferdinand who was in Uskub, was advised of the critical position of the army and that there was little hope of help arriving from Germany in time to retrieve the situation. It was only on September 23 that the Bulgarian army Headquarters informed the Government that some 10 divisions with artillery would be needed to stop the gap made by the enemy. A ministerial council was convoked, and on September 23 without the consent of Ferdinand, decided to demand the cessation of military activities. A Bulgarian delegation left for the front and on September 29 an armistice was concluded at Salonica. Malinov hastened to advise the German Minister in Sofia on September 26 of these intentions of his Government, and that it was useless to send help from Germany as it would arrive too late. Demoralisation had set in meanwhile in the army;the Government attempted to induce the troops to hold their positions until the conclusion of the Armistice by dispatching certain Agrarian deputies to the front headed by Stambuliiski who was purposely set free from prison, where he had been kept since the beginning of hostilities, and on September 27, Stambuliiski proclaimed a republic and made preparations for overthrowing the Go-

1: Lee H-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
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XXVII

BULGARIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

DWIGHT E. LEE

Introduction

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BULGARIA and Yugoslavia emerged from the war of 1914-1918 in contrasting positions—the one a defeated power and the other a victor. This situation, a repetition of that following the Second Balkan War only six years before, helped to perpetuate a feeling of rivalry and bitterness toward each other. Both nations, however, faced serious political and economic problems at home which were far from satisfactorily settled when the war of 1939-1945 caught them up again and threw them once more on opposite sides of the struggle.

Bulgaria[1]

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The military collapse of Bulgaria in September, 1918, was followed shortly afterward on October 4 by the abdication of Tsar Ferdinand and the succession of Boris III. Although the pro-German premier, Radoslavov, had resigned some months before, his successors who signed the armistice were unable to stem the current of discontent and disillusionment caused by wartime suffering and the prospect of a severe peace. Accordingly, in the elections of August, 1919, the leftist Agrarian party won a significant victory under the leadership of Alexander Stambolisky who had gone to jail for three years because of his opposition to entry into the war and, upon his release in 1918, had sought to set up a republic. Of peasant stock, he was the embodiment of the hopes for a new era held by the Bulgarian farmers who constituted nearly 80 per cent of the population. After

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[1] The best studies on contemporary Bulgaria are the following: A. Bulatsel, *Ocherki sotsialno-politicheskoĭ zhizni Bolgarii* (Moscow, 1925); K. Dimitriev, *Bolgariya* (Moscow, 1941); A. Girginov, *Ot voĭnata kŭm mir* (Sofia, 1937); T. Girginov, *Istoricheski razvoĭ na savremenna Bŭlgariya* (2 v.; Sofia, 1934-1935); N. Iliev, *Boris III, tsar na Bŭlgaritĕ* (Sofia, 1936); A. P. Malinov, *Stranichki ot nashata nova politicheska istoriya* (Sofia, 1938); N. D. Petkov, *Aleksandŭr Stambolĭiski. Lichnost i idei* (Sofia, 1930); N. Stanev, *Istoriya na nova Bŭlgariya, 1878-1928* (Sofia, 1929); K. Todorov, *Politička istorija savremene Bugarske* (Belgrad, 1938). Sources in Slavic languages have been supplied by Professor C. E. Black of Princeton University.

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of Yugoslavia" (AVNOJ), established at Jayce, November, 1943. Following the Teheran decision, pressure was put upon King Peter in London to make an agreement with Tito. This was accomplished in the summer of 1944 by Ivan Subašić who had been appointed premier of the government-in-exile for that purpose. As the Germans were gradually cleared out of the country after the surrender of Italy and Bulgaria, the further step of setting up a provisional government on Yugoslav soil was taken in March, 1945, when a new regency council was appointed, Tito was made premier, and Subašić became foreign minister. Though the story of the next few months was to be scarcely less exciting than that of the war period, it belongs to the era of peacemaking and reconstruction where it will be discussed.

Bulgaria

Even though Bulgaria shared in the early triumphs of the Axis, occupying Thrace as well as most of Macedonia, its position was little better than Yugoslavia's. The Bulgarian government had to adopt a policy of severe repression, especially after 1941, in order to keep in line the mass of the population whose traditional sympathies for Russia and the United States were aroused after their entry into the war against Germany. Moreover, the Third Reich made ever increasing demands upon the country as the initial Nazi victories were turned into defeat in both Russia and the Mediterranean. Reports from Bulgaria of insurrections, sabotage, student demonstrations, Communist terrorism, and disaffected public servants including army officers were common throughout 1942 and 1943. The Nazis found it necessary not only to direct all police work but also to interfere frequently in the administration of important government departments until the German Minister, Beckerle, became virtually a *Gauleiter* in a hostile land. Apparently Boris III and his governments did their best to resist the most distasteful demands, and it may well be that the tsar met his death in August, 1943, because of his refusal to yield to Hitler's requests. Some indication of the temper of the people may be gleaned from the fact that Premier Filov arranged a pro-German Council of Regency for young Tsar Simeon II without taking the risk of seeking authorization from a specially elected *sobranje* as required by the constitution.[8]

By late spring, 1944, reports began to appear concerning "Partisan" activity in Bulgaria and the formation of a "Fatherland Front" composed of

[8] Very little reliable information concerning Bulgaria since 1941 has been published. For the handiest summaries of news reports, see the references cited in footnote 6 above and also the *Bulletin of International News*, XXI XXII (1944-45). Foreign newspaper correspondents were admitted to bulgaria only in the middle of 1945.

563 167 banishment and economic spoliation against the Bulgarians. It brought them misery, sickness and death. This is a long story and space prevents us to tell it even in brief on this occasion (Fig. 10).

Bulgarians were exiled to the islands of Crete, Milos, Citera, Mitilene and Chios and to some parts of the Greek main land. Nearly 25,000 Bulgarians were banished in this manner. Many of them died of hunger and distress — particularly old people and children. Two hundred persons died in the village of Domus-Déré. Those who were lucky to return alive found their villages ruined and pillaged. Colonel Korf and Major Deroover, who were delegates in the mixed Bulgarian-Greek Commission on expatriations, reported: „Those who were sent to exile formed lines, which continued for weeks, during the months of February and March of 1923. The expatriation from each village was effected without delay. The unprepared villagers started on their jorney without any personal effects, abandoning their property and their crops. About 15,000 to 20,000 families were thus exiled to the islands and Thesally. To save themselves from exile many took refuge in Bulgaria ... Banished Bulgarians, who managed to survive, were brought back from the islands and from Thesally in the fall of 1923. Their condition was destitute and lamentable. They pleaded that Bulgaria should open her frontiers and accept them on her territory, because they found their homes empty and were dying of hunger and cold."

727 563 **37. Modern Greek Cruelties.** Basil II Vulgaroctonos or the „Slayer of Bulgarians", in 1014, bored the eyes of 15,000 Bulgarian captives and left, for each group of 100, one single eyed guard to lead them. Greek cruelty towards anything that savours of Bulgarian, has not diminished since that time. Because of the generally milder and more humane attitude of the world of to-day, Greek cruelty should appear to have been softened a bit; but this really is a delusion, because, on the contrary, the Greeks manifest now a days the same inclinations.

The investigation made by a commission of the Carnegie Endowment after the mutual accusations of cruelties after the Balkan War, 1912-1913, has furnished us with an abundant evidence of Greek cruelty, which explains the Bulgarian depopulation of Western Thrace. We find the following in the intro-

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

duction to the repport of this investigations whose acting Director was Nicolas Murrey Butler: [1]) 727 563

„The circumstances which attended the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 were of such character as to fix upon them the attention of the civilized world. The conflicting reports as to what actually occured before and during these wars, together with the persistent rumors often supported by specific and detailed statements as to violations of the laws of war by the several combatants, made it important that an impartial and exhaustive examination should be made of this entire episode in contemporary history... It was with this motive and for this purpose that the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace constituted in July, 1913, an International Commission of Inquiry to study the recent Balkan Wars and to visit the actual scenes where fighting has taken place and the territory which has been devasted...[2])

We give the following extract from the repport:

„(p. 103). The Commission regrets that the attitude of the Greek governement toward its work has prevented it from obtaining any official answer to the charges which emerge from this evidence. The broad fact that the whole of this Bulgarian region, for a distance of about one hundred miles, was devasted and nearly (p. 104) every village burned, admits of non denial... No verdict which is based on the evidence collected by the Commission could be more severe than that which Greek soldiers have pronounced upon themselves. It happened that on the eve of the armistice (July 27) the Bulgarians captured the baggage of the Nineteenth Greek infantry regiment at Dobrinishte (Razlog). It included its post-bags...

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[1]) Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars; publ. by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Intercourse and Education; publication No 4; Washington D. C., 1914.

[2]) The Presidence of this International Commission was entrusted to Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, Senator of France, who had represented his country at the First and Second Hague Conference of 1899 and 1907; Members of the Commission: Austria — Dr. Josef Redlich, Prof. of Public Law, University of Vienna; Germany — Dr. Walter Schückling, Prof. of Law at the University of Marburg; Great Britain — Francis W. Hirst, Esq., Editor of The Economist an Dr. H. N. Brailsford, journalist; Russia — Prof. Paul Milioukoff, Member of the Douma; United States — Dr. Samuel T. Dutton, Prof. In Teachers' College, Columbia University,

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The soldiers' letters reguire no commentary. Some of the writers boast of the cruelties practiced by the Greek army. Others deplore them. The statements in fact (see Appendix C, No 51) are simple, brutal, and direct, and always to the same effect. These soldiers all state that they everywhere burned the Bulgarian villages. Two boast of the massacre of prisoners of war. One remarks that all the girls they met were violated. Most of the letters dwell on the slaughter of incombatants, including women and children. These few extracts, each from a separate letter, may suffice to convey their general terror:

„By order of the King we are setting fire to all the Bulgarian villages because the Bulgarians burned the beautiful town of Serres, Nigrita, and several Greek villages.[1])

„We have shown ourselves far more cruel than the Bulgarians... Here we are burning the villages and killing the Bulgarians, both women and children... We took only a few (prisoners), and these we killed, for such are the orders we have received.., We have to burn the villages — such is the order — slaughter the young people and spare only the old people and the children... What is done to the Bulgarians is indescriptible; also to the Bulgarian peasants. It was a butchery. There is not a Bulgarian town or village but is burned... We massacre all the Bulgarians wo fall into our hands and burn the villages... Of the 1200 prisoners we took at Nigrita, only forty-one remain in the prisons, and everywhere we have been we have not left a single root of this race... We picked out their eyes (five Bulgarian prisoners) while they were stil alive... The Greek army sets fire to all the villages where there are Bulgarians and massacres all it meets. ... God knows where this will end."

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[1]) Cf. ibid. p. 94: „The cases against the Bulgarians which remains after critical examination of the evidence relating to Dexato, Serres and Demir-Hissar is sufficiently grave. In each case the Bulgarians acted under provocation and in each case the accusation is grossly exagerated, but their reprisals were non the less laxles and unmeasured. It is fair, however, to point out that these three cases, even on the worst view which may be taken by them, are far from supporting the general statements of some Greek writers, that the Bulgarians in their withdrawl from southern Macedonia and western Thrace, followed a general policy of devastation and massacre. They held five considerable Greeco-Turkish towns in this area and many smaller place — Drama, Kavala, Xanthi, Gumurdjina and Dedeagatch. In none of these did the Bulgarians burn and massacre, through some facts of violence occured."

8. Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1940 EEI Bulgaria EEI

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„These letters relieve us of the task of summing up the evidence. From Kukush to the Bulgarian frontier the Greek army devasted the villages, violated the women, and slaughtered the noncombatant men. The order to carry out reprisals was evidently obeyed. We repeat, however, that these reprisals began before the Bulgarian provocation. A list of Bulgarian villages burned by the Greek army which will be found in Apendix C (No 52) convey some measure of this ruthless devastation. At Serres Bulgarians destroyed 4000 (p. 106) houses in the conflagration which followed the fighting in the streets. The ruin of this considerable town has impressed the imagination of the civilized world. Systematically and in cold blood the Greeks burned one hundred and sixty Bulgarian villages and destroyed at least 16.000 Bulgarian homes. The figures need no commentary."

A large part of the population fled to Bulgaria. Considerable part of them were butchered or drowned in the sea like Bostandjieff, the Secretary of the Salonica municipality and the Vicar of the Bulgarian Archbishorpric at Salonica, the Archimandrite Eulogius. The latter was a highly educated man, having studied at an eclesiastical high school in Austria-Hungary and then in Paris[1]). — The Archimandrite Eulogius lived his last on June 18/July 1.[1])

A witness described the scene of the murder of Reverend Father Eulogius in the following words:[2])

„We were a number of soldiers on board the steamer Catherine. I happened to stand a little apart. The Greek soldiers ordered our people to go down into the hold. When I found myself alone I was afraid of being thrown out of the ship and held my breath. At this moment the Vicar of our Archibishopric, the Rev. Father Eulogius, was brought up and two Greek soldiers having hastily robbed him transfixed him with their bayonets and threw him into the sea. I saw his long black hair floating for some time on the water, and then everything disappeared."

Considerable part of the Bulgarian population was butchered or drowned like Bostandjieff or Rev. Father Eulogius,

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[1]) Ibid. p. 189.
[2]) Ibid. p. 191.

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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or interned on the island of Thrakiri and died there in martyrdom.

The town of Kukush (Kikis) and 30 villages of this country were among the inhabitated localities which were rased to the ground. The three villages of Negovan, Ravna and Bogoroditza in the vicinity of Salonica were also burned.

The fact that the main streets of all Macedonian and Thracian towns are named after Basil II, the Slayer of Bulgarians, shows how little the Greek has advanced in the last quarter of a century. There was a street even in Salonica, which was named after King Constantine Voulgaroctonos (Slayer of Bulgarians), who ordered the butchery of Bulgarians in 1914 and the burning of their villages.

38. The Greek „Voulgarophaghi", 1913.

We read in the report of the Carnegie Investigation Commission the following[1]):

„The Greek army went into the war, its mind inflamed with anger and contempt. A gaudily colored print, which we saw in the streets of Salonica and Pireaus, eagerly bought by the Greek soldiers returning to their homes, reveals the depth of the brutality to which this race hatred had sunk them. It shows a Greek evzone (highlander) holding a living Bulgarian soldier with both hands, while he gnaws the face of his victim with his teeth, like some beast of prey. It is entitled the Bulgarophagos (Bulgar-Eater), and is adorned with the following verses:

„The sea of fire which boils in my brest
And calls for vengeance with the savage waves of my soul,
Will be quenched when the monsters of Sofia are still,
And the life blood extinguishes my hate.

„Another popular battle picture shows a Greek soldier gouging out the eyes of a living Bulgarian. A third shows as an episode of a battle scene the exploit of the Bulgar eater."

„As an evidence of the feeling which animated the Greek army these things have their importance. They mean, in plain words, that Greek soldiers wished to believe that they and their comrades perpetrated bestial crueltics. A print seller

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[1]) Ibid. p. 95-96.

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

who issued such pictures in a western country would be held guilty of a gross libel on its army." (Fig. 11). 727 563

Fig. 11. This picture is borowed from the Report of the International Commission (Carnegie Endowment) pp. 96-98 and shows the Greek „Bulgarophaghi" or „Eaters of Bulgarians", as they themselves have given the picture. Bulgarian villages in flames are seen in the background. (1913).

But let us stop at that. The records of the injustices and cruelties, committed for ages against the Bulgarians, are enormous and voluminous. So that we should not think of Bulgaria, like many a casual sentimentalist do, as only the land of the sweet scent of roses. Bulgaria is the land of great trials and tribulations, which need be known to anyone who has

175 raised in 1914 and 1921, of 83, and 157 million leva respectively, as well as that of the 270 millions advanced by the
457 Diskonto Gesellschaft, which would bring the total military
652 expenditure up to 6216 million leva, of varying value, however, since the leva had depreciated from the intrinsic equivalent of a gold franc in 1914 to as little as 0.036 gold franc in 1921. These 6216 millions were financed by the expedients of increasing the fiduciary circulation which from 226,615,000 leva at the end of 1914 rose to the record figure of 4,622,833,000 on Nov. 30, 1924, and by the advances of the National Bank which at the end of the financial year 1921-1922 amounted to 4,206 million leva.

This estimate is for military expenditure incurred by
175 the State during the World war, and it is permissible to
652 presume that even parts of the budgetary deficits of the years 1921 to 1923 represented expenditure on this head.
• 727 It takes no account of the losses inflicted on the community at large, or of the war pensions the State had to serve subsequently to the disabled and their dependents. The number of killed was according to a statement made by the Minister of War in the Sobranye on Nov. 22, 1927, 53,825 during the Balkan wars and 115,048 during the World war.

175 In 1929 there were 98,000 persons receiving pensions as war invalids or as dependents of such, and the amount
652 of the annual charge this constituted to the budget was
729 372 million leva, or less than a paltry £6 a year per person at the then prevailing rate of exchange. This was all a grateful country could afford to pay to those of her sons who had been disabled in defending her. When such heroic sacrifices are so poorly requited, it is not surprising that its citizens' devotion towards it should perceptively cool and that they should turn for consolation to such subversive doctrines as Communism, which holds out the promise of greater justice and equity.

in the conflict. The Rumanian Minister in Sofia gave assurances that Rumania would support Bulgaria's claim to Macedonia, that she would retrocede southern Dobrudja, and that she would intervene in order that a separate peace be concluded with the Entente, and that finally, Bulgaria would secure the Midia-Enos line in Thrace. The Opposition did its best to convince Radoslavov of the expediency of this policy, it also sent delegates to Ferdinand to plead in favour of the adoption of this plan, but Ferdinand rejected them with contumely and ordered Radoslavov to declare war on Rumania which was done on September 1, 1916, four days later than Germany. 721 648

After the occupation of the Dobrudja, the Germans started requisitioning all the available supplies and this gave rise to continuous incidents between the Bulgarians and the Germans The occupation of the railway lines and the installing of German administrative authorities in certain parts of the Dobrudja which was claimed in its entirety by Bulgaria, caused a very grave conflict between the two allied governments, and strained relations almost to breaking point. 727

In the early spring of 1917, General Sarrail showed activity on the Salonica front and on July 2, Greece, after King Constantine's expulsion, officially declared war on Bulgaria. The Bulgarians appealed for assistance to Germany but received nothing save the advice to shorten their front by retreating. The dearth of foodstuffs and the ever-increasing pressure of the enemy on the Salonica front was rendering the situation in Bulgaria desperate. General Jekov was often in complete disagreement with the Government and refused to take orders from it. On September 20 the Agrarians sent a letter to the commander-in-chief proposing to him to overthrow the Radoslavov Government and assuring him of their willingness to continue the policy of co-operation with Germany. 722

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia Bulgaria EEI EF1

in the period of extreme Nazi peril it played down nationalism as a revolutionary weapon, minimized the revolutionary rôle of the Red Army and emphasized Marxism's reformist aspects. After the Nazi attack, Stalin revived the emphasis on nationalism with a bang; and the successful progress and outcome of the Great Patriotic War prepared the way for the reappearance of nationalism in international Communist tactics.

When the Nazi armies overran Jugoslavia and Greece, Hitler placed most of Macedonia in charge of his Bulgarian allies, who tried with usual Balkan violence and lack of success to convince its inhabitants that they were all Bulgars. One reason why Tito developed the political organ of the Partisan movement, the AVNOJ, described in an earlier chapter, was in order that there might exist some national body to protest enemy annexations and occupations—Italian and Hungarian as well as Bulgarian—and stake out Jugoslavia's counterclaims in debatable areas. Thus at a meeting at Jajce in November 1943 the AVNOJ adopted a resolution setting forth Jugoslav territorial claims against Italy, which had just collapsed, and another calling for the future organization of Jugoslavia on a federal basis and naming Macedonia as one of the six component units. The borders of Macedonia were not specified. In other words, no indication was given whether Tito would be content with the part of Macedonia which had formed part of the national territory before the war or would try to enlarge Jugoslav holdings at Bulgaria's expense. Tito asked for Stalin's approval of the Jajce program, and secured it.

But although Stalin approved the Jajce declaration he was not ready to relinquish the Bulgarian card entirely, as was presently shown by the fact that the Bulgarian Communists continued to espouse a contrary solution for the Macedonian question, joining with other anti-Nazi Bulgarian elements in proclaiming that the only way to dispose permanently of the "apple of discord" would be to merge the three segments—Jugoslav, Greek and Bulgarian—in "an integral, free and independent Macedonia." Nor did he forbid them to indicate which nation was entitled to be the "apple's" custodian: their proclamation described Macedonia as "the cradle of the Bulgarian nation for which a river of blood has been given."

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples
E16

B 342 SL [342]

selves in the valleys of the Danube, found both troglodyte and surface dwellings in use among the previous inhabitants of these areas, i.e. the Thracians, from whom Roumanians of Vlachia and Moldavia, and Albanians of the Skodra lake area took over these huts, called bordeiu (1).

B [361]

More specially the Bulgars, who in their ancient home were living a nomad life, had no permanent houses. They lived just as the rest of Turanian peoples, in tents they put up in places where they could find pastures for their herds; when the pastures were exhausted, camps were dissolved and the tents carried with the nomads.

B 175 648 361 G 175 648 SL [342] B [727]

When, under the leadership of Asparuch, Bulgars established a strong base in the Delta of the Danube and when, using this stronghold as a base, they occupied all the area between this river and the Balkan mountains, only then began the Bulgars to know the advantages of permanent installation. For a long time, however, they were wild fighters and lived on the peoples they subjugated, the old Thracians, who had been hellenised, or latinised, and the other Greeks and Slavs who had established themselves in those areas during the previous century (2). These Slavs, according to Procopius (3) and to the Biography of Saint Demetrius (4), knew only how to build (5) «miserable huts» or «tents» besides the underground shelters mentioned above. The thousands of Greek prisoners who were kidnapped during the Bulgarian invasions were «drafted» into the in-

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1) According to **Fr. Nopcsa,** Albanien, 1925, p. 11 these underground dwellings of Roumania and Bulgaria represent the immediate descendants of the pre-historic and Roman housings of the Haimos peninsula. The writings on the tiles found in pre-historic dwellings have a Thracian character. Remains of Thracian tribes have been found despite the Illyric over-layer, both, in the Skodra lake and in Dardania. Dobroutcha has always been a Thracian area.

2) **D. Zakythinos,** Οἱ Σλάβοι ἐν Ἑλλάδι, Athens, 1945, p. 27 «The permanent installation of Slav tribes in the Balkan peninsula begins only during the first years of the 7th Century».

3) **Procop.** De bello Gotth. 3, 14: Οἰκοῦσι δὲ (Σκλάβηνοί τε καὶ Ἄνται) ἐν καλύβαις οἰκτραῖς διεσκευασμένοι πολλῷ μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀμείβοντες δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικήσεως ἕκαστοι χῶρον.

4) **A. Tougard,** De l'histoire profane dans les actes grecs des bollandistes. Paris 1874, p. 184, 190.

5) According to **Niederle,** op. cit. 2, p. 98, «it is easily understood that the Slavs used to build, besides the underground shelters (abris) which were covered by an additional wooden roof, light huts without any trenches on the model of the «koliba», built by the shepherds of the Karpathians and the Balkans, made of inter-woven branches of trees».

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

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vader's country(1) and they were obliged not only to cultivate the land on behalf of their owners, but also to carry out all other work and naturally to build permanent houses which were necessary, since Bulgars were to establish themselves for good in these newly conquered districts.

For a long time Bulgars had either the disposition nor the sense to learning arts and crafts. Even where they had abandoned their incursions and lootings and were giving themselves to peaceful occupations, as agriculture and stock-breeding, they did not take to the arts. The palaces and the churches of Bulgaria have been built by foreigners, especially by Greeks, such as the beautiful palace of Aboba near Schumen, which is a monument of Byzantine style of the 9th or 10th century(2). But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, accord-

1) The Bulgarian inroads on Greek territories for looting and capture of prisoners began in the period of Asparouch (679-701) and continued till the reign of Michael (1246-1257). King Krum, when he captured Adrianoupolis in 813, took away all her inhabitants, as well as those of the surrounding areas, all amounting to 40.000, into Bulgarian territory to the North of the Danube. Another 50.000 prisoners together with other loot, were taken during the winter of the same year from Thrace (**W. Slatarski**, Geschichte der Bulgaren, I, Leipzig, 1918 p. 15,29). According to the Bulgarian historian **Ivan Sakazov** (Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Berlin u. Leipzig, 1929, p. 57 foll.) «Bulgaria was filled up with prisoners and cattle, which formed the Bulgarian national wealth and made their well-being possible. It was on this basis that the material civilization was formed, which Omortag, Krum's heir, bequeathed to his descendents.» Later (1206), during a battle near the Tountza river, when the Bulgarian Ioannitzis or Skyloyiannis was totally defeated by the Greeks, 20.000 prisoners together with 3.000 carts were liberated, while they were led towards Bulgaria together with a great amount of loot. See **Diog. Xanalatos**, Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βούλγαροι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θρᾴκην, Α' Athens 1944 pp. 17, 22 etc. 33, 39, 40 etc. Cp. **K. Paparrigopoulos**, Ἱστορ. Ἑλλ. Ἔθνους 6th edition, tome 4, b, 186 and foll. t. 5, a 23. **K. Amandos**, Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους Α' 1939 p. 411. Β' 1947, pp 5, 173, 426. Οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1923 p. 26 and 40 **Ant. Keramopoullos** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες, Athens 1945, p. 167 and foll. **G. A. Megas**, Ἀδριανούπολις ἡ πολυκρουσεμένη in the periodical Ἑλληνικὴ Δημιουργία t. I 1948 pp. 93 and foll.

2) **L. Niederle**, op. cit. 112. **C. Jirecek** says that: «Even in the best years of the Middle Ages, during the reign of Tsar Symeon, according to the evidence given by Joannis Exarchos, there were to be seen but straw-covered huts in Bulgaria, except for the palace of the king». Straw-covered huts in Bulgaria are also mentioned by Kantakouzinos, 1, 143, edit. Bonn.

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According to the Bulgarian historian **I. Sakazov**, op cit. p. 41, «The very beginnings of an economic organisation in Bulgaria appeared in the court of the Tsars and with the aristocracy, who were trying to imitate the Byzan-

1: Lee H-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
Yugoslavia

becoming premier in October, 1919, Stambolisky's first task After was that of signing the peace terms drawn up by the victorious Allies. 728

The Treaty of Neuilly, November 27, 1919, reduced Bulgaria to a smaller area than it had held before the First Balkan War of 1912 and imposed new burdens. Bulgaria lost the Aegean coast (Western Thrace) to Greece, southern Dobruja to Romania, and strips of land on the west to Yugoslavia. The army was limited to a total of 20,000. Reparations amounting to $450,000,000 were to be paid in thirty-seven years, beginning in 1921. The existence of Bulgarian minorities in all the neighboring states furnished a basis for revisionism which steadily grew, particularly after the rise of fascism throughout Europe in the thirties.[2] The provision for an exchange of populations with Greece greatly heightened the volume of refugees who streamed into Bulgaria, adding to the political ferment and economic burdens of the country. In these and other ways, the settlement exacerbated conditions under which radicalism throve. [131] [701] [668] [167]

Stambolisky won a commanding position in the parliamentary elections of March, 1920, and proceeded to ride roughshod over both the middle class and conservative parties on the right and the Communists on the left. He instituted a number of reforms, including a land law designed to break up the crown lands and larger estates, the imposition of a heavy income tax, and the establishment of a compulsory labor service which in the first four years of operation secured the equivalent of five million wage days of work for the Ministries of Public Works and Railways. In foreign policy he sought to fulfill the treaties and to effect a reconciliation with Yugoslavia among whose Communist and Agrarian parties his concepts of Slavic federation found support. His dictatorial methods, however, won him enemies on all sides, not least among them being the Macedonians who opposed his policy of rapprochement with Yugoslavia. In June, 1923, he was overthrown by a *coup d'état* organized by a group of intellectuals, led by Professor Tsankov, and the League of Army Reserve Officers, among whom Colonels Velchev and Georgiev were leaders. A few days later Stambolisky was assassinated. 643 185 656 648 669

Following the Stambolisky regime, the Tsankov government (1923-26) represented a swing to the right. "Communist" insurrections and violence were suppressed with great severity. The increased activity of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) caused difficulties at home and abroad, although after the assassination of its leader Alexandrov (1924) it was split into two factions under Protoguerov and Mihailov who became bitter rivals. A threat of war with Greece arose, but was averted by the action of the League of Nations. A more conciliatory government 642 668

[2] See G. P. Genov, *Bulgaria and the Treaty of Neuilly* (Sofia, 1935).

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668 Communists, Agrarians, Democrats, and republicans. In the summer the
642 Soviet Union, against whom Bulgaria had not declared war, began to press for the ousting of the Germans and a reversal of the policy pursued since
648 1941. On September 2, a new Bulgarian government, headed by a former secretary of Stambolisky, Konstantin Muraviev, and including former Premier Mušanov, announced the full restoration of democratic freedom and rights, a return to neutrality, and the nullification of the Tripartite Pact. It also dispatched representatives to Cairo to negotiate an armistice with Great Britain and the United States and, on September 8, declared
721 war on Germany. In the meantime, however, Russia, not fully satisfied
642 with the course being pursued, declared war on Bulgaria on September 5. This confusing situation was clarified four days later when Muraviev was succeeded by a new government which had the full support of the "Fatherland Front." It was led by Kimon Georgiev, who was alleged to have experienced a change of heart since his participation in the *coup d'état* of 1934, and included his former colleague, Colonel Velchev.

Before the end of September Russian military forces had moved into the country and were rapidly turning the Bulgarian army, now placed under the command of a Russian General, Tolbukhin, against the fleeing
● 728 Germans. By the formal armistice terms, signed in Moscow on October 28, 1944, Bulgaria promised to withdraw from all territories occupied in Greece and Yugoslavia, to restore all properties of the United Nations and make reparation for damages, to rid Bulgaria of all pro-Axis organizations, to coöperate in the arrest and trial of war criminals, and to accept an Allied Control Commission which would regulate and supervise the execution of the armistice. Since Russia held a dominant position in the Commission and since Bulgaria was prepared to follow Communist leadership, her lot as an ex-Axis satellite differed little from that of Yugoslavia.

Reconstruction and Peacemaking

Y-B
669 Reconstruction in both Yugoslavia and Bulgaria took the form of a revolution led by Communists and was patterned after the policies and practices of the Soviet Union.

The National Front in Yugoslavia

Y
642 The Tito government, established in Yugoslavia in 1945, promised that
631 it would "comply with the fundamental and general principles of constitutional government" and that it intended to found a democratic, federative state. This was to consist of Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia. Provisional governments were formed in each of these units in April and May, 1945. While Tito's ter-

1: Lee H-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
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side of the East-West division that seems to have split Europe and the world.

With respect to boundary settlements, Yugoslavia failed to get Trieste and an additional slice of Carinthia, although she won most of the Istrian Peninsula and much of Venezia Giulia which she had demanded. At the same time Bulgaria retained the part of southern Dobruja awarded her in 1941, but failed to get an outlet to the sea through "Aegean Macedonia" as she desired. Although both governments, along with Albania's, were guilty of permitting, if not fostering, attacks upon Greece by armed bands in support of Greek Communists and refused to coöperate fully with the United Nations investigating committee, it is not yet clear whether they hoped to wrest part of Macedonia from Greece by force or looked forward to a secession by a Communist group which would join the Yugoslav federation.

It is certain, however, that Bulgaria's relations with Yugoslavia were conducted in the spirit of the declaration of January 10, 1945 in favor of "the closest possible collaboration with the peoples of the new Yugoslavia." Tito more than once reciprocated this sentiment, raising the conjecture that perhaps the federal structure of Yugoslavia might be extended to embrace Bulgaria. Until August, 1947, however, collaboration took the form of an agreement, completed on August 2, upon a mutual assistance pact and full cultural and economic coöperation, described in the announcement as virtually wiping out the frontier between them. At the same time Yugoslavia made a series of agreements with Albania that integrated its economy closely with Yugoslavia's. Thus the century-old dream of Balkan Slavic leaders came close to realization by means of the binding force of Communism. In this and in many other respects Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are experiencing a revolution still at full tide. What the ultimate ebb and flow may bring still remains obscured by the uncertainties and imponderables not only within their boundaries, but perhaps even more by those in the world around them.

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* The author wishes to acknowledge the valuable assistance of Miss Ruth Savord, Librarian of the Council on Foreign Relations, in compiling this bibliography.

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for new wars. Nevertheless, Bulgaria obtained an outlet on the Aegean Sea and this was recognized as a reasonable act by all Balkan peoples (1913). 175

The events in Europe that brought about the First World War found Bulgaria on the side of Germany. The violation of essential Bulgarian rights after the Balkan wars and the outrage exercised by the former allies (1912) of Bulgaria over the Bulgarian population, left under the foreign domination, had much to do in leading Bulgaria to take this fatal decision, which was absolutely opposed to the highest interests of the Bulgarian nation. The Carnegie Foundation made an investigation (1914) to establish the truth about cruelties practiced by both sides over the peaceful population and their abuse of the international rules for carrying on war. We may safely say that Bulgaria came out with honor as a result of this investigation, while the same could not be said about the Greek army, as we will point out this further in our study. 721

The World War of 1914-1918 ended for Bulgaria with the Treaty of Neuilly. Bulgaria was punished in an unprecedented manner. The biggest punishment, however, was depriving her from the outlet on the Aegean Sea, which all Balkan peoples unanimously recognized as her reasonable right in spite of their inimical attitude. 728

26. The Peace Treaty of Neuilly, 1919. If we consider the Peace Treaty of Berlin as a fatal step for the peace in Europe, then the Treaty of Versailles - Neuilly was the unpardonable repetition of the same fault for the Balkans. It was a peace arrangement fostered by statesmen who were blinded by revenge. Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Balfour, Sonino and Orlando were the authors of a peace of „politicians". Dillon[1]) speaks of them as follows: „They were novices in international affairs. Geography, ethnology, psychology and political history were forbidden books for them. What they lacked might have been supplied, to a large degree, by a selection of counsellors more widely informed than they. They chose, however, the help of mediocrities. Since the heads of the main governments, by implication, pretended to be the authorized representatives of the human

[1]) Dillon, The Peace Conference; cif. H. G. Wells, opus cit. vol. III, p. 1114.

728 race, invested with unlimited power, it should be pointed out that this claimed ordination was seriously opposed by the public press. Almost all popular newspapers criticized the dictatorship of this band of prime ministers". H. G. Wells points out very properly how the Peace Conference was reduced from a Council of Ten to a Council of Four (Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Orlando) and how it gradually turned from a conference of free and open discussion for the future welfare of all, to an old fashioned diplomatic conspiracy. Was not the Berlin Conference of 1878 this kind of „old fashioned diplomatic conspiracy?" History was repeating itself for the Balkan Slavs. The ground was being prepared for future wars.

There could hardly be a better description of the situation after Versailles 1918, than the one given us by an enlightened and farsighted writer like H. G. Wells: [1])

„When we consider the transitoriness of the settlements effected by the diplomatists, we are impressed at once by the feebleness of their diplomacy and the realization of the strong intractable forces that defeated their manœvres and arrangements. We are still more impressed by the uninstructed ineffectivness of the new international idealism imported into European interchanges by President Wilson. His Fourten Points were left by these treaties like a row of ruined and tattered houses in a bombarded village. Some had gone altogheter; other were twisted out of recognition. The first attempt to produce a world law passed away like a burst of laughter in a tavern".

000 **27. What a Frech Author says about the Bulgarians.** A Frenchman, Cyprien Robert, writes in his book 1844: Les Slaves de Turquie Serbes, Monténégrins, Bosniaques, Albanais et Bulgares; leurs ressources, leurs tendances et leurs progrès politiques; Paris, 1844, vol. I. p. 228: [2])

„A subjected and unfortunate nation lives at the outskirts of Europe. Its name is hardly known to the world of to-day, but its people are worthy of our attention. They are the Bulgarians, who have preserved their old habits, their burning faith, their noble character, even during the time of their worse

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[1]) H. G. Wells; op. cit. vol. III, p. 1124.

[2]) German translation — Die Slaven in der Türkei, Stuttgart, 1851; 2-nd edition; vol, 2, p. 191.

000 **28. Western Thrace.** Western Thrace is an Aegean Sea province surrounded on both sides by the lower courses of the rivers Maritza and Mesta and on the north by the watershed between the river Arda and the Aegean Sea (Fig. 5). This inclosure slopes towards the said sea and has a sea coast line of about 85 miles or 135 kilometers. Its surface is about half the size of Albania and the USA state of Connecticut is 1.33 times larger than it.

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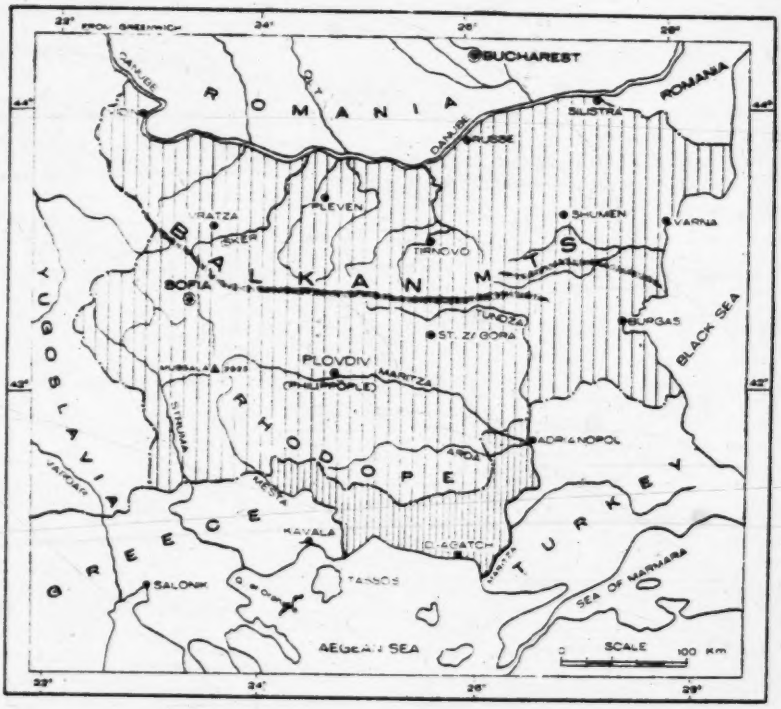

Fig. 5. Bulgaria and Western Thrace.

000 Travellers, who studied the ethnographic limits of the Bulgarian people during the 18th and 19th century speak of the Bulgarian character of Western Thrace.

728 The border between Bulgaria and Western Thrace, or the territorial outlet of Bulgaria to the Aegean Sea, has a history of its own. The San Stefano Treaty gave an Aegean Sea outlet to Bulgaria on the gulf of Salonica, by the estuary of the Vardar River, and also from the gulf of Or-

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phano to Kavala near Burughiol beyond the mouth of Mesta River. The Berlin Treaty deprived Bulgaria of this outlet. The London Treaty of 1913, at the end of the Balkan War, gave Bulgaria again a territorial outlet to this sea and established the Eastern frontier of Turkey at the line Enos—Midia.

The Bucarest Peace Conference granted Bulgaria an outlet between the estuaries of Mesta and Maritsa rivers, which included the natural sea port of this region, Dédé-Agach. This port was the terminal at the end of the Maritsa valley, along which run the roads to the Aegean Sea. The lower course of Maritsa became the border line between Bulgaria and Turkey, according to an understanding which took place between the two states in 1915. It provided the cession of a strip of land around Adrianopol to Turkey, which included the railroad station of that city, Kara-Agach, at the railroad line from the Bulgarian frontier to Dédé-Agach.

The Great War of 1914—1918 ended with the peace of Neuilly (1918) for Bulgaria. It brought countless sanctions of revenge to the Bulgarian people. One of them was found in article 48, which provided: „Bulgaria renounces in favour of the Principal Associated and Allied Powers all her rights and titles over the territory of Thrace which formerly belonged to the Bulgarian monarchy and which, being outside of the new frontiers of Bulgaria, are not allocated to any one as yet. Bulgaria binds herself to recognise the decisions of the Principal Associated and Allied Powers with regards to these territories. The Principal Allied and Associated Powers bind themselves to guarantee the freedom of economic outlets for Bulgaria to the Aegean Sea. The conditions of this guarantee will be determined later."

This was a deception, because it had already been decided to give these territories to Greece, and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers renounced later the guaranteed outlet also. At the Conference of San Remo (19—26 April, 1920), which was a continuation of the Paris Peace Conference and in which Bulgaria did not take part, it was decided, at the suggesttion of Lloyd George assisted by Venizelos, that Greece should obtain both Western and Eastern Thrace as far as the line of Tchataldja. General Charpy, governor-general of Western Thrace from 1918 until 1920, started the withdrawal of his forces,

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Fig. 6. The Aegean Coast passes from hand to hand, like a play ball for 67 years!

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upon which the Greeks occupied this territory. Article 1 of the Peace Treaty of Sèvres. signed August 10, 1920, stipulated the following: „The Principal Allied and Associated Powers declare that they transfer to Greece all rights and titles they have over the territories of Thrace, by virtue of article 48 of the Peace Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria." Article 4 undermined the guarantee given to Bulgaria for an economic outlet to the Aegean Sea, by substituting for it the stipulation „freedom of transit is recognized over the territory and ports of Greece". Bulgaria was not a party to these negotiations and decisions and the Sèvres Treaty was ratified by none of the participants in this conference. Consequently, Bulgaria claimed properly that the question about her territorial outlet was open still by dint of right. The subject was taken up again at Lausanne (April 23 — June 24, 1924), in connection with peace negotiations between Turkey and Greece. These negotiations ended by returning to Turkey Eastern Thrace up to Maritsa. Turkey received also that strip of land around the railroad station Kara-Agach in such a queer arrangement, that the railroad from the Bulgarian frontier to Dédé-Agach runs at the present time first through Greek territory, then through Turkish and again through Greek territory.

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This is then the famous „freedom of transit" over Greek territory!

29. Fooling with a Sea Coast. The Aegean Sea coast passed from hand to hand like a play ball for 67 years. It was a foul game played against the interests of the Balkan peoples and Eastern Europe in general. Here is a graphic representation of the different stages of this game (Fig. 6).

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30. The Aegean Sea Locked by the Greeks! The Balkan Peninsula is surrounded by three seas: The Adriatic and Ionian sea, this is the sea of Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece and Italy; the Black sea, the sea of Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey and USSR; and the Aegean sea, which is the most accessible sea in South Eastern Europe. Greece wishes to have it locked for herself (Fig. 7)). Could there be any serious defence for such a policy from the

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ECONOMIC HISTORY

The pre-war period

After the amputation inflicted on her by the Treaty of Berlin, it was natural for Bulgaria to devote from the moment of her emergence as a political entity most of her resources and energy to repairing the mutilations she had suffered. She thus diverted to this aim a large part of the vital strength she would under different circumstances have entirely consecrated to her cultural and economic advancement. And if, in spite of this incubus Bulgaria yet attained to such remarkable material development within the six decades of her independent existence it may be surmised with certainty that the progress achieved would have been a record one had she started on her career as a nation under more auspicious omens. 175

From the very start she was encouraged to spend an unduly large proportion of her resources on the organisation of her army by the Russian officials who supervised the setting up of her administration, and owing to the natural desire of the Bulgarian people to liberate their enslaved kinsmen, who had been thrust under foreign dominion by the bungling politicians at the Berlin Congress, it was extremely difficult to discourage expenditure on this head. This tendency was further encouraged by the armament firms which showed themselves always obsequious and ready to facilitate the securing of the necessary credits for financing the supply of war material and thereby helped to involve Bulgaria into an indebtedness beyond her capacity. 175 652

The Bulgarian State was further saddled with heavy obligations such as that of assuming a certain indebtedness towards Turkey in the form of an annual tribute and that of defraying the cost of the Russian military occupation. It was also forced to provide for the construction of those 728 175

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sections of the projected international railway which was to traverse Bulgarian territory, an onerous liability for a young State, since such a railway was of little importance to local traffic, and further, it was constrained owing to its political vassalage to maintain a uniform custom tariff with that of Turkey and was thereby debarred from increasing its revenue. The country having been maintained in a most backward condition while under Turkish rule, had to create of a piece a complete administration, organise an army, construct a net-work of roads and railways, build ports, and improvise a minimum of equipment of which it was entirely deficient, possessing few roads and only one railway of international, but of little local importance, namely that between Rustchuk and Varna, of a total length of 224 klm. belonging to an English company and which the Bulgarian government was obliged to buy out a few years later. Towns and villages which had been destroyed during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 and the insurrection which preceded it had to be rebuilt, and even the bulk of the land which belonged to Turkish landlords had to be purchased by the Bulgarian peasantry before the latter could be installed as owners in the fields they cultivated.

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Bulgaria being a pre-eminently agricultural country with practically no other revenues save such taxation as could be raised from her industrious peasantry was thus faced with the Herculean task of providing out of her meagre means the indispensable equipment of a modern State, and it speaks volumes to the credit of her people that so much should have been achieved within so brief a time, all the more so since the country owing to its undeveloped and backward state had very few resources to draw on. Its main assets being the unflinching laboriousness and the extreme thriftiness of its peasantry.

ECONOMIC HISTORY

According to the latest data, the number of war invalids receiving pensions on April 1, 1934, were 13,014 for a sum of 83,278,502 leva annually, and those of widows and dependents of soldiers killed during the wars 67,763, necessitating another annual outlay of 204,340,386 leva. In spite of the economic straits the Bulgarian exchequer is in, it has yet been found possible to make grants to 77 aged Russian veterans who had participated in the war of liberation of 1878, and who owing to the Bolshevik revolution have sought refuge in Bulgaria. The latter in spite of her difficulties is still harbouring some 19,000 émigrés and providing largely out of her slender means for their upkeep, a fact which inflicts a formal disavowal to the slanderous charges brought against Bulgaria as to her alleged ingratitude towards Russia.

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The Financial burdens of the Treaty of Neuilly.

The amount of the indemnity imposed on Bulgaria and euphemistically termed 'reparations' was fixed according to Article 121 of the Treaty of Neuilly at 2250 million gold francs and decreed payable within 37 years and to bear 5% interest. Article 132 of the said Treaty decreed that the costs of reparations would constitute a first charge on all the assets and revenues of Bulgaria. Article 133 bound Bulgaria to defray the total cost of the Allied armies in occupation of Bulgarian territory until the coming into force of the Treaty, this cost being finally assessed at 25 million gold francs. Article 137 constrained Bulgaria to assume a part of the Ottoman debt, a matter which has not yet been fixed. Another article, 177, provided for the indemnification of the material damage suffered by Allied subjects through Bulgaria's action in the war out of the property of Bulgarian subjects seized in Allied countries. The amount awarded as demages by Arbitral Courts

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specially constituted for the purpose amounted to £ 581,317 for British subjects and to 52,269,771 French francs plus £ 109,210 to French subjects, and smaller sums to Belgian, Italian and Greek subjects.

Articles 125 to 128 ordained other payments in kind which could more aptly figure as reparations than the 2250 million indemnity imposed on Bulgaria, and which amply sufficed to repair whatever damage the Bulgarians might have caused in the territories they had invaded as the writer pointed out in the "*New Europe*" of July 29, 1920 in the following terms:

"Bulgaria is asked to make reparations for damage, and these are assessed at a figure far exceeding the destruction the Bulgarians might have wrought in the Morava and the Dobrudja. The total value of these regions does not surpass 5,000 million francs, of which land figures for 70 per cent and buildings, cattle, etc. for the balance.

It is obvious that the Bulgarians could not have carried off the land, and it may be taken for granted that the damage inflicted on property is infinitesimal, and represents only a fraction of its total value.

On what grounds then is Bulgaria asked to pay 2¼ milliards as "reparation". The demand for such an indemnity is all the more unjust since the Treaty stipulated for the delivery by Bulgaria of a determined number of live-stock. It is contended that this quantity of cattle represents what the Bulgarians appropriated while in occupation of the regions they invaded. If this were so, it would be just to insist on the execution of this clause; the number demanded from the Bulgarians, however, exceeds all reasonable estimate of the losses in cattle which our Balkan Allies might have incurred. Amongst other things Article 127 provides for the delivery by Bulgaria of 1,000 mules to Serbia, when, according to Serbian official statistics, the total number of these useful animals in the whole of Serbia was only 349 in the year 1910! This example will serve to show that "reparation" is not the appropriate term for our demands on Bulgaria, the latter obviously aim at securing more than what the former designation implies. The Treaty also imposes on Bulgaria an annual delivery of 50,000 tons of coal to Serbia by way of compensation for the destruction of Serbian coal-mines by the Bulgarians. This is an unwarranted and unjustifiable decision, not only because all mines in Serbia were

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exclusively worked for and by the Germans, but also because Bulgaria does not produce sufficient coal for her own requirements. Before the war she used to import coal not only from England, but also from Serbia, and this consideration alone ought to have prevented the formulation of demands that clearly seek to cripple the economic organism of a former enemy State.

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The punishment already meted out to Bulgaria has been sufficiently severe, as have been the sufferings and losses which the war has inflicted on her population. Our object, therefore, should not be to increase the disadvantages under which Bulgarians toil, nor to force them to slave for others, for this is certainly not Bulgaria's mission in the world. If we wish her to make her distinctive contribution to civilisation, we should rather lend a helping hand to her people, and assist them out of their present difficulties. The laboriousness, sobriety and honesty of the average Bulgarian are virtues which commend themselves to all, and if they could only be made to realise that in the subordination of self to common interests lies the secret of a nation's greatness, then nothing could prevent them from becoming one of the foremost factors in the moral and economic renovation of the Near East."

Article 177 of the Treaty permitted Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia to formulate certain complementary demands for indemnification. An utterly unjustified proceeding in view of the fact that Article 121 had settled the total amount of indemnity to be imposed on Bulgaria. Though the Hague International Tribunal to which the claim of Greece had been referred to had decided on Sept. 24, 1924 in this sense, yet the Bulgarian government decided to meet the Yugoslav and Rumanian claims owing to political reasons and to its fear of a Yugoslav military intervention at the time of the Communist revolt which took place in Bulgaria during September 1923. Thus Bulgaria assumed further liabilities towards Yugoslavia and Rumania amounting to 320 million leva and 110 million lei.

The imposition on Bulgaria of the obligation to defray the cost of the Allied armies of ocupation was equally unmerited and contrary to the spirit of the

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armistice concluded at Salonica on Sept. 29, 1918, since the latter stipulated that Bulgaria was not to be treated as an occupied territory and only provided for the temporary occupation of certain strategical points. In fact the headquarters of the Allied armies only notified the Bulgarian government that they would occupy the port of Varna on March 16, 1919 and its occupation was maintained for a very brief time. The secret annex to the Salonica armistice provided that Bulgaria should be treated as a benevolent neutral, and it even stipulated for the co-operation of the Allied armies with part of the Bulgarian troops under certain eventualities. Had it been possible to resort to arbitration it is more that probable that Bulgaria would have been dispensed from payment on this head. At any rate those in charge of the Allied troops in Bulgaria were perfectly aware that they were not entitled to treat Bulgaria as an occupied country, for if during the three or four days following on their arrival in Bulgaria they affixed at the barracks they occupied a sign-post bearing the inscription "Headquarters of the troops occupying Bulgaria" on the representations of the Bulgarian government they immediately altered the title to "Headquarters of the Allied troops in Bulgaria".

The only sensible provision in the Treaty was article 122 which provided for the Inter-Allied Commission to reconsider from time to time the resources and paying capacity of Bulgaria and empowered it to recommend either a reduction or a postponement in the payment of the sums due by Bulgaria.

It was very unfortunate for Bulgaria that she did not have a strong and popular government capable of defending her interests, and ready to resign in sign of protest whenever she was being bludgeoned and coerced into paying on acount of reparations sums which were crippling her national economy and checking her develop-

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ment. Had her rights been entrusted to more stalwart defenders she would have certainiy met with as lenient a treatment as that meted out to Austria and Hungary, but unhappily her rulers' first thought was how to maintain themselves in office and avoid all source of conflict which might jeopardize their posts. This selfish consideration made them always bow meekly before such dictates as were issued by the International Reparation Commission whose sole consideration was to squeeze as much as possible out of Bulgaria. It is not to be wondered that the late Count Apponyi, that untiring champion of Hungarian rights, should have shown his aversion for such servile meekness, by remarking to an occasional Bulgarian delegate at Geneva, a fact which Prof. Gheorgov, a former rector of the Sofia University communicated to the Bulgarian Press: "I am at a loss to understand why your delegates keep silent when such important questions relative to your country are being discussed at the assembly of the League of Nations?"

According to articles 124, 136, 142 and 145 of the above mentioned Treaty, Bulgaria was to be credited with certain sums as against the 2,250 million gold francs of reparations imposed on her. These amounts were computed in a pamphlet issued by the Bulgarian Commissariat of Reparations on Feb. 2, 1923 as totalling 3,857,548,624 gold francs and classified under the following heads:

Relative to Article 124	1,088,957,132
" " " 136	266,274,479
" " " 136	65,635,727
" " " 142	275,473,910
" " " 145	2,148,814,923
Maintenance of the Inter-Allied Commission	3,510,753
Indemnities paid to Allied subjects in territories occupied by Bulgaria	8,881,700

Besides the above, war material of a value of 633,211,117 gold francs had also been handed over to the Allies.

175 Though certain items referring to Art. 124 and 145 are disputable, it seems that the Bulgarian government 178 had some ground to insist upon its claims being taken into consideration, yet all the delegates of the Allied Powers did when the protocol of March 21, 1923 which settled the mode of payment of reparations was signed, was to divide into two parts „A" and „B" the total sum of 2,500 million gold francs claimed from Bulgaria, decreeing that 550 millions bearing 5% interest, labelled „A" share should be payable in 60 annuities, the first of which was fixed at 5 millions and was to increase gradually to 43,396,336 in 1934 and continue at that rate until 1983, while the remainder, amounting to 1,700 millions would stand over until 1953 without interest when such sums as Bulgaria had a right to claim would be deducted from it, though the Bulgarian counterclaims largely exceeded this figure.

Apparently little consideration was paid to Bulgaria's condition, to her having been amputated of her wealthiest provinces, to the utter exhaustion of the resources of the peasantry which had bravely shouldered single-handed the whole burden of the world war, and beguiled by the transient prosperity of a section of the population engaged in the cultivation and trade of tobacco which prospered exceedingly during the years 1919 to 1923, owing to the elimination from the European markets of Greece and Turkey as producers of Oriental tobacco, while engaged in fighting each other, and which trade is reckoned to have brought an inflow of some 4,000 to 4,500 million leva to Bulgaria during this period, the delegates of the Allied governments proceeded to bleed Bulgaria white.

Indispensable public services such as education and hygiene[1] were ruthlessly curtailed, the upkeep of railways

[165] [1] The rate of mortality from tuberculosis in 1928 was 30·53 per 10,000 in Bulgaria as against only 8·28 in Great Britain.

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and highways was completely neglected, nothing was done to reorganise agriculture and thereby permit the peasantry to recuperate after the exhaustion caused by the war, all this in order to economise on the budget and provide for payments to Bulgaria's insatiable creditors.

The callousness and cynicism with which the Allied Powers, great and small, treated Bulgaria at this time is simply revolting and is best illustrated by the manner in which the Des Closières affair was liquidated. Among the documents published by the Bolsheviki were the minutes of the Russian Ministerial Council which revealed that on July 30, 1915 the question of finding 200 million francs wherewith to buy up Bulgarian cereals and at the same time to suborn Bulgarian politicians came up for discussion. Sazonov refused to besmirch his hands in this unclean affair and he left the management to England and France who provided 175 millions necessary for financing this operation, Russia supplying the balance of 25 millions. Several Bulgarian politicians were involved, and the irony of fate decreed that instead of serving the Entente's interests they should have unwillingly helped to consolidate the position of the tottering Radoslavov Cabinet. At the end of the war, the British and French governments demanded the restitution of all sums advanced by their agent, Des Closières, in Bulgaria, not only for the moneys supplied by the latter to various politicians for the purchase of cereals which had been ultimately confiscated by the Bulgarian government, but also for all the sums spent clearly on bribery and which figured in the claim lodged against the Bulgarian government as money spent „on propaganda and publicity". It is doubtful whether one can find another example of such brazen cynicism in inter-State relations and one marvels at the shamelessness of both British and French officials who had the impudence not only to avow that they had bribed, but that they

175 7-8 should go to the length of demanding the reimbursement of the bribes from the very State the citizens of which they had attempted to corrupt. It is fortunate that the Arbitral Court before which these monstrous demands were formulated adjudged that the only part of the claim which was valid was that relative to the stocks of grain confiscated by the Bulgarian government and for which it was condemned to reimburse £164,264 plus 10,854,854 French francs, though as deputy G. Yurtov had declared in the Sobranye on Feb. 22, 1927, of the 200 millions francs of Entente money spent, only 18 or 20 millions had been used to buy cereals and the balance had been employed in bribing politicians.

The controversy which arose between the Greek politicians Venizelos and Cafandaris over the Greek Stabilisation Loan likewise casts a lurid light on the incentives which actuated Entente politicians when they heaped on Bulgaria the staggering burden of indemnities under which she has collapsed. At a speech Venizelos delivered at Salonica in the summer of 1932, he blamed Cafandaris for allowing himself to be cajoled by the French government into a remission of its war debt to Greece, amounting to 408 million gold francs, in order to secure French support for the flotation of this loan, after Venizelos had arranged in collusion with the French to lump the sum in question into the reparations claimed from Bulgaria! Obviously any stick was good enough to beat luckless Bulgaria with.

The present writer attempted several times from the columns of the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Near East* to point out that this policy of extortion and coercion which was being applied to Bulgaria was threatening to undermine her social structure, that its inevitable consequence would be the pauperisation of Bulgaria, since the country's financial capacity had never been taken into

175 proper consideration, but unfortunately his efforts proved
728 unavailing. The country, in fact, even before the war, was only able to pay her way by cumulating its foreign indebtedness, it would therefore hardly be expected that after being shorn of its most fertile regions and ruined by the war, the burden of which it had borne single-handed, Bulgaria would be able to meet unaided the problem of her pressing economic re-organisation and at the same time provide for the payment of the crushing indemnities imposed on her.

No wonder that M. Stambuliiski and his peasant colleagues perceiving that the Allied Powers were intent on draining every particle of moveable wealth out of Bulgaria, threw all restraint to the winds, and set themselves to embezzle and appropriate whatever public money they could lay hands on. Quinet's judicious pronouncement: „Otez à une terre toute chance d'avenir, elle enfante d'elle même la barbarie comme les ronces" was thus fully confirmed, for if a feeling of despair had not been instilled in the Bulgarian people by the pitiless and grasping policy of the Allied commissaries, the Agrarian party while it was in office would not have lost all sense of measure and thus hastened by its insensate policy the ruin which loomed large on the country's horizon.

The purblindness of the financial experts who had imposed the colossal burden of reparations became evident a few years later, when Bulgaria in spite of the financial assistance she received in the form of the two loans advanced to her under the auspices of the League of Nations felt unable to continue the payment of the reparation annuities.

By the end of 1929 Bulgaria had paid in annual instalments 41 million gold francs on this head, while the interest on the capital sum of the "A" share of reparations (550 millions) amounted to 125,984,233. So that she

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found herself in the invidious position of seeing her indebtedness grow in spite of the disbursements she was making, the capital sum of 550 millions having accrued to 634,984,233 gold francs by the end of 1929.

The absurdity of the position became so manifest that when the Young plan for Germany came up for discussion it was decided to revise the commitments imposed on Bulgaria, and on Jan. 20, 1930 a protocol was signed at the Hague by which Bulgaria was relieved of the "B" part of the reparations, namely 1700 million gold francs payable after 1953. This was a dubious gain, for Bulgaria likewise was forced to renounce her counter-claims, which an unbiassed arbitrator would have probably found to exceed this sum. Part "A" of the reparations was somewhat reduced and its mode of payment adjusted as follows:

1 annuity payable on April 1930	of 5,000,000 gold francs.
10 annuities payable between April 1, 1930 and March 31, 1940	each of 10,000,000 gold francs.
10 " " " " 1, 1940 and March 31, 1950	each of 11,500,000 gold francs.
16 " " " " 1, 1950 and March 31, 1966	each of 12,515,238 gold francs.

Bulgaria then agreed to pay these annuities unconditionally and renounced the right Art. 122 of the Treaty of Neuilly conferred on her, namely to invoke an inquiry into her capacity of payment. The transfer guarantee, however, established in connection with the League of Nations' loans was maintained and this was enough to nullify the promise Bulgaria assumed owing to her manifest inability to balance her international income and outgo.

Great Britain, France and Italy also "magnanimously" waived their claim to the balance due to them for the costs of their armies of occupation amounting still to 11,976,633 gold francs, for 'là où il n'y a rien le roi perd

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ses droits'. The disinterestedness of these Great Powers became even better manifest when they abandoned the quota parts of the problematical Bulgarian reparation which accrued to them to their minor allies, Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia, who being on the spot would better dragoon and coerce Bulgaria into payment by „Balkan" methods the Great Powers would not dare indulge in. Obviously a most hopeful way of promoting goodwill and reconciliation among the Balkan States and to which may be traced the strained relations between Greece and Bulgaria and the tariff war the former has been waging against Bulgarian products.

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The average sum of the reparation annuities which Bulgaria assumed to pay by the Hague arrangement was 11.2 million gold francs. This would have been a reasonable charge if Bulgaria possessed an excess of imports over exports which would have provided sufficient foreign exchange to meet this liability. For the payment of indebtedness requires that the net income of a State from its international trade and service operations should be equal to these outlays. Such, however, was not the case with Bulgaria for the available amount of foreign currency secured by its international income did not even suffice to defray the amortizations of her foreign loans, the payment of reparations was therefore suspended in accordance with the transfer guarantee assumed by the Reparation Commission towards the bondholders of the League of Nations' loans. But the latter did not benefit for long from this illusory guarantee, for Bulgaria bled white and exhausted by the senseless financial policy of some of her governments has practically been unable to meet even the annual charges of these loans as is related in detail in the next chapter.

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THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS' LOANS

•128 Owing to the non-application of the principle of nationality, regions almost exclusively peopled by Bulgarians were placed under the sovereignty of other Balkan States. The latter though they assumed certain obligations towards the ethnic minorities they incorporated, made light of such safeguards as the Treaties extended to these minorities and by a policv of ruthless denationalisation forced large numbers to emigrate and seek refuge in Bulgaria. A few years after the termination of the war, some 350,000 mostly destitute people had thus come to seek shelter in Bulgaria. They constituted a heavy burden on the country since it had to provide out of its scanty resources for the maintenance of the greater number of these unfortunate people. If the League of Nations had watched and insisted on the carrying out of the obligations imposed by the Treaties, it would have been very easy not only to have stemmed this flow of destitute people into Bulgaria, but to have obliged Bulgaria's neighbours to repatriate most of these unfortunates who had been driven from their homes by persecution.

However nothing was done, and the Bulgarian Go-
457 vernment finding it difficult to raise the requisite means wherewith to assist this mass of suffering humanity, appealed to the League of Nations for aid. It was reasonable to expect that the League would respond to this appeal and succour Bulgaria without seeking to exploit the misfortunes of a luckless nation, but instead, capital was made out of Bulgaria's helplessness in order to squeeze something further out of her. It is necessary for British and American holders of these loans floated under the aegis of the League, that they should realise how shamefully Bulgaria has been exploited in her hour of need for the benefit of certain International Financiers,

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

	Number of Associations	Members
Credit Co-operatives	1,940	367,345
Consumers' "	142	81,033
Buildings & Dwellers' Co-op.	289	10,160
Mutual furnishing "	359	73,740
Insurance Co-op. (mainly for insuring cattle)	1,135	182,835
Producers' Co-op.	289	76,163
Unions & Centrals Co-op.	42	16,198
Total	4,203	807,474

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Of these Societies 3,165 operated in rural districts and 1,038 in towns. 58% of the members belonged to societies established in urban districts and 41% to societies established in rural districts. This figure of 807,474 is cerainly excessive, but is to be explained by the fact that the same individual may figure in several co-opetatives, and it is computed that there are only about 600,000 distinct members. The total capital and funds of these societies amounted to 4,347 million leva and deposits to 2,849 millions, their liabilities amounted to 4,456 millions, while their net profit for the year was reported to have reached 110,366,000 leva.

THE OBLIGATORY LABOUR SERVICE

Owing to Art. 65 of the Treaty of Neuilly abolishing military compulsory service in Bulgaria, those attaining military age are now being utilised to carry out various public works. A special law was voted rendering all men between the ages of 20 and 40 liable to serve during a term ot eight continuous months in the labour corps, and subsequently they are liable to be called upon for temporary service for a term of 21 days every year within the communes in which they are domiciled. Exemption from service may be secured through the payment of a [728] 466

721 would have been placed under his command. After the fall of Kirk-Kilisse, General R. Dimitriev was prevented from pursuing the retreating enemy, and instead was ordered by Head Quarters to stop and entrench. This permitted the Turks to make a further stand at Visa and Lule Burgas. After defeating them at the latter place he was again prevented from following them up and ordered to entrench in spite of his assurances that the Turks were in full flight. The Turks themselves admit that had the Bulgarians followed up their success at Kirk-Kilisse they would have reached Constantinople before them. (Cf. Sherif Pasha's „Quelques reflections sur la Guerre." p. 28) Bulgarian Head Quarters could not forgive General R. Dimitriev his brilliant victories. (Cf. V, T. Veltchev's „Towards the Pogrom").

728 The Turks had been so cowed by their defeats that their ambassador in St. Petersburgh demanded on October 22, Russia's mediation in order that the Bulgarians might not enter Constantinople. The Ministerial Council received on October 29 from the Grand Vizier Kiamil Pasha an offer for the conclusion of an armisrice and preliminary peace, approved of it and transmitted it to Ferdinand who replied only on November 1, forbidding them to transmit it to the allies of Bulgaria, and only allowed this offer to be communicated to them after ordering the attack on the Tchataldja lines. The megalomania of Ferdinand may be gauged by the text of his reply: „Deeply grieved by the Grand Vizier soliciting peace, I, as leader of the victorious and indomitable Bulgarian armies encamped under the walls of Constantinople in the name and for the honour of our country forbid the government to communicate the Turkish offer to our Allies. No steps to be taken until I consult with the leaders of the army . . . no one can oppose the desire of a 300,000 army". The Bulgarian staff however, was able to restrain to some

extent Ferdinand's vanity and the Bulgarian Government was accordingly allowed to negotiate with the object of gaining time; thus, instead of submitting its terms to the Turks who were asking for peace, it asked for them to enunciate their conditions. When asked to give his approval as to the terms on which the preliminary peace was to be concluded Ferdinand kept silent and the Government, though it had received from Serbia her answer to the Turkish demands, kept on waiting for Ferdinand's condescension to send it on! In spite of the fact that General Fitchev was opposed to an attack being delivered on the Tchataldja lines, Ferdinand, having made up his mind that he must enter Constantinople, ordered General Savov to launch an assault. The latter was bound to humour his master because his fate depended solely on his good will. In his late capacity of War Minister he had been gravely inculpated and was awaiting trial. According to the law, he ought not to have been placed on activve service until he had been amnestied by the Sobranye, for his nomination to the post of assistant commander-in chief paralysed the prosecution against him.

On November 5, after the failure of the attack on the Tchatatdja positions Tsar Ferdinand wired to the Government to accept the Turkish offer. The Bulgarian delegates were not empowered to conclude peace, but only an armistice, for Ferdinand still cherished the plan of entering Constantinople.

The Government had notified him that he was free to renew operations against Turkey if he so approved. When the armistice was finally signed by Turkey with Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro-Greece refused to sign before she occupied Yannina — the whole of European Turkey, except the four towns of Adrianople, Constantinople Scutari, and Yannina, were in the possession of the Balkan Allies. The negotiations for peace were transferred

728 to London, where the Balkan delegates were convened owing to the simultaneous sitting of the delegates of the Great Powers. As early as December 19, the Bulgarian delegates were instructed by their Government to insist on the cession of all territory by Turkey to the west of the line Midia-Rodosto, and if necessary to break off negotiations. On December 14 the delegates were informed that the Bulgarian army was in a position to renew military operations in four to five days and that there was no reason to fear the breaking off of the negotiations. All this however, was bluff. Generel Fitchev, the head of the General Staff came to see Gueshov and reported to him that it would be senseless to expose the army by renewing the war. Gueshov immediately communistated this to the Bulgarian delegates in London, who protested at not having been informed earlier of the situation. When Ferdinand came to hear of this he expressed to Gueshov.

"His profound indignation of the unworthy and treacherous declaration of General Fitchev, which you had the weakness to communicate to Danev. I foresee that the honour of our country has been irreparably compromised. I demand the return of our delegation from London", (Cf. Peter Todorov: "The pogroms of Bulgaria" vol. p. 158).

This will go a long way to explain the obdurate intransigeance of the Bulgarian delegates and the breaking up of the Conference in spite of the counsels for moderation bestowed on Bulgaria from all sides. Sazonov wired to Nekludov, the Russian Minister in Sofia on January 18:

"Sofia does not follow our advice. We shall be unable to save her from all the misfortunes whichw ill follow through her disobeying us. She does not heed our insistent warnings to avoid taking the initiative of a rupture with Turkey. A new war with Turkey will bring no advantages to Bulgaria but only sacrifices".

In spite of the uncompromising attitude of the Young Turks who had turned out the Old Turk Cabinet of Kiamil

Pasha on January 24, an arrangement with Turkey was possible as may be surmised from General Savov's reply to the Bulgarian Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry, had the Bulgarians showed themselves moderate in their demands. But as Peter Todorov remarks in his most informative work on this period of Bulgarian history, cited above: "modesty and restraint were not the characteristic traits of our politicians at the time". (p. 160) And he rightly defines the resumption of hostilities on February 3, 1913 as „a war on behalf of foreign interests". After their defeat at Bulair, the Turks became more resigned to make concessions and with the pressure exerted by the Great Powers to bring the campaign to a close, there were no obstacles to the conclusion of a peace save the immoderate demands of Bulgaria, which was now claiming an oultlet on the Marmara, at Rodosto, in spite of the opposition of all the Great Powers to this extravagant demand. By the middle of February, in their earnest desire to put a stop to the war, the Great Powers were assuring Bulgaria that she could reckon on their support for securing the line Midia-Enos, but Ferdinand had not yet given up all hope to make a victorious entry into Constantinople, and the claim to Rodosto consequently would not be waived, while thousands of lives were needlessly sacrificed in undertaking an attack on Adrianople, the attribution of which to Bulgaria had already been decided by the Powers. The irrepresible lure of Constantinople seems to have utterly blinded Ferdinand and led him on to perdition, just as it did his prototype, Tsar Symeon. It was in vain that Sazonov warned the Bulgarians after the battle of Lule-Burgas not to seek to enter Constantinople as they would thereby raise innumerable difficulties, and even when Russia clearly intimated in March 1913 that she could not countenance Bulgaria obtaining an outlet on the sea of Marmara, Ferdinand and his entourage still remained obdurate.

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

728 The thwarting of Ferdinand's ambition led to the engineering of a bitter and most unjustifiable campaign among the military circles devoted to Ferdinand against Russia, in spite of the fact that Russia had done both diplomatically and materially a great deal to assist Bulgaria in her struggle against Turkey.

The outcry against Russia was provoked not only by her not countenancing Ferdinand's desire to enter Constantinople and secure an outlet at Rodosto on the Marmara, but also because Russia was unable to hinder Rumania from putting forth claims against Bulgaria. The latter pretended that the 1902 convention was in force, though the Russians had warned her that it had lapsed and that short of provoking a European war they were not in a position to exert pressure on Rumania.

After the first Bulgarian successes Rumania had begun pressing for the cession from Bulgaria of the whole quadrilateral, delimitated by the towns of Silistra, Rustchuk, Shumen and Varna, apparently as compensation for her inactivity. It was with the utmost difficulty that Russia through her intervention succeeded in whittling down these demands and settling them with the cession of Silistra only. With the temporary removal of the Rumanian menace, the Bulgarians became more exacting in their demands, and when the peace negotiations were renewed in London on April 16, progress was exceedingly slow. Both Serbia and Greece encouraged Bulgaria to make excessive demands on Turkey so as to protract the negotiations and utilise the time thus gained in strenghtening their respective positions in the territories occupied by their armies, while the Bulgarian army was engaged in facing singlehanded the Turks in Thrace.

These diplomatic intrigues finally exhausted the patience of Sir Edward Grey, who, in order fo secure the signing of the preliminary treaty had to intervene and forcibly intimate to the delegates that:

THE BALKAN ALLIANCE AND WARS

"Those who are willing to sign without any alterations should do so immediately. Those who are not disposed to sign had better leave London". 728

On May 30 the Treaty was signed, Turkey ceding all territory to the east of the Midia-Enos line to the Balkan Allies.

Long before the settlement with Turkey was arrived at, it became evident that there was a serious threat of conflict breaking out among the Allies over the spoils. The Serbians had first excited the distrust of Bulgarian circles when Passitch sent a circular letter on September 28, 1912, to Serbian representives in the European capitals, urging them to make known to the governments to which they had been accredited, that the term "Old Serbia" included the towns of Uskub, Kumanovo, Tetovo, Deber, Prilep and Ochrida. The first four of which were in the contested, and the last two in the incontested zone. It was a clear indication that certain Serbian circles did not mean to abide by the treaty and this propensity was intensified when it became evident that Austria-Hungary and Italy would not permit Serbia to secure an outlet on the Adriatic. The Serbians when they found that Bulgaria was harbouring the ambition to enter Constantinople and was for this purpose unduly protracting the war instead of concluding an advantageous peace with Turkey, suggested a revision of the Treaty in their favour. So justified did they consider their demands, and in this they were encouraged by Mr. Hartwig, the Russian Minister at Belgrade, that they proceeded to expel the Bulgarian priests and schoolmasters in that part of Macedonia which according, to the Treaty was to revert to Bulgaria.

This behaviour of the Serbians naturally incensed the Bulgarians, who, though hard bargainers, are in contrast with other Balkan peoples, most scrupulously strict in fulfilling any undertaking they assume, and naturally expect 648

an armistice, and turned a deaf ear to Russia's injunctions counterattacked the Bulgarians who had been ordered to cease fighting and badly mauled them. It took some time for the Bulgarian army to recover from these initial rebuffs, but in a few weeks under the able leadership of general R. Dimitriev, the situation had been retrieved. The Bulgarians were advancing on Nisch and threatening to cut the communications of the Serbian army in Macedonia, while the Greek army seemed as if it would suffer a Sedan in the Kresna defile but all these efforts of the troops were unavailing. The Rumanian army unrestrained by Russia, which could not allow Serbia to be crushed, had invaded Bulgaria and was advancing unopposed on Sofia, while Turkey, following the example set by Rumania, reoccupied Adrianople. Bulgaria was forced to capitulate and throw herself on the mercy of her vindictive enemies.

By the ensuing Treaty of Bucarest signed on August 10, Bulgaria was deprived of all share in Macedonia save the upper part of the valley of the river Struma, and received as her share of the spoils wrung from Turkey, a short stretch of coast line of the Aegean, between the rivers Mesta and Maritsa with its hinterland, the mountainous region of the Rhodopes. She was obliged to cede to Rumania the whole of the southern Dobrudja in spite of the fact that this region of 7609 sq. klm. with a population of 290000 souls contained only 2.2% of Rumanians. One would have expected that both the Balkan States and the Great Powers would have at least exerted themselves a little in order to secure for Bulgaria that part of Thrace up

an attack on their allies. Sazonov in his „Fateful Years", p. 95, admits that it was Russia who prevented Serbia from opening hostilities: „The army was confident of success. I replied that I did not consider myself in a position to offer strategic advice, but from a political no less than a moral point of view, such a policy would cause irreparable damage to Serbia, damage for which no military success could compensate her.

728 to the Midia—Enos line, which had been ceded by Turkey to the Balkan Allies, as this territorial acquisition might console to a certain extent the Bulgarians for their losses in other directions. But in her hour of need and humiliation no one would do anything for Bulgaria. Only Russia, in spite of the provocations and insults she had received from the puny politicians of Sofia, endeavoured to succour Bulgaria by offering to coerce Turkey into evacuating that part of Thrace which she had ceded by the Treaty of London, provided another Power seconded her in her efforts But none would do so, not even England who had a moral obligation to insist on the upholding of a Treaty concluded under her sponsorship. Sir Edward Grey was busy negotiating with the Grand Vizier over the Bagdad railway, and the Turks had to be humoured, for economic considerations take precedence over moral in politics. Dr Seton Watson, in his „Europe in the melting pot" p. 96, rightly remarks:

> This abandonment of Bulgaria, rankled fatally in the minds of king Ferdinand and his statesmen, and explains as much as anything else, the distrust with which they have regarded British diplomacy, and which finally decided them to adhere to the Central Powers".

Even the Greeks attempted to create additional difficulties for the Bulgarians. They evacuated Western Thrace without waiting for the Bulgarians to take over the administration and encouraged the local Turks to set up an autonomous government with the purpose of eventually transferring this region to Turkey, Politis[1], that pillar of the Geneva Assem-

[1] This was revealed in the Bulgarian Chamber on March 29, 1928, by the Macedonian deputy Kulishev. Greece may well ponder over the advisability of retaining in her employ such an astute and clever personality utterly devoid of moral scruples, whom S Cosmin in his „L'Entente et la Grèce" (vol II. p. 133 & 193-4) has not hesitated to denounce as a turncoat and a falsifier of dispatches and documents. Sir Basil Thompson in his „Allied Secret Service in

bly, in order to win the goodwill of Turkey, advised in August 1913 the Turkish representative at Berne that it would be politic to take advantage of Bulgaria's difficulties in order to expel from Thrace the Bulgarian element which would always be a menace to the retention of this province by Turkey. This „humane" advice was communicated in code from Berne on August 21 to the Grand Vizier, Said Halil, and promptly acted upon; a large section of the Bulgarian population being uprooted and driven out from Eastern Thrace into Bulgaria.

The indifference shown by her former Allies and the Powers of the Entente for Bulgaria's rights in Thrace, constrained her to come to terms with Turkey and even to begin negotiations with her for the conclusion of a treaty of alliance, the object of which was to attack Greece. In the autumn of 1913 General Savov was dispatched to Constantinople to conduct these negotiations and arrive at an arrangement concerning the delimitation of the Bulgaro-Turkish frontier. It may be affirmed that the disregard of Bulgaria's rights in Thrace imparted the first impetus to the policy of collaboration between Bulgaria and Turkey. Had Russia, on the other hand been supported in her attempt to champion Bulgaria's claims against Turkey, it is certain that there would have been little cause for Bulgaria being drawn into Turkey's orbit, which paved the way for her adhesion to the Central Alliance.

Tsar Ferdinand hastened to replace Danev by Radoslavov, supported by Tontchev and Ghenadiev. Radoslavov on June 22 had convoked a big public meeting, which passed a resolution in favour of declaring war on Serbia

Greece", also refers to „the mischievous tendency to distortion which characterised that gentleman". p. 103. The advice Politis so readily proffered to Turkey, was acted upon not only in connection with the Bulgarians, but later also with regards the Greeks, and Greece has to a certain extent to thank Politis for the million and a half of hapless refugees who were dumped a few years later on her soil.

722 The manifesto was signed by Tsanko Bakalov, Omartsevski, Al. Dimitrov and N. Atanassov. subsequently appointed ministers in the Stambuliiski Cabinet, This was not the first manifestation of open revolt against Radoslavov. In July 1916, while the budget was being voted, the Opposition and the adherents of Ghenadiev declared themselves against it and the Government would have been overthrown if Gueshov's party, bribed by the promise of securing the amnesty of three of its prominent members, compromised in the Des Closières, affair, turned round and voted in support of the Government. At the end of 1917, the Stambulovist wing had openly seceded from the Government and the latter was barely maintaining itself by various artifices. The conclusion of peace with Bolshevik Russia on February 9, 1918, did not improve the situation, for a grave conflict arose over the Dobrudja and the signing of peace with Rumania was being purposely postponed. The Germans refused to concede Northern Dobrudja and the Turks were demanding the retrocession of Western Thrace up to the Mesta river. When peace was signed at Bucarest on May 6, 1918 Northern Dobrudja was adjudjed a condominium until the disputes between the allies were settled.

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This temporary solution exacerbated to the utmost the army circles and the civilians against Radoslavov. After the military success obtained by the Greek troops on May 30, General Jekov presented a scathing report on the administration accusing it of demoralising the army through its incapacity, corruption and inability to impose on the Germans the carrying out of their promises to support Bulgaria. The Bulgarian soldiers were described as being clothed in rags, destitute of food and short of artillery munitions. Ferdinand, in view of the seriouseness of the situation was forced to part with his favourite and on June 21 a coalition Cabinet headed by Malinov and Kosturkov, the leaders

THE WORLD WAR

Though the situation of the Bulgarian army was known to be critical, yet no one in Sofia foresaw that disaster was imminent. The offensive, undertaken in September 15, against the Bulgarian positions at Dobro Pole met with complete success, the defence was overwhelmed and a complete breach through secured, which permitted the Entente troops to advance unopposed up the Vardar valley, attaining Veles by September 26. But apparently the extent of the disaster was not fully realised in Sofia. Malinov telegraphed to the Bulgarian representative in Berlin on September 19, insisting on the Germans conceding the Bulgarian demands on the Dobrubja in order that the morale of the troops might be raised. On September 21 Ferdinand who was in Uskub, was advised of the critical position of the army and that there was little hope of help arriving from Germany in time to retrieve the situation. It was only on September 23 that the Bulgarian army Headquarters informed the Government that some 10 divisions with artillery would be needed to stop the gap made by the enemy. A ministerial council was convoked, and on September 23 without the consent of Ferdinand, decided to demand the cessation of military activities. A Bulgarian delegation left for the front and on September 29 an armistice was concluded at Salonica. Malinov hastened to advise the German Minister in Sofia on September 26 of these intentions of his Government, and that it was useless to send help from Germany as it would arrive too late. Demoralisation had set in meanwhile in the army; the Government attempted to induce the troops to hold their positions until the conclusion of the Armistice by dispatching certain Agrarian deputies to the front headed by Stambuliiski who was purposely set free from prison, where he had been kept since the beginning of hostilities, and on September 27, Stambuliiski proclaimed a republic and made preparations for overthrowing the Go-

728 669 vernment, but was unable to carry through his plan for lack of support. People were averse to any change in the Government at this critical time fearing lest the delegates sent to Salonica might be prevented from coming to terms with the Entente through the invalidation of their credentials brought about by such a change. In spite of the disapproval of this plan, the mutinied troops headed by Stambuliiski's colleague, R. Daskalov, attempted to march on Sofia but were dispersed on its outskirts by the few loyal troops which rallied to the support of the Government and with the assistance of some Germans who had just arrived from Odessa. On October 1, the delegation sent to Salonica returned; on the following day a conference of the leaders of all the political parties took place and Malinov was commissioned to inform Ferdinand that he owed a certain reparation to Bulgaria. With great reluctance and after vain pleading Ferdinand was persuaded to abdicate in favour of his heir, signing a manifesto to this purpose on October 3 and left for Germany followed by Radoslavov under the protection of German troops.

728 The demobilisation of the army to some extent appeased the existing discontent, in spite of the difficulties the Government was meeting through the exhaustion of foodstuffs. The dearth was relieved through the timely arrival of flour from the United States. The Malinov Cabinet resigned on November 19 as a protest against the Entente's decision to cede southern Dobrudja to Rumania, contrary to the stipulations of the Salonica Armistice. It was succeeded by a broad coalition ministry presided over by T. Todorov. In May the Cabinet was reconstructed with the participation of Stambuliiski in view of the holding of elections on August 17 at which however, no party obtained a majority. The Agrarians being the most numerous party in the new Chamber assumed the task of con-

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stituting the new Cabinet with the support of Gueshov's and Danev's parties. On October 6, Stambuliiski assumed the Premiership and subsequently left for Paris where he signed the Treaty of Neuilly on November 27, 1919. 728

THE TREATY OF NEUILLY

The terms imposed on Bulgaria constitute a negation of all the principles for the triumph of which the best part of the youth of the western democracies had been sacrificed during the terrible yet expectant years of the Great War. The greatest evil wrought by the imposition of such a Treaty, was the destruction ot the indispensable basis of peace — the mutual trust of the peoples in each other which would have been secured by the application of stern justice in the settlement of their claims. Not only the principle of nationality was completely disregarded, but concrete promises such as were made to Bulgaria on the signing of the Salonica Armistice, were ruthlessly repudiated and the country delivered over helpless to the greed of its predatory neighbours.

It was expected that Macedonia, for which Bulgaria had repeatedly gone to war would be definitely lost to her, in spite of the fact that, had a plebiscite been held, the bulk of the population would have elected to remain Bulgarian. But on the outbreak of the war, Macedonia was a constituent part of Serbia, and the Serbians had preferred to undergo the horrors of an invasion and run the risk of annihilation, rather than give up this debatable region. It could easily be grasped that in their hour of triumph, none of their allies would be willing to bring pressure to bear on the Serbians to restitute to a beaten foe a territory they had defended with such determination and such valour. This was well realised in Bulgaria, for when the late Liaptchev returned from signing the Salonica Ar-

•728 mistice, he declared: „I, the son of Macedonia, have inscribed the tombstone of my motherland." What the Entente Powers were morally bound to do in order to mitigate this unavoidable wrong was to insist on the safeguarding of that minimum of elemental rights which the Minority Treaties were supposed to secure to ethnic minorities. This however, was never done, and the League of Nations, which is supposed to supervise the execution of these Treaties, by the passivity it has shown in the matter, and despite the numerous protests lodged with it by the various oppressed minorities, has largely contributed in encouraging the denationalising policy followed by certain States. The callous indifference it has shown for the sufferings endured by the minorities largely justifies such severe pronouncements as that of Prof. F. C. S. Schiller, of Oxford, passed on it, namely „that it serves to disguise by its chicaneries and makebeliefs the violence of the strong and the subservience of the weak".

The greatest obstruction to an amelioration of the status of the minorities was the attitude of France and its satellites as the *Manchester Guardian* aptly remarked on October 3, 1930:

> „France has played the part of a wrecker . . . The French delegation has led the opposition to any improvement in the procedure concerning minorities".

What are crying wrongs utterly unjustifiable in themselves, because they could have been easily avoided, if the slightest sense of justice had prevailed among those who drafted the Treaties, were the amputation of Southern Dobrudja, that of Western Thrace and of certain frontier districts in Western Bulgaria.

These territorial mutilations became all the more rankling because, owing to remissness and indifference shown by the League of Nations, the cultural life of the Bulgarian minorities was completely suspended by the closing of both

their schools and churches. And these schools and churches were in most cases extant prior to the emancipation of the Bulgarian State in 1878, so that their functioning can not be imputed to propaganda purposes. The following table shows what a heavy and unjust blow the Treaty of Neuilly has dealt to the Bulgarian people as a whole, and what a retrograde instrument the Treaty has proved, since some of its direct and immediate consequences have been the closing of some 1,594 schools and the forfeiture of the right of 97,720 children to study in their mother tongue.

	In Yugoslav Macedonia	In Greek Macedonia	In Greek Thrace	In the Dobrudja	In the Western Confines	Total
Schools . .	641	340	215	276	122	1594
Teachers . .	1013	750	333	584	269	2949
Pupils . .	37000	19000	11877	21951	7892	97720
Churches .	761	378	326	125	45	1635
Priests . .	833	300	238	[1]	42	1413

The Dobrudja which had been ravished by Rumania in 1913 and which contained a Rumanian minority of only 2·2% in its population, had been restored to Bulgaria by the Treaty of May 7, 1917, and Rumania given Bessarabia in compensation. (Cf. Nowak's „Collapse of Central Europe") The Allies had no moral right whatever to act unilaterally and constrain Bulgaria to renounce the benefits which this Treaty had conferred on her, without simultaneously demanding of the other contracting party an equivalent renunciation. The Rumanian Government when declaring for a second time war on Germany, on November 9, 1918, alleged that the latter had violated this Treaty, admitting thereby that it was a valid instrument. Besides, when the Salonica Armistice was signed, Bulgaria was distinctly given to understand that she would retain the Dobrudja. When

[1] In the Dobrudja, the Rumanian authorities permitted the Bulgarian clergy to remain, but at their death they are replaced by Rumanian priests.

•728 she was finally ordered to hand over the Dobrujda to Rumania, the Bulgarian Government resigned in protest at this manifest violation of the pledges it had received.

Lieut. Colonel the Hon. H. D. Napier, in his „Experiences of a Military Attaché in the Balkans", affirms:

„Certain promises and hopes were held out to the Bulgars at that time (Salonica Armistice) which little by little were gradually whittled away, thereby damaging the reputation of the Entente for honest dealing".

Other well-informed writers also affirm that we have treated the Bulgarians unfairly. Thus, Colonel Repincton in his „After the War" p. 368 asserts:

„Colonel Baird", (the British military attaché at Sofia) deplores our propaganda at the end of the war. He has some of the leaflets dropped by our airmen and says that they told the Bulgarians that if they stopped fighting they would be given the territory that was Bulgarian, whereas, what with Macedonia, the Dobrudja, Tsaribrod, Thrace, and other places, nearly as many Bulgarians were now under alien rule as there were in Bulgaria herself, and unfortunately all the people in these parts were totally devoid of the faculty of conciliation. and not one of them could rule over another".

The Dobrudja, from the time of the foundation of the first Bulgarian Empire, had always been considered as forming part of Bulgaria. When after the Russo-Turkish war its northern part was forced on Rumania by the Russians in exchange for Bessarabia which the latter detached from Rumania, all Rumanians were united in decrying the injustice which was being committed. The Senate and Chamber passed resolutions in protest and the Press unanimously declared that Rumania was opposed to annexing a region which was utterly foreign. The *Steaua României* in its issue of June 23, 1878 wrote:

„Geographically and etnographically, the Dobrudja does not form a part of our territory; being on the other side of the Danube it is a prolongation of Bulgaria,.. In the future the Dobrudja will be an open wound, a cause of discord between Rumania and Bulgaria, which will be made use of by those who have an interest to embroil the two countries".

Could not these facts have been recalled, and the Rumanian delegates confronted with these when they were claiming the possession of the Southern Dobrudja at the Peace Conference? Bessarabia had been restored to Rumania, no one disputed her retention of Northern Dobrudja, why then permit her to incorporate Southern Dobrudja after she herself had restored it to Bulgaria by the Treaty of May 7, 1917? 728

Southern Dobrudja had formed part of the Bulgarian body politic for some forty years, and it was a case of supreme injustice to thrust it under an alien rule without regard to the wishes of the native population. At a time when Rumania was invoking the principle of nationality in order to secure her ethnic unification, her Press did not hesitate to declare:

„Sooner or later in applying the principle of nationality on which we ourselves rely for the realisation of our nation's unification we shall have to return to the Bulgarians the quadrilateral (Southern Dobrudja) which we took from them. This is a certainty." (The Bucarest *Universul*. June 15, 1915.)

Unfortunately for Bulgaria, and also for Europe, the men whom we entrusted with the task of preparing the Peace Treaties were moved by passions and prejudices, which blunted whatever native discernement they had, and made them act as if they were completely devoid of all moral sense; though some are inclined to take a more lenient view, and like the *Manchester Guardian* (May 18, 1918) explain such regrettable shortcomings by the admission that: „Diplomatists are men who seem to specialise in ignorance of foreign countries." That Great Britain is to a large extent responsible for the injustices inflicted on Bulgaria is obvious since she apparently neglected to appoint as her representatives, or delegates, to the Paris Conference men who could act without bias and who had a sense of fairness. It is a painful surprise to

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728 find out that one of the leading functionaries of our Foreign Office portrayed his emotions at the time as follows:

„For the Bulgarians I cherished feelings of contempt. Their traditions, their history, their actual obligations should have bound them to the cause of Russia and the Entente. They had behaved treacherously in 1913, and in the Great War they had repeated this act of perfidy. Inspired by the most material motives of acquisition thay had joined with Germany and by so doing lengthened the war by two whole years. I did not feel that Bulgaria deserved more mercy than she would herself have been prepared, in similar circumstances, to accord." (Harold Nicolson: „Peacemaking 1919" p. 3 /5.)

A person actuated by such sentiments could not possibly act with sufficient detachment and impartiality, in adjudicating problems relevant to Bulgaria, yet he was allowed to influence such decisions as were taken in connection with that country, and one may well express doubts as to the fairness of the verdicts arrived at. Had Mr. Nicolson been a disciple of von Treischke, and like the latter treated all the Balkan peoples with the same all embracing contempt („und wie diese Schweintreibende Völker alle heissen mögen") one would have nothing to say; but that he should single out and vent his ill humour on the Bulgarians while heaping favours on their neighbours. is hardly a mark of the fairness by which the British are usually distinguished.

Mr. Nicolson finds that their traditions, history, and the actual obligations of Bulgarians should have bound them to the cause of Russia and the Entente. All these captious assertions show that „Diplomatists are men who seem to specialise in ignorance of foreign countries". Russo-Bulgarian antagonism in the Balkans dates back from 967, and Mr. Nicolson's predecessors at the Foreign Office took a hand at fomenting and fostering this latent and slumbering antithesis at the time of Stambulov, so that if it ever reappeared, British diplomatists ought rather

to congratulate themselves on the belated fruition of their own efforts. As to the Bulgarians' obligations which should have bound them to the cause of the Entente, Dr. Seton Watson whose perspective and outline have always remained unclouded, and who is our standing historical authority in East European questions, takes a diametrically opposed view to that of Mr. Nicolson, since he justifies the distrust with which British diplomacy was regarded in Bulgaria (Cf. p. 396). Another authority, Sir Thomas Holdich, in his „Boundaries in Europe and the Near East" p. 84, writes: „Bulgaria undoubtedly had a justifiable grievance" and referring to her adherence to the Central Powers he adds: „no other course would possibly have been expected of her". Mr. Nicolson in contrast with another leading man of letters, Mr. Harold Spender, who in his „Cauldron of Europe" speaks of „the community of characteristics which draws Briton and Bulgar together", is far from ascribing as Mr. Nicolson does, treachery and perfidy to the Bulgarians. This is nothing short of slander, for among Balkan peoples, it is the Bulgarians who possess the most developed sense of fairness, and it may be asserted that it was the Serbian disregard of solemnly assumed pledges which aroused the righteous indignation of the Bulgarians in 1913 and made possible the fratricidal second Balkan war. To attribute it to mere treachery is a gross travesty of truth, as is that of accusing Bulgarians of perfidy for siding with the Germans in 1915. Bulgaria was a free factor, bound by no Treaty as were Greece and Rumania. The former was bound by Treaty to succour Serbia and yet she left her ally in the lurch, while Rumania was attached to the Central Powers by an Alliance which was valid until 1920, yet she treated it as a scrap of paper. Prof. Harry N. Howard Norman in his „The Partition of Turkey", p. 176, does not hesitate to denounce Rumania's disloyalty as follows:

728 „The formal assurances which Bratianu and King Ferdinan gave to the Central Powers only two days before they entered th lists against them are a worse blot on the Rumanian scutcheon tha their exaggerated claims to the Banat and the Tisza frontier".

Why then distort events and impute treachery and perfidy to Bulgaria, when these charges should be levelled rather at her neighbours? Is it in order to obscure public discernement and justify an altogether indefensible verdict, which Mr. Nicolson contributed in bringing about? The undisguised truth is that in dismembering Bulgaria at Neuilly, not only did we commit a crying injustice at the expense of the Bulgarian people, but we went out ot our way and recompensed Greece and Rumania, both of whom manifested in their behaviour during the World War, a greater disregard for solemn compacts than Bulgaria.

It is clear that if Bulgaria was deprived of Western Thrace and of her free access to the Aegean it was merely to placate M, Venizelos. Lieut. Colonel the Hon. H. D. Napier relates (op. cit. p. 243) how he remonstrated with Mr. Philip Kerr, Mr. Lloyd George's secretary, over the threatening exclusion of Bulgaria from the Aegean and how Mr. Kerr justified himself by replying that:

„M. Venizelos had done more than any single person to further Entente action in the Near East during the war, and intimated that whatever he asked for must be granted".[1]

[1] Mr Robert Lansing in his "The Big Four & Others at the Peace Conference" p. 148 writes: "the American position was frankly adverse to the Greek claims, not because of any unfriendliness for Greece or of friendliness for her enemies, but because the cession of areas inhabited by large hostile populations creates conditions which threaten the future peace of the world... Except for the personal influence of M. Venizelos. I am convinced that the extention of Greek sovereignty could not have been so great as it was under the treaties. What he asked was granted because *he* asked it". Obviously, if the personal factor was allowed to play such a prominent part, principles did not weigh heavy in the balance,

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•728 A singularly lame justification. For if there was a man who made possible Bulgaria's adherence to the Central Powers that person was Venizelos. He had issued orders for the coaling of the Goeben and the Breslau which enabled these German ships of war to escape pursuit and arrive safely at Constantinople.[1]

This secured the mastery of the Black Sea to Turkey and removed the threat of a Russian descent on the Bulgarian coast, which constituted the strongest deterrent to a Bulgarian attack on Serbia. Sir Basil Thompson published in his book a facsimile of M. Venizelos' autograph order and adds that it brought Turkey into the war against the Allies. We must agree with Mr. Kerr that no single person stimulated the Entente to such intense action in the Near East as M. Venizelos, but all these sacrifices and efforts would probably have been avoided but for that mischievous order of his. Those who are so ecstatic about this supremely clever man had better consult M. Frangulis' richly documented work „la Gréce et la Crise Mondiale", or Cosmin's „L'Entente et la Gréce pendant la Grande Guerre", 1914-1917, or a more recent book by S. Cosmetatos, entitled „The Tragedy of Greece", in which its author has effectively proceeded to the debunking of the Cretan Statesman.[2] Assuredly, and setting all morality

[1] Cf. Sir Basil Thomson's „The Allied Secret Service in Greece" p. 39.

[2] The following incident related in the latter book (p. 305) is sufficient to prove that M. Venizelos was a narrow-minded partisan rather than a Patriot. „The offensive against Kemal in June 1920 was singularly fortunate. The Greek troops advanced rapidly. They were on the point of dealing the enemy a decisive blow when France and Italy alarmed at their success. demanded from Venizelos, on penalty of withdrawing their mandate, the immediate suspension of military operations. The purpose of the demand was to save Turkey, for the partition of Turkey constituted according to the *Temps*, a diminution of the French estate in the East. Venizelos, instead of simply considering his country's interest and ridding it for ever of the Kemalist peril by sacrificing himself, if necessary, preferred to bow to the wishes of the French, whose help was indispensable to him in the civil conflict in Greece".

• 728 aside. it was not worth while inflicting a wrong on Bulgaria in order to recompense M. Venizelos for his disputable services to the Allied cause, for if all of them could be assessed at their true value it would be found that the debit side of the account somewhat exceeds the credit one.

The amputation of Western Thrace from Bulgaria was apparently dictated by purely mercenary considerations. Venizelos must have secured French support in exchange for the aid of a few Greek brigades at Odessa. Mr. Nicolson (op. cit. p. 260) notes in his diary February 9, 1919:

„The Italians are really determined to a separate deal with Greece by which they will obtain for their Albanian protectorate the Greek districts in the south, thereby covering the Corfu Channel. The Americans are determined not to accept this deal which to them savours of the Congress of Vienna. As regards Thrace they are still pro-Bulgar".

We may be allowed to presume that the „deal" referred to was the acceptence by Greece of the Italian point of view in Albania against Italian support for the Greek claim to Western Thrace, for diplomats excel in such underhand transactions One wonders what were the considerations which made British politicians dispose so generously of Bulgarian teritory at the time. Mr. Nicolson speaks of *his* „Arda line", (op. cit. p. 272) so that he wanted to foist on the Greeks more territory than they eventually got. His own appreciation of the manner in which his chiefs were attending to their work is illuminating:

„It is appalling that these ignorant and irresponsible men should be cutting Asia Minor to bits as if they were dividing a cake. And with no one there except me, who incidentally have nothing whatsoever to do with Asia Minor. Isn't it terrible, the happiness of millions being decided in that way, while for the last two months we were praying 'and begging the Council to give us time to work out a scheme". (op. cit. p. 337).

It is with such levity that supreme decisions, involving the future destiny of whole peoples were taken. And all

this triviality, paltriness and inanity, wrapped up in diplomatic flummery, was presented to the deluded peoples as the quintessence of the wisdom of the denizens of the new Olympus. Secrosanct covenants, indeed, before which the nations should kneel for all eternity![1] 728

[1] The disreputable methods used at the Peace Conference make revolting reading. To wit, the mean manoeuvres employed to defraud the Italians of their promised share in Asia Minor as revealed in Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson's Diary, Vol. II. pp. 189 191, — „Lloyd George got hold of me and Venizelos and told us the three Frocks (President Wilson, Clemenceau. & Lloyd George) had just decided to put the Greeks into Smyrna at once. . . and they are not going to tell either Italy or Turkey until the whole thing is well on the way. . . I begged Lloyd George to tell the Italians. I told him that nobody could understand our not telling one of our greatest Allies, and that no one could defend the three Frocks having secret meetings to carry out this coup . . What rotten behaviour to a friend and Ally".

Another unedifying chapter is that of the sordid Franco British wranglings over Arabia and the oil fields of Mossoul which estranged the two allies and made them wage a war by proxy, using the Turks and Greeks as such. Even Mr. Nicolson in his latest book „Curzon", p. 104, admits: „that the British Government had drifted over the Arab question into a position which was very false indeed". This initial disloyalty led France to make light of her commitments to her Ally and treat her with the same disregard as she had experienced. The pan-Arabic agitation of some British circles and their intrigues against the French in Syria still continue, as has been revealed in P. Coblentz' „The silence of Sarrail," pp. 250—1. France was not slow in responding by committing as big a perfidy. Mr. E. H. Bierstadt in his „The Great Betrayal,„ writes: „France in handing Cilicia to Turkey did not even consult her allies though she held this territory under a mandate from the League of Nations. She betrayed her trust for the sake of economic gain and then she herself was betrayed". As for the pretended humanitarianism which actuated our dealings with regard to the Arabs, Mr. Alexander Powell in his book „The Struggle for Power in Moslem Asia," says: »The people of Mesopotamia were tricked and deceived from the very beginning and forced to accept as their King an alien, belonging to another creed etc".

Mr. Oliver Baldwin, the son of our Prime Minister, in his

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728 The Americans who are at a distance which permits them to judge dispassionately of our shabby squabbles, and who desired above all to establish an enduring foundation for the pacification of Europe, had an altogether different conception as to the treatment which should have been meted out to Bulgaria. The „Outline of a Tentative Report", prepared by the American experts under Prof. Munro, discloses that not only did they insist on the holding of a plebiscite in Macedonia, but also recommended that both Western Thrace and Southern Dobrudja should be left to Bulgaria, while her southeastern frontier should be extended to the Midia-Enos line. When they could not carry their point with regard to Western Thrace, they insisted on this region being made into an autonomous province, like the Saar, or Dantsig, and this is the reason why in the Treaty of Neuilly. Section III art. 48, Bulgaria

book „The Questing Beast" writes thus about our activities in the Near East: „We were so busy at the Versailles Conference that we forgot all about Turkey, and when it was obvious what had happened we told the Armenians to attack them (the Turks) from the east, and the Greeks from the west. Certain of our support, these two nations did so with disastrous consequences... To some it may now be clear why the phrase „Albion perfide", was coined... General Agha Petros, commander-in-chief of the Assyro-Chaldeans in 1915 had been promised independence for his country by the British, French and Russians on condition he threw in his lot with the Allies instead of the Turks. This he did, and the result is that to-day he has been exiled by the British from his own country, denied repayment of money owed to him by the British Government, etc". After these innumerable examples of chicanery on the part of the supercilious „Kulturträger", to pick out the Bulgarians, who have not yet mastered the A. B. C. of diplomatic astuteness and craftiness, and to express contempt for them on account of their alleged „perfidy and treachery", is nothing else but another instance of brazen-faced, flippant swagger. Obviously, Prof. Gilbert Murray was right when he stated that: The greatest distinguishing characteristic of our modern civilisation was its hypocricy" and this applies more to the West than to the semi-primitive Balkan communities.

was asked to renounce in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights and title to this territory. Later when the Americans had departed from the Peace Conference and in contravention to the decision taken in common, the Entente decided in April 1920, at San Remo, to transfer Western Thrace to Greece. This was a clear breach of the pledges given both to the Americans and to Bulgaria and was not warranted by any ethnological considerations whatever, for according to the census taken under the supervision of the French, who were in occupation prior to the handing over of the territory to Greece, its population comprised: 69,155 Bulgarians, 11,739 Pomaks or Bulgarian Mohammedans, 73 220 Turks, 51,706 Greeks, 3000 Jews, 1,969 Armenians and 1,834 Gipsies. It should be noted that among the 51,706 Greeks there must have been a large percentage of Bulgarian patriarchists, who owing to their allegiance to the Greek Partiarchate, could, with the latitude inherent in elastic consciences be made to figure as Greeks. Indeed, according to the Bulgarian census taken during the world war, the Bulgarian Patriarchists figure as 30,374, while the Greeks as only 9,600.

Though by the Salonica Armistice, Bulgaria was to retain the Strumitsa valley, yet at Neuilly she was forced to cede it to Serbia, with certain other regions in Western Bulgaria, of a total area of 2,566 sq. klm. with a population of 91,888 which Serbia claimed for strategic reasons, a most flimsy pretence, since Bulgaria had been completely disarmed and rendered defenceless. Most of this territory is cut off from Serbia by inaccessible mountains and has its natural outlets in Bulgaria from which it has been severed, to the immense suffering of the local population, which has been cut off from its markets.

According to the secret clauses of the Salonica convention Bulgarian troops were assigned certain definite

Il: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

728 aims in view of an eventual co-operation with the Entente troops. M. Poincaré in his Memoirs (p. 374) related a conversation he had with Clemenceau in 1918 in which reference was made to three Bulgarian divisions and to Greece's unwillingness to make use of them. M. Poincaré concluded with the remark: „Pour y reussir, il ne faut pas laisser les Bulgares se mêler à notre expédition contre la Turquie". Bulgaria was to be treated as a benevolent neutral and even as a prospective ally. Had these views prevailed, both Great Britain and Greece could have reckoned on Bulgarian support. Mr. Lloyd George would not have then had to suffer the fiasco of his Grecian policy, nor Greece to rue the Asia Minor disaster.

It was indeed a great pity that the example set by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman towards the Boers was not followed anew towards the Bulgarians. Both Mr. Lloyd George and M. Venizelos would have found out that there is some fundamental truth in the golden old maxim „οὐδέν γὰρ οὕτω μεγαλοφροσύνης ποιητικόν". Or in Burke's words, „Magnanimity is not seldom the truest wisdom". Had it been applied, Great Britain would not have had to abandon the dominant position she occupied at the Straits which had cost her so much blood and treasure to acquire and she would not be to day on sufferance at Mossoul, the precarious hold on which she owes entirely to the oportune dispatch of a few Italian brigades to Rhodes by Signor Mussolini at the time Mossoul's fate was hanging in the balance.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

well acquainted with the economic situation of the villagers and distributed the food accordingly. There was an annual meeting of the Dragalevtsy Union to hear the reports of the retiring officers and to hold the election of new officers. The basis for membership was payment of the annual fee. In other words, it was purely philanthropic, in that the members expected to get nothing in return. I was not surprised to find the names of but very few farmers on the membership list. Peasants did not yet understand organized philanthropy, though individually they might be unusually generous on occasion.

Another group in the village was known as the Association of the Decoration for Valor. In 1935 the mayor got together all of the men who had been decorated for bravery during time of war. A Sofia major talked to them and persuaded them to form a local association, after pointing out that no harm could come and that possibly some advantages might follow, such as price reductions at State baths, special rates for traveling on the railroad, and pension legislation through collective lobbying. At the time I studied the group three or four meetings had been held with unusual group harmony. There was an initiation fee of twelve leva, and an annual fee of twenty leva per member. The membership totaled twenty-eight, which showed Dragalevtsy's reputation for bravery in war. I obtained facts about the organization not only from the officers, but also from interviews with fifteen different members. The reasons given for joining were varied:

1. "To have pensions."

2. "We who have decorations are to get help from the State by working together better."

3. "The privileges of free baths, freedom from school tax, reductions on the railroad, free medicine."

4. "We were ordered to form the local association from Sofia."

5. "Said I would get an iron cross. I wrote down my name but I don't know why."

Some conflict had sprung up between the village veterans with decorations and those who received no decorations but still thought they should have been allowed to enter the association and obtain the same privileges as the others. Many association members felt the same because some friend was in this predicament. The situation became

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• 729 more complicated when the members of the association began to receive public recognition on certain holidays while the other veterans remained in the background. Although this was an organization planned in Sofia and organized in the village by a Sofia man, good local men were elected as leaders and, judged by the number of meetings, the organization had been very active since its founding. However, since the interest in the organization was dependent upon the benefits the members expected to receive, the organization could be expected to die a natural death if no such benefits materialized. Then, too, it definitely ran counter to village practice in that it gave prominence to a few peasant men, setting them up over others whom public opinion considered just as worthy.

757 The local doctor, like the mayor, was also concerned with changing the ways of the people. She was sent to Dragalevtsy by the Department of Public Health, which had charge of selecting and locating all physicians in the State service. Because she was married, she received the higher salary of $41 a month, was allowed a private practice in the afternoon, and could charge 30 leva for a night visit. For assisting at a birth, she got 500 leva ($6). Since the people were poor, she was able to collect little money from private practice.

The doctor did not keep her office hours regularly "since the villagers don't understand office hours." During the month of August, for example, she was asked to visit only five or six houses, which showed that most of the patients wanting her services came to her office, where the treatment was free. The patients suffered chiefly from stomach trouble in the summer and from bronchial trouble in the fall; in the latter case coming more often for consultation. Because of the expense involved, rarely did the patient ask for a second visit. "The poor people who don't pay apologize; the richer people who don't pay do not apologize," the doctor commented.

744 There were national laws which, if stringently applied, would have done much to raise the level of sanitation and health throughout the country. Their application depended upon the initiative and knowledge of the local health authorities. In Dragalevtsy considerable effort had been spent in seeing that the laws were kept. The doctor and the mayor, or the mayor's representative, visited the taverns and

175 raised in 1914 and 1921, of 83, and 157 million leva respectively, as well as that of the 270 millions advanced by the
457 Diskonto Gesellschaft, which would bring the total military
652 expenditure up to 6216 million leva, of varying value, however, since the leva had depreciated from the intrinsic equivalent of a gold franc in 1914 to as little as 0.036 gold franc In 1921. These 6216 millions were financed by the expedients of increasing the fiduciary circulation which from 226,615,000 leva at the end of 1914 rose to the record figure of 4,622,833,000 on Nov. 30, 1924, and by the advances of the National Bank which at the end of the financial year 1921-1922 amounted to 4,206 million leva.

This estimate is for military expenditure incurred by
175 the State during the World war, and it is permissible to
652 presume that even parts of the budgetary deficits of the years 1921 to 1923 represented expenditure on this head.
727 It takes no account of the losses inflicted on the community at large, or of the war pensions the State had to serve subsequently to the disabled and their dependents. The number of killed was according to a statement made by the Minister of War in the Sobranye on Nov. 22, 1927, 53,825 during the Balkan wars and 115,048 during the World war.

175 In 1929 there were 98,000 persons receiving pensions
652 as war invalids or as dependents of such, and the amount of the annual charge this constituted to the budget was
729 372 million leva, or less than a paltry £6 a year per person at the then prevailing rate of exchange. This was all a grateful country could afford to pay to those of her sons who had been disabled in defending her. When such heroic sacrifices are so poorly requited, it is not surprising that its citizens' devotion towards it should perceptively cool and that they should turn for consolation to such subversive doctrines as Communism, which holds out the promise of greater justice and equity.

ECONOMIC HISTORY

According to the latest data, the number of war invalids receiving pensions on April 1, 1934, were 13,014 for a sum of 83,278,502 leva annually, and those of widows and dependents of soldiers killed during the wars 67,763, necessitating another annual outlay of 204,340,386 leva. In spite of the economic straits the Bulgarian exchequer is in, it has yet been found possible to make grants to 77 aged Russian veterans who had participated in the war of liberation of 1878, and who owing to the Bolshevik revolution have sought refuge in Bulgaria. The latter in spite of her difficulties is still harbouring some 19,000 émigrés and providing largely out of her slender means for their upkeep, a fact which inflicts a formal disavowal to the slanderous charges brought against Bulgaria as to her alleged ingratitude towards Russia.

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The Financial burdens of the Treaty of Neuilly.

The amount of the indemnity imposed on Bulgaria and euphemistically termed 'reparations' was fixed according to Article 121 of the Treaty of Neuilly at 2250 million gold francs and decreed payable within 37 years and to bear 5% interest. Article 132 of the said Treaty decreed that the costs of reparations would constitute a first charge on all the assets and revenues of Bulgaria. Article 133 bound Bulgaria to defray the total cost of the Allied armies in occupation of Bulgarian territory until the coming into force of the Treaty, this cost being finally assessed at 25 million gold francs. Article 137 constrained Bulgaria to assume a part of the Ottoman debt, a matter which has not yet been fixed. Another article, 177, provided for the indemnification of the material damage suffered by Allied subjects through Bulgaria's action in the war out of the property of Bulgarian subjects seized in Allied countries. The amount awarded as demages by Arbitral Courts

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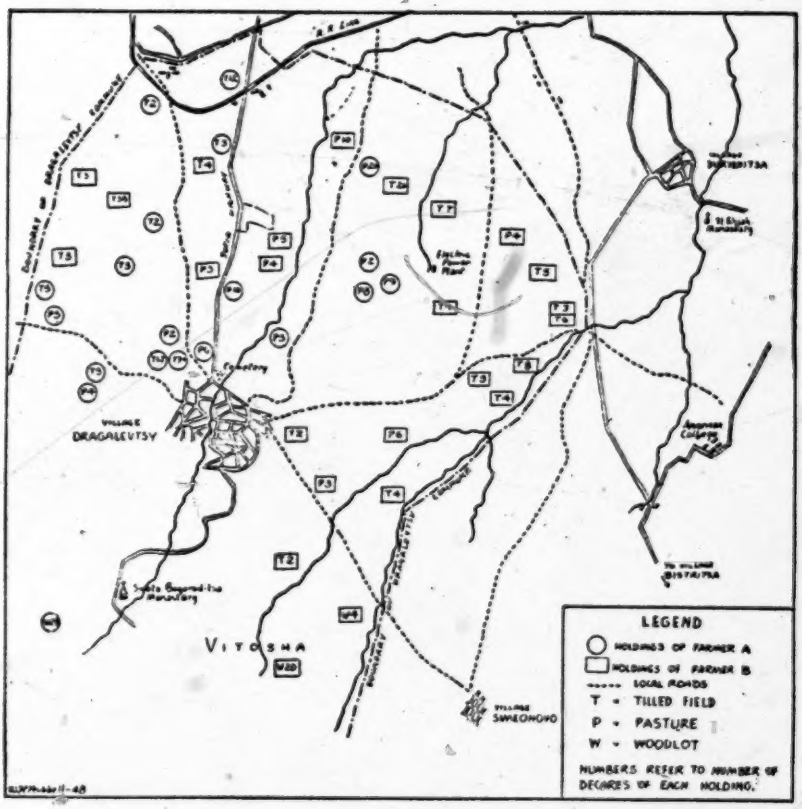


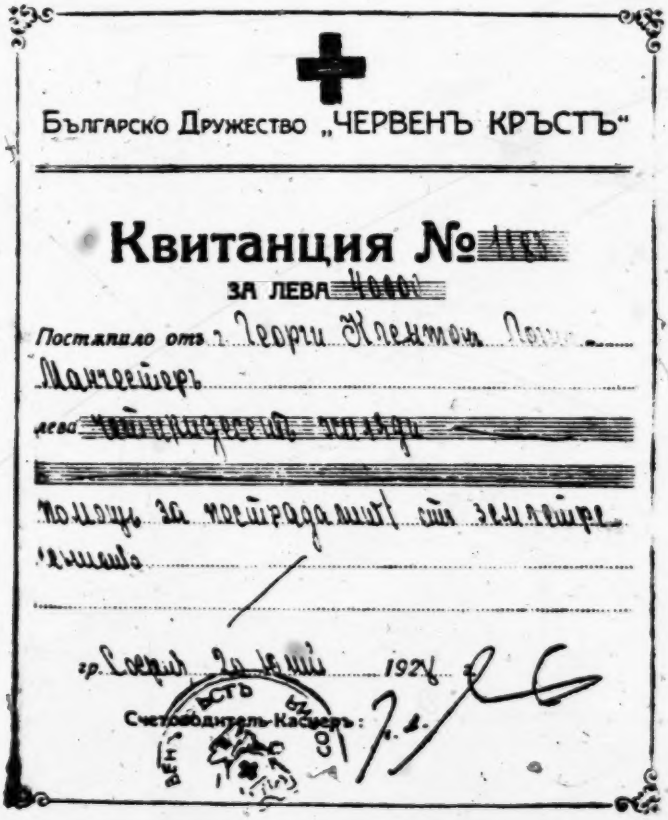
Map of holdings of two Dragalevtsy farmers

527 731 Should drought be very severe, say in midsummer, the villagers asked for another procession and additional prayers to do more effectively what the May procession had failed to do.[1] The need for such ceremonies was explained to me one day by a tavern keeper: "While the people know in their minds that wind keeps the rain away from their fields, they believe in their hearts that the cause of drought, like that of sickness, is the sinfulness of the world today for which God is punishing the people."

243 The chief bread-grain used in this region was called *smes*, a mixture of wheat and rye. It was sown by hand from a bag slung over

1 [i.e. ensure a good harvest -- Analyst]

known, hastened to offer what help they could to the sufferers without having to be goaded on by violent or explosive methods.[1] Surely such bondholders need not be treated with suspicion as harbouring mischievous schemes



Българско Дружество „ЧЕРВЕНЪ КРЪСТЪ"

Квитанция № [illegible]

за лева [illegible]

Постъпило отъ г. Георги Йлектов Лоу[illegible]

Манчестеръ

лева [illegible]

помощ за пострадалите от земетръсъ

гр. София 2а Юлий 1928 г.

Счетоводитель-Касиеръ:

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF ONE OF THE DONATIONS MADE BY THE AUTHOR ON BEHALF OF THE EARTHQUAKE SUFFERERS.

[1] Certain opulent Bulgarians refused to contribute to the earthquake fund, whereupon Sofia students proceeded to place bombs in the houses of these recalcitrant millionaires. They became more amenable to persuasion after the explosion of the bombs, and one of them, a well-known banking manager and plutocrat disbursed as

000 detrimental to Bulgaria. On the contrary they may be credited with manifesting a solicitous concern for Bulgaria's development and of taking a pride in her legitimate successes to which they are as keen as the natives to contribute. In a future and more rational society such people would be granted equal political rights with the natives, but for the moment all they can hope for is that they should be treated as shareholders desirous of defending the common property of „Bulgaria Ltd" both against outside spoliators, internal depredators, and the unholy alliances between them which in the past have so often checked Bulgaria's vitality and progress.

731 much as 25,000 leva. In refusing to help however they may have been responding to other motives than mere avariciousness. They may have thought that their money might not reach its destination. The former Finance Minister S. Stefanov affirmed in the Sobranye on Dec. 9, 1931 that there had been undue dissipation in this case and some 200 to 300 million levas wasted. However, external help was badly needed. for according to M. Liaptchev's statement in the Sobranye on Nov. 29 1928, 74,568 buidings had been destroyed & this entailed a loss of 4534 million leva, besides this, the State had to dispense collecting 435 millions of revenue in 1928. Voluntary contributions to the earthquake fund amounted to 46,720,000 leva from Bulgaria & to 44,790,000 from abroad. The £ 500,000 provided by the Stabilisation loan hardly sufficed to restore $7^1/_2$% of the damage & it is the local residents who had to raise the requisite funds in order to repair the ravages of this scourge.

313 fluences in order that the forests might be efficiently protected and he advocated the militarisation of the foresters as the best way of achieving this aim. The grazing of [137] cattle in the great timber forests accounted for their gradual deterioration and transformation into stunted brushwood. This was due to the shortage of pasture land, of which there was only enough for feeding four million head of cattle, while the number of cattle in Bulgaria was fourteen million. The requirements of this head of cattle is about five million kilogrammes of fodder, 4/5 of which is supplied from the forests, the foliage of the trees being used as such. Goats did the greatest harm, there were 250 of them per thousand inhabitants in Bulgaria, 750 in Greece, 150 in Serbia and 25 in Rummania. By these ratios one could also gauge the relative condition of the forests in these countries.

The gradual decrease in local precipitation which is 132 of such importance to the cultivator, as well as the resulting 731 inundations, with the appaling destruction they cause in the [illegible]e valleys, all of which may be traced to the u[illegible]ked felling of the forests has begun to make itself felt. We thus find deputy N. Terkalanov declaring in the Sobranye on December 11, 1928, that the yearly loss from drought could be reckoned as amounting to a reduction of the crops by 180,000 tons of cereals, 20,000 tons of industrial cultures, 10,000 of vegetables and 100,000 tons of fodder, of a value of two milliard leva. The loss caused by drought during 1934 was estimated at five milliard leva, though the harvest was an average one. Big losses were also incurred through inundations, the river Kamtsia alone caused damage amounting to 3·5 millions annually.

313 Travellers in the Balkan regions cannot help noticing 134 how vast expances of once fertile land are getting buried deep beneath tons of rubble and sand, sent down by

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Bulgaria EE1

The sleeves are just rectangular pieces of cloth of its full width, 19 inches, and are joined by a run and fell seam which is arranged just above the opening under the arm at the back. B 292 286 531

As will be seen from the illustration, the decoration is placed where the wear is greatest, so it has an economical as well as an ornamental purpose.

The work is executed in petit-point stitch, the pattern being worked in crimson and the background filled in with Turkey red or scarlet. As can be seen from the drawing, at the bottom of the front-opening where the pattern is not completed (probably because it came under the apron and so would not show) the design is first outlined in black in double-running-stitch, so that both right and wrong sides are alike, and is then filled in with petit-point.

The edges of the sleeves are finished off by a ladder-stitch with a chain edge on either side, and the hem is neatened and strengthened by being closely oversewn with scarlet thread. The equal-armed Greek cross is used around the hem except at the seams, where a variety of palmette, similar again to Greek pattern, disguises the seam for about four inches.

The chief motive on the sleeve is an equal armed cross with re-entrant angles at the ends of the arms. Many of the small motives filling in the spaces are rayed. Occasionally small spots of the white background, with tiny crosses on them, break the surface of solid red stitchery, and between the panel and the sleeve borders is a raised row of closely worked chain-stitch. The embroidery is all done in strong, finely spun wool.

"The body over the shirt is girthed with a hempen cord, wound round and round, and with the end twisted up in front. It forms a stiff and cumbrous sort of corset. The women declared they could not stand up without it." (M.E.D.). A buckle such as that shown on Plate XV at "H" (No. 1939-1) was attached in front. C

Miss Durham says, in speaking of the relief work she was doing at the time, "When I was on relief work visiting large numbers of burnt villages where the inhabitants camped in holes in the ground and under rough hovels, one of my jobs was to deal out clothing material, as most people had only what they stood up in. We obtained a large quantity of shirt material. I cut it into lengths and dealt it out to the refugees who came to fetch it. After several weeks I visited a village expecting to see the women in new garments. Not a bit of it; they were in filthy rags as before. I asked what had become of the shirt stuff. It was, they said, such good stuff it would have to be for best clothes. They had got as far as outlining the embroidery patterns, and were beginning to fill it in. But I was assured it would be months before the things were done." B 731 292 747

No. 1935-65. This handsome head scarf, which is worn with its ends down the back, is made of the same material as the shirt, with the addition of some imported gold lace, gold thread and beads (Plate IXB). B 292 531

For the length of 50 inches (127 cm.) the scarf has a border of hexagons and triangles worked in petit-point in two shades of red, outlined and rayed in black (Fig. 6 "a"). A ladder-stitch with chain edges finishes off the hem, and is edged by a row of two black and two white beads used alternately.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Croats EF4
Slovenes EF7
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

keep vows of brotherhood stepped on to the ends of the plank with the right foot. Before beginning to read the Gospel and prayers, the priest asked them in turn three times whether they believed in the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and whether they believed in the Fire.[1]

At Planinica for epilepsy, the doctoress visited the patients' house and divided the fire into two parts in the same way and stood over the fires. Other members of the family then pulled the patient in a trough three times under her legs and between the fires. A footprint of a man, or the track of an animal or an insect which was afterwards found in the ashes over which the trough had passed, was given to the patient in water.[2]

Live fire is also carried round the village or round the flocks and herds during an epidemic, and fire is carried in the same way irrespective of immediate needs at a ceremony variously called *Olalija*, *Alalija*, *Lila*, etc., which takes place particularly in pastoral districts, on Ascension, St John's Day, St Peter's Day, or one of the earlier feasts round about Easter. Torches of dried bark (cherry or birch) are borne in forked sticks. In the Holmoljski district the name *Alalija* is given to large fires of straw, etc., lit in or near the village in honour of the dead at the beginning of the spring carnival. People dance round the fires and try to pull one another over them. The shepherds also come down from the pastures bringing their torches which are carried round the village.[3] There are other familiar fire rites on St John's Eve, Easter Eve, St George's Eve, or at Easter. Sometimes the fires are lit on hills all round a

[1] N. A. Načov, *Za Pobratimtvo*, pp. 60–1.
[2] S. Trojanović, *Glavni Srpski Žrtveni Običaji*, pp. 43, 44.
[3] S.E.Z. XIX, *op. cit.* Cf. M. Miličević, *Život Srba Seljaka*, pp. 133, etc.; M. Arnaudov, *Studie vurhu Bulgarskite Obredi i Legendi*, Spisanie na Bolg. Akademia na Naukite, IV (1912), p. 16 *passim*; N. Zega, *op. cit.*; S.E.Z. XXIII, p. 102, XIV, p. 333; Zb. X, pp. 1, 52, 1, pp. 247, etc., etc.; Sb.N.U. XII, pp. 7–9; Zibrt, *Seznam pověr a zvyklosti pohanských z VIII věku* (1894), pp. 90–5; Voraček, *Pohanské obřiti u Bulharů*, Slov. Sbornik (1883), pp. 539, etc. Cf. V. Haruzin, *K voprosu o počitanie ognja*, Etnog. Obozrenia (1906); G. Vinogradov, *Samocrašvonie i skotoloknie*, Živaja Starina, XXIV (1915).

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

assets. They could do hard work; they could run countless errands. 858
Later, they were the heirs to the father's fields and the chief support of the parents in their declining years.

One of the first women I interviewed about family life told me: "I had a little boy but he died when forty days old. Now I cannot help crying every St. George's Day [May 6] and every St. Dimiter's Day [November 8] when my husband goes out to hire a boy to care for our sheep. If my son had lived, he could have taken care of the sheep for us."

Later on in the course of a conversation with a garrulous *baba* I asked her if she did not think her seven children too many for one woman to have. She snorted, pointed out of the window to her sons unloading wood they had gathered in the forest, and said: "If I hadn't had lots of children, who would go to get our wood?"

Sons were greater economic assets than girls but even so would 858
have normally received more attention in this man-centered society. 562
As parents often had to go to some expense to get their daughters 593
married off, they were always jubilant at the arrival of a son. The good-natured priest was occasionally the butt of a number of sly jests because he had three daughters and no son. One man in particular, Stefan, who had been in the same predicament, had recently acquired a son, who was now the apple of his eye. He was fond of his daughters, but made no secret of his particular pride in his boy. I thoroughly enjoyed a conversation between Stefan and the priest in which Stefan fully explained how to be sure the next one was a boy. I have known of fathers who refused to look at the newly arrived infant upon learning that it was a girl. Of course, they eventually acquiesced and simply hoped for better luck next time. Where parents had no sons, village curiosity reached a peak when a new child was expected, and an occasional wager was laid on the possibility of it being a boy. But favoritism was the exception rather than the rule. When you asked a Dragalevtsy parent which child he liked best he responded: "I like them all equally; they are just like the fingers on one's hand." He often added the proverb, "The fingers on one's hand feel pain equally, do they not?"

Whenever a child suffered from a physical or mental handicap 732
Dragalevtsy parents, like most parents around the world, were more 593
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2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

● 732 593 758 solicitous than they would have been if the child were normal. A peasant named Vladimir once invited me to his home for what I thought was to be a chat about life in general. We walked through the sturdy gate, slushed through the mud in the yard, and lowered our heads as we entered the house's one large room. The children scurried out of our way while Yurdanka, his wife, offered us each a low three-legged stool. Not far from the stove in the center of the room I saw in the dim light what appeared to be a teen-aged girl, drooling and entirely oblivious to our presence. Vladimir, Yurdanka, and I talked about many things while their younger children sat on the bed and listened intently. Then the father brought up the matter of their feeble-minded daughter:

"*Tova e nashe neshtastie*" (This is our misfortune), he said. And then he told me her story. Some illness, probably meningitis, had arrested her mental development at an early age. Doctors had given them no hope and they wondered if I, a foreigner, knew of something they could do. Their faces showed the suffering that had touched their lives: the comments of misunderstanding, superstitious neighbors, and the constant attention they had to pay to the child's physical needs. Truly she was their misfortune. I knew that the treatment of the mentally deficient and mentally ill in Bulgaria was still in that tragic stage where the unfortunates were confined and given almost no scientific treatment. The parents wanted more than that. It was with a heavy heart that I left them, for their misfortune was not only that of economic loss, but of seeing a wasted life sharing the one living room of the tiny house.

593 The child, whether grown or small, approached the father through the mother. Though not universally the case, most Dragalevtsy children told their mother what they wanted and then asked her to relay this request to the father. The mother did so quite willingly, for she felt much closer to the children than the father. In this way the distance between father and children was traditionally maintained, increasing filial respect.

There were accepted ways for children to show their respect to the parents. The traditional patterns all centered around the father: standing up when he entered the room; waiting for him to eat first;

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

gave lectures at intervals during the year and consulted with some farmers regarding their work, he could not initiate and carry through a thorough program without the help of a local *agronom.* 476 657 178

As far as livestock was concerned, there were two boars and one village bull for breeding purposes. The law required that each *Obshtina* take charge of its own breeding animals. There was supposed to be a local breeding association, but the mayor was the only member. A fund was being collected for a village barn. Meanwhile, the animals were boarded out to various peasants who received a fixed sum. Improvement of livestock was more easily managed through the control of male animals, which were inspected each spring. Those of bad quality were castrated (the veterinary's fees for this work being the following: pig, 10 leva; donkey, 20 leva; horse, 40 leva). If the animal died, the State paid for the loss. I happened to visit the village at the time the veterinary doctor was making his inspection of horses. Before he could begin his thorough examination, the representative of the *Obshtina* looked over the bills of sale to be sure each man had his own horses. This bill of sale cost 3 per cent of the amount exchanged. If the horses had been foaled at the home of the present owners, the men presented certificates of ownership which they had previously obtained from the mayor for fifteen leva. If the doctor found that a horse was ill, a second examination was made two weeks later. If the animal was still sick, State officials bought the horse for a small sum and killed it. A fine ranging from two hundred to five hundred leva was charged if the horses were not brought for the examination. While a national program for home demonstration work had been prepared, Dragalevtsy so far had received few benefits. 232 476

Recreation, like economic life, had been subjected to efforts at organization. The people of Dragalevtsy customarily associated liquor with holidays and leisure time. In the earlier days there was little organized opposition to the use of alcohol, but by 1922 considerable public opinion had been aroused against the *kruchmi.* On January 1, 1922, all the taverns of the village were closed by order of the Village Council, which thought that the drink shops were a social evil. The village was very much stirred up, most of the men siding with the tavern keepers and the women with the Village Council. The tavern 273 733

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●733

keepers immediately petitioned the higher court in Sofia, which reversed the decision of the Village Council on the grounds that the order had been issued illegally, without having a vote of all the people. On March 12 the taverns opened again. A large sum of money was due the tavern keepers in the way of damages, but they did not try to collect for fear a referendum would be carried out and the taverns abolished indefinitely. Between January 1 and March 12 the men of Dragalevtsy had gone to Sofia and to other villages so frequently to drink that they had lost much time from work, to the distress of their families. Since Dragalevtsy became a resort place, it has had summer guests who demanded alcoholic beverages; this clientele aids the tavern keepers, although many peasants are still in favor of closing their places of business.

In 1935, largely at the suggestion of one of the schoolteachers, a temperance society was organized among the young men. The score of members took their organization seriously, though many villagers ridiculed it. This organization gave a *vecherinka* at which a "drunk" comedy was presented in order to discourage drinking. The temperance pledge included not only drinking but smoking and was so difficult to keep that a year later some of the members had fallen from grace. The village registrar, who was active in the Village Council in 1922 when the taverns were closed, was not permitted in the temperance association because he smoked. His admission would have greatly strengthened the work of the organization as far as alcoholic temperance was concerned.

The monthly dues were five leva, which were to be spent for buying temperance literature and sometimes in helping the poor. One member was sent to the city of Stara Zagora for a conference of all temperance associations in Bulgaria. The priest could not be a member "because he has to drink in his work," that is, communion. The organization was almost extinct because the initial enthusiasm had waned and some of the original members had dropped out. In order to justify their own actions those who quit talked against the remaining members and accused them of smoking and drinking on the side. The society's value as an aid to temperance would have been hard to estimate. While it must have had some effect on the minds of the

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

young people connected with it, it had little reforming influence upon 273
the older people. The government was trying to control the sale of 733
liquor by limiting hours of sale and by excluding minors from taverns. For example, the taverns were closed during the time of Sunday morning service.

Here, then, we have three efforts on the part of villagers and authorities to promote abstinence or temperance. The first, in 1922, used the local governmental machinery but lacked the support of the men who were the only ones with the right to vote. The second was the voluntary association of strong-willed youths, who soon found that formal organizations had short lives in Dragalevtsy. The other method consisted of the mayor's arbitrary edicts, which he had power to make people obey. From time to time he overlooked infringements of his rules, being more interested in avoiding excessive drunkenness on the part of well-known sots than in decreasing the tavern keeper's revenues.

The chief objections raised to the use of liquor were economic rather than moral. Although recreation was not commercialized in our sense of the term, the tavern keepers did make an adequate income from catering to patrons with free time on their hands.

The only formally organized recreational group in the village was 529
the *Yunak* organization. It began its career in the village in 1932. 575
The local group was one of hundreds scattered throughout the whole of Bulgaria for the purpose of organizing the youth for sport and physical education. The activity of this organization was intense in the beginning. Since then, however, interest died down to the point that the young men gathered only two or three times a year for exercise in the schoolyard where there were rings and a horizontal bar, and once a year for election of officers. Many of the members felt that it was an honor to belong because it signified to the rest of the villagers that "you want to be healthy." The older people, however, thought that such an organization was unnecessary since, in their opinion, "if the young people did enough work in the fields and around the stables they would not need any organization for exercise." As is the case with many clubs of this sort, there were four or five people who really carried the load in an effort to keep the group alive. Because this organization was so utterly out of line with the familistic point

296 formation as to wash days: "We wash twice a week: on Monday and Wednesday, or on Wednesday and Saturday."

351 Many of the yards still had the threshing floor, reminiscent of Old Testament days. This could be located by a forlorn post which seemed to be serving no useful purpose. In the fall great quantities of drying wool hung from the clotheslines; and a little later the family piled in the yard the winter supply of wood from the forest.

342 The eaves of the house, deep as they were, sheltered such things as strings of drying peppers and ears of corn; milk utensils hung beneath them practically the year round; even the scythes and wooden hayforks found frequent lodging there. Storks nested in the trees and chimneys. With the coming of the warmer weather the sheep left their folds in the yards for the pastures, and the shepherd took with him his wattled shelter, which he moved on sleds across the grassy meadows.

[789] In many yards a heavy, large-wheeled wagon stood near the
351 primitive sheds for the animals and the ever-present strawstack. If the peasants were unusually superstitious, there would be dabs of blue paint on the wagon to keep the Evil Eye away. When the weather
231 was nice there were usually children at play in the yard. Upon seeing
609 a visitor they added their lusty shouts to the ominous barking of the dogs. They chased the dogs away from the gate by throwing sticks and stones at them, and at the same time warned the visitor to be on the alert. Far too often the dogs sneaked up behind to nip an ankle of the unsuspecting visitor.

247 The yards had few flowers, because chickens of a nondescript
351 variety pecked freely throughout the premises. One or two scraggly trees, from which the children shook most of the fruit before it had
735 time to ripen, stood in a corner wistfully seeking to give a touch of
511 beauty to the scene. In the spring the blossoms of such trees made the village bright, but when the fruit and leaves were gone the bare, black skeletons of the trees fitted in only too well with the poverty and sternness of village life. Poor land, inefficiently tilled, contributed to this poverty. Although the peasants worked hard in their fields, they had little cash on hand after selling their crops and paying their debts. Home improvements were postponed from year to year, but the hard work kept on just the same.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EF1

729 more complicated when the members of the association began to receive public recognition on certain holidays while the other veterans remained in the background. Although this was an organization planned in Sofia and organized in the village by a Sofia man, good local men were elected as leaders and, judged by the number of meetings, the organization had been very active since its founding. However, since the interest in the organization was dependent upon the benefits the members expected to receive, the organization could be expected to die a natural death if no such benefits materialized. Then, too, it definitely ran counter to village practice in that it gave prominence to a few peasant men, setting them up over others whom public opinion considered just as worthy.

757 The local doctor, like the mayor, was also concerned with changing the ways of the people. She was sent to Dragalevtsy by the Department of Public Health, which had charge of selecting and locating all physicians in the State service. Because she was married, she received the higher salary of $41 a month, was allowed a private practice in the afternoon, and could charge 30 leva for a night visit. For assisting at a birth, she got 500 leva ($6). Since the people were poor, she was able to collect little money from private practice.

The doctor did not keep her office hours regularly "since the villagers don't understand office hours." During the month of August, for example, she was asked to visit only five or six houses, which showed that most of the patients wanting her services came to her office, where the treatment was free. The patients suffered chiefly from stomach trouble in the summer and from bronchial trouble in the fall; in the latter case coming more often for consultation. Because of the expense involved, rarely did the patient ask for a second visit. "The poor people who don't pay apologize; the richer people who don't pay do not apologize," the doctor commented.

●744 There were national laws which, if stringently applied, would have done much to raise the level of sanitation and health throughout the country. Their application depended upon the initiative and knowledge of the local health authorities. In Dragalevtsy considerable effort had been spent in seeing that the laws were kept. The doctor and the mayor, or the mayor's representative, visited the taverns and

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

sent samples of liquor and wine to Sofia to be examined. They also 744 noticed what disposition was made of all sorts of waste and where manure was stacked. The doctor then wrote a report on the basis of which the mayor made a decree as to what changes were to be made. After thirty days the two made a second examination. The doctor usually found that the people did not really carry out these orders, and assessed a fine which the *Sekretar Birnik* had to collect. Such fines were imposed upon a baker who had been warned several times that his place was not clean enough. He did nothing to improve the situation, so he was fined five hundred leva to be paid within a month. If the fine had not been paid, he would have had to spend three days in prison for every one hundred leva due. A local confectioner was fined 22,000 leva ($266) for using saccharine, banned simply because the government had the monopoly of sugar.

Specimens of the village water supply, sent by the doctor, were examined at least once a month by the Institute of Public Health in Sofia. The doctor also had the right to analyze samples of all foodstuffs and household articles on sale, such as soap, cheese, sugar, pepper, and canned goods, but could hold the grocer responsible only for things which were unpackaged. Bread sold in the tavern and bakery was examined for an excessive percentage of water.

Vaccination against smallpox was scheduled three times in a village person's life: before he reached one year; when he reached seven, the age for going to school; and when he was twenty years of age. Typhoid inoculations were given only "if there are more than ten cases in the whole village." Diphtheria serum was given only in case of real need. Plans called for giving all school children the Pirquet reaction test for tuberculosis. In addition to the steps just mentioned, the doctor, through the *Obshtina,* organized a few health lectures during the winter and conducted a mothers' course. Young mothers especially were encouraged to visit the health station every week with their infants.

Assisting the doctor there was a midwife provided by the State, 759 who aided not only in deliveries of infants but also worked with the children of school age and, in order to fill up her time, helped the doctor in her office work. She had had a gymnasium (secondary

474 With a population of 6.25 millions we have 275 inhabitants per cooperative society, or 1 out of 6.5 inhabitants is a member of a cooperative society. The members of cooperatives make 15.5% of the total population.

745 **53. Public Insurance.** The income from public insurance for 1938 is 281.4 millions leva. The disbursements for accident, sickness, maternity cases, invalidity, old age and unemployment amount to 155.967.000 leva.

496 **54. Bulgarian Railroads.** (Appendix II) At the time of her liberation (1878) Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia (South Bulgaria) received from the Ottoman Empire 542 km. = 336 miles of privately owned railroads. With a territory of 103.000 sq. km. = 39.400 sq. miles and a population of 2.8 millions inhabitants at that time, Bulgaria obtained 5.26 km. railroads per 1000 sq. km. territory and 193 km. per 1 million inhabitants. The average railroad intensity of Europe at that time was respectively 24.5 and 600 km. so that Bulgaria was 4.65 resp. 3.1 times less favorable than Europe in that respect. Bulgaria possesses to day (Dec. 31, 1944) 3,760 km. = 740 miles of railroad lines; this makes 33.6 km. per 1000 sq. km. of territory and 522 km. per 1 million inhabitants.[1]) Consequently Bulgaria, having increased her railroad network 6.95 times, has increased her network intensity 7.1 times in relation to this territory and 2.7 times in relation to her population (the growth of the population is very rapid). Bulgaria is well nigh to catch up with Europe so far as the average density of the railroad network is concerned. We should not fail to underline this fact, because between 1878 and 1945 the growth of Bulgaria's railroad network for the duration of this 67 years has been at the rate 48 km. of railroads per year. At an average cost of 6.4 millions leva per kilometer for railroads, rolling stock, inventory and other equipment, according to prices of 1941, this would represent an expenditure of about 310 millions leva a year, which is quite a significant amount for the limited financial resources of Bulgaria.

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131 161 [1]) 1945 Bulgaria has a territory of 110.842 sq. km. = 42.800 sq. miles and a population of 6.9 millions. In Fig. 12 read 110.842 instead of 110.342 sq miles.

7 [See pp. 110(A)-110(B) -- Analyst]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

656 *What other things did the village government do for the people of the village?* The *Obshtina* saw that pure water was piped to the different neighborhood fountains. In addition, the *Obshtina* had the only telephone in the village, which anyone might use upon the payment of two leva. It also had a fire pump, which, so far as could be learned, had never yet been put to work in an emergency.

656 ●747 The national government encouraged its village representatives to set up organizations to promote specific activities. One of these was the Red Cross, to which a score of adults, most of them of the intelligentsia or official group, had paid membership fees. The village doctor was one of the leading spirits in this association, though the mayor, having been connected with the Red Cross in Sofia, was also interested. Its activities did not get under way until after 1937, with the exception of the placing of a few posters and a drive for members. The more active Junior Red Cross, headed by the school director, stimulated the interest of children in first aid and good health practices.

A second organization was a local branch of the Union for the Protection of Children, organized by the mayor, who was also its president. Its chief activity was the serving of hot lunches to all school children who did not go home for lunch. This applied to rich and poor children alike, because the wealthier parents were often away from home and thus unable to provide a hot meal for their children. Sometimes as many as eighty of the children received their meals in the *trapezariya* (dining room). The adult members of this association or Union were also for the most part from the intelligentsia and the official groups. This hot-lunch movement had spread throughout Bulgaria into hundreds of schools. Many times it was financed outright by the government; oftentimes by private groups aided by government subsidy. This association, with the support of the *Obshtina,* distributed food to the poorest families of the village at Christmas time. For instance, the officers gave two pounds of sugar, two pounds of rice, and two pounds of meat to each of 120 families at the Christmas season. The pride and independence of the peasants was demonstrated by the fact that no families came to ask for these gifts, because no family wanted to admit it was poor enough to require them. However, those in charge of the distribution were

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

well acquainted with the economic situation of the villagers and distributed the food accordingly. There was an annual meeting of the Dragalevtsy Union to hear the reports of the retiring officers and to hold the election of new officers. The basis for membership was payment of the annual fee. In other words, it was purely philanthropic, in that the members expected to get nothing in return. I was not surprised to find the names of but very few farmers on the membership list. Peasants did not yet understand organized philanthropy, though individually they might be unusually generous on occasion.

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Another group in the village was known as the Association of the Decoration for Valor. In 1935 the mayor got together all of the men who had been decorated for bravery during time of war. A Sofia major talked to them and persuaded them to form a local association, after pointing out that no harm could come and that possibly some advantages might follow, such as price reductions at State baths, special rates for traveling on the railroad, and pension legislation through collective lobbying. At the time I studied the group three or four meetings had been held with unusual group harmony. There was an initiation fee of twelve leva, and an annual fee of twenty leva per member. The membership totaled twenty-eight, which showed Dragalevtsy's reputation for bravery in war. I obtained facts about the organization not only from the officers, but also from interviews with fifteen different members. The reasons given for joining were varied:

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1. "To have pensions."

2. "We who have decorations are to get help from the State by working together better."

3. "The privileges of free baths, freedom from school tax, reductions on the railroad, free medicine."

4. "We were ordered to form the local association from Sofia."

5. "Said I would get an iron cross. I wrote down my name but I don't know why."

Some conflict had sprung up between the village veterans with decorations and those who received no decorations but still thought they should have been allowed to enter the association and obtain the same privileges as the others. Many association members felt the same because some friend was in this predicament. The situation became

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Bulgaria EE

The sleeves are just rectangular pieces of cloth of its full width, 19 inches, and are joined by a run and fell seam which is arranged just above the opening under the arm at the back. B 292 286 531

As will be seen from the illustration, the decoration is placed where the wear is greatest, so it has an economical as well as an ornamental purpose.

The work is executed in petit-point stitch, the pattern being worked in crimson and the background filled in with Turkey red or scarlet. As can be seen from the drawing, at the bottom of the front-opening where the pattern is not completed (probably because it came under the apron and so would not show) the design is first outlined in black in double-running stitch, so that both right and wrong sides are alike, and is then filled in with petit-point.

The edges of the sleeves are finished off by a ladder-stitch with a chain edge on either side, and the hem is neatened and strengthened by being closely oversewn with scarlet thread. The equal-armed Greek cross is used around the hem except at the seams, where a variety of palmette, similar again to Greek pattern, disguises the seam for about four inches.

The chief motive on the sleeve is an equal armed cross with re-entrant angles at the ends of the arms. Many of the small motives filling in the spaces are rayed. Occasionally small spots of the white background, with tiny crosses on them, break the surface of solid red stitchery, and between the panel and the sleeve borders is a raised row of closely worked chain-stitch. The embroidery is all done in strong, finely spun wool.

"The body over the shirt is girthed with a hempen cord, wound round and round, and with the end twisted up in front. It forms a stiff and cumbrous sort of corset. The women declared they could not stand up without it." (M.E.D.). A buckle such as that shown on Plate XV at "H" (No. 1939-1) was attached in front. C

Miss Durham says, in speaking of the relief work she was doing at the time, "When I was on relief work visiting large numbers of burnt villages where the inhabitants camped in holes in the ground and under rough hovels, one of my jobs was to deal out clothing material, as most people had only what they stood up in. We obtained a large quantity of shirt material. I cut it into lengths and dealt it out to the refugees who came to fetch it. After several weeks I visited a village expecting to see the women in new garments. Not a bit of it; they were in filthy rags as before. I asked what had become of the shirt stuff. It was, they said, such good stuff it would have to be for best clothes. They had got as far as outlining the embroidery patterns, and were beginning to fill it in. But I was assured it would be months before the things were done." B 731 292 747

No. 1935-65. This handsome head scarf, which is worn with its ends down the back, is made of the same material as the shirt, with the addition of some imported gold lace, gold thread and beads (Plate IXa). B 292 531

For the length of 50 inches (127 cm.) the scarf has a border of hexagons and triangles worked in petit-point in two shades of red, outlined and rayed in black (Fig. 6 "a"). A ladder-stitch with chain edges finishes off the hem, and is edged by a row of two black and two white beads used alternately.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

be divided into something like natural diseases and supernatural ones. The latter are called *vila* diseases, 'treacherous' (*neverne*) diseases, and diseases 'put on' (*nametnute*) by magic or the evil eye.

If one goes outside at night in an evil hour, or makes water at night in an unclean place (he should as a safeguard spit first three times) and after he fall ill, he is said to have come upon evil (*uradisal*). The cure at Libjahovo is to wash him with unbroken water and throw the water outside the house saying: 'From the dung heap you came, to the dunghill return, gentle and honied ones.' Or else let the unfortunate man take a cake smeared with honey and put it on the place where he thinks that he caught the disease to *appease the 'urama'*.[1] Such offerings are to be made should one urinate under an old rose bush or any other tree, and afterwards be troubled by pains in the back and head and legs. In the Nišava district for this kind of disease (*ogradisanje*), the woman doctor (*bajalica*) sprinkles the place with sherbet on a sprig of hyssop, and at the same time beseeches those who have sent the illness to remove it *in return for this rich gift*.[2] Honey or honey water is the usual libation, and honey is one of the traditional offerings to the *vile*.

Namera is used rather in the same sense, as well as to signify an ill-wished misfortune or an evil eye. Diagnosis of these diseases can be made from the clothes worn by the patient when he caught it, or by bringing certain things—flowers, nails, horseshoes, a glass of wine, water, salt, and food—either to the spot in question or to trees commonly associated with spirits, such as roses, blackthorns, willows, etc. A prayer is generally addressed to the spirits or to the tree. It is common to leave the offerings over night, and if the next day they have been in any way disturbed, a leaf fallen into the wine or what not, it is clear that the man has been enchanted. The offerings can serve afterwards as a medicine.

Distinguished from ill-wishing and spell casting in the

[1] Cf. S.E.Z. XIII, p. 445; Sb.N.U. (1926), p. 162; Gl.Z.M. p. 387.
[2] V. M. Nikolić, *Iz Lužnice i Nišave* (1910), p. 278.

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after a new moon. Miličević speaks of ploughing round a village, twins driving twin black oxen. More recently the same method of circular ploughing has been observed in Croatia. In Montenegro, in the case of cattle epidemics, the beasts were all driven to pasture. Two brothers born in succession ploughed a circular furrow with two pair of oxen, also born in succession, starting in different directions. When the two ploughs met, the herdsmen fired their guns over the heads of the beasts who galloped home. The custom has long since died out, but it must have been common in Montenegro and in Serbia, for it is often found as a folk-memory. Miniature gold ploughs were made for this purpose near Leban. In the eastern parts of Serbia on the arrival of *čuma* (cholera?) till recently twin brothers led twin black oxen round the village. In the Drim district a more recent practice for the same purpose was performed in this way. At evening the whole community met at a deserted house, and the women, each taking their turn, wove a piece of cloth. At dawn or just before sunrise they carried this cloth in procession three times round the village, chanting '*Čuma*, do not come here, we shall bury you'; and the cloth was finally buried in the territory of another commune.[1] A protective measure in Croatia was to draw a thread spun on an Ember Wednesday round the entire homestead and estate.

Circular ploughing was known at Veles and other places in Macedonia, as a protection against plague, storms, etc., and in Western Bulgaria as a ritual necessary to secure a newly settled village. Marinov[2] explains that the rite is exceedingly rare because of the difficulty of finding twins, and his account of the ceremony would, generally speaking, have strained the patience and the resources of a community. Three concentric circles were ploughed round the village at dead of night by naked twin ploughmen (young men) driving

[1] S. Trojanović, *Glavni Srpski Žrtveni Običaji*, pp. 35–8; cf. M. Miličević, *Život Srba Seljaka*, p. 323 *passim*. Compare also the practice of tying a length of linen round churches.

[2] In Sb.N.U. xxx.

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B 751 twin oxen not more than three years old, and no one was allowed to see the ploughmen and no one allowed to enter or leave the village. Besides that the plough had to be specially made; the wooden parts, of a tree with a double trunk from the root (twin trees), and the iron parts, of iron collected in nine different districts and forged by twin, naked smiths. It is immediately striking that the ceremonial B S [171] ploughing closely resembles that of ancient Italy: the characteristic features are the circular furrow, the twin ploughmen and the twin black oxen. The South Slavs were acquainted with ploughing presumably before they came into contact with a Romanised population in the Balkans, and similar rites existed in Russia and are still known in India. I do not S 174 know the history of the rite. Gruppe suggests that the apotropaeic purpose (in Greece) was to arouse demoniacal powers to oppose the harmful forces of certain predatory beings, and that from a general aim developed the associated cults of Demeter and Hermes, to be compared with the Etruscan mysteries.[1] Amongst the Slavs it remains a sporadic performance, never a seasonal celebration, and the ritual connected with the first ploughing of the year shows a completely different treatment, whereas the Germanic peoples know of a seasonal rite—generally on Ash Wednesday or Plough Monday. Some of the South Slavs and the Czechs, who may have been influenced by Germanic culture, also perform a similar ceremony during the spring, irrespective of immediate disasters. C 241 Krolmus says that among the Czechs at the spring sowing young men drove a naked girl harnessed to a plough with a black cat. The cat was buried alive at the end of the R 751 731 furrow. This practice was known in many parts of Russia. The rite, given by Tereščenko as typical of the Great Russians, was for plagues. A procession of women and girls was formed, and an old woman was harnessed naked to the plough. All the women carried pots and pans with which

[1] O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (1906), II, pp. 894, etc. A passage in Diogenes Laertius (I, 109—H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (1922), II, p. 185) points to a sacrificial motive.

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three or five fires, while the characteristic feature of the ritual which we have been considering is the passing between two fires and through a tunnel or hoop. There are examples nearer home which are probably of more value for comparison. Among these, it may be that the little that is known of the Mediterranean cult of the Kouretes, associated with thunder and claimed by the Greeks to be the protectors of cattle, will throw light on the important part played by the twin fire makers. On the other hand, one would have to consider the fire cults of the Scythians, Sarmatians and other peoples who were in contact with the Slavs, and of whose customs we know comparatively little. Trojanović also connects circular ploughing with the fire circle, but in doing so almost flatly contradicts what he had earlier written about ploughing. He mentions an instance of a shirt woven and made in a day, as part of the paraphernalia of a need fire ceremony, which may be compared with the cloth carried round a village described above. This looks like an illustration of how ritual tends to be transferred or generalised. Trojanović also says that 'in all probability all *zavetine* arise from the day on which live fire was first produced'.[1] There is no evidence at all for this. The *zavetine* refer to every kind of need or occasion, and their origins are often distinctly remembered.

Swinging and turning may be a cure derived from, or influenced by, a seasonal ceremonial of a more general order, or part of a specific cult. The few examples that I have been able to find, either of a seasonal (spring) rite, or a special healing rite, are confined to remote, generally mountainous, parts of Serbia, Bosnia and parts of Bulgaria, and occur amongst the Kucovlahs. I have thus had the impression that to-day swinging survives amongst the pastoral people. It is sometimes particularly associated with St George's Day and the popular explanation is that it promotes health, hastens marriage or birth, or is anti-febrile. At Vidin, on the Monday before St Theodor, the dogs are swung to prevent

[1] S. Trojanović, *Vatra*, p. 169.

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madness. For lack of material I cannot draw even a preliminary conclusion. In Montenegro I was told that people swung on the branches of trees (no special kind mentioned) to prevent fever. The rare descriptions which are to be found in published material leave out details of direction and the words of songs said to accompany the rite. So far as I know these are mostly short lyrics referring to lovers swinging each other.[1]

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In Homoljski district and in Macedonia, throughout the February carnival when the dead are particularly commemorated, the younger people swing for the sake of their health and that of the cattle, either on ropes or on a board swung from the horizontal branch of a tree. Each young man as a rule swings his own girl, or his sister, or the women may swing each other. A more dangerous game is to stand on planks revolving one above the other about the axis of an upright post.[2]

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Among the shepherds and herdsmen of Montenegro, on St George's Day, the young men and girls rolled in the dew at dawn, and climbed up dogwood trees and slid down three times in succession, saying to themselves: 'My laziness and sleepiness to you, *drijen*, and to me health and beauty.' And before going away they faced the tree and said three times: '*Drijen, drijen*, I leave you my laziness (*lijen*) and sleepiness.'[3] Climbing trees may also be seen in Bosnia, and I suppose in other parts as well. The older records of mock marriage with a tree and impersonating a tree, at spring festivities localised in Dalmatia, appear to me highly sophisticated symbolism. The Serbian rite first quoted leaves an erotic motive to be inferred, but I would also associate the ceremonial whipping of children with green boughs, cornel, willow, etc., which is supposed to be good for health and for laziness, and to give health and strength. Riding a beam and

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[1] Cf. V. Vrčević, *op. cit.* (*Djurdjev Dan*); V. N. Čolakov, *op. cit.* pp. 36–9; I. S. Jastrebov, *op. cit.* pp. 162, 163; A. T. Iliev, *Sbornik ot narodni umotvorenija, običai*, I (1889), no. 245.

[2] S.E.Ž. XIX (Feb. 28th).

[3] Cf. V. Vrčević, *op. cit.*

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Prayers were also believed efficacious. As soon as a person became sick, his people prayed to God to help him and cure him. In addition, the priest prayed for the sick individual in the church (or in the home if the sick person could not go to the church) asking God to cure his servant from such and such a sickness and to give him peace. Candles were burned when the prayers were being said, but the burning of these candles was not supposed to have any curative power. "This service is performed more for the old people and although it is said to be *vetur rabota* [plumb foolishness], yet many times it helps the sick to recover. Nowadays people do not believe in God and this is why many people die, and also that is why life in general is as it is, so heavy."

In looking for the causes of illness the peasants also turned to the Almighty who, it was formerly believed, sent sickness as a punishment upon individuals for wrongs they had done. While many people in 1937 had the same attitude, there were some who accepted the germ explanation. But even some of these, if a sickness dragged on and on, suspected that God might be meting out some punishment, germs or no germs. Here was the way they so often put it: "And God has the right to punish the people, for now they have begun not to believe in him and not to listen to him. Now the people are forgetting God and are with the Devil."

The villagers knew the names of only a few diseases and classified all illnesses under one of these few. The worst disease was the "plague" (typhoid fever), then tuberculosis, *sharka* (pox), scarlatina, and finally, "a bad cold." The doctor used a more scientific classification in listing the causes of death. Her report for 1936 showed that thirty-three people died within the year. Diseases accounting for four deaths each were tuberculosis, nervous disorders, and pneumonia; those accounting for two deaths each were scarlatina, whooping cough, diphtheria, cancer, heart disease, old age, and childbirth (mother); those causing one death each were childbirth (infant), typhus, erysipelas, bronchitis, diarrhea, digestive ailment, and accident. Her scientific approach did not necessarily mean that the doctor's recovery percentage was very high, because patients were brought too late for proper treatment. Therefore the peasants said: "And

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

753 many times the doctors cannot help. They cannot give a second soul to the sick. If he has some more days to live, he will live; if not, he will die. Doctors are not God and even the doctors die as well."

761 In keeping with this fatalistic attitude toward sickness, the peasants accepted death as simply as they would any life process. Before I began my study of Dragalevtsy I was already familiar with the peasants' conception of death. One account which had proved helpful in gaining this understanding appeared in the *Bulgarian-British Review* back in 1931, and was written by Mrs. A. Vessova. She said in part:

775 761 "Death to these people is not considered the end; it is but the continuation of the earthly life in another sphere—the invisible world. The bounden duty of the family is to prepare the dying for their long journey so that they will not have to roam disconsolately in the darkness without finding their way to their new surroundings. Of the dying person they repeat to one another that he or she is now a traveler. Their first duty is to light a candle which they place above the head of the patient, so that they may not see it, should they happen to be conscious. Should the patient be allowed to die without lighting this particular candle, it is considered by the villagers to bring great discredit on the family. The meaning of the candle is that when the soul starts upon its long journey it has to pass through dark passages, and the candle will light the way.

". . . As soon as the neighbors hear the announcement [of the death] they immediately throw away all the water found in the house, and proceed to the fountain to replenish all their vessels. The same procedure takes place in the house of the deceased. There is no clear explanation for this custom or its real meaning, but it is supposed to symbolize, as do other customs, that as the water flows smoothly and evenly, so the voyage of the soul will be made smooth and easy.

764 775 "The peasants believe that though invisible the soul continues to keep the form of the body which it has just left. For this reason the deceased is laid to rest in his grave in his ordinary clothing. Led by his or her angel, for they believe that every human being at his

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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not as a real story but in fragments, remarks, speculations. It is by the aid only of this small change that we can hope to construct a relative chronology of folk-lore.

THE NATURE AND CAUSE OF DISEASE

The blood, the various fluids of the body and its secretions and excretions are also essential parts which can be considered to bear in themselves life. In their expulsion from the body good or evil forces can also be expelled, which is the reason given for blood-letting and for purgation which often precede other treatment, notably in febrile complaints; while excrement is considered as a carrier of disease and carefully avoided as unclean or dangerous. But besides this, as intimately connected with the man, or lest it fall on an unclean place or be used against him, he himself must take care to secrete it. There are fragmental observances relating to evacuation in accordance with the local flora and certain taboos associated with plants, etc., and still very definite taboos with regard to places (sacred places, such as churchyards, cross-roads, scratched-up places (*sugrebljiva mesta*—Serbia), sacred trees, etc.).

The fluids or humours of the body, sometimes referred to collectively as blood, can go stale as it were. The blood can congeal or sour or be poisoned or become 'bad blood'. Only then is it usually considered reasonable to part with blood. Venous blood is often taken to be this bad blood. There is an extended idea that blood flows through the body and does not remain stationary. Headaches are caused by bad blood or too little blood, or too much blood. Epilepsy is 'a grave sickness of the blood'[1] and is treated by letting blood. Blood can flow to the head and cause headache, which is then cured by applying leeches to the temple. Infantile convulsions were treated by applications of herbs said to still the

[1] Cf. F. Ivanišević, *Poljica*, Zb. IX, p. 39; cf. G. Golemanov, *Materiali po narodna Medicina iz Gornso-Orehovsko*, Sb.N.U. XXX, p. 35.

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fula' has a Serbian *calque* or parallel *prase, svinja* or plural *svinje*, in the double sense of 'pig' and 'scrofulosis'.

In a collection of prescriptions of 1843 a disease is mentioned: '*kratorija, kurta*...which is like a dog biting at a man's stomach (*acerbitas*)'. The term is an old one since it is used as an equivalent of gangrene in the twelfth century. In modern Bulgarian: *kərticina, kərtica* = scrofula, icterus. The animal cognate is *krt, krtica*, etc., a mole.[1] In Orehovsko, in Bulgaria, swellings which are elsewhere called *kərtovi pǫpki* (scrofula?) are cured by making a child who has them urinate on a mole hill (after using a counting-out formula), and by applying the mud to the parts affected.

Some of the homonyms arise from similar characteristics of the disease and the animal. For instance, *mlamosi* (the disease) is brought about when a child is left too long in the sun. The insect *mlamosnica* is yellow in colour. *Žaba* (the disease) appears as boils with black centres on the tongue which resemble a frog's eyes.[2]

muscle, menthula; *miška, paci*, vulva, Bg. *pačence*; *mura*, an animal's stomach, rennet; the name of a black animal, dog, goat, horse; *oko*, eye, a kind of snail; *pupak*, umbilicus, belly; *bubac*, stomach of a fowl; *plovak*, womb, placenta (*plovka*, duck, etc.); *ptic*, menthula infantis; *riba*, muscles, buttocks, fish; *ribice*, kidneys, intestines; *zec*, breast bone of an animal, a hare; *žabe, žabice*, glands, testicles; *žlezde*, glands, scrofula, O.B. *žolva*, a tortoise, etc. (For a discussion of some of these etymologies, cf. H. Gunter, K.Z. Bd. XLV, p. 43 *passim*; also *Archiv für Slav. Philologie*, XXVII, XXXII, etc.)

[1] Cf. T. Bratić, *Ljekaruša iz* 1843 *godine*, Gl.Z.M. XX (1908); V. Jagić, *Entstehungsgeschichte d. kirchenslawischen Sprachen* (1913), p. 305; cf. *Bəlgarska Starina*, I.

[2] E.g. *buba*, gangrene, carcinoma, apoplexy; *bubinjaca*, a boil, etc.; *bubuljice*, acne; *buba, zla buba*, a suppuration or inflammation round the nails, a gumboil (an insect is supposed to gnaw the flesh; the pus is its excreta); *buba u glavi*, a disease in young children when the skin turns yellow, dry and translucent, and they frequently touch their heads and are generally sickly (also brain fever); *buba*, an insect, beetle; *badlje, balji, badljivi*, eczema of scalp and brows, trichiasis, a sty, a tumour, cf. *plamac, sklopac, jarac*, etc. (also a maggot of some kind); *baga*, disease of a horse—in Stulli's dictionary *bagoče* is *maxillarium nervosum convulsio*, adj. *bagav*, lame, generally of horses (*bagać, baguda*, an insect, perhaps from It. *bago*); *crv*, various sores, wounds, etc., a worm, a scalp disease; *gułtori*, diphtheritis, cf. *gutori*, adenoids, etc.; *kułćer*, a swelling, sprain,

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Names of the source of the disease, particularly names of supernatural beings, can be used of the disease itself—with what degree of personification it is difficult to decide in every case. In the eastern regions it seems that a number of terms used elsewhere of common diseases, would be defined as evil

a lizard; *lisa*, disease of scalp or beard causing the hair to fall out (also a disease caused by a spirit); *metilj*, disease of the liver, in sheep or cattle; *metiljka*, a cataract, disease of the eye, an insect, moth; *mlamosi*, sunstroke (?), cf. *mlamosnica*, a centipede, a yellow larva; *magarac*, *magarevac*, whooping cough, a donkey; *mravi*, shuddering as in fever, ants; *mačka*, a cold in the nose, cat, cf. *mačić*, typhus, erysipelas, a whitish rash on the face; *mrav*, *pamrav*, 'something in the brain rolls about as though alive', brain fever, cf. *pamrava*, larva of *Gastrophilus equi*, the disease caused by it; *pauk*, syphilis, spider; *nerast*, splenitis, morbus lienis, cf. *nerast*, a young boar; *pesićevo*, *pesice*, a parasite infested wound; *prasići*, a swelling under the ears; *paučina*, herpes, a cobweb; *ospice*, variolae, wasps; *rak*, cancer, an ulcer, a festering wound, etc., crayfish; *ribine*, a swelling, a sprain, a hard knot 'like hardened arteries' which is caused by strain or by chill, rupture, cf. *riba*, a fish; *štene*, a festering wound, a young dog, cf. Bg. *skuli*, boils, eruptions; *stenći*, atheroma; *svinja*, *svinje*, scrofulosis, Bg. *svinja*, a fistula, a swelling; *prase*, scrofulosis, a pig; *srdomasi*, an illness in the head of a young child caused by a worm of the same name; *trud*, ulcer, panaritium, a hornet; *vuk*, gangrene, wolf, cf. Bg. *vŭlk*, laryngitis; *gagalki*, blisters in the mouth; *gogolj*, a swelling, a diving bird; *guta*, diphtheritis; *guta*, *gutal*, a pigeon, etc.; *gusenica*, a boil or tumour on the legs of cattle, a caterpillar; *guba*, *gubavica*, lepra, a swelling, a toad, also a fungus—*Coccus lecanium*, etc.; *griž*, *griža*, morsus, dysentery, etc., cancer, an open sore, cf. *griža*, *grizica*, *grižlica*, a moth or maggot, a kind of snake, a worm; *grinta*, the same, an ulcer, wound, disease of the scalp, a minute parasite, cf. *grinja*, a moth; *moljac*, a moth, a worm which breeds in the flesh; *jarac*, inflammation of the eyelids, a skin rash, cf. *jaricanje*, white spots or small blisters round the mouth and chin, an infection from cattle, a swelling on the body of cattle; *jašterica*, *gušterica*, a swelling on the tongue or foreleg, especially of cattle, a lizard; *jašterice*, small sores or boils on the side of the tongue; *koza*, *kozice*, variolae, chicken pox, a goat; *krava*, *kravica*, a swelling under the ears, on the arm, a sprain, a cow; *kukac*, panaritium, insect, salamander; *vočić*, inflammation round a bite, an inflamed wound, dim. *vo*, ox; *žaba*, *žabice*, angina, swelling in throat, any swelling, abscess, ulcer, etc., in cattle and sheep a boil on the tongue; *žaba*, frog, Bg. *zvjerinac*, herpes; *žabka*, *žalva*, fistula; *želve*, *žabe* (Slo.), scrofula, an abscess; Bg. *želka*, *želva*, tortoise; *živina*, *zverice*, *zverinac*, *živa rana*, etc., gangrenous sore or wound, cancer, inflammation, Bg. *živina*, *živinica*, *živenica*, syphilis, scrofula, swellings on the body; *živina*, *zver*, etc., animal, wild animal, etc.; *žutuga* (*žutice*, *zlatica*), icterus, a kind of fish.

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spirits. It will also be noted that these names include a number of animal names.[1]

Any attempt to discover a primal relationship between these categories or the initial reason for the adoption of animal names, would, of course, be so much waste of time if the investigation is confined to one linguistic area. In the examples that follow there will be found ample evidence of

[1] The following are names of the various kinds of supernatural beings, any of which may cause disease or harm. The greater number of these words also signify specific diseases. Even *plaśnja* and *strava* may mean personal forces or beings. *Smlata*, which is generally nothing more than *Hexenschluss*, and often has ceased to have any connection with witchcraft, also means a witch or *mora*. Note that the names of supernatural beings, of the witch or fairy order, also occur as names of professional magicians and witch doctors (*viljenak*, *vilovnjak*, *vještnik*, *vještica*, *brodnik*, *brodnica*, *vila*, *vračarica*, *bajalica*, *baharica*, *madžionica*, etc.); i.e. these can be either human beings or supernatural beings. Note that some of them are generally referred to in the plural.

Beštija, *brodnica*, *coprnja* (*ica*), *čuma*, *čumica* (pl. *čumice*), *duh*, *loš duh*, *zao duh*, *izdat*, *izdajnica*, *jude*, *kamenice*, *okameni*, *okamenica*, *kuga*, *krivo oko*, *karan*, *karakandžeri*, *krvopilica*, *kratelj*, *skrat*, *skrata*, *kosac*, *kudlak*, *vukdolak*, *lisa*, *lune*, *leptir*, *netopir*, *vampir*, *lumpir*, *vampirčići*, *ljutice*, *mora*, *tmora*, *pomora*, *muravini*, *mekarine*, *mame*, *mamica* (pl. *mamice*), *mlamusi*, *matić*, *medivančići*, *nastrijelice*, *nastrelina*, *namerice*, *namet*, *nametnice*, *nežid*, *nežit*, *naprasnik*, *naprasnica*, *nahud*, *nahudnica*, *hudnici*, *nažurenice*, *žura*, *žuravice*, *nastrijelina*, *naletnice*, *noćnice*, *noćni osjen* (*sjen*), *senka*, *nečestivi*, *nečastivi*, *nečisnjak*, *nepomenica*, *ogram*, *ogramnica*, *otrovnica*, *proždreljevica*, *poganica* (pl. *-e*), *plaśnja*, *uplah*, *polegać*, *rusak*, *rusa*, *ruse*, *rusalje*, *roške*, *stuhe*, *stihiji*, *sekarine*, *striga*, *sekarice*, *slute*, *sklopci*, *strava*, *strašnice*, *strijelica*, *sihir*, *strelka*, *ustrijel*, *šejtan*, *sotona*, *saturnica*, *tentacija*, *talasam*, *tenćac*, *utvar* (pl. *-i*, *-e*), *vila*, *samovila*, *samodiva*, *vještica*, *vile otrovnice*, *vrag*, *vražići*, *vražalica*, *vada*, *povada*, *vadine*, *urok*, *uročica*, *uročići*, *vadika*, *vražalica*, *viruške*, *uljezina*, *urama*, *uramnica*, *vlas*, *vlasi* (*ovi*), *vihor*, *vihorice*, *usadi*, *usov*, *zmet*, *zmaj*, *zduhovi*, *stuhe*, etc. Note the variations of meaning such as *činilica*, a witch, a charm worker, an evil spirit, a mental disease; *lahus*, a lying-in woman; *lahusi*, spirits that attack her or her child, an illness (also *kokošite lahusi*, a disease of fowls); *babice* is the usual Serbian word for this series, and also means diarrhoea. In Bulgarian we also find *ermenki* (a kind of evil spirit) which can also be equivalent to *urismice*, spirits which foretell the fortune of a new-born child; *usov*, a sheep disease, as well as a spirit; *ustrel*, a spirit, in particular a spirit which attacks sheep, or the spirit of an unchristened child, a vampire and so on, also a disease without reference to the agency of spirits; *čumice* are the children, *čuma*, plague; *bolehčići* are disease-spirits collectively. (Šiškov, *Život na Bulgarite v Srednja Rodopa* (Plovdiv, 1886), p. 46.)

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a belief that many diseases are caused by animals, ghost animals or spirits. Probably one of the most primitive notions of the mystery of pain and sickness, the bite of an invisible creature, is reflected in a fairly widespread name for almost any acute pain or attack, namely *zmija* (snake); while Albanian has *bolē* (a viper), possibly from the Slavonic *bol-* (pain), rather than equivalent to *belua*. In a manuscript of prescriptions of the eighteenth century the reader is told, 'How you may expel a snake from a man' (*Vetus corium combure, fumum per infundibulum in os patientis imitte, iaceat que capite deorsum verso cogetur exire serpens*...). Further, *ocymum basilicum* in vinegar is recommended, so that it will 'drive the snake and any other creature out of a man'.[1] When a child had an epileptic fit, said Miličević, 'a woman of the household goes up on to the roof of the house and hails the first passer-by by name: "Hie, Mark, listen! A snake bit our Johnny to-day but never again!"' Any one wasted by sickness and fever is said to look as though a snake had sucked him. A number of complaints are caused by or through lifeless things also, or bear similar names, but it can never be quite certain whether the analogy begins with a folk-etymology or through some other association. The common name for piles is *klin* or the plural, which at the same time means a nail, a wooden peg, a billet of wood, etc. Observances towards these objects exist for fear of the disease, and nails, etc., occur in the cures recommended. An instance is given by Vuk under *brus* (a whetstone), and an obscene expression for the anus. He adds: 'On Christmas eve the Bosnians hide all the whetstones in their houses lest their children suffer from piles.' The cures in which a connection exists between the animal name of the part of the body or of the disease and the remedy itself seem to be genuine folk-remedies; it is amongst these

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[1] Fr. S. Gundrun-Oriovčanin, *Luičova Ljekarula*, Zb. XIV, p. 83. Cf. Ginčev (*Nešto po bulgarska narodna medicina*, Sb.N.U. II, p. 86), who says that there was a belief that a snake could enter the body of a sleeper by his mouth and suck his insides, and that it could be expelled by eating the bladder of a wessel.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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nature, for as a rule they are descriptive rather than precise, like the euphemisms for evil spirits: 'unmentionable evil', traitor', 'enemy', 'great sickness', 'aunt', 'sister', 'kind ones', 'honey sweet ones', and so on. *Vrag*, *vražica*, is a generic word for 'devil', 'spirit', but locally it may have a specific use. At Vidin for example it means 'splenitis', like the Russian *besnaja* (epilepsy), and so on.

For colic (*izdat*) in the Homoljski district, the patient is fumigated or steamed, and if he vomits it is a good sign. Or the witch woman places three grains of corn on the umbilicus, with three beans, the seeds of the pepper plant; she holds her knife there point downwards and she says: 'Black arrow unstruck by arrows, why have you loosened your hair, why have you disfigured your face?...Why not, when I (attack) you with one knife and you me with two...' (follows a counting out formula on these lines). 'Flee arrow (to the usual place where there are no cocks, etc.).'[1] Miličević gives this treatment for the same disease, which he calls *nastup* (*nastupiti*, to tread, begin, come): the patient is made to drink water from a mortar (*stupa*), the mortar is passed three times round his head, he is then well covered and left to sleep. The mortar is left standing upside down overnight.[2] In the same way wine is poured through the chimney into a mortar, and a little is given each morning to the children as a preventive against whooping-cough (*da ne nastupa*). The mortar cure for stomach pains and fevers may be found where the diseases are not known by this name, but whether the cause is the false analogy of the whooping-cough cure, or has a different history, cannot be said. In another exorcism the disease is addressed as: '*nametnike*, *nametnice*—put on and putters on (of evil), *nagaznice*—treaders on, *napasnice*—attackers, enemies...whether of mountain, field or sea, of Jewish, Albanian, Serbian or Gipsy origin...old or young, male or female...'.

Namet or *nenadnja* is a sudden attack, e.g. stomach-ache, but also a spell. *Sugreb*, which at the same time means a

[1] S.E.Z. XIX, p. 219. [2] M. Miličević, *op. cit.* p. 285, etc.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933) 1935
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reddish rash, is a mysterious disease caused by treading on a charmed place, or spell. In Serbia it is associated with places where a dog, cat or wild animal has scratched up the earth. There is an extensive terminology for phenomena of this order. *Ograisati se*, in common use at any rate since the eighteenth century, means roughly to walk accidentally on a spell, as in the example, *Ili mi se junak ograisio, ograisio na kom krstopuću*...—'My hero may have mistrodden, mistrodden on some cross-roads.' After sunset one should not kill snakes,[1] make water outside the house, sleep under a walnut tree and so on (*jer bi time ograisao*). Should a pregnant woman tread (*nagazi*) on the blood of a slaughtered pig there will be red spots on her child. *Nagaziti na čine, na vraga, na šejtana* = to tread accidentally on spells or demons. In Bulgaria and East Serbia and in later dictionaries (nineteenth century) we find *ugramak, ogramak, ograma, urama*, etc., from the Turkish. Gerov gives *urma, orama, nagaznice, nagaozvačka*, etc., a disease caused by an evil spirit, equivalent to *naletiće, vitruške* (a kind of spirit, an evil wind), and there are equivalent nouns and verbs in modern Greek. Further there is the series *naseljine*—when a man sits on a bad thing, or when it fixes itself on to him. The concept includes wind-born spirits, like the Russian *nasylka po vetru*; it is not to be confused with the complaints connected with the 'settling' of blood, e.g. under a bruise (*nasela krv*), etc.

The effects of *ograma* seem to be mostly rheumatic pains, often counted as a *vila* disease and, as we have seen, also attributed to wind. In Bulgarian dialects rheumatism is called *vetar* (wind), whether or not *vila* sent.[2] Blindness, deafness, dumbness, epilepsy, paralysis, fevers, rheumatism, are some of the typical diseases sent by *vile*, which can be cured only by those in contact with these beings. Diseases can

[1] Cf. Gl.Z.M. (1907), *loc. cit.*

[2] Cf. a spell running: *nemitnice, nedojenice, nevenčanice, vile, vetrovi i nekama bolesti, sama te molim, ja, Dona bajalica*...; Miličević, *Glasnik Srpskog Učenog Društva*, XXII (1867). Cf. *viher*, meaning 'a fever' (S.E.Z. XIII, p. 409).

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B S 753 776 be divided into something like natural diseases and supernatural ones. The latter are called *vila* diseases, 'treacherous' (*neverne*) diseases, and diseases 'put on' (*nametnute*) by magic or the evil eye.

B S 751 514 755 782 If one goes outside at night in an evil hour, or makes water at night in an unclean place (he should as a safeguard spit first three times) and after he fall ill, he is said to have come upon evil (*uradisal*). The cure at Libjahovo is to wash him with unbroken water and throw the water outside the house saying: 'From the dung heap you came, to the dunghill return, gentle and honied ones.' Or else let the unfortunate man take a cake smeared with honey and put it on the place where he thinks that he caught the disease to *appease the* '*urama*'.[1] Such offerings are to be made should one urinate under an old rose bush or any other tree, and afterwards be troubled by pains in the back and head and legs. In the Nišava district for this kind of disease (*ogradisanje*), the woman doctor (*bajalica*) sprinkles the place with sherbet on a sprig of hyssop, and at the same time beseeches those who have sent the illness to remove it *in return for this rich gift*.[2] Honey or honey water is the usual libation, and honey is one of the traditional offerings to the *vile*.

S 754 787 *Namera* is used rather in the same sense, as well as to signify an ill-wished misfortune or an evil eye. Diagnosis of these diseases can be made from the clothes worn by the patient when he caught it, or by bringing certain things—flowers, nails, horseshoes, a glass of wine, water, salt, and food—either to the spot in question or to trees commonly associated with spirits, such as roses, blackthorns, willows, etc. A prayer is generally addressed to the spirits or to the tree. It is common to leave the offerings over night, and if the next day they S [782] have been in any way disturbed, a leaf fallen into the wine or what not, it is clear that the man has been enchanted. S The offerings can serve afterwards as a medicine.

695 754 Distinguished from ill-wishing and spell casting in the

[1] Cf. S.E.Z. XIII, p. 445; Sb.N.U. (1926), p. 162; Gl.Z.M. p. 387.
[2] V. M. Nikolić, *Iz Lužnice i Nišave* (1910), p. 278.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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Contemporary Macedonians EF8

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This was the curse of St Petka and St Nedelja upon Vuk Vučković for robbing a monastery. After sickening for twelve years his mother asked him for what sin he was chastened, and no sooner had he confessed the truth than his soul slipped out of his bones. He was buried but the earth heaved him up out of her, and the sea refused his corpse. His mother took his body and put it into a cannon and so blew him to fragments and his dust was scattered. We have already given enough examples to show that the symptoms described are not likely to have been understood originally as mere poetical hyperbole, but as sound folk-pathology.

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The *vile* (*samovile*, *samodive*) are nature-spirits, and they are of different kinds according to the places which they inhabit: trees, mountains, sweet waters, seas, clouds and so on. They are frequently called 'the good ones', 'the sweet ones'. In some parts they are called *vještice*, *coprnice*, the usual names for witch. Sometimes they are decidedly evil spirits, sometimes good, sometimes merely capricious or envious; but they are always connected with disease, with its origin and with its cure. They can heal the wounds given by their own arrows.

The diseases brought by these nymphs are typically fevers, perhaps because of their association with watery places, as well as aches in the bones, madness and epilepsy. A *vila* can take a man's shadow from him, and he wanders as aimlessly as a headless fly. Perhaps *vrbanac*, as a name for a skin disease, has been coined by a popular analogy with the willow tree (*vrba*), which figures largely in cures and in *vila* mythology. Diseases of this name are sometimes said to be *vila* sent. In Macedonia, North and West Bulgaria, in the Dalmatian hinterland and elsewhere a complete *vila* cult can be found at least in traces, with sacred springs visited and petitioned on certain days, offerings made to the spirits and special intermediaries between them and ordinary men. Some features of these local cults and survivals are reminiscent of those known to be connected directly with the cult and tendance of the dead ancestors. The *vile*, as we have remarked, are also connected with winds. A local name for them in

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Bulgaria is *vihruške* (winds). In South-west Macedonia they are supposed to inhabit winds that guard their springs.[1] *Dobrinjica* is also an euphemistic term for a fairy, and also for certain pains. *Dobra* at Orhanie, in Bulgaria, is recognised by a swelling or inflammation and is cured by reciting an appeal to '*Dobrice*! sisters!' (i.e. the *Samovile*) which ends: 'The wind blew you hither, the wind blow you away!'[2]

The exorciser may refer to an alliance with the *vile*, as well as to the approval of God, the obedience which spirits lend her, and the virtue of her hand. Thus one declares: 'Our friends the *samovile* have sent us (to you). They raise their voices to heaven and spread their tears on the earth. Here it is filthy, here it stinks, here sows farrow, bitches have their young, mares foal....'[3] When a fracture will not heal it may be called a fairy fracture (*vilinski slom*, *vilovski ulom*—Croatia, Dalmatia, cf. *smlata*). It is fumigated with holy

[1] Cf. V. M. Nikolić, 'Iz Prespe', *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića* (1905), pp. 158, etc.; D. Marinov, *Vera i Religiozni narodni običai*, Sb.N.U. XXVIII, p. 33.

Feeding the wind was a custom known in many parts of Austria, including the Slavonic provinces. The winds were fed with flour, salt, corn, etc., sometimes on special festivals, and witches, who were responsible for raising winds, carried a paste of flour in a bag for the wind. These offerings are not only reminiscent of the offerings made by the South Slavs to *vile* and to sacred trees, etc., but to a practice of curing 'fear' (*strava*) by means of flour. This custom is found in Macedonia and Central Bulgaria and, may be, elsewhere. The seeress takes two handfuls of flour and touches her patient on the head, and then every part of him down to the feet, while she recites a spell which bids the *strava* to pass from head to forehead, from forehead to eyes, etc., down to the feet, and out at the toes. This is done three times. Then the seeress throws the flour either on to the hearth, if the rite is performed in the house, or against an old tree, if it takes place out of doors. The figure made by the flour is interpreted in the same way as the molten lead which is used for another cure for this complaint.

On the custom of feeding the winds, known in German as *windfüttern*, see V. Fossl, *Volksmedicin und medicinischer Aberglaube in Steiermark*, 1885, p. 61; J. Krainz, *Sitten, Bräuche und Meinungen des deutschen Volkes in Steiermark*, Zeitschrift für oesterr. Volkskunde, II, p. 307; E. H. Hoffmann Krayer, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglauben*, III (*füttern*).

[2] Ginčev, *op. cit.* Sb.N.U. III (1890), p. 144.

[3] V. M. Nikolić, *Iz Lužnice i Nišave*, S.E.Z. XVII, p. 277.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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she killed with her breath. Against either the fruit of a tree resembling a wolf's paw is stuck over the door. Throughout Dalmatia it was anciently the custom to hang out a wolf's tail or the tail of an ass or some other beast, as is now sometimes done in the hinterland.

God was building a monastery—so a Bulgarian song begins—He sent Plague ('the swiftest sickness') to fetch innocent souls—of old people for the foundations, young men for the walls, young women for the windows, children for the transept, and so on. Plague went to Janko's house, but she could not get into the courtyard, for Janko's dogs had been born on a Saturday of Holy Week and recognised her for what she was, though she came disguised as a gipsy. God told her to take the form of a bear, which she did, and appeared as a savage terrible bear, and so accomplished her mission.[1] Like Death, Plague in stories has a book or scales and, like Death, she has been known to take a bribe or to serve men out of gratitude or friendship.[2]

Against Small-pox, Cholera or the Plague, whichever happens to be most familiar, this kind of precaution was and may still be taken. Fresh water, a mirror, a comb and salt are left for her by a tidy hearth at night, or a present of fowls, bread and wine taken to a distance beyond the village in the hope that she will go there and pass by the houses. Or she is induced to take her seat in a cart, given presents and left somewhere in the open fields or by the roadside, or in the next parish, with a couple of roast fowls, a bottle of wine and a loaf of bread. Plague is the god-parent of those born on a Saturday or the Saturday of Holy Week and therefore these are immune from her and take a principal part in the ploughing rites described below. Further, it is said that she will not attack a clean neat house.

South Slav folk-lore abounds in monsters, many quite unburdened by any departmental duties, but some not unlike

[1] M. Arnaudov, *Severna Dobrudža*, Sb.N.U. xxxv (1923), pp. 150–2, cf. p. 339; Kačanovski, *Pamjatniki* ('*Janko i Kuga*'), etc.

[2] E.g. Ristić and Lončarski, *Srpske Narodne Pripovjetke*, III.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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the disease sisters. Male personifications of disease are more rare. The Bulgarian shepherds of Libjahovo have from time to time been plagued by *Dedejko* ('grand-daddy') who attacks their sheep in summer. A magician is then engaged, who goes from sheep to sheep shaking each in turn. As soon as he spots *Dedejko* he strikes out at him and falls to the earth as though dead. The shepherds throw water on him and revive him. *Dedejko's* blood is found where his stick struck a sheep, on its horns or on the ground.[1] The herdsmen of Bosnia have a similar enemy, *Kravosac* (cow-sucker) whose blood is many-coloured. When he can do so unseen, his chief pleasure is to suck the milk of mottled cows. The udders then swell and the cow often dies. *Ustrel* is another cattle or sheep disease which in Serbia (so far as I know) is not personified, but in certain districts of Bulgaria is believed to be a kind of spirit which rides on the heads of animals.

Diseases are said to be caused by winds[2] and to be carried in the air, for the wind is the element of many spirits. A certain class of skin eruptions, with eczema and erysipelas, are called black, red, white wind, etc. 'Keep the devils' wind from me' is a Hercegovinian saying (*Odbite od mene vjetar sotonski*). It is also said that wind blows strongly where human blood is spilt. Diseases said to come on wind are called—among other names—*dobrinjice* (*v. supra*). In an evil-eye exorcism comes the phrase: 'On the winds you came, on the winds are you gone.' Gusts of wind, particularly when they raise a cloud of dust or leaves or small stones are dangerous. They bring fever, for example. Rheumatic pains are caused by blood and wind getting mixed, or by being 'caught by wind'.[3] Wind is associated with chill, and hence the sharp pains in back and chest which may indicate an internal inflammation. It was said that winds had entered

[1] *Bajania, Vračuvanija i Lekuvanija ot sela Libjahovo, Nevrokopsko* (*sobrani G. M. Gerov*), Sb.N.U. xxxvi (1926), p. 163.

[2] 'Wind', of course, includes what is popularly called in England 'wind in the stomach', flatulence, etc.

[3] Cf. Gl.Z.M. xii, p. 198.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

763 the soldiers and told them that he would not return from the fight. He
787 was sure of this because he had dreamed of a snake during the night. Sure enough, he was killed in the action that followed.

If a person dreamed of a wedding or that he was leading a *horo*, death was probable; or if he dreamed of having a tooth pulled, the same held true. If he dreamed that he saw a deep black hole (similar to a grave), someone connected with him would die; if it was white inside, somebody else would die; if he fell into the hole, he would die.

764 In Dragalevtsy there were certain old women who considered themselves specialists in the preparation of the body for burial. They were "priestesses of superstition" who saw to it that all the pagan rites were carried out before the priest arrived to conduct the funeral. Their presence at any crisis showed the duality of the peasants' view of the universe.

771 God was thought to be the force symbolizing the Good. The
793 priest was His representative and should be given due respect; furthermore, he should be asked to perform all of the customary ceremonies such as the sprinkling of holy water in every room of the house at Bogoyavlenie or Epiphany on the nineteenth of January. Keeping on the good side of the priest meant keeping on the good side of God, whose favors one needs both in this life and the next.

[771] Inasmuch as they believed in a principle of Good at work in the universe, it was logical for the peasants to believe in a principle of
● 754 Evil which could do them harm, with or without the consent of the Good. Some parts of the church ceremonies, such as spitting over the child at the devil during the christening, were directed at nullifying the efforts of the Evil One. Seeing that the church concerned itself chiefly with the Good, the peasant in his naivete felt compelled to do something to ward off the Evil, and thus perpetuated many primitive customs which startle both educated Bulgarians and those westerners who are not familiar with the equally primitive customs found within certain areas of their own supposedly civilized lands.

754 The intermediaries in this "cult of the Evil Eye, Devil, Bad Luck"
789 were certain old women, called *babi*, already described in the account of a village birth.[1] These women showed people how to keep the Evil Eye away. They advised mothers whose babies were only one

[1] [See pp. 30-31, category 116-- Analyst]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

or two months old to make a spot on the baby's neck beneath the ear, using axle grease from the wagon. The spell of the Evil Eye could be cast by one who was envious or of an evil heart. That is why I soon stopped complimenting babies or animals, for the frightened look that came into the mother's or owner's eyes on occasion showed me that mine must seem an envious heart. Such envy was supposed to cause sickness in the object admired. Then a *baba* who was old and ugly, with crooked teeth, pale and wrinkled face, and sunken eyes, was called upon to perform a magic rite *(baiane)*. Water was put in a pottery bowl, an incantation was read, and live coals were dropped into the water. Some people suggested that an Evil Eye might be kept away by hanging an onion or garlic over the house, or by wearing blue beads. A few people were said to dye good animals in order to distract the attention of people from their good qualities. 754 789

Along with the belief in the Evil Eye was the belief in vampires. No cat or dog should ever be allowed to jump over a corpse before burial, or that person would become a vampire and return to plague his friends and relatives. In some Balkan villages, when it was suspected that a person might be or become a vampire, a stout stake is driven through the heart of the corpse upon interment. But there were no such stakes in the Dragalevtsy cemetery. 754

Funeral ceremonies could not be extensive since the body had to be in the ground within twenty-four hours after death. One of the last funerals I attended was that of an old woman whom I had interviewed on one occasion. When the priest arrived he found the room filled with about twenty people, two-thirds of whom were relatives and one-third neighbors. The body dressed in the best holiday costume was placed on a black, rough wooden coffin with some white flowers, dahlias, and fruit such as oranges and apples. Around the head and under the chin was a white band. The room became blue with incense smoke through which the black cover of the coffin, standing against the wall, could scarcely be seen. The chanting of the priest was constantly interrupted by the wailing of the women. 764

At the conclusion of the service in the house, four men bore the coffin into the yard as the wailing continued. All the sons and daughters carried under their arms new garments which their mother had

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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Montenegrins EF5
Bulgaria EE1

S 124 787 those whose dream experiences would be the most interesting. Those who take dreams seriously avoid discussing their own dreams. By so doing they may realise an evil or check a propitious dream prophecy. The nature of dreams varies in interpretation as greatly as the interpretations of dream symbols. Some apparently take certain dreams for actual and real experience; some scarcely distinguish these more vivid impressions from actuality; others hold that sleep is a special state of mind and of body; and some that the spirit departs and returns—as many variations, in short, as there are folk-lorists' theories. The eyes, said one, when they close can go away and see things elsewhere. 'It is nothing more nor less than that the soul comes out of a man and goes about the world and only blood remains in the man to keep S [513] him alive.'[1] There are others who imply that the sleeper undergoes no change or movement, but, none the less, at M S 754 774 times he can see in sleep things that are not actually there; he can have visions. Human beings, who are endowed with a special nature, leave their bodies at night and become spirits, dragons or animals. In the neighbourhood of Gusinje, for instance, this idea of witches still prevails. In other parts I found memories of the *zmaj* or dragon-man, *stuhi*, *vedogoni*, etc.—men who during sleep become spirits or animals, such as bulls or dragons, and meet at night, or, endowed with supernatural strength, battle with evil spirits, enemies of their S B 754 774 177 791 own villages, bringers of storms. From all accounts these ideas are still alive in parts of Bulgaria, but everywhere else they are disappearing, or turn up only in the form of stories. *Viljanici*, who in ordinary life were herb doctors or seers, were also believed to have these powers of movement in sleep, of flight and of changing form.

A distinction which is more than a linguistic one is made S 774 775 between *duša* (soul) and *duh* (spirit). A man breathes his last (*izdahne*) and his soul (*duša*) departs; for forty days it lingers above the grave or near its old home, after which tradition offers a variety of fates. The spirit (*duh*) is also spoken of as

[1] Zb. XIX, p. 151.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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Croats EF4

his life. But his blood is not for drinking, nor his brains for food, nor his life to be taken away. Therefore they cannot remain here but let them go to' (the bottomless sea, etc., etc.). If the child really suffers from this disease the insects will all die and the child be cured.[1] (Perhaps a cure for scarlet fever in which nine lice from the child's own head are killed and eaten might be traced to a common source.) A similar cure is known in Bulgaria. The disease, or one recognised by a dark crust which forms on the scalp, is also known as *mlamosi*. It is treated in a similar way, by using insects (larvae) known by that name. The word is also the name of certain malignant beings that attack children. An exorcism for toothache found in many early Serbian and other Slavonic variants runs: 'St Peter was sitting on a stone and weeping and Jesus came to him and said: Why are you weeping, Peter? And Peter said: My tooth aches, Lord. And Jesus said: I forbid you, worm, to gnaw the teeth of NN or to return into his head....' The prayers in the Euchologion of Sinai, the earliest monument of the kind, have many examples of a direct address to the disease as a parasite, driving it out of the various parts of the body, forbidding it to gnaw, bite, torment, bellow, roar and so on, of which all are akin to, but many nevertheless somewhat less sophisticated than corresponding versions of the Greek prayers for the sick.

Among the Dalmatian islanders *izid* (bite) is an internal disease causing general debility. Fr. D' All Asta gives *gušter* (lizard) as an equivalent of angina, an inflamed sore throat, and describes its origin from a lizard which hatches under the skin of the elbow and whose tail reaches the throat, the glands there and the palate. This lizard has to be killed, and certain old women who understand the business used to rub the outside of the elbow very hard with a thumb moistened with saliva. When the place had well reddened and swollen they took a little fine pepper on the handle of a spoon and touched the back of the mouth and the swollen epiglottis with it. To

[1] S. M. Mijatović, *Narodna Medicina Srba Seljaka u Levču i Temniću*, S.E.Z. XIII (1909), p. 299.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
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S [782]

S 695 754 Distinguished from ill-wishing and spell casting in the

[1] Cf. S.E.Z. XIII, p. 445; Sb.N.U. (1926), p. 162; Gl.Z.M. p. 387.
[2] V. M. Nikolić, *Iz Lužnice i Nišave* (1910), p. 278.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Bulgaria EE1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Slovenes EF7
Historical Austria EK2

Bulgaria is *vihruške* (winds). In South-west Macedonia they are supposed to inhabit winds that guard their springs.[1] *Dobrinjica* is also an euphemistic term for a fairy, and also for certain pains. *Dobra* at Orhanie, in Bulgaria, is recognised by a swelling or inflammation and is cured by reciting an appeal to '*Dobrice*! sisters!' (i.e. the *Samovile*) which ends: 'The wind blew you hither, the wind blow you away!'[2]

The exorciser may refer to an alliance with the *vile*, as well as to the approval of God, the obedience which spirits lend her, and the virtue of her hand. Thus one declares: 'Our friends the *samovile* have sent us (to you). They raise their voices to heaven and spread their tears on the earth. Here it is filthy, here it stinks, here sows farrow, bitches have their young, mares foal....'[3] When a fracture will not heal it may be called a fairy fracture (*vilinski slom*, *vilovski ulom*—Croatia, Dalmatia, cf. *smlata*). It is fumigated with holy

[1] Cf. V. M. Nikolić, 'Iz Prespe', *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića* (1905), pp. 158, etc.; D. Marinov, *Vera i Religiozni narodni običai*, Sb.N.U. XXVIII, p. 33.

Feeding the wind was a custom known in many parts of Austria, including the Slavonic provinces. The winds were fed with flour, salt, corn, etc., sometimes on special festivals, and witches, who were responsible for raising winds, carried a paste of flour in a bag for the wind. These offerings are not only reminiscent of the offerings made by the South Slavs to *vile* and to sacred trees, etc., but to a practice of curing 'fear' (*strava*) by means of flour. This custom is found in Macedonia and Central Bulgaria and, may be, elsewhere. The seeress takes two handfuls of flour and touches her patient on the head, and then every part of him down to the feet, while she recites a spell which bids the *strava* to pass from head to forehead, from forehead to eyes, etc., down to the feet, and out at the toes. This is done three times. Then the seeress throws the flour either on to the hearth, if the rite is performed in the house, or against an old tree, if it takes place out of doors. The figure made by the flour is interpreted in the same way as the molten lead which is used for another cure for this complaint.

On the custom of feeding the winds, known in German as *windfüttern*, see V. Fossl, *Volksmedicin und medicinischer Aberglaube in Steiermark*, 1885, p. 61; J. Krainz, *Sitten, Bräuche und Meinungen des deutschen Volkes in Steiermark*, Zeitschrift für oesterr. Volkskunde, II, p. 307; E. H. Hoffmann Krayer, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglauben*, III (*füttern*).

[2] Ginčev, *op. cit.* Sb.N.U. III (1890), p. 144.

[3] V. M. Nikolić, *Iz Lužnie i Niše*, S.E.Z. XVII, p. 277.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Croats EF4

B S 776 753

the disease sisters. Male personifications of disease are more rare. The Bulgarian shepherds of Libjahovo have from time to time been plagued by *Dedejko* ('grand-daddy') who attacks their sheep in summer. A magician is then engaged, who goes from sheep to sheep shaking each in turn. As soon as he spots *Dedejko* he strikes out at him and falls to the earth as though dead. The shepherds throw water on him and revive him. *Dedejko's* blood is found where his stick struck a sheep, on its horns or on the ground.[1] The herdsmen of Bosnia have a similar enemy, *Kravosac* (cow-sucker) whose blood is many-coloured. When he can do so unseen, his chief pleasure is to suck the milk of mottled cows. The udders then swell and the cow often dies. *Ustrel* is another cattle or sheep disease which in Serbia (so far as I know) is not personified, but in certain districts of Bulgaria is believed to be a kind of spirit which rides on the heads of animals.

B 776 753 S 776 753 B 776 S C 753 821

Diseases are said to be caused by winds[2] and to be carried in the air, for the wind is the element of many spirits. A certain class of skin eruptions, with eczema and erysipelas, are called black, red, white wind, etc. 'Keep the devils' wind from me' is a Hercegovinian saying (*Odbite od mene vjetar sotonski*). It is also said that wind blows strongly where human blood is spilt. Diseases said to come on wind are called—among other names—*dobrinjice* (*v. supra*). In an evil-eye exorcism comes the phrase: 'On the winds you came, on the winds are you gone.' Gusts of wind, particularly when they raise a cloud of dust or leaves or small stones are dangerous. They bring fever, for example. Rheumatic pains are caused by blood and wind getting mixed, or by being 'caught by wind'.[3] Wind is associated with chill, and hence the sharp pains in back and chest which may indicate an internal inflammation. It was said that winds had entered

[1] *Bajania, Vračuanija i Lekuanija et selo Libjahoos, Nevrokopsko* (*nabljuda G. M. Gurnev*), Sb.N.U. XXXVI (1926), p. 163.

[2] 'Wind', of course, includes what is popularly called in England 'wind in the stomach', flatulence, etc.

[3] Cf. Gl.Z.M. XII, p. 128.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

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tongue in water without salt, and the brothers take three sips of the soup. The rest has to be eaten by the sick person during three days: first the tongue, then the eyes, and then the brain. The carcass is taken by the redeemer and the old woman secretly to the tree. Arrived there, they cross themselves and say: 'Good evening to our NN.' The redeemer digs a hole, and the seeress puts the carcass into it saying: 'To the black earth we give: brain for brain, eyes for eyes, feet for feet, and the earth is to give us: health and joy, laughter and jest, speech and discourse to carry back to our NN.' The brother also repeats this three times and covers up the body, and on this spot they put the water-pot and the basil. They say: 'We kill you, we revive our NN.' After crossing themselves they return taking care not to be seen by anybody. Arrived at the house of the sick person the redeemer knocks at and kicks the door: 'Open the heavy gates!' The mother answers from inside: 'What do you bring?'—'We bring day for night, laughter for tears, jest for sorrow, health in place of sickness for our brother NN.' They go in to the sick person, who has to ask: 'What good news?' The redeemer says: 'We bring you day, laughter, jest, joy and health—here!' and makes as though to hand him these gifts, and they embrace.[1]

In another district of Serbia the doctress (*vračka*) chains the survivor to the cross of a nameless grave or fetters him at a cross-roads or to a grafted tree, and opening and shutting the fetters—the hopples of a horse—repeats the usual question and answer with the brother by adoption ('Do you accept', etc., etc.) three times. The sick person washes with charmed water and 'leaves the sickness behind him'.[2]

B
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764

In Bulgaria a stone of the weight of the surviving colunar was put into the coffin with the corpse, and the redeeming 'brother' lay down beside it. As he rose he said: 'I leave

[1] M. Milosavljević, *op. cit.* pp. 261 *passim.*

[2] T. M. Bulетić, *Narodna Medicina*, S.E.Z. XVII, p. 564; cf. footnotes, pp. 89–95. Cf. Miličević, *Život Srba Seljaka*, p. 339.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
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Contemporary Macedonians EF8

B 608 764 755

you this stone for a brother and I take So-and-So to be my brother.'[1]

S 608 755 64

Redemption need not always be carried out by a brother by adoption but can be secured by the mother of the person to be redeemed or by a wise woman, e.g. by cutting a silver coin in two on the threshold and burying half in the grave of the dead child,[2] or by putting a stone of the same weight as the survivor on the grave, or a candle of the same length, or by fettering the living to the corpse or on the grave and releasing him.

CM [608] [755] [764]

The colunars can be separated while still alive by giving them the yolk of an egg to eat while standing on opposite sides of a stream (Macedonia).[3] The sick person and the redeemer brother are given a sugared egg to eat together on the threshold at Zagubica. In other rites the substitution is carried out by a fiction. While the dead child is still lying in the house, two candles are made to the measurement of the dead and the living colunar, and two bunches of basil are tied, one with red and the other with black thread. The living child lies down beside the corpse. A woman crosses herself, lights the candles and places them and the bunches of herbs at the heads of the children. She strikes the body and says: 'When you two see one another, then love one another.' She reverses the bunches, giving the red one which belongs to the living to the dead colunar. The other is given to the child's mother, who must keep it and never let the living child see it at any time. The same rite can be gone through, after burial, at the grave. The bunch of basil tied with black is left overnight at the grave, and the red bunch is afterwards buried in the grave. The living child is chained and padlocked to the cross at the grave-head. It is yet more curious that a willow tree can take the place of the dead child. Two sticks are cut, one to the length of the living child and the other to the length of the tree's shadow at midday. The rest of the rite, including the leaving of the dead

[1] N. A. Načov, *op. cit.* p. 68. [2] S. M. Grbić, *op. cit.* pp. 294–301.
[3] Cf. Sb.N.U. v, pp. 127, etc.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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B 755 608

In Bulgaria at the feast of the *Rusalje* or *Samovile*, *Vile*—the date varies, but Ascension Day will do as an example—on the eve of the feast a person suffering from a *vila* disease went to a field near water where the *Vila's* plant—*Rosen*, Dittany—grew, with someone of the opposite sex, who was willing to become a brother or sister. An offering of food and wine was made, and one of the flowers was balanced over a new vessel of unbroken water, beside which the sick person lay down and slept while the other watched. After one o'clock the flowers were supposed to fade, and the watcher covered the pot with a new cloth. The next morning before dawn the position of the flower was inspected to see whether it had been visited by the spirit and the sick person drank the water with anything that had fallen into it overnight.[1]

B [782]

S 755 769

In Bosnia[2] a person who had fever went down to a running stream with a coal from the fire and a piece of garlic, and called on the name of the last member of the family who had died: 'Oh, So-and-So! When you arise and light a fire from this coal and eat this head of garlic then may fever take hold of me!' and he threw the coal and the garlic into the water. (Similar rites in Serbia repeat the throwing of coals and garlic into water and a similar formula but without mention of a dead relative.) Or, having split a young willow branch and made a hoop of it or of a stem of nettle, he drew it over his head and off at his feet. Then he cut notches in the stem to the number of attacks of fever that he had had, counting: 'One fever, two fevers....' Then counting backwards he cut out the notches, and the hoop was hung up behind the fire to dry, just as in Serbia, after the redeemer has helped his brother through a rose-tree hoop, the latter is hung up in the chimney or under the eaves for forty days and after forty days it is floated away down a river or buried.

S 751 844

It is worth noting that one of the formulae for redemption occurs on other occasions. In order to preserve a new-born child a hole is dug in the ground where its head first touches

[1] D. Marinov, *op. cit.* 1; V. N. Čolakov, *Bulgarskyi narodn Sbornik*, p. 39.
[2] T. Dragičević, in Gl.Z.M. xxi.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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Historical Yugoslavia EF2

the earth. Then the 'head' of a spindle, a silver coin, a piece of gold and the sole of an old shoe which has been picked up anywhere are put in the hole, and the women say three times: 'Earth, Mother-God! I give you head for head, body for body, gold for gold, money to buy the slave from the grave and a sole for security.'[1]

Redemption may be one of the fundamental notions of sacrifice. In Thrace a black ram is selected to be the substitute (*namesnik*) of a sick man, and is killed and eaten ritually.[2] In the Rhodopes a black ram was tied to the corpse of someone who had died of a pestilence; its eyes were bandaged and then it was set free and driven into another village.[3] At Grlište[4] a black chicken is ritually killed and eaten by each household during an epidemic of dysentery and so on.

Passing to other sacrificial rites, to avoid confusion, I shall take as the criterion of a sacrifice a dedicatory specification or intention. All forms of sacrifice are known—libation; blood offering without fire; the laying of objects at a shrine; feeding to a creature or spirit; alms-giving; sin offerings; scape offerings; communion meals; and so on. Burnt offering is less well authenticated. There is evidence to show that burnt offering was probably known amongst the early ancestors of the Slavs, but the burnings of more recent date are doubtfully sacrificial. The early Slavs made sacrifice of men, animals, fruit, flowers, grain, honey, milk, etc., to the higher gods, the spirits of the underworld, the ancestors, and to nature spirits. Procopius mentions oxen and other beasts sacrificed to the god of the universe and of thunder, which Trojanović connects with modern instances of oxen dedicated to St Elijah and eaten communally. Sacrifices to nature spirits are of particular interest here, since with their cult popular medicine retains an intimate link. The Eastern Slavs

[1] Cf. M. Mijatović, *Narodna Medicina u Srba Seljaka u Leću i Temniću*, S.E.Z. XIII; T. Djordjević, *Učitelj* (1897); Miodragović, *Gradja za narodnu Pedagogiju*, pp. 64, etc.

[2] Cf. Sb.N.U. III, 275.

[3] S. Šiškov, *Rodopski Starini*, I (1867), p. 13.

[4] S. Trojanović, *Glavni Srpski Žrtveni Običaji* (1911), p. 39.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Aromunes EH 13
Historical Bulgaria EE 2

The Eastern Slavs

had a sacred tree to which they sacrificed and where they made and registered vows, which recalls the South Slav custom of *zavetine* when the tree's roots are sometimes sprinkled with blood or a common meal is partaken of beneath its branches. The Vlahs of the Timok district in spring kill a lamb under the village tree and allow the blood to run into a hole dug at its roots. In the Bulgarian life of St Theodosius (from the Greek of the fourteenth century) a certain Theodorit, a follower of the Massalian (?) heretic Akindin, set up an oak-tree cult at Trnovo, where people worshipped and sacrificed sheep to the tree for the sake of their health.[1] An old South Slav gloss reads: 'Not only should the forms of idols be destroyed and razed and altars, that is temples, dug up, but no trace of idolatrous worship remain in any place or in forests or in oak-tree groves or in trees....'

Y S 782 778 A 782 778 B 782 755 778

Vuk mentions a ghost (*sjenovito*) tree at Grbalje, which, if anyone cut, he will sicken to the end of his days. He should therefore with the same axe cut off a hen's head, holding the bird over the stump of the tree.

S 782 778

When a sheep or goat died, if it had had young, the body was hung by Hercegovinian shepherds on a tree, and left there to decay, since this prevented more deaths in the flock, and also encouraged the fertility of the tree.

S [825]

The legend of sacrifice to a pestilential dragon or demon is universal, and there are grounds for thinking that human sacrifices to lake and river demons existed amongst the South Slavs to purify a village or district. This is borne out by numerous local traditions of the kind.

S 782 538

In Old Serbia the guardian of lakes is believed to be a bull, to whom an offering of money must be thrown before beginning the sheep washing, and on this occasion the shepherds fire guns. There are innumerable local customs of blood, plant, money and grain sacrifices to streams for the sake of cattle or for rain and fertility. Sometimes images are thrown into the water or simply green boughs, and although these

S 782 776

[1] *Vide Žitie i Ezxn prepodob. Otca našego... Theodorija* in *Čtenie of Imp. Obščestvo Istorijі i Drevnosti Rossii*, 1 (1860).

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5
Bulgaria EE1
European Jews E 14

may creep through a blackberry bush, or between two bushes growing near together, or under a branch the tip of which is fixed to the ground so as to form an arch. When I saw this done no prognosis was made after measuring and the thread was not cut. M 755

The criteria of prognosis vary. While some say that if the two lengths are equal the man will die, others take it for a favourable sign. In the Lim valley a difference in length can mean that man is ill-wished. In several instances I noticed that the mere act of measuring was considered to be healthy or stimulating. In Lomsko district of Bulgaria the following incantation was recorded: 'If there is *strâ* (fright) do you get shorter. If there is none, do you grow longer. Let *strâ* come out of NN from his head and his ears, and eyes, and nose, and mouth, and teeth, and legs, and belly, and fingers, and heel, and go to the deserted hill.'[1] While speaking of measurements it may be remarked that a pregnant woman at fixed times measures her belly and predicts something about her labour, or the sex of the child. Head measurements had in the Middle Ages a legal significance, because the Turkish head tax was assessed by a measurement round and across the head, as a rough indication of maturity. Otherwise measuring, weighing, telling the age of a person, and other methods of identification are usually rather considered to be unlucky. If anyone is measured exactly he will soon die. A child that is measured will not grow. In some parts of Serbia when a tailor measured his customer he said: *Na zdravlje!* ('to your health'). Measurements are invaluable for casting spells, for love charms, for obtaining power over an enemy. The measurement of the imprint of the foot (or the imprint itself) will serve. Urinating in another's footprint can place him in one's power.[2]

S 755 B 755 S 843 S 777 754

I have already mentioned cases when measurements are used for redeeming a sick person from death. A friend informed me that, in Transylvania, it is a Jewish custom to J 789

[1] Cf. Sb.N.U, xn, p. 143.
[2] Cf. a footprint spell given by Strohal in Zb. xv, l, pp. 135, etc.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
European Jews E 14
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Bulgaria EE1

J 789 take the measurement of a recent grave at New Year and
S with the thread used for measuring to make a candle, but
755 he did not know why. Sticks (of hazel or rosewood) are cut to the length of an epileptic and laid on a nameless grave for cure.[1] This practice is also probably connected with the
M redemption ceremonies. The measurement or weight of the
342 owner of a new house was taken in stone, wood, or iron and
751 buried in the foundations or under the threshold in order to disarm visiting spirits (Bitolj).[2]

S Measuring is essentially a magical act, a directed act. The
789 master builder 'measured' a stranger's shadow with his eye,
822 as he passed by, and then immured a thread or stick of
755 corresponding length. A diagnosis measurement is made of an absent person (Bosnia). When a child had to be separated from a dead colunar, as we have seen, the grave is measured or an arbitrary length taken to represent the dead. It is true that master craftsmen do accurate work on sight measurements, including the making of musical instruments, but in acts of magic the measurements make no attempt at accuracy, only the voluntary identification is precise.

A person in a fit is often measured or drawn round as he lies with a knife or a stick. An elaborate measurement for
B epilepsy is given by Golemanov.

755 Epilepsy (*Pripadčiva bolest, padavica, sarǫ, maraz, detska bolest,* perhaps convulsions) may have a variety of forms, as many as fifteen, but is universally treated on the following principles. The patient's total height and breadth are measured and two lengths of thread obtained. Parings from each finger and toe nail are cut, and tufts of hair cut crosswise (as at the hair-cutting ceremony), from five places on his head and the other hairy parts of the body, making in all twenty-seven points on the body, and all these snippings, together with the string, are carefully rolled up and stuck together in a ball of wax. Only then the doctor lets blood in the patient's neck (cf. p. 264), collecting it on a piece of cotton, mixes the blood

[1] Cf. Gl.Z.M. xxi.
[2] Cf. Sb.N.U. xii, p. 126.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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with *rakija* in a glass and makes the patient drink it. He is also given a potion made from herbs found near clean running water. The doctor is then obliged to carry out a special ceremony to dispose of the wax with the hair and nail clippings, partly to ensure cure and partly in his own interests to prevent the disease passing to himself. He carries the ball of wax to a lone pear tree, that is, a tree growing in the open upon which the shadow of no other tree falls at any time. He turns his back to the tree and, holding his hands behind him, makes a mark on the tree with a spit. He then turns round and cuts a hole in the tree trunk where he finds the mark, and once more with his back to the tree stuffs the wax, etc., into the hole. Throughout all the ceremony he must observe the strictest silence and secrecy. The patient's clothes which he was wearing at the time of his last fit, are washed with ashes and water and left for forty days hanging on the corner made by three fences, or on a haycock. When a child has a fit they measure him where he lies on the ground with a branch of wild rose, which they afterwards wrap round with alternate red and blue threads the whole length of it, and throw it into a river or well. They also give him something to look at, an egg, a mirror or a piece of sugar, which, if he looks at, they conclude that the evil has passed. With these, other similar rites of divining are used.[1]

Measuring is a cure for *zaduha*, *sipnja*, *krajčica* (at Žepče, Bosnia, a kind of chest cough). The patient is measured crosswise lying at a cross-road with a copper coin under his head. The measurer says, as she knots the cord afterwards: 'I have tied *krajčica* on to this string.' The string and the coin are buried where the sick man lay.[2] A yet more curious custom is found quite frequently. If a hen should crow (which some say happens after a certain time) it is a particularly grave sign of bad luck for the owner. The methods of dealing with it vary, but one is to take the hen and measure the

[1] G. Golemanov, *Materiali pa Narodna Medicina iz Germo-Orahovsko*, Sb.N.U. xxx, pp. 6, 7, 8.
[2] Cf. Gl.Z.M. xxi (1909), etc.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4

Bulgaria EE1

The theme of a fiery and a watery *Urok* or 'eye' may represent the trace of some definite belief now obscured. Either this belief or the imagery has influenced diagnosis of *Urok*. When the patient's urine is watery in appearance iron is used for exorcising the disease, with this formula: '*Urok* has two eyes, one watery, one fiery. The old woman has been to the hills and she has dug three holes. Let the watery *Uroci* bathe there. Let them leave the sick man.' When the urine is reddish, the operator takes a bowl of water and wipes the eyes and head of the patient with two fingers, saying: '*Urok* has two eyes, one watery, the other fiery. Granny came at dawn to drive *Urok* into the hills. Where *Urok* supped let him not dine again. But let him go to the hills. I quench fire with water. To save the sick man from *Urok*.' The water is then thrown behind the door.[1] With this one may compare the following method of divination. The plant called *trava od izida* is dug up at evening and placed in a bowl of unbroken water. If the water is red the next morning the person concerned is suffering from witch-bite (*izid*) and he should drink the water. If the water is found to be clear and not red, he is evidently under a spell, and should not drink the water but try something else.

'Sleep went to sleep, but *Urok* did not sleep. If he slept in sleep he came to himself. Two eyes, two evil eyes (*dva uroka*). One watery, the other fiery. I took the watery one and poured water on the fiery one. Come, *uroci*, along the earth like waves along the corn and the waters and the green grass.'[2]

Such themes as these, with ceremonial bathings, etc., will be found throughout the territory and throughout the popular literature of charms, etc., even in some of the earliest sources.

A very curious diagnosis is quoted from Bulgaria. When a man gets a pain in the small of his back or loins, a muscular

[1] The formula '*Urok* has two eyes' is probably the most widely known charm both in tradition and in written sources. For the version given here cf. Zb. VII, p. 13.

[2] *Ibid.*

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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B 755 787 strain after a physical effort, they take the yolk of an egg and put it on his back and move it about with one finger until the yolk breaks. That place is then known to be the real seat of the pain and is rubbed with egg and bound up for a day or so. Eggs are frequently used in divining, and for divining when preparing to dig for treasure. Dark spots in the yolk of the egg are significant, generally of evil. In Turkish magical literature I have found numberless uses for eggs.

S 152 609 521 Caution in identifying and fear of envy are deep-seated instincts. Ask a peasant how much land he has and his usual reply will be: '*We* have *about* so-and-so-many days' ploughing', usually under-estimating. Ask him how many head of cattle or how many sheep in his flock and he may look as though, were it not for his natural courtesy, he would answer: 'What business is that of yours?', and perhaps shrug his shoulders and add that he does not know. Vrčević noted, and I also have seen it, that the shepherds, when they count sheep, use a switch of hazel or cornel wood. It is as much caution as the often over-praised corporative sentiment that will make a man refer to anything in the plural: 'Your field?'—'Yes, ours.' 'You are digging?'—'We are.' Such is his manner. He may genuinely dislike anyone, stranger or neighbour, staring too much at his beasts, let alone admiring

S 152 754 777 them. To a word of well-meant congratulation he may say: 'What harm have the poor beasts done to you for you to admire them? Go and admire your own backside.' Admiration (*čudjenje*) as well as envy (*zavist*) causes *urok*. An abundant crop, a tree that has borne exceptionally well, are regarded doubtfully. In these days of severe crisis in the villages, older men shake their heads over the bumper harvests of a few years back—nothing has gone well since. My mother when she used to laugh a great deal would say: 'There must be trouble coming for me.' It is children of particular beauty or goodness who are overlooked or shot by

S [825] *vile*. The mountain shepherds of Hercegovina and elsewhere will not kill a horned ewe or a ram with peculiar horns, or they keep a goat amongst their sheep. The leader of the flock

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935

EF6 Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5
Bulgaria EE1
Croats EF4

fire is produced for healing, it is a good sign if it is made easily. If, after a number of trials, no spark is obtained or the dry grass, tinder or cotton to be lit does not catch fire, it is a sign that the sickness is not to be cured. At the same time, every precaution is taken to choose dry materials and fine weather. So it comes about that the act of divination may be considered sufficient for a cure and the rite is found cut down to the mere production of fire. As in an alternative noted in Montenegro, the victim of fire is advised to strike fire from two flints held behind his back. No other fire is laid and nothing is applied to the sores.

S 755 372

M 372 755

At Gospić for *kresavac*, a kind of boil (*kresiti*, to strike fire; cf. *kres*, need fire), sparks are struck over a bowl of water held over the patient so that they fall into the water. At Gablenici new fire was a cure for *strava*. It was made by fixing a horizontal rod about 50 centimetres long in two vertical supports, in which two small holes fitted the ends of the horizontal stick fairly tightly. A cord was twisted twice round the horizontal rod and worked backwards and forwards by two men, while another held a handful of tow at one of the holes. At Doce the apparatus was made of lime wood, and fire produced by means of a leather strap worked by one man. From this fire a heap of chips and rose haws was lit. At Gacko, for *krasta*, fire was struck from iron on an anvil, with a hammer. This cure was the monopoly of a gipsy smith, who charged a fixed price. The first sparks served to light a piece of cotton and this a piece of green homespun, some lime twigs, nine twigs of blackberry, and hips of the wild rose, and these things were burnt to ash. The ash was mixed with young fat and applied with a feather to the scabs three evenings running, at dusk, under the eaves.[1]

C 372 755

S 372 755 [326]

On another occasion I was told that fire was made by the friction of dry lime wood or oak (*Quercus cerris*) or simply to use lime wood charcoal mixed with fat as an ointment. New fire is made during epidemics among men, or cattle. At Nevrokop the apparatus is made of fir, and the fire makers

S [731]

B 372 755

[1] E. Lilek, Gl.Z.M. v.

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B 372 755 should be twins, or the eldest and youngest brothers of a family. The horizontal and upright sticks should also be twins, that is, made of branches growing from the same root or axis, and dried for at least three years.[1] The instance which I found near Plav was for skin disease or epidemics. M 372 755 824 A large apparatus of the kind described above was made entirely of a tree struck by lightning and was set up in the middle of the village street. It required considerable effort to produce fire and was not often done. It was also apparently a rite adapted to the usages on which I could not obtain definite information. Trees struck by lightning seem to be frequently recommended. Of other woods cornel or dogwood is the usual hard wood and lime the soft component, or ash and lime, or lime on poplar. However, it is possible to produce fire without using two different woods, and the most usual wood is lime, or where lime is not plentiful willow, and other woods are hazel, beech, juniper, spruce, pine. It is not clear that there are prohibitions, except as regards trees which are never used under any circumstances, but it is perhaps worth while noting that I myself only once found oak wood used even where it is plentiful and suitable for the purpose, and in literature it only occurs once or twice. Fire can also be produced by drilling an upright stick into a fixed, horizontal plank, or into a standing tree which has been struck by lightning, or into a door post, or by rubbing two sticks together. A search for a magical formula accompanying the rite has been unrewarded. In Lilek's description the gipsy smith is said to have mumbled something. In my S 372 own observations I did not get as much as that. I have heard [782] orthodox prayers, rather confused ones, being said while new fire was made by a family to re-light the hearth fire (Bosnia).

Live fire is obtained by the friction of wood, by striking flints, or flint and steel; by the refraction of the sun's light through a glass bottle of water; or it can be struck from iron.

Fire from wood is obtained by rubbing a stick over a flat

[1] Cf. I. Zahariev, *Kjustendilsko Kraište*, Sb.N.U. XXXII (1918), pp. 147, 148.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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B CM S 51 C 372 B M 31 [787]

village. These ceremonies to the best of my knowledge survive in Northern Croatia, the Dalmatian hinterland, Slavonia, Macedonia, in Bulgaria and sporadically in Serbia, and that mainly in pastoral districts. It is now not usual that the fire on these occasions is new fire. Divining is practised; the aim seems to be mainly apotropaeic and often specifically relates to health, or to prevent magic, or the attacks of witches. The ashes of the fires are kept for medicine or to promote the fertility of animals. Not only do these ceremonies change their dates but there is a tendency to amalgamate rites in which fire takes a part. Some authorities are of the opinion that the various fire ceremonials are ultimately of the same origin. Arnaudov distinguished two main types: one that is cathartic, and one that is exorcismal in aim; and among the latter he classed the celebration of the summer solstice, which in his opinion has sometimes been transferred to the spring.[1]

B [755] [821]

S 121 171 372

Mannhardt adopted from Kuhn[2] the identity of the need fire with St John's fire and attributed the same motives to the Roman Palilia. Prof. Trojanović, who has recently published a valuable collection of fire ceremonies, seems to follow the same train of thought, and elaborates the theme 'fire circle = sun disc'. He has sought his parallels, however, in Vedic literature, which cannot possibly give us a prototype on account of its date. The most striking similarity in the Balkan and Indian ritual of new fire is the inspection of melted fat, which the domestic sacrificer in India was instructed to gaze upon, and to show to the other members of his family. In one passage the ghee is called 'thunder'—a term that I am unable to explain.[3] These passages, however, refer to sacrifices to Agni, and I am not sure that Trojanović is right in regarding need fires as sacrificial, although sacrifices occur sporadically. The Indian ritual further demands

[1] M. Arnaudov, *Spisanie na Bolg. Akademia na Naukite*, IV, p. 30.
[2] Cf. Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers*, p. 50, and Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, I (1875–7), pp. 519, etc.
[3] E.g. *Satapatha-Brâhmana*, III, S.B.E. XXVI, pp. 106, 169.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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three or five fires, while the characteristic feature of the ritual which we have been considering is the passing between two fires and through a tunnel or hoop. There are examples nearer home which are probably of more value for comparison. Among these, it may be that the little that is known of the Mediterranean cult of the Kouretes, associated with thunder and claimed by the Greeks to be the protectors of cattle, will throw light on the important part played by the twin fire makers. On the other hand, one would have to consider the fire cults of the Scythians, Sarmatians and other peoples who were in contact with the Slavs, and of whose customs we know comparatively little. Trojanović also connects circular ploughing with the fire circle, but in doing so almost flatly contradicts what he had earlier written about ploughing. He mentions an instance of a shirt woven and made in a day, as part of the paraphernalia of a need fire ceremony, which may be compared with the cloth carried round a village described above. This looks like an illustration of how ritual tends to be transferred or generalised. Trojanović also says that 'in all probability all *zavetine* arise from the day on which live fire was first produced'.[1] There is no evidence at all for this. The *zavetine* refer to every kind of need or occasion, and their origins are often distinctly remembered.

Swinging and turning may be a cure derived from, or influenced by, a seasonal ceremonial of a more general order, or part of a specific cult. The few examples that I have been able to find, either of a seasonal (spring) rite, or a special healing rite, are confined to remote, generally mountainous, parts of Serbia, Bosnia and parts of Bulgaria, and occur amongst the Kucovlahs. I have thus had the impression that to-day swinging survives amongst the pastoral people. It is sometimes particularly associated with St George's Day and the popular explanation is that it promotes health, hastens marriage or birth, or is anti-febrile. At Vidin, on the Monday before St Theodor, the dogs are swung to prevent

[1] S. Trojanović, *Vatra*, p. 169.

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swinging will be found as specific cures. Weighing seems to be a substitute for swinging, the balance being hung on to certain trees, and weighing itself was a cure for epilepsy.[1]

S 755

The practice of shamanistic healing through dance and possession occurs among the Vlahs, and has probably recently been adopted by a few Bulgarian and even by Serbian communities. These customs seem to be popular because they are easily assimilated into an existing system of ideas. They are found at the yearly festival of *Rosalia*[2] or the feast of the *Rusalje*.

A B S 755 796

[1] Cf. M. Miličević, *Život Srba Seljaka*, p. 288.

[2] The most complete account and a survey of the literature are to be found in M. Arnaudov, *Kukeri i Rusalii* (1920). See also M. J. Majzner, *Dubačka Rusalje*, Godišnica Nikole Čupića, XXXIV (1921), p. 227 *passim*; S. Zahariev, *Geografsko-istoriko-statističesko opisanie na T. Pazardžikętę Kaazę* (1870), p. 78.

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country, like the famous Sadik Sadiković who has published a book, a mixture of popular literature and tradition. An Albanian doctor near Peć is known throughout Metohija and Northern Albania, and has been sent for as far as Kossovo and Skoplje in his time. The descendants of families who have enjoyed a century or more of fame still practise—the Medikovići, the Karamanovići, Lelkovići, etc. (for further examples see Gl.Z.M. XII, p. 65).

It is some special secret, knowledge or experience that qualifies the healer, whether he employ rational means or sorcery, or both. This can be efficaciously combined with natural gifts; second sight, relationship or friendship with the disease demons, power to separate soul from body. Power can be obtained by hatching a familiar (a cock after ten years lays an egg, which if carried about for forty days under the left armpit will hatch out a small, obedient familiar: details of course vary). Or again, by touching with the left forefinger the horn of a snail on Whitsun morning, the Bulgarian and East Serbian seeress becomes possessed of a healing finger, or rather, exorcising finger. On Zlatibor a woman puts the little finger of her left hand on the first snail in spring and says: 'As this snail draws back its horn so may every sickness that my finger touches draw back.' She is then able to heal (*zavarčati*, to *turn* illness). The stick which has separated a snake from a frog that it was about to eat henceforth has magical and healing power. At Otok to be lucky (*hasna*) in healing, the doctoress (*bajalica*) should stand on a snake's neck and strike its head with the left forefinger until the snake dies.[1]

The Mohammedan Sherbetli of Macedonia served an apprenticeship to a sheikh, observing constant fasts, praying and leading a virtuous life. When he had qualified, the master gave him his hand (*el vermek*), that is, passed on his power to him.[2] The people generally distinguish very sharply be-

[1] Cf. J. Lovretić, *op. cit.*; S.E.Z. IX, etc.
[2] T. Djordjević, *Iz Turskog Folklora*, Godišnjica Nikole Čupića (1905), pp. 265, etc.

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Should the baby appear to be in the wrong position for delivery those attending put the mother in a rug and swung her until the baby came into the "right" position. Normally coffee or wax was used on the navel "so it will stay there one week without falling." Furthermore, the mother was supposed to drink some of the water in which the baby was washed and to which a clove of garlic had been added "in order that the mother's milk may come sooner." 844

"After the baby has arrived the children are told that the stork has brought a little brother or sister to them through the chimney and they are very glad about it," was the way a proud young father phrased the matter in the course of our conversation about the arrival of his son.

The taboos of childbirth did not cease with the birth of the child. Since the woman was considered unclean for forty days she had to remain at home and was not allowed to attend the christening of her own child. At the end of this period she went to the church for a special purification ceremony at the hands of the priest. 846 [793]

If the child had a birthmark, many peasants assumed that the mother had stolen some object which touched her own body where the birthmark appeared on the child. Any serious abnormality in an infant was explained by the *babi* on the grounds of too close kinship of the parents to each other or the occurrence of conception on Tuesday, Thursday, or Saturday night, each of which is supposed to be kept free of intercourse because Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday are holy days. As one would expect, the latter taboo is of little importance nowadays; it is simply recalled as a convenient way of explaining something out of the ordinary. 826 842

Some of the more ignorant peasants rubbed the head of a very sick infant with urine or, if the baby was born with a "closed nose," a cure was "effected" by putting a small fresh fish tailfirst up the nose. Afterwards the fish was put under a stone. 854 757

To keep the mother from fainting during her convalescence the family surrounded her with incense smoke and burning feathers both morning and evening, and gave her holy water to wash the baby's face and her face. Should some member of the family have returned after dark he could not enter the room where the mother was lying. She 846

846 herself was not allowed out after sunset, but if she should have to go, "she takes a burning coal with tongs out with her, after leaving a broom near the baby to use in defending himself against the devil."

854 The baby's clothes were taken from the line before sunset. They were first held over the fire before they were put on the baby. During the whole first year the clothes were not turned inside out, nor were they pounded when washed by the customary *buhalka* (paddle). If this should be done, the baby might be afraid of thunder. Furthermore, the water in which the baby had been bathed could not be thrown out after sunset.

854 757 If a child became sick, "the first thing was to warm him, for he might have caught cold." Then he was given some home remedies prescribed by the *babi*. If the child did not then recover, the parents tried everything they knew, hoping that after some time "everything bad would pass away." In case the child grew worse, they called some of the neighbors or some old woman to come to see him. Only in very serious cases, when the peasants became convinced that nothing could help the child, would they carry him to the doctor. The reason for taking the child to the doctor was to save the extra fee charged for a home visit. Finally, "if God has given the child some more days to live, then the child will recover; if not, then his days are finished and God wants to take the child." [165] (It is no wonder, then, that in Bulgaria 123 out of every 1,000 infants born in 1941 died during their first year of life. Although this represented a decline from the 1938 figure of 144, it still is more than two and one-half times the rate in the United States, which was 46 in 1941.)

758 The care given to a sick adult differed somewhat from that given to a sick child. When a person had been ill for a long time, his relatives went to the priest for holy water called *babina voda* (old woman's water) by the less respectful peasants. Sometimes the family let the sick person drink some of this water, but this practice was falling into disuse, "for the young people do not believe in it." I was told that very few believed in the curative power of the icons; but if a sick person should happen to, he was carried to the church to kiss the icon.

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729 more complicated when the members of the association began to receive public recognition on certain holidays while the other veterans remained in the background. Although this was an organization planned in Sofia and organized in the village by a Sofia man, good local men were elected as leaders and, judged by the number of meetings, the organization had been very active since its founding. However, since the interest in the organization was dependent upon the benefits the members expected to receive, the organization could be expected to die a natural death if no such benefits materialized. Then, too, it definitely ran counter to village practice in that it gave prominence to a few peasant men, setting them up over others whom public opinion considered just as worthy.

757 The local doctor, like the mayor, was also concerned with changing the ways of the people. She was sent to Dragalevtsy by the Department of Public Health, which had charge of selecting and locating all physicians in the State service. Because she was married, she received the higher salary of $41 a month, was allowed a private practice in the afternoon, and could charge 30 leva for a night visit. For assisting at a birth, she got 500 leva ($6). Since the people were poor, she was able to collect little money from private practice.

The doctor did not keep her office hours regularly "since the villagers don't understand office hours." During the month of August, for example, she was asked to visit only five or six houses, which showed that most of the patients wanting her services came to her office, where the treatment was free. The patients suffered chiefly from stomach trouble in the summer and from bronchial trouble in the fall; in the latter case coming more often for consultation. Because of the expense involved, rarely did the patient ask for a second visit. "The poor people who don't pay apologize; the richer people who don't pay do not apologize," the doctor commented.

744 There were national laws which, if stringently applied, would have done much to raise the level of sanitation and health throughout the country. Their application depended upon the initiative and knowledge of the local health authorities. In Dragalevtsy considerable effort had been spent in seeing that the laws were kept. The doctor and the mayor, or the mayor's representative, visited the taverns and

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not as a real story but in fragments, remarks, speculations. It is by the aid only of this small change that we can hope to construct a relative chronology of folk-lore.

THE NATURE AND CAUSE OF DISEASE

The blood, the various fluids of the body and its secretions and excretions are also essential parts which can be considered to bear in themselves life. In their expulsion from the body good or evil forces can also be expelled, which is the reason given for blood-letting and for purgation which often precede other treatment, notably in febrile complaints; while excrement is considered as a carrier of disease and carefully avoided as unclean or dangerous. But besides this, as intimately connected with the man, or lest it fall on an unclean place or be used against him, he himself must take care to secrete it. There are fragmental observances relating to evacuation in accordance with the local flora and certain taboos associated with plants, etc., and still very definite taboos with regard to places (sacred places, such as churchyards, cross-roads, scratched-up places (*sugrebljiva mesta*—Serbia), sacred trees, etc.).

The fluids or humours of the body, sometimes referred to collectively as blood, can go stale as it were. The blood can congeal or sour or be poisoned or become 'bad blood'. Only then is it usually considered reasonable to part with blood. Venous blood is often taken to be this bad blood. There is an extended idea that blood flows through the body and does not remain stationary. Headaches are caused by bad blood or too little blood, or too much blood. Epilepsy is 'a grave sickness of the blood'[1] and is treated by letting blood. Blood can flow to the head and cause headache, which is then cured by applying leeches to the temple. Infantile convulsions were treated by applications of herbs said to still the

[1] Cf. F. Ivanišević, *Poljica*, Zb. IX, p. 39; cf. G. Golemanov, *Materiali po narodna Medicina iz Gornso-Orehovsko*, Sb.N.U. XXX, p. 35.

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fula' has a Serbian *calque* or parallel *prase*, *svinja* or plural *svinje*, in the double sense of 'pig' and 'scrofulosis'.

In a collection of prescriptions of 1843 a disease is mentioned: '*kratorija*, *kurta*...which is like a dog biting at a man's stomach (*acerbitas*)'. The term is an old one since it is used as an equivalent of gangrene in the twelfth century. In modern Bulgarian: *kurticina*, *kurtica* = scrofula, icterus. The animal cognate is *krt*, *krtica*, etc., a mole.[1] In Orehovsko, in Bulgaria, swellings which are elsewhere called *kurtovi pupki* (scrofula?) are cured by making a child who has them urinate on a mole hill (after using a counting-out formula), and by applying the mud to the parts affected.

Some of the homonyms arise from similar characteristics of the disease and the animal. For instance, *mlamosi* (the disease) is brought about when a child is left too long in the sun. The insect *mlamosnica* is yellow in colour. *Žaba* (the disease) appears as boils with black centres on the tongue which resemble a frog's eyes.[2]

muscle, menthula; *miška*, *paci*, vulva, Bg. *pačence*; *mura*, an animal's stomach, rennet; the name of a black animal, dog, goat, horse; *oko*, eye, a kind of snail; *pupak*, umbilicus, belly; *bubac*, stomach of a fowl; *plovak*, womb, placenta (*plovka*, duck, etc.); *ptic*, menthula infantis; *riba*, muscles, buttocks, fish; *ribice*, kidneys, intestines; *zec*, breast bone of an animal, a hare; *žabe*, *žabice*, glands, testicles; *žlezde*, glands, scrofula, O.B. *žolva*, a tortoise, etc. (For a discussion of some of these etymologies, cf. H. Gunter, K.Z. Bd. XLV, p. 43 *passim*; also *Archiv für Slav. Philologie*, XXVII, XXXII, etc.)

[1] Cf. T. Bratić, *Ljekaruša iz* 1843 *godine*, Gl.Z.M. XX (1908); V. Jagić, *Entstehungsgeschichte d. kirchenslawischen Sprachen* (1913), p. 305; cf. *Bulgarska Starina*, I.

[2] E.g. *buba*, gangrene, carcinoma, apoplexy; *bubinjaca*, a boil, etc.; *bubuljice*, acne; *buba*, *zla buba*, a suppuration or inflammation round the nails, a gumboil (an insect is supposed to gnaw the flesh; the pus is its excreta); *buba u glavi*, a disease in young children when the skin turns yellow, dry and translucent, and they frequently touch their heads and are generally sickly (also brain fever); *buba*, an insect, beetle; *badlje*, *balji*, *badljivi*, eczema of scalp and brows, trichiasis, a sty, a tumour, cf. *plamac*, *sklopac*, *jarac*, etc. (also a maggot of some kind); *baga*, disease of a horse—in Stulli's dictionary *bagole* is *maxillarium nervorum convulsio*, adj. *bagav*, lame, generally of horses (*bagać*, *baguda*, an insect, perhaps from It. *bago*); *crv*, various sores, wounds, etc., a worm, a scalp disease; *gušteri*, diphtheritis, cf. *guteri*, adenoids, etc.; *kuléer*, a swelling, sprain,

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846 herself was not allowed out after sunset, but if she should have to go, "she takes a burning coal with tongs out with her, after leaving a broom near the baby to use in defending himself against the devil."

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Prayers were also believed efficacious. As soon as a person became sick, his people prayed to God to help him and cure him. In addition, the priest prayed for the sick individual in the church (or in the home if the sick person could not go to the church) asking God to cure his servant from such and such a sickness and to give him peace. Candles were burned when the prayers were being said, but the burning of these candles was not supposed to have any curative power. "This service is performed more for the old people and although it is said to be *vetur rabota* [plumb foolishness], yet many times it helps the sick to recover. Nowadays people do not believe in God and this is why many people die, and also that is why life in general is as it is, so heavy."

In looking for the causes of illness the peasants also turned to the Almighty who, it was formerly believed, sent sickness as a punishment upon individuals for wrongs they had done. While many people in 1937 had the same attitude, there were some who accepted the germ explanation. But even some of these, if a sickness dragged on and on, suspected that God might be meting out some punishment, germs or no germs. Here was the way they so often put it: "And God has the right to punish the people, for now they have begun not to believe in him and not to listen to him. Now the people are forgetting God and are with the Devil."

The villagers knew the names of only a few diseases and classified all illnesses under one of these few. The worst disease was the "plague" (typhoid fever), then tuberculosis, *sharka* (pox), scarlatina, and finally, "a bad cold." The doctor used a more scientific classification in listing the causes of death. Her report for 1936 showed that thirty-three people died within the year. Diseases accounting for four deaths each were tuberculosis, nervous disorders, and pneumonia; those accounting for two deaths each were scarlatina, whooping cough, diphtheria, cancer, heart disease, old age, and childbirth (mother); those causing one death each were childbirth (infant), typhus, erysipelas, bronchitis, diarrhea, digestive ailment, and accident. Her scientific approach did not necessarily mean that the doctor's recovery percentage was very high, because patients were brought too late for proper treatment. Therefore the peasants said: "And

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assets. They could do hard work; they could run countless errands. 858
Later, they were the heirs to the father's fields and the chief support of the parents in their declining years.

One of the first women I interviewed about family life told me: "I had a little boy but he died when forty days old. Now I cannot help crying every St. George's Day [May 6] and every St. Dimiter's Day [November 8] when my husband goes out to hire a boy to care for our sheep. If my son had lived, he could have taken care of the sheep for us."

Later on, in the course of a conversation with a garrulous *baba* I asked her if she did not think her seven children too many for one woman to have. She snorted, pointed out of the window to her sons unloading wood they had gathered in the forest, and said: "If I hadn't had lots of children, who would go to get our wood?"

Sons were greater economic assets than girls but even so would 858
have normally received more attention in this man-centered society. 562
As parents often had to go to some expense to get their daughters 593
married off, they were always jubilant at the arrival of a son. The good-natured priest was occasionally the butt of a number of sly jests because he had three daughters and no son. One man in particular, Stefan, who had been in the same predicament, had recently acquired a son, who was now the apple of his eye. He was fond of his daughters, but made no secret of his particular pride in his boy. I thoroughly enjoyed a conversation between Stefan and the priest in which Stefan fully explained how to be sure the next one was a boy. I have known of fathers who refused to look at the newly arrived infant upon learning that it was a girl. Of course, they eventually acquiesced and simply hoped for better luck next time. Where parents had no sons, village curiosity reached a peak when a new child was expected, and an occasional wager was laid on the possibility of its being a boy. But favoritism was the exception rather than the rule. When you asked a Dragalevtsy parent which child he liked best he responded: "I like them all equally; they are just like the fingers on one's hand." He often added the proverb, "The fingers on one's hand feel pain equally, do they not?"

Whenever a child suffered from a physical or mental handicap 732
Dragalevtsy parents, like most parents around the world, were more 593
758

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732 593 758

solicitous than they would have been if the child were normal. A peasant named Vladimir once invited me to his home for what I thought was to be a chat about life in general. We walked through the sturdy gate, slushed through the mud in the yard, and lowered our heads as we entered the house's one large room. The children scurried out of our way while Yurdanka, his wife, offered us each a low three-legged stool. Not far from the stove in the center of the room I saw in the dim light what appeared to be a teen-aged girl, drooling and entirely oblivious to our presence. Vladimir, Yurdanka, and I talked about many things while their younger children sat on the bed and listened intently. Then the father brought up the matter of their feeble-minded daughter:

"*Tota e nashe neshtastie*" (This is our misfortune), he said. And then he told me her story. Some illness, probably meningitis, had arrested her mental development at an early age. Doctors had given them no hope and they wondered if I, a foreigner, knew of something they could do. Their faces showed the suffering that had touched their lives: the comments of misunderstanding, superstitious neighbors, and the constant attention they had to pay to the child's physical needs. Truly she was their misfortune. I knew that the treatment of the mentally deficient and mentally ill in Bulgaria was still in that tragic stage where the unfortunates were confined and given almost no scientific treatment. The parents wanted more than that. It was with a heavy heart that I left them, for their misfortune was not only that of economic loss, but of seeing a wasted life sharing the one living room of the tiny house.

593

The child, whether grown or small, approached the father through the mother. Though not universally the case, most Dragalevtsy children told their mother what they wanted and then asked her to relay this request to the father. The mother did so quite willingly, for she felt much closer to the children than the father. In this way the distance between father and children was traditionally maintained, increasing filial respect.

There were accepted ways for children to show their respect to the parents. The traditional patterns all centered around the father: standing up when he entered the room; waiting for him to eat first;

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who flatly decreed that his daughter could marry no one but a priest. 159
(Not only are priests well provided for financially, but they can marry 793
only once. This means that they supposedly take exceptionally good 571
care of their mates.) Sava had already completed the commercial gymnasium, had studied for two years in a school for leaders of co-operatives, and planned to attend the university. In order to comply with the demands of his sweetheart's father, however, he interrupted his educational plans long enough to prepare himself for the ecclesiastical examinations, which he passed with credit. He was then assigned to the Dragalevtsy parish. Meanwhile he had married the young lady of his choice. Soon thereafter he obtained leave of absence from his church responsibility in order to complete his work in Finance at the Svoboden (Private) University in Sofia. He was highly respected by the people whom he shepherded and was vitally interested in their welfare.

There were often two or three kibitzers while the intelligentsia 557
played cards. These were lesser officials interested in advancement, or well-to-do peasants who wanted to hobnob with the controlling group. None of these hangers-on had been westernized to the point [291]
of wearing a tie, and some of them still wore the heelless, pointed pigskin sandals.

Oddly enough for a Bulgarian village, the veterinarian and 759 ●
physician were both women, who constantly found the patriarchal 562
traditions stumbling blocks to the winning of village support. The medical doctor was a Russian who had spent part of her childhood in San Francisco, but returned to the University of Petrograd for her medical training. After the Revolution she left Russia with her family.

The only other "educated" people in the village were the 875
teachers, eight in number, selected for their posts by outside school authorities rather than by the villagers themselves. Four of the eight had been born outside the pre-Hitler boundaries of Bulgaria, in territories which irredentist Bulgarians sought to recover permanently. Maria, for example, was from Dobruja, which was then a part of Rumania; Anna and Georgi were born in parts of Macedonia which

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sent samples of liquor and wine to Sofia to be examined. They also noticed what disposition was made of all sorts of waste and where manure was stacked. The doctor then wrote a report on the basis of which the mayor made a decree as to what changes were to be made. After thirty days the two made a second examination. The doctor usually found that the people did not really carry out these orders, and assessed a fine which the *Sekretar Birnik* had to collect. Such fines were imposed upon a baker who had been warned several times that his place was not clean enough. He did nothing to improve the situation, so he was fined five hundred leva to be paid within a month. If the fine had not been paid, he would have had to spend three days in prison for every one hundred leva due. A local confectioner was fined 22,000 leva ($266) for using saccharine, banned simply because the government had the monopoly of sugar. 744

Specimens of the village water supply, sent by the doctor, were examined at least once a month by the Institute of Public Health in Sofia. The doctor also had the right to analyze samples of all foodstuffs and household articles on sale, such as soap, cheese, sugar, pepper, and canned goods, but could hold the grocer responsible only for things which were unpackaged. Bread sold in the tavern and bakery was examined for an excessive percentage of water.

Vaccination against smallpox was scheduled three times in a village person's life: before he reached one year; when he reached seven, the age for going to school; and when he was twenty years of age. Typhoid inoculations were given only "if there are more than ten cases in the whole village." Diphtheria serum was given only in case of real need. Plans called for giving all school children the Pirquet reaction test for tuberculosis. In addition to the steps just mentioned, the doctor, through the *Obshtina,* organized a few health lectures during the winter and conducted a mothers' course. Young mothers especially were encouraged to visit the health station every week with their infants.

Assisting the doctor there was a midwife provided by the State, who aided not only in deliveries of infants but also worked with the children of school age and, in order to fill up her time, helped the doctor in her office work. She had had a gymnasium (secondary 759

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759 school) training and worked for two years in a lying-in hospital. The midwife, who had difficulty in winning the co-operation of the old *babi,* could not set a charge for her services but had to take only what the women gave. The State paid the midwife the equivalent of $16 each month. There was a health committee, composed of the doctor as chairman, the priest, the director of the local school and the mayor. The midwife attended unofficially. This committee met once a month to consider the problems of village hygiene and sanitation and tried to enlist public support for the doctor. The county doctor came twice a year without advance warning to visit the village doctor for the purpose of seeing if her reports were made out properly, if she exercised suitable control of the merchandise, and if she gave the school children proper supervision.

544 Another impact, of an educational sort, upon the traditional way of life was the *Naroden Universitet,* or People's University. This consisted of a series of lectures in the schoolhouse on such topics as these:

1. "Our National Awakeners: A Patriotic Talk"—by a local schoolteacher.
2. "Problems and Purposes of the Zadruga"—by the local president of this agricultural group.
3. "The Insurance of Cattle"—by a veterinarian from Sofia.
4. "Alcohol and Effects"—by a medical man from Sofia.
5. "What Village Homes and Food Should Be Like"—by a different medical man from Sofia.
6. "Concerning Faith"—by a priest from Sofia.
7. "Concerning Tuberculosis"—by the local doctor.
8. "The Cleaning of Seed"—by the district *agronom.*
9. "The Significance and Service of the Producers' Cooperatives"—by a former attorney and by the Superintendent of Cooperatives of the Bulgarian Agricultural Bank.

The mayor encouraged the peasants to attend in the hope that they would be inspired to improve their living conditions or become more loyal to the government.

871 656 Another educational group affected by the intrusion of the State was the school board. Formerly the peasants themselves controlled the board's membership but it had become an ex officio body composed

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[651] people living in the district, been a part of the village Obshtina. This
178 area had always been referred to by the villagers as the Mahala, or
369 Quarter.

4. Repairs in the village, such as putting a wooden bridge back into commission after a heavy storm, could be made only after the Sofia authorities gave their approval. Thus, maintenance of roads and other services in the village were said to suffer.

[759] 5. No longer did the village have its own doctor, and it had even lost, so the villagers said, all the medical equipment including microscopes and blood-testing units which the village Obshtina had once owned. Instead, a doctor came at irregular intervals to render whatever medical services were required. This loss of medical equipment, even more than the loss of the physician's services, was a hard pill for some of the more active village leaders to swallow.

6. In place of the veterinarian, who formerly lived in the village, one came twice a week to examine animals and to see that the various veterinary regulations were observed.

But whether they liked it or not, the Dragalevtsy people were a part of Sofia, even to the extent of being included in the city's wartime rationing system. The old rural-urban differences persisted, reminding Americans of similar situations in the United States where the businessman's daylight saving time was anathema to the farmer.

159 As I tried to reconstruct the chief occurrences of the years in-
565 tervening between my departure in 1937 and the end of the war, I inquired often as to the whereabouts of some members of the intelligentsia whom I had known well. I learned that the mayor, who had been so helpful during my earlier visit, had given up his post during the days of German collaboration. Apparently he had disagreed with the local committee as to procedures and amounts of grain to be requisitioned from the peasants. He had already been suffering from ill health and could no longer stand the pressure of troubles, arguments, and dissatisfactions which each day brought to his office. From Dragalevtsy my mayor friend had been transferred to the picturesque village of Panchevo, which I shall long remember because of the lunch I had there one summer's day many years ago.

Prayers were also believed efficacious. As soon as a person became sick, his people prayed to God to help him and cure him. In addition, the priest prayed for the sick individual in the church (or in the home if the sick person could not go to the church) asking God to cure his servant from such and such a sickness and to give him peace. Candles were burned when the prayers were being said, but the burning of these candles was not supposed to have any curative power. "This service is performed more for the old people and although it is said to be *vetur rabota* [plumb foolishness], yet many times it helps the sick to recover. Nowadays people do not believe in God and this is why many people die, and also that is why life in general is as it is, so heavy." 758 782 [761]

In looking for the causes of illness the peasants also turned to the Almighty who, it was formerly believed, sent sickness as a punishment upon individuals for wrongs they had done. While many people in 1937 had the same attitude, there were some who accepted the germ explanation. But even some of these, if a sickness dragged on and on, suspected that God might be meting out some punishment, germs or no germs. Here was the way they so often put it: "And God has the right to punish the people, for now they have begun not to believe in him and not to listen to him. Now the people are forgetting God and are with the Devil." 753 771

The villagers knew the names of only a few diseases and classified all illnesses under one of these few. The worst disease was the "plague" (typhoid fever), then tuberculosis, *sharka* (pox), scarlatina, and finally, "a bad cold." The doctor used a more scientific classification in listing the causes of death. Her report for 1936 showed that thirty-three people died within the year. Diseases accounting for four deaths each were tuberculosis, nervous disorders, and pneumonia; those accounting for two deaths each were scarlatina, whooping cough, diphtheria, cancer, heart disease, old age, and childbirth (mother); those causing one death each were childbirth (infant), typhus, erysipelas, bronchitis, diarrhea, digestive ailment, and accident. Her scientific approach did not necessarily mean that the doctor's recovery percentage was very high, because patients were brought too late for proper treatment. Therefore the peasants said: "And 753 [165]

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753 many times the doctors cannot help. They cannot give a second soul to the sick. If he has some more days to live, he will live; if not, he will die. Doctors are not God and even the doctors die as well."

● 761 In keeping with this fatalistic attitude toward sickness, the peasants accepted death as simply as they would any life process. Before I began my study of Dragalevtsy I was already familiar with the peasants' conception of death. One account which had proved helpful in gaining this understanding appeared in the *Bulgarian-British Review* back in 1931, and was written by Mrs. A. Vessova. She said in part:

775 761 "Death to these people is not considered the end; it is but the continuation of the earthly life in another sphere—the invisible world. The bounden duty of the family is to prepare the dying for their long journey so that they will not have to roam disconsolately in the darkness without finding their way to their new surroundings. Of the dying person they repeat to one another that he or she is now a traveler. Their first duty is to light a candle which they place above the head of the patient, so that they may not see it, should they happen to be conscious. Should the patient be allowed to die without lighting this particular candle, it is considered by the villagers to bring great discredit on the family. The meaning of the candle is that when the soul starts upon its long journey it has to pass through dark passages, and the candle will light the way.

". . . As soon as the neighbors hear the announcement [of the death] they immediately throw away all the water found in the house, and proceed to the fountain to replenish all their vessels. The same procedure takes place in the house of the deceased. There is no clear explanation for this custom or its real meaning, but it is supposed to symbolize, as do other customs, that as the water flows smoothly and evenly, so the voyage of the soul will be made smooth and easy.

764 775 "The peasants believe that though invisible the soul continues to keep the form of the body which it has just left. For this reason the deceased is laid to rest in his grave in his ordinary clothing. Led by his or her angel, for they believe that every human being at his

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that this is always a good thing to do; it is a general prophylactic. I do not know whether this belief exists unaccompanied by notions, however vague, of infection, but it may have an independent origin. We therefore often work on the assumption that force can be played off against force, and occasionally specify that such and such a thing is a force or has virtue. It would be interesting to know whether an amulet or a magical herb (e.g. a plant gathered on St John's Eve, by moonlight, after divination and so on) is supposed to owe its virtue to these circumstances or that it is only recognised by these signs. I have had conflicting answers to queries in this direction. Certain amulets lose their power after a season, e.g. the skin sloughed by a snake lasts only for a year (Bosnia), a bat as a love charm cannot repeat the reaction, although it should not be carelessly thrown away. Perhaps the only real difference between the peasant's concept and that of the educated person lies in the latter's categories which separate moral from physical force, but this is a point which will be undecided until it receive systematic investigation by ethnographic psychologists.

The soul of a man lives in his heart.[1] The soul has two parts or forms, the shade and the spirit (*senka* and *duh*); the first is seen when there is light and warmth, the second only when it is cold. If a man loses his shadow he ceases to breathe. In sleep the shadow leaves the body and the spirit, and afterwards reports to them all it has seen on its supernatural journeys.[2] *Dok mi kuca u kostima duša* is equivalent to 'while my heart beats in my body'. 'Everything comes from the head. It is therefore the centre of all the movements of the organs.' 'Soul goes into the body in the form of air, and into the lungs and the heart.' Soul gives life to the body and does not come out of a healthy body. 'His soul is in his nose' is as much as to say that a man is near

[1] Cf. Zb. XIX, p. 151; D. Marinov, *Vera i Religiozni narodni običai*, Sb.N.U. XXVII (1914), pp. 224, 225.

[2] J. M. Pavlović, *Život i Običaji Narodni u Kragujevačkoj Jasenici*, S.E.Z. XXII, p. 251.

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birth receives a guardian angel, the soul of the deceased after leaving 764
this world starts first to visit all the people and places where it has 775
been when on this earth. This journey, no matter how great the distance may be, must be completed in forty days. If the departed has lived most of his time in his village, and only occasionally has gone to neighboring towns or villages, the journey will be an easy and pleasant one, but if he has traveled great distances the journey will be tiring and rough. It may be that this belief has been responsible for keeping the peasants so firmly attached to their land and village, and preventing them from migrating to new lands. . . .

"The soul has started on its journey, while the body is still in the house, being mourned by the family and the neighbors. The members of the family throw grains of corn or wheat into the coffin. They also believe that there is a great river to be passed and if the deceased has no money he will be unable to cross, and his journey will be impeded. Another peculiar belief is that the neighbors send through him messages to their departed, firmly believing that he will deliver them."

Investigation showed that these statements held true generally 763 ●
of Dragalevtsy but needed to be supplemented. For one thing, the [821]
villagers had definite ways of foretelling death. They said, for instance, that there were as many stars in the sky as there were people on earth, and that there was a particular star for each person. When a star fell to the ground, someone was said to have died and his star to have gone out like his soul. If the star merely moved from one place to another, then its particular earthly representative had changed his residence. Many peasants also believed that "stars with tails" (meteors) foretold some great misfortune to be sent by God. Usually they were thought to signify war "because before the Balkan War and the World War there were such." But there were even more specific ways of predicting death in any given locality. When the owls cried at sunset toward a house or when a hen crowed, death was sure to follow soon. Certain dreams indicated the coming of death. Bai 787
Angel, the village registrar, told me that a soldier could be practically 763
certain of death if he dreamed of a snake. He supported this belief with the story of an officer in the first World War who lined up his men before a battle and went down the ranks to shake hands with

763 the soldiers and told them that he would not return from the fight. He
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If a person dreamed of a wedding or that he was leading a *horo,* death was probable; or if he dreamed of having a tooth pulled, the same held true. If he dreamed that he saw a deep black hole (similar to a grave), someone connected with him would die; if it was white inside, somebody else would die; if he fell into the hole, he would die.

764 In Dragalevtsy there were certain old women who considered themselves specialists in the preparation of the body for burial. They were "priestesses of superstition" who saw to it that all the pagan rites were carried out before the priest arrived to conduct the funeral. Their presence at any crisis showed the duality of the peasants' view of the universe.

771 God was thought to be the force symbolizing the Good. The
793 priest was His representative and should be given due respect; furthermore, he should be asked to perform all of the customary ceremonies such as the sprinkling of holy water in every room of the house at Bogoyavlenie or Epiphany on the nineteenth of January. Keeping on the good side of the priest meant keeping on the good side of God, whose favors one needs both in this life and the next.

[771] Inasmuch as they believed in a principle of Good at work in the
754 universe, it was logical for the peasants to believe in a principle of Evil which could do them harm, with or without the consent of the Good. Some parts of the church ceremonies, such as spitting over the child at the devil during the christening, were directed at nullifying the efforts of the Evil One. Seeing that the church concerned itself chiefly with the Good, the peasant in his naivete felt compelled to do something to ward off the Evil, and thus perpetuated many primitive customs which startle both educated Bulgarians and those westerners who are not familiar with the equally primitive customs found within certain areas of their own supposedly civilized lands.

754 The intermediaries in this "cult of the Evil Eye, Devil, Bad Luck"
789 were certain old women, called *babi,* already described in the account of a village birth.[1] These women showed people how to keep the Evil Eye away. They advised mothers whose babies were only one

[1] [See pp. 30-31, category 116-- Analyst]

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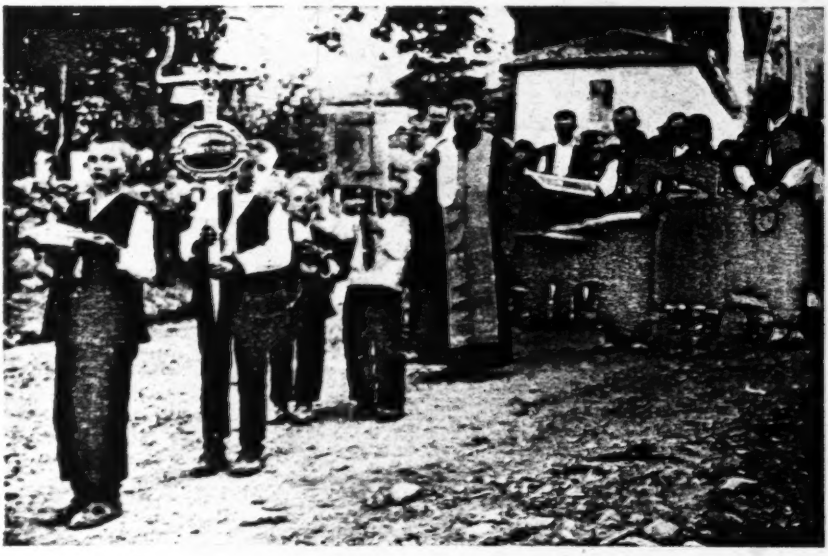

"The procession . . . was led by a boy carrying . . . boiled wheat to be placed on the grave." *See page 38.*

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"Many times we carry clothes to the river . . . where we pound them with the *buhalka.*" *See page 39.*

[facing p. 33]

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or two months old to make a spot on the baby's neck beneath the ear, using axle grease from the wagon. The spell of the Evil Eye could be cast by one who was envious or of an evil heart. That is why I soon stopped complimenting babies or animals, for the frightened look that came into the mother's or owner's eyes on occasion showed me that mine must seem an envious heart. Such envy was supposed to cause sickness in the object admired. Then a *baba* who was old and ugly, with crooked teeth, pale and wrinkled face, and sunken eyes, was called upon to perform a magic rite *(baiane)*. Water was put in a pottery bowl, an incantation was read, and live coals were dropped into the water. Some people suggested that an Evil Eye might be kept away by hanging an onion or garlic over the house, or by wearing blue beads. A few people were said to dye good animals in order to distract the attention of people from their good qualities. 754 789

Along with the belief in the Evil Eye was the belief in vampires. No cat or dog should ever be allowed to jump over a corpse before burial, or that person would become a vampire and return to plague his friends and relatives. In some Balkan villages, when it was suspected that a person might be or become a vampire, a stout stake is driven through the heart of the corpse upon interment. But there were no such stakes in the Dragalevtsy cemetery. 754

Funeral ceremonies could not be extensive since the body had to be in the ground within twenty-four hours after death. One of the last funerals I attended was that of an old woman whom I had interviewed on one occasion. When the priest arrived he found the room filled with about twenty people, two-thirds of whom were relatives and one-third neighbors. The body dressed in the best holiday costume was placed on a black, rough wooden coffin with some white flowers, dahlias, and fruit such as oranges and apples. Around the head and under the chin was a white band. The room became blue with incense smoke through which the black cover of the coffin, standing against the wall, could scarcely be seen. The chanting of the priest was constantly interrupted by the wailing of the women. 764

At the conclusion of the service in the house, four men bore the coffin into the yard as the wailing continued. All the sons and daughters carried under their arms new garments which their mother had

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764 left for them. The procession, which formed in the yard, was led by a boy carrying the boiled wheat to be placed on the grave; another carried the flower-decked grave marker on which the name, date of birth, and date of death had already been inscribed; a third boy carried a bowl of fruit, and a fourth a cross. The priest came next, wearing over his right shoulder a pair of socks, a gift from the deceased woman. Following him, with the covered coffin, were the four pallbearers, each with a kerchief pinned to his coat. A relative carried a loaf of special bread and was followed by the other relatives near the coffin. Neighbors came next. The women wore black kerchiefs tied with a loose knot instead of the customary tight knot.

The procession moved through the gateway into the street, leaving behind the homestead where the woman had come as a bride, where each of her children had been born, and to which her husband would return a lonely widower. As we moved up the street the husband said to me, "Well, we're putting the old woman away." He was stoical, resigned, but deeply grieved. On the way to the church the procession stopped at each crossroad, symbolic of the Stations of the Cross on the way to Calvary. There was a brief ceremony in front of the church door after which the coffin was carried inside and put on chairs in the center of the church. On the small table at the head of the coffin there were a large pan of bread and bottles of liquid. Early in the ceremony everybody burned candles around the coffin; at a given sign these candles were taken away. At the end of the ceremony all performed the "last kiss," kissing the icon which rested on the body and the hand of the deceased.

The body was taken to the cemetery where quite a few superstitious practices were carried out in the presence of the priest, but without his "noticing" what was being done. There were no professional wailers at the funeral; but two women loudly mourned for the infant each had recently lost and constantly asked the departed one to deliver messages to their children. Only the close relatives made any show of grief, while all the rest maintained a dignified silence.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

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tongue in water without salt, and the brothers take three sips of the soup. The rest has to be eaten by the sick person during three days: first the tongue, then the eyes, and then the brain. The carcass is taken by the redeemer and the old woman secretly to the tree. Arrived there, they cross themselves and say: 'Good evening to our NN.' The redeemer digs a hole, and the seeress puts the carcass into it saying: 'To the black earth we give: brain for brain, eyes for eyes, feet for feet, and the earth is to give us: health and joy, laughter and jest, speech and discourse to carry back to our NN.' The brother also repeats this three times and covers up the body, and on this spot they put the water-pot and the basil. They say: 'We kill you, we revive our NN.' After crossing themselves they return taking care not to be seen by anybody. Arrived at the house of the sick person the redeemer knocks at and kicks the door: 'Open the heavy gates!' The mother answers from inside: 'What do you bring?'—'We bring day for night, laughter for tears, jest for sorrow, health in place of sickness for our brother NN.' They go in to the sick person, who has to ask: 'What good news?' The redeemer says: 'We bring you day, laughter, jest, joy and health—here!' and makes as though to hand him these gifts, and they embrace.[1]

In another district of Serbia the doctress (*vračka*) chains the survivor to the cross of a nameless grave or fetters him at a cross-roads or to a grafted tree, and opening and shutting the fetters—the hopples of a horse—repeats the usual question and answer with the brother by adoption ('Do you accept', etc., etc.) three times. The sick person washes with charmed water and 'leaves the sickness behind him'.[2]

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In Bulgaria a stone of the weight of the surviving colunar was put into the coffin with the corpse, and the redeeming 'brother' lay down beside it. As he rose he said: 'I leave

[1] M. Milosavljević, *op. cit.* pp. 261 *passim.*

[2] T. M. Buletić, *Narodna Medicina*, S.E.Z. XVII, p. 564; cf. footnotes, pp. 89–95. Cf. Miličević, *Život Srba Seljaka*, p. 339.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

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you this stone for a brother and I take So-and-So to be my brother.'[1]

Redemption need not always be carried out by a brother by adoption but can be secured by the mother of the person to be redeemed or by a wise woman, e.g. by cutting a silver coin in two on the threshold and burying half in the grave of the dead child,[2] or by putting a stone of the same weight as the survivor on the grave, or a candle of the same length, or by fettering the living to the corpse or on the grave and releasing him.

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The colunars can be separated while still alive by giving them the yolk of an egg to eat while standing on opposite sides of a stream (Macedonia).[3] The sick person and the redeemer brother are given a sugared egg to eat together on the threshold at Zagubica. In other rites the substitution is carried out by a fiction. While the dead child is still lying in the house, two candles are made to the measurement of the dead and the living colunar, and two bunches of basil are tied, one with red and the other with black thread. The living child lies down beside the corpse. A woman crosses herself, lights the candles and places them and the bunches of herbs at the heads of the children. She strikes the body and says: 'When you two see one another, then love one another.' She reverses the bunches, giving the red one which belongs to the living to the dead colunar. The other is given to the child's mother, who must keep it and never let the living child see it at any time. The same rite can be gone through, after burial, at the grave. The bunch of basil tied with black is left overnight at the grave, and the red bunch is afterwards buried in the grave. The living child is chained and padlocked to the cross at the grave-head. It is yet more curious that a willow tree can take the place of the dead child. Two sticks are cut, one to the length of the living child and the other to the length of the tree's shadow at midday. The rest of the rite, including the leaving of the dead

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[1] N. A. Načov, *op. cit.* p. 68. [2] S. M. Grbić, *op. cit.* pp. 294–301.
[3] Cf. Sb.N.U. v, pp. 127, etc.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

mand cropped out when the older brother's wife and mother admitted 593
that the older brother had married against the wishes of his parents, and had brought his wife home to a round of constant toil and insufficient sleep. It was not surprising that the younger brother insisted on the right to choose his own friends, probably with the determination that upon marriage he would not live with his older brother, no matter how desperate the financial conditions might be.

Married sons living with their father and under his domination usually relied upon one another for mutual sympathy and understanding, at times acting as a unit in dealing with the older people. Between brothers who lived apart the relationship was often cordial, especially if they had been able to clear the greatest, most dangerous hurdle of all, the division of the inheritance. The younger continued to call the older *bate,* "my big brother," and went often to him for counsel, for loans, for aid in the fields, gladly repaying in kind. They saw much of each other in a social way, since they associated with men of the same age; their familial problems were often the same. The bond existed, not crystallizing into a situation where one submitted to the authority of the other, but rather into one in which the brothers felt equal. This type of relationship was growing with the trend toward smaller households.

The relationship between sisters never had to take the definite form which the brother-brother relationship assumed, for there was no situation possible from the village point of view in which a married sister could command a younger married sister. In the first place, married sisters always lived apart, and distance lent enchantment. In the second place, their husbands, and not they, were primarily disturbed if there was any irregularity in the division of their estate; therefore, any ill-feeling developing over a lawsuit was reflected rather than actual. When the parents died, unmarried sisters found refuge [768] ●
in a married sister's home if there was no married brother; normally, however, the unmarried sister went to live with a brother, since he was still living on the father's farm in which she had a right to share. Sisters who lived in the same village saw much of each other when they got together to card and spin wool on weekdays; and they visited together on Sundays.

000 771 789 were formerly often taken from ancient coins. Under the cover of--Eastern, Greek Orthodox--Christianity many remnants were preserved of old conceptions of unmediated spirits, of the belief in elemental beings in nature (forest fairies, water spirits--coins are still thrown into the fountains in order to propitiate them, and so forth), and of spiritual forces that are everywhere effective and which are put in the service of magical ends. For example, children are touched with the rein of a horse if they have been frightened or become sick by another horse. The processions with the little rain men designed to banish the drought occur in Bulgaria just as much as they do in Rumania (see the Plate, Rumania); the rubbing of wood to produce fire in case of illnesses and epidemics occurs just as it does in Serbia (see the Plate, Serbia): a piece of linden wood is nailed to a tree stump and is rubbed together with another piece of wood in a sawing fashion (Figure 11). In Figure 14 the two worlds of the old emanatory belief, which hangs up plaited wheat ears, and of the Christian faith touch 769 upon each other. In the monastery of Trojan a kind of skull cult was maintained: On holidays the women search out their old relatives and friends among the skulls of the deceased monks, which have been supplied with an inscription of their name and a sign of the cross. The women then stick burning candles on the skulls and pray and meditate before them.

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/89: Illustrations./

/90/ The Dalmatian South Slavs

I.

000 1. Log cabin. 2. Conical hut 3. Hora dance. 4. Large

[See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a -- Analyst]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Prayers were also believed efficacious. As soon as a person became sick, his people prayed to God to help him and cure him. In addition, the priest prayed for the sick individual in the church (or in the home if the sick person could not go to the church) asking God to cure his servant from such and such a sickness and to give him peace. Candles were burned when the prayers were being said, but the burning of these candles was not supposed to have any curative power. "This service is performed more for the old people and although it is said to be *vetur rabota* [plumb foolishness], yet many times it helps the sick to recover. Nowadays people do not believe in God and this is why many people die, and also that is why life in general is as it is, so heavy."

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In looking for the causes of illness the peasants also turned to the Almighty who, it was formerly believed, sent sickness as a punishment upon individuals for wrongs they had done. While many people in 1937 had the same attitude, there were some who accepted the germ explanation. But even some of these, if a sickness dragged on and on, suspected that God might be meting out some punishment, germs or no germs. Here was the way they so often put it: "And God has the right to punish the people, for now they have begun not to believe in him and not to listen to him. Now the people are forgetting God and are with the Devil."

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The villagers knew the names of only a few diseases and classified all illnesses under one of these few. The worst disease was the "plague" (typhoid fever), then tuberculosis, *sharka* (pox), scarlatina, and finally, "a bad cold." The doctor used a more scientific classification in listing the causes of death. Her report for 1936 showed that thirty-three people died within the year. Diseases accounting for four deaths each were tuberculosis, nervous disorders, and pneumonia; those accounting for two deaths each were scarlatina, whooping cough, diphtheria, cancer, heart disease, old age, and childbirth (mother); those causing one death each were childbirth (infant), typhus, erysipelas, bronchitis, diarrhea, digestive ailment, and accident. Her scientific approach did not necessarily mean that the doctor's recovery percentage was very high, because patients were brought too late for proper treatment. Therefore the peasants said: "And

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763 the soldiers and told them that he would not return from the fight. He
787 was sure of this because he had dreamed of a snake during the night. Sure enough, he was killed in the action that followed.

If a person dreamed of a wedding or that he was leading a *horo*, death was probable; or if he dreamed of having a tooth pulled, the same held true. If he dreamed that he saw a deep black hole (similar to a grave), someone connected with him would die; if it was white inside, somebody else would die; if he fell into the hole, he would die.

764 In Dragalevtsy there were certain old women who considered themselves specialists in the preparation of the body for burial. They were "priestesses of superstition" who saw to it that all the pagan rites were carried out before the priest arrived to conduct the funeral. Their presence at any crisis showed the duality of the peasants' view of the universe.

● 771 God was thought to be the force symbolizing the Good. The
793 priest was His representative and should be given due respect; furthermore, he should be asked to perform all of the customary ceremonies such as the sprinkling of holy water in every room of the house at Bogoyavlenie or Epiphany on the nineteenth of January. Keeping on the good side of the priest meant keeping on the good side of God, whose favors one needs both in this life and the next.

[771] Inasmuch as they believed in a principle of Good at work in the
754 universe, it was logical for the peasants to believe in a principle of Evil which could do them harm, with or without the consent of the Good. Some parts of the church ceremonies, such as spitting over the child at the devil during the christening, were directed at nullifying the efforts of the Evil One. Seeing that the church concerned itself chiefly with the Good, the peasant in his naivete felt compelled to do something to ward off the Evil, and thus perpetuated many primitive customs which startle both educated Bulgarians and those westerners who are not familiar with the equally primitive customs found within certain areas of their own supposedly civilized lands.

754 The intermediaries in this "cult of the Evil Eye, Devil, Bad Luck"
789 were certain old women, called *babi*, already described in the account of a village birth.[1] These women showed people how to keep the Evil Eye away. They advised mothers whose babies were only one

[1] [See pp. 30-31, category 116-- Analyst]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

complaint the women made against drinking was economic, the spending of money "for nothing," as they said. 000

Husbands and wives also disagreed frequently over the importance of a certain task, since the husband was likely to order the wife to work in the field when she felt it necessary to complete some task at the house. Money was often a source of conflict. Since all the villagers were members of the same church they rarely argued about religion, the few discussions which did arise being about the desirability or undesirability of church attendance. One of the most significant results of this study of village families was to show how little disagreement there was concerning in-laws, since husband and wife usually stood together as a unit against these outsiders, whether they belonged to her family, his family, or had married their son or daughter. 593 [771] [606]

In spite of these quarrels about discipline, drink, and jobs to be done, most couples considered their marital venture highly successful. I believe that an important reason for the success of marriage in Dragalevtsy was the recognition on the part of husband and wife that even love was not an answer to all of life's problems. They took each day's pleasures and disappointments as they came, rejoicing or sorrowing in quiet unison.

Many times as I listened to the husband or wife gravely narrating with satisfaction and pride the calm and uneventful story of their marriage partnership, details of the room in which we were sitting would strike me with such force that I had to recall myself with an effort to the conversation. We always sat in the best room; sometimes it was the only room. It was always the room where the family lived. The chief furniture was a bed, perhaps two or even three beds. And here two or three couples and their children spent their days and nights. I would try to imagine married life under such circumstances. [342]

Life of any kind became not merely a matter of privacy, but really a problem of where to carry on the necessary daily activities without getting in another's way. And yet, in most of these crowded households the marriage bond had grown strong. If there was no actual happiness, I often saw a friendly contentment and a mutual regard, particularly as the couple grew older and could look back upon years of joint achievement.

659 a year, the priest asked the board members to assemble at the church,
794 minutes were kept, and no outsiders attended. The government's influence was further felt during the period 1934-1937, when all political elections were suspended, and with these all church board elections too. No one was eligible to vote.

659 As the national school and church authorities had not been satisfied
869 with the type of religious training that the children had been getting in the average peasant home, they had set up in each village an or-
● 771 ganization called "The Association for the Orthodox Christianization of Bulgarian Youth." In general, the work of the group consisted in teaching the school children the significance of the iconostas, church ceremonies, and other related matters. School hours were used, and attendance was compulsory. The school director, who had been asked by the Archbishop in Sofia to conduct the work of the association in co-operation with the priest, said that they had had about twenty-five meetings during the year. Parents and others who were interested attended these meetings. This was one activity which the peasants had accepted quite willingly because, as one woman said, "the children are kept off the streets when there is a group gathering, and thus do not learn so many bad things." This was the woman's way of berating parents for failing to take better care of their children. But fundamentally the acceptance was based upon the traditional recognition of the church's importance. In the past, whatever had bolstered up the established church had bolstered up the familistic system.

178 Such a barrage from the batteries of commerce, government,
181 and education[1] had left the familistic way of life in Dragalevtsy
596 battered but not crumbling. The peasants were still amused at the intense activity of the intelligentsia; the few who were asked to confer with the authorities enjoyed reporting back to their families and friends just what they said and did. The people co-operated in the campaigns for this-and-that only when they knew that the mayor would send the policeman along if they did not co-operate. They attended lectures when ordered to do so, but they joined few of the organizations planned outside. Perhaps the best indication that this beehive of governmental activity was still on the surface was the failure of the peasants to seek advice from the intelligentsia who were supposedly there to help

1 [For a detailed account, see category 116, pp. 161-176 - Analyst]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

668 nevertheless seemed important to the peasant. I recall one such
178 discussion which dealt with the idea of a shortened work-week at the
626 factories. The peasants disapproved of the whole plan and used it
423 as a basis for condemning land collectivization because "We want to
829 be able to work as long as we want without having people tell us that we have to stop working."

Peasants were greatly confused, therefore, over the farm policies to be pursued in the next two or three years. They planned and schemed and talked endlessly about what they should plant, what they should do about their debts, or whether the aged fathers should distribute their land to their sons before they died. But always there was the great unknown of government policy which upset their calculations and kept them insecure.

668 Another important social change was occuring in the institutional
178 pattern of Dragalevtsy. In earlier chapters we noted how the en-
596 croachment of the state was making considerable impact upon the traditional familistic patterns, while economic life was becoming more commercialized and religious activities were declining in importance. The coming of the Communists had begun to weaken the family ties even further, for the Fatherland Front had given votes to all women and had thus attacked the dogma of male supremacy; it had honored the young at the expense of the aged; and it had turned brother against brother as the struggle for control grew more bitter. As the representative of the central government, the Fatherland Front was affecting an even larger area of life than the prewar regime did, especially when its economic regulations and its threat to the hallowed traditional system of landownership.

668 Another disturbing effect was the substitution of Moscow as
771 the center of the universe, for the Communist adherents at least, when
178 formerly Dragalevtsy or perhaps Sofia by courtesy was thought to be
829 the center. These innovations of the present government had done much to prejudice it in the eyes of the people, who made decisions not upon the basic issues which the government was striving to champion, but resisted blindly and perhaps fanatically simply because the new regime spelled the end of their way of life. As they realized this, some of the peasants turned more and more to the church, the institu-

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EF1

tion which had kept Bulgarian nationality alive through the centuries 668
and had become the champion of an independent Bulgaria in days 771 ●
gone by. In Dragalevtsy church attendance had increased and more 178
attention was paid to the forms and ceremonies, although fasting was
not gaining any in popularity. Nor were the peasants too trustful of 829
Archbishop Stefan, the politically minded head of their church. But
they knew that the church and the family served as mutual supports
and that if one suffered the other suffered too. Government which
was once tolerated as a necessary evil now had become an active
menace to be combated whenever possible. The means of struggling
against the government were inadequate, but the peasants had patience
and said that they would bide their time. But as they bided their time
many of them died and were replaced by men and women who had
grown up under the tutelage of the Fatherland Front, who had for-
gotten about the days of village elders, of large family groups, and no
longer reverenced out-of-date superstitions or valued quaintness in
contrast to that which was modern.

A new Dragalevtsy was thus being born. Change was nothing 178
new to the village, but this time changes were occurring so fast that
the old way of life could no longer absorb the impact of strange traits
and differing social values. The transition period was proving painful
for those who still wanted to live in the past. Whether it held
promise for those gazing toward the future depended upon the de-
cisions or indecisions of men sitting around conference tables in
countries thousands of miles away.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

poorer peasant wanted to keep his children home from school he would have to face the withering scorn of his neighbors. I cannot help contrasting this situation with that found in the South where truancy is a major educational problem arising from the mobility of the population, the distance between home and school, and the low place afforded education in the scale of social values. 871 105

Most young Bulgarian men after their eighteenth year are called upon to serve their country as *trudovatsi* (members of the Labor Corps) or as soldiers. The time they spend in the barracks not only widens their social contacts and broadens their outlook but also educates them in the formal sense to the extent that they take advantage of courses offered. In America the Civilians' Conservation Corps is roughly analogous, differing in that it is on a voluntary basis, pays the youth for work done, and is restricted to those young men from families of a low economic level.

The Bulgarian peasant has a dualistic view of the universe. First, there are the forces of good which must be propitiated. The priest is God's intermediary and can intervene with him in the event of a drought, serious illness in the family, or sterility in the wife. The priest christens the baby and sanctifies the marriage tie. In the event of death he performs the liturgy to insure the soul's passage into a heaven thought of in very realistic but not enthusiastic terms. 771 105

There are also the forces of evil whom it pays well to placate. A few old women in every village are the "priestesses of superstition" whose incantations work wonders and drive off the Evil Eye. Peasants do not discuss this white magic when the priest is around, so complete is the dichotomy between the Good and the Bad. Religion as represented by the church consists of form and ceremony rather than a challenge to daily living. Furthermore, the Bulgarian peasant derives little emotional release from an "other worldly" rapture indulged in on Sundays. He is too secure, too stolid, too practical for that. On the contrary, the insecurity of the Southern white is attested to by the increasing numbers adhering to the excitable Pentecostal type of religious expression.*

We hear much in the South today about suffrage reforms, abolition of the poll tax, government paternalism, and the failure of democratic processes. Since the same problems are being faced in Bulgaria a comparison may prove helpful.

Fifty years ago the villages were governed by elders, the influential heads of the larger families. After Bulgaria's Liberation from Turkey in 1878 the 622 105

* John B. Holt, Religious Secession and Class in the Southeast. A paper read before the Section on Sociology of Religion, annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, 1939.

000 were formerly often taken from ancient coins. Under the cover of--
771 Eastern, Greek Orthodox--Christianity many remnants were preserved
789 of old conceptions of unmediated spirits, of the belief in elemental beings in nature (forest fairies, water spirits--coins are still thrown into the fountains in order to propitiate them, and so forth), and of spiritual forces that are everywhere effective and which are put in the service of magical ends. For example, children are touched with the rein of a horse if they have been frightened or become sick by another horse. The processions with the little rain men designed to banish the drought occur in Bulgaria just as much as they do in Rumania (see the Plate, Rumania); the rubbing of wood to produce fire in case of illnesses and epidemics occurs just as it does in Serbia (see the Plate, Serbia): a piece of linden wood is nailed to a tree stump and is rubbed together with another piece of wood in a sawing fashion (Figure 11). In Figure 14 the two worlds of the old emanatory belief, which hangs up plaited wheat ears, and of the Christian faith touch
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/89: Illustrations./

/90/ The Dalmatian South Slavs

I.

000 1. Log cabin. 2. Conical hut 3. Hora dance. 4. Large

[See 1: Kantz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a -- Analyst]

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Bulgaria EE1

she killed with her breath. Against either the fruit of a tree resembling a wolf's paw is stuck over the door. Throughout Dalmatia it was anciently the custom to hang out a wolf's tail or the tail of an ass or some other beast, as is now sometimes done in the hinterland.

God was building a monastery—so a Bulgarian song begins—He sent Plague ('the swiftest sickness') to fetch innocent souls—of old people for the foundations, young men for the walls, young women for the windows, children for the transept, and so on. Plague went to Janko's house, but she could not get into the courtyard, for Janko's dogs had been born on a Saturday of Holy Week and recognised her for what she was, though she came disguised as a gipsy. God told her to take the form of a bear, which she did, and appeared as a savage terrible bear, and so accomplished her mission.[1] Like Death, Plague in stories has a book or scales and, like Death, she has been known to take a bribe or to serve men out of gratitude or friendship.[2]

Against Small-pox, Cholera or the Plague, whichever happens to be most familiar, this kind of precaution was and may still be taken. Fresh water, a mirror, a comb and salt are left for her by a tidy hearth at night, or a present of fowls, bread and wine taken to a distance beyond the village in the hope that she will go there and pass by the houses. Or she is induced to take her seat in a cart, given presents and left somewhere in the open fields or by the roadside, or in the next parish, with a couple of roast fowls, a bottle of wine and a loaf of bread. Plague is the god-parent of those born on a Saturday or the Saturday of Holy Week and therefore these are immune from her and take a principal part in the ploughing rites described below. Further, it is said that she will not attack a clean neat house.

South Slav folk-lore abounds in monsters, many quite unburdened by any departmental duties, but some not unlike

[1] M. Arnaudov, *Severna Dobrudža*, Sb.N.U. xxxv (1923), pp. 150–2, cf. p. 339; Kačanovski, *Pamjatniki* ('*Janko i Kuga*'), etc.
[2] E.g. Ristić and Lončarski, *Srpske Narodne Pripovijetke*, III.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5
Bulgaria EE1

S 124 787 those whose dream experiences would be the most interesting. Those who take dreams seriously avoid discussing their own dreams. By so doing they may realise an evil or check a propitious dream prophecy. The nature of dreams varies in interpretation as greatly as the interpretations of dream symbols. Some apparently take certain dreams for actual and real experience; some scarcely distinguish these more vivid impressions from actuality; others hold that sleep is a special state of mind and of body; and some that the spirit departs and returns—as many variations, in short, as there are folk-lorists' theories. The eyes, said one, when they close can go away and see things elsewhere. 'It is nothing more nor less than that the soul comes out of a man and goes about the world and only blood remains in the man to keep him alive.'[1] There are others who imply that the sleeper S [513] undergoes no change or movement, but, none the less, at times he can see in sleep things that are not actually there; M S 754 he can have visions. Human beings, who are endowed with 774 a special nature, leave their bodies at night and become spirits, dragons or animals. In the neighbourhood of Gusinje, for instance, this idea of witches still prevails. In other parts I found memories of the *zmaj* or dragon-man, *stuhi*, *vedogoni*, etc.—men who during sleep become spirits or animals, such as bulls or dragons, and meet at night, or, endowed with supernatural strength, battle with evil spirits, enemies of their S own villages, bringers of storms. From all accounts these ideas B 754 are still alive in parts of Bulgaria, but everywhere else they 774 are disappearing, or turn up only in the form of stories. 177 *Viljanici*, who in ordinary life were herb doctors or seers, were 791 also believed to have these powers of movement in sleep, of flight and of changing form.

S 774 A distinction which is more than a linguistic one is made between *duša* (soul) and *duh* (spirit). A man breathes his last 775 (*izdahne*) and his soul (*duša*) departs; for forty days it lingers above the grave or near its old home, after which tradition offers a variety of fates. The spirit (*duh*) is also spoken of as

[1] Zb. xix, p. 151.

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that this is always a good thing to do; it is a general prophylactic. I do not know whether this belief exists unaccompanied by notions, however vague, of infection, but it may have an independent origin. We therefore often work on the assumption that force can be played off against force, and occasionally specify that such and such a thing is a force or has virtue. It would be interesting to know whether an amulet or a magical herb (e.g. a plant gathered on St John's Eve, by moonlight, after divination and so on) is supposed to owe its virtue to these circumstances or that it is only recognised by these signs. I have had conflicting answers to queries in this direction. Certain amulets lose their power after a season, e.g. the skin sloughed by a snake lasts only for a year (Bosnia), a bat as a love charm cannot repeat the reaction, although it should not be carelessly thrown away. Perhaps the only real difference between the peasant's concept and that of the educated person lies in the latter's categories which separate moral from physical force, but this is a point which will be undecided until it receive systematic investigation by ethnographic psychologists.

The soul of a man lives in his heart.[1] The soul has two parts or forms, the shade and the spirit (*senka* and *duh*); the first is seen when there is light and warmth, the second only when it is cold. If a man loses his shadow he ceases to breathe. In sleep the shadow leaves the body and the spirit, and afterwards reports to them all it has seen on its supernatural journeys.[2] *Dok mi kuca u kostima duša* is equivalent to 'while my heart beats in my body'. 'Everything comes from the head. It is therefore the centre of all the movements of the organs.' 'Soul goes into the body in the form of air, and into the lungs and the heart.' Soul gives life to the body and does not come out of a healthy body. 'His soul is in his nose' is as much as to say that a man is near

[1] Cf. Zb. XIX, p. 151; D. Marinov, *Vera i Religiozni narodni običai*, Sb.N.U. XXVII (1914), pp. 224, 225.

[2] J. M. Pavlović, *Život i Običaji Narodni u Kragujevačkoj Jasenici*, S.E.Z. XXII, p. 251.

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753 many times the doctors cannot help. They cannot give a second soul to the sick. If he has some more days to live, he will live; if not, he will die. Doctors are not God and even the doctors die as well."

761 In keeping with this fatalistic attitude toward sickness, the peasants accepted death as simply as they would any life process. Before I began my study of Dragalevtsy I was already familiar with the peasants' conception of death. One account which had proved helpful in gaining this understanding appeared in the *Bulgarian-British Review* back in 1931, and was written by Mrs. A. Vessova. She said in part:

775 761 "Death to these people is not considered the end; it is but the continuation of the earthly life in another sphere—the invisible world. The bounden duty of the family is to prepare the dying for their long journey so that they will not have to roam disconsolately in the darkness without finding their way to their new surroundings. Of the dying person they repeat to one another that he or she is now a traveler. Their first duty is to light a candle which they place above the head of the patient, so that they may not see it, should they happen to be conscious. Should the patient be allowed to die without lighting this particular candle, it is considered by the villagers to bring great discredit on the family. The meaning of the candle is that when the soul starts upon its long journey it has to pass through dark passages, and the candle will light the way.

". . . As soon as the neighbors hear the announcement [of the death] they immediately throw away all the water found in the house, and proceed to the fountain to replenish all their vessels. The same procedure takes place in the house of the deceased. There is no clear explanation for this custom or its real meaning, but it is supposed to symbolize, as do other customs, that as the water flows smoothly and evenly, so the voyage of the soul will be made smooth and easy.

764 775 "The peasants believe that though invisible the soul continues to keep the form of the body which it has just left. For this reason the deceased is laid to rest in his grave in his ordinary clothing. Led by his or her angel, for they believe that every human being at his

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birth receives a guardian angel, the soul of the deceased after leaving 764
this world starts first to visit all the people and places where it has 775
been when on this earth. This journey, no matter how great the distance may be, must be completed in forty days. If the departed has lived most of his time in his village, and only occasionally has gone to neighboring towns or villages, the journey will be an easy and pleasant one, but if he has traveled great distances the journey will be tiring and rough. It may be that this belief has been responsible for keeping the peasants so firmly attached to their land and village, and preventing them from migrating to new lands. . . .

"The soul has started on its journey, while the body is still in the house, being mourned by the family and the neighbors. The members of the family throw grains of corn or wheat into the coffin. They also believe that there is a great river to be passed and if the deceased has no money he will be unable to cross, and his journey will be impeded. Another peculiar belief is that the neighbors send through him messages to their departed, firmly believing that he will deliver them."

Investigation showed that these statements held true generally 763
of Dragalevtsy but needed to be supplemented. For one thing, the [821]
villagers had definite ways of foretelling death. They said, for instance, that there were as many stars in the sky as there were people on earth, and that there was a particular star for each person. When a star fell to the ground, someone was said to have died and his star to have gone out like his soul. If the star merely moved from one place to another, then its particular earthly representative had changed his residence. Many peasants also believed that "stars with tails" (meteors) foretold some great misfortune to be sent by God. Usually they were thought to signify war "because before the Balkan War and the World War there were such." But there were even more specific ways of predicting death in any given locality. When the owls cried at sunset toward a house or when a hen crowed, death was sure to follow soon. Certain dreams indicated the coming of death. Bai 787
Angel, the village registrar, told me that a soldier could be practically 763
certain of death if he dreamed of a snake. He supported this belief with the story of an officer in the first World War who lined up his men before a battle and went down the ranks to shake hands with

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The girls of Dragalevtsy had no way of proposing to a boy. The girl waited and, if nobody proposed to her, she remained unmarried. 583 562

Sometimes unmarried young people had sexual intercourse. If the boy did not want to marry the girl, then she told her parents; the boy was brought before the *Obshtina* and, if the charge was proved, was made to marry the girl. As one peasant said in matchless understatement: "In such cases they do not have a happy life." 836

One such case occurred during my sojourn in the village and was an exciting topic of conversation. A girl with an unsavory reputation, in the hope of gaining a certain young man as a husband, accused him of having had intimate relations with her; the parents, too, insisted upon his marrying their daughter. He refused and the matter was taken up before the village court, where several of his friends swore that they likewise had had intimate relations with the same girl. Whether the friends swore truthfully or falsely was still a matter of doubt in the minds of many villagers, but the young man was freed from all responsibility in the matter. [691]

Chastity ranked high in the scale of village social values. Even though some couples had illicit relationships before they married, they were running a grave social risk. Public indignation was especially great in the case of illegitimacy. A girl giving birth to an illegitimate child was forced to leave the village. On this subject I had the following conversation with one of the more respected villagers: 848 836 558

"Where does the girl go if she is driven out of the village?"

"She goes to Sofia because she's a bad girl."

"Do the villagers try to find out who the father was and punish him for his part?"

"The father? Why should they? The girl is to blame, not the man."

"Are many illegitimate children born in the near-by villages?"

"In my time [the last thirty-five years] there have been two in Bistritsa, one in Dragalevtsy, and none in Simeonovo."

There was no particular stigma attached to being a widow or a widower, but the village mores decreed that, when remarrying, widows had to choose widowers, and vice versa. The explanation for this went back to the villagers' belief of the afterlife. They thought of 587 775

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[775] 587 Heaven in concrete terms and believed that husbands and wives would be reunited there. Things would work out quite well mathematically if a widow and widower remarried each other, since in Heaven each mate would go to the first spouse, thus avoiding the unheavenly complication of a second mate left alone for eternity. For a second wife, they listened to the recommendations of neighbors far more than they did when marrying the first time. This was borne out by the testimony of a woman I found picking berries from a bush that overhung a garden wall. While speaking to me she kept a watchful eye turned toward the near-by house in fear that someone would tell her to leave the berries alone. "How did you happen to marry Nikola?" I asked her. Like the other women she seemed to welcome a chance to talk about herself.

"For three years I was a widow in Simeonovo before somebody recommended me to my present husband, at that time a widower living here in Dragalevtsy. One day he came over to Simeonovo, looked me up and asked me to marry him. I accepted right away although I had never heard of him before. Winter was coming on and I didn't have any money to buy food for myself and my little boy. I went immediately home with him and lived with him as his wife for two months before we were married."

Her second husband was one of the poorest men in the village, and her life was decidedly unhappy; yet to the village way of thinking, she was better off than as a widow.

593 Most of these second marriages turned out successfully provided the question of stepchildren could be satisfactorily settled. Sometimes fathers sent away their own children to a relative and gladly took in those of the second wife. Quite often the children of both the husband and wife were brought up together as one family. A second wife was generally anxious to have children by her second husband in order to ensure her place in his affections, especially if she had children by her first husband who ate up the food and wore the clothes provided by their stepfather.

587 837 Widows and widowers were permitted by public opinion to live together as though they were married for awhile before the actual ceremony took place. This above all else emphasized the fact that

The woman is born
562 to be a mother. She knows it and, as her duty, should not expect anything from the others."

843 Before the birth of the child, swaddling clothes were prepared, and a cradle and wooden tub were bought. The mother herself was not supposed to sew because it was believed that this would make the baby dumb. In fact, nobody went to any trouble at all to provide an elaborate layette, for that would really seem to the peasants like tempting fate. One of the men asked me, "Who can tell whether it will be a boy or a girl, and most important, who has unnecessary money to throw away in vain, for the baby may die?"

844 At the delivery of the baby, all the young people were sent away, and only the old people and the midwife remained with the mother. "The business of the relatives is to give courage to the mother, and in case the delivery of the child is painful, the midwife massages and carefully pulls the baby out."

The peasants much preferred the midwife or *baba,* to whose old-fashioned ways they were accustomed. To be sure, they called in the village doctor if the case seemed very complicated or if the woman fainted in labor. Dr. Chirkova has encountered many interesting superstitions and folkways in her village experience; these she included in her annual reports to the District Health Office. For instance, since the baby is supposed to be born on straw, in conformity with the birth of Christ, some deliveries occurred in mangers where the doctor was quite apt to find the baby blue with cold. There were instances of women who kept the pains secret from everyone, especially the husband, for they did not "want to add to his troubles." Some of these women even went so far as to remain alone during the childbirth, cutting the cord with a sickle and tying it with their own hair. Such instances, however, were exceptional.

Many deliveries were made with the woman standing, but when labor seemed to be difficult those in attendance put a rope beneath her breasts, tied it to the ceiling, and swung her "in order that the baby
● [776] might be born more easily." To lessen the ordeal still more, the *baba* moistened the lips of the woman with an herb called "The Hands of the Holy Virgin," which had been put into a bowl of water. It is assumed that the Virgin will render direct aid.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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Names of the source of the disease, particularly names of supernatural beings, can be used of the disease itself—with what degree of personification it is difficult to decide in every case. In the eastern regions it seems that a number of terms used elsewhere of common diseases, would be defined as evil

a lizard; *lisa*, disease of scalp or beard causing the hair to fall out (also a disease caused by a spirit); *metilj*, disease of the liver, in sheep or cattle; *metiljka*, a cataract, disease of the eye, an insect, moth; *mlamosi*, sunstroke (?), cf. *mlamosnica*, a centipede, a yellow larva; *magarac*, *magarevac*, whooping cough, a donkey; *mravi*, shuddering as in fever, ants; *mačka*, a cold in the nose, cat, cf. *mačić*, typhus, erysipelas, a whitish rash on the face; *mrav*, *pamrav*, 'something in the brain rolls about as though alive', brain fever, cf. *pamrava*, larva of *Gastrophilus equi*, the disease caused by it; *pauk*, syphilis, spider; *nerast*, splenitis, morbus lienis, cf. *nerast*, a young boar; *pesičevo*, *pesice*, a parasite infested wound; *prasići*, a swelling under the ears; *paučina*, herpes, a cobweb; *ospice*, variolae, wasps; *rak*, cancer, an ulcer, a festering wound, etc., crayfish; *ribine*, a swelling, a sprain, a hard knot 'like hardened arteries' which is caused by strain or by chill, rupture, cf. *riba*, a fish; *štene*, a festering wound, a young dog, cf. Bg. *skuli*, boils, eruptions; *stenči*, atheroma; *svinja*, *svinje*, scrofulosis, Bg. *svinja*, a fistula, a swelling; *prase*, scrofulosis, a pig; *srdomasi*, an illness in the head of a young child caused by a worm of the same name; *trud*, ulcer, panaritium, a hornet; *vuk*, gangrene, wolf, cf. Bg. *volk*, laryngitis; *gagalki*, blisters in the mouth; *gogolj*, a swelling, a diving bird; *guta*, diphtheritis; *guta*, *gutal*, a pigeon, etc.; *gusenica*, a boil or tumour on the legs of cattle, a caterpillar; *guba*, *gubavica*, lepra, a swelling, a toad, also a fungus—*Coccus lecanium*, etc.; *grič*, *griža*, morsus, dysentery, etc., cancer, an open sore, cf. *griža*, *grizica*, *gričlica*, a moth or maggot, a kind of snake, a worm; *grinta*, the same, an ulcer, wound, disease of the scalp, a minute parasite, cf. *grinja*, a moth; *moljac*, a moth, a worm which breeds in the flesh; *jarac*, inflammation of the eyelids, a skin rash, cf. *jaricanje*, white spots or small blisters round the mouth and chin, an infection from cattle, a swelling on the body of cattle; *jašterica*, *gušterica*, a swelling on the tongue or foreleg, especially of cattle, a lizard; *jašterice*, small sores or boils on the side of the tongue; *koza*, *kozice*, variolae, chicken pox, a goat; *krava*, *kravica*, a swelling under the ears, on the arm, a sprain, a cow; *kukac*, panaritium, insect, salamander; *vočić*, inflammation round a bite, an inflamed wound, dim. *vo*, ox; *žaba*, *žabica*, angina, swelling in throat, any swelling, abscess, ulcer, etc., in cattle and sheep a boil on the tongue; *žaba*, frog, Bg. *zvjerinac*, herpes; *žabka*, *žalva*, fistula; *želva*, *žabe* (Slo.), scrofula, an abscess; Bg. *želka*, *želva*, tortoise; *živina*, *zverice*, *zverinac*, *živa rana*, etc., gangrenous sore or wound, cancer, inflammation, Bg. *živina*, *živinica*, *živenica*, syphilis, scrofula, swellings on the body; *živina*, *zver*, etc., animal, wild animal, etc.; *žutuga* (*žutice*, *zlatica*), icterus, a kind of fish.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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spirits. It will also be noted that these names include a number of animal names.[1]

Any attempt to discover a primal relationship between these categories or the initial reason for the adoption of animal names, would, of course, be so much waste of time if the investigation is confined to one linguistic area. In the examples that follow there will be found ample evidence of

[1] The following are names of the various kinds of supernatural beings, any of which may cause disease or harm. The greater number of these words also signify specific diseases. Even *plašnja* and *strava* may mean personal forces or beings. *Smlata*, which is generally nothing more than *Hexenschluss*, and often has ceased to have any connection with witchcraft, also means a witch or *mora*. Note that the names of supernatural beings, of the witch or fairy order, also occur as names of professional magicians and witch doctors (*viljenak, vilovnjak, vještnik, vještica, brodnik, brodnica, vila, vračarica, bajalica, baharica, madžionica*, etc.); i.e. these can be either human beings or supernatural beings. Note that some of them are generally referred to in the plural.

Bešija, brodnica, coprnja (*ica*), *čuma, čumica* (pl. *čumice*), *duh, loš duh, zao duh, izdat, izdajnica, jude, kamenice, okameni, okamenica, kuga, krivo oko, karan, karakandžeri, krvopilica, kratelj, skrat, skrata, kosac, kudlak, vukdolak, lisa, lune, leptir, netopir, vampir, lumpir, vampirčići, ljutice, mora, tmora, pomora, muravini, mekarine, mame, mamica* (pl. *mamice*), *mlamusi, matić, medivančići, nastrijelice, nastrelina, namerice, namet, nametnice, nežid, nežit, naprasnik, naprasnica, nahud, nahudnica, hudnici, nažurenice, žura, žuravice, nastrijelina, naletnice, noćnice, noćni osjen* (*sjen*), *senka, nečestivi, nečastivi, nečisnjak, nepomenica, ogram, ogramnica, otrovnica, proždreljevica, poganica* (pl. *-e*), *plašnja, uplah, polegač, rusak, rusa, ruse, rusalje, roške, stuhe, stihiji, sekarine, striga, sekarice, slute, sklopci, strava, strašnice, strijelica, sihir, strelka, ustrijel, šejtan, sotona, saturnica, tentacija, talasam, tenčac, utvar* (pl. *-i, -e*), *vila, samovila, samodiva, vještica, vile otrovnice, vrag, vražići, vražalica, vada, povada, vadine, urok, uročica, uročići, vadika, vražalica, viruške, uljezina, urama, uramnica, vlas, vlasi* (*ovi*), *vihor, vihorice, usadi, usov, zmet, zmaj, zduhovi, stuhe*, etc. Note the variations of meaning such as *činilica*, a witch, a charm worker, an evil spirit, a mental disease; *lahus*, a lying-in woman; *lahusi*, spirits that attack her or her child, an illness (also *kokošite lahusi*, a disease of fowls); *babice* is the usual Serbian word for this series, and also means diarrhoea. In Bulgarian we also find *ermenki* (a kind of evil spirit) which can also be equivalent to *urisnice*, spirits which foretell the fortune of a new-born child; *usov*, a sheep disease, as well as a spirit; *ustrel*, a spirit, in particular a spirit which attacks sheep, or the spirit of an unchristened child, a vampire and so on, also a disease without reference to the agency of spirits; *čumice* are the children, *čuma*, plague; *bolshčiči* are disease-spirits collectively. (Šiškov, *Život na Bulgarite v Srednja Rodopa* (Plovdiv, 1886), p. 46.)

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Bulgaria EE1

nature, for as a rule they are descriptive rather than precise, like the euphemisms for evil spirits: 'unmentionable evil', traitor', 'enemy', 'great sickness', 'aunt', 'sister', 'kind ones', 'honey sweet ones', and so on. *Vrag*, *vražica*, is a generic word for 'devil', 'spirit', but locally it may have a specific use. At Vidin for example it means 'splenitis', like the Russian *besnaja* (epilepsy), and so on.

For colic (*izdat*) in the Homoljski district, the patient is fumigated or steamed, and if he vomits it is a good sign. Or the witch woman places three grains of corn on the umbilicus, with three beans, the seeds of the pepper plant; she holds her knife there point downwards and she says: 'Black arrow unstruck by arrows, why have you loosened your hair, why have you disfigured your face?...Why not, when I (attack) you with one knife and you me with two...' (follows a counting out formula on these lines). 'Flee arrow (to the usual place where there are no cocks, etc.).'[1] Miličević gives this treatment for the same disease, which he calls *nastup* (*nastupiti*, to tread, begin, come): the patient is made to drink water from a mortar (*stupa*), the mortar is passed three times round his head, he is then well covered and left to sleep. The mortar is left standing upside down overnight.[2] In the same way wine is poured through the chimney into a mortar, and a little is given each morning to the children as a preventive against whooping-cough (*da ne nastupa*). The mortar cure for stomach pains and fevers may be found where the diseases are not known by this name, but whether the cause is the false analogy of the whooping-cough cure, or has a different history, cannot be said. In another exorcism the disease is addressed as: '*nametnike*, *nametnice*—put on and putters on (of evil), *nagaznice*—treaders on, *napasnice*—attackers, enemies...whether of mountain, field or sea, of Jewish, Albanian, Serbian or Gipsy origin...old or young, male or female...'.

Namet or *nenadnja* is a sudden attack, e.g. stomach-ache, but also a spell. *Sugreb*, which at the same time means a

[1] S.E.Z. xix, p. 219. [2] M. Miličević, *op. cit.* p. 285, etc.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

reddish rash, is a mysterious disease caused by treading on a charmed place, or spell. In Serbia it is associated with places where a dog, cat or wild animal has scratched up the earth. There is an extensive terminology for phenomena of this order. *Ograisati se*, in common use at any rate since the eighteenth century, means roughly to walk accidentally on a spell, as in the example, *Ili mi se junak ograisio, ograisio na kom krstopuću*...—'My hero may have mistrodden, mistrodden on some cross-roads.' After sunset one should not kill snakes,[1] make water outside the house, sleep under a walnut tree and so on (*jer bi time ograisao*). Should a pregnant woman tread (*nagazi*) on the blood of a slaughtered pig there will be red spots on her child. *Nagaziti na čine, na vraga, na šejtana* = to tread accidentally on spells or demons. In Bulgaria and East Serbia and in later dictionaries (nineteenth century) we find *ugramak, ogramak, ograma, urama*, etc., from the Turkish. Gerov gives *urma, orama, nagaznice, nagaozvačka*, etc., a disease caused by an evil spirit, equivalent to *naletiće, vitruške* (a kind of spirit, an evil wind), and there are equivalent nouns and verbs in modern Greek. Further there is the series *naseljine*—when a man sits on a bad thing, or when it fixes itself on to him. The concept includes wind-born spirits, like the Russian *nasylka po vetru*; it is not to be confused with the complaints connected with the 'settling' of blood, e.g. under a bruise (*nasela krv*), etc.

The effects of *ograma* seem to be mostly rheumatic pains, often counted as a *vila* disease and, as we have seen, also attributed to wind. In Bulgarian dialects rheumatism is called *vetor* (wind), whether or not *vila* sent.[2] Blindness, deafness, dumbness, epilepsy, paralysis, fevers, rheumatism, are some of the typical diseases sent by *vile*, which can be cured only by those in contact with these beings. Diseases can

[1] Cf. Gl.Z.M. (1907), *loc. cit.*

[2] Cf. a spell running: *nemitnice, nedajenice, nevemlanice, vile, vetrovi i nekama bolesti, sama te molim, ja, Dona bajalica*...; Miličević, *Glasnik Srpskog Učenog Društva*, XXII (1867). Cf. *vihor*, meaning 'a fever' (S.E.Z. XIII, p. 409).

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

be divided into something like natural diseases and supernatural ones. The latter are called *vila* diseases, 'treacherous' (*neverne*) diseases, and diseases 'put on' (*nametnute*) by magic or the evil eye.

If one goes outside at night in an evil hour, or makes water at night in an unclean place (he should as a safeguard spit first three times) and after he fall ill, he is said to have come upon evil (*uradisal*). The cure at Libjahovo is to wash him with unbroken water and throw the water outside the house saying: 'From the dung heap you came, to the dunghill return, gentle and honied ones.' Or else let the unfortunate man take a cake smeared with honey and put it on the place where he thinks that he caught the disease to *appease the* '*urama*'.[1] Such offerings are to be made should one urinate under an old rose bush or any other tree, and afterwards be troubled by pains in the back and head and legs. In the Nišava district for this kind of disease (*ogradisanje*), the woman doctor (*bajalica*) sprinkles the place with sherbet on a sprig of hyssop, and at the same time beseeches those who have sent the illness to remove it *in return for this rich gift*.[2] Honey or honey water is the usual libation, and honey is one of the traditional offerings to the *vile*.

Namera is used rather in the same sense, as well as to signify an ill-wished misfortune or an evil eye. Diagnosis of these diseases can be made from the clothes worn by the patient when he caught it, or by bringing certain things—flowers, nails, horseshoes, a glass of wine, water, salt, and food—either to the spot in question or to trees commonly associated with spirits, such as roses, blackthorns, willows, etc. A prayer is generally addressed to the spirits or to the tree. It is common to leave the offerings over night, and if the next day they have been in any way disturbed, a leaf fallen into the wine or what not, it is clear that the man has been enchanted. The offerings can serve afterwards as a medicine.

Distinguished from ill-wishing and spell casting in the

[1] Cf. S.E.Z. XIII, p. 445; Sb.N.U. (1926), p. 162; Gl.Z.M. p. 587.
[2] V. M. Nikolić, *Iz Lužnice i Nišave* (1910), p. 278.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Bulgaria EE1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

S 754 This was the curse of St Petka and St Nedelja upon Vuk Vučković for robbing a monastery. After sickening for twelve years his mother asked him for what sin he was chastened, and no sooner had he confessed the truth than his soul slipped out of his bones. He was buried but the earth heaved him up out of her, and the sea refused his corpse. His mother took his body and put it into a cannon and so blew him to fragments and his dust was scattered. We have already given enough examples to show that the symptoms described are not likely to have been understood originally as mere poetical hyperbole, but as sound folk-pathology.

C B CM S 776 753 795 The *vile* (*samovile*, *samodive*) are nature-spirits, and they are of different kinds according to the places which they inhabit: trees, mountains, sweet waters, seas, clouds and so on. They are frequently called 'the good ones', 'the sweet ones'. In some parts they are called *vještice*, *coprnice*, the usual names for witch. Sometimes they are decidedly evil spirits, sometimes good, sometimes merely capricious or envious; but they are always connected with disease, with its origin and with its cure. They can heal the wounds given by their own arrows.

The diseases brought by these nymphs are typically fevers, perhaps because of their association with watery places, as well as aches in the bones, madness and epilepsy. A *vila* can take a man's shadow from him, and he wanders as aimlessly as a headless fly. Perhaps *vrbanac*, as a name for a skin disease, has been coined by a popular analogy with the willow tree (*vrba*), which figures largely in cures and in *vila* mythology. Diseases of this name are sometimes said to be *vila* sent. In Macedonia, North and West Bulgaria, in the Dalmatian hinterland and elsewhere a complete *vila* cult can be found at least in traces, with sacred springs visited and petitioned on certain days, offerings made to the spirits and special intermediaries between them and ordinary men. Some features of these local cults and survivals are reminiscent of those known to be connected directly with the cult and tendance of the dead ancestors. The *vile*, as we have remarked, are also connected with winds. A local name for them in

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Bulgaria is *vihruške* (winds). In South-west Macedonia they are supposed to inhabit winds that guard their springs.[1] *Dobrinjica* is also an euphemistic term for a fairy, and also for certain pains. *Dobra* at Orhanie, in Bulgaria, is recognised by a swelling or inflammation and is cured by reciting an appeal to '*Dobrice*! sisters!' (i.e. the *Samovile*) which ends: 'The wind blew you hither, the wind blow you away!'[2]

The exorciser may refer to an alliance with the *vile*, as well as to the approval of God, the obedience which spirits lend her, and the virtue of her hand. Thus one declares: 'Our friends the *samovile* have sent us (to you). They raise their voices to heaven and spread their tears on the earth. Here it is filthy, here it stinks, here sows farrow, bitches have their young, mares foal....'[3] When a fracture will not heal it may be called a fairy fracture (*vilinski slom, vilovski ulom*—Croatia, Dalmatia, cf. *smlata*). It is fumigated with holy

[1] Cf. V. M. Nikolić, 'Iz Prespe', *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića* (1905), pp. 158, etc.; D. Marinov, *Vera i Religiozni narodni običai*, Sb.N.U. XXVIII, p. 33.

Feeding the wind was a custom known in many parts of Austria, including the Slavonic provinces. The winds were fed with flour, salt, corn, etc., sometimes on special festivals, and witches, who were responsible for raising winds, carried a paste of flour in a bag for the wind. These offerings are not only reminiscent of the offerings made by the South Slavs to *vile* and to sacred trees, etc., but to a practice of curing 'fear' (*strava*) by means of flour. This custom is found in Macedonia and Central Bulgaria and, may be, elsewhere. The seeress takes two handfuls of flour and touches her patient on the head, and then every part of him down to the feet, while she recites a spell which bids the *strava* to pass from head to forehead, from forehead to eyes, etc., down to the feet, and out at the toes. This is done three times. Then the seeress throws the flour either on to the hearth, if the rite is performed in the house, or against an old tree, if it takes place out of doors. The figure made by the flour is interpreted in the same way as the molten lead which is used for another cure for this complaint.

On the custom of feeding the winds, known in German as *windfüttern*, see V. Fossl, *Volksmedicin und medicinischer Aberglaube in Steiermark*, 1885, p. 61; J. Krainz, *Sitten, Bräuche und Meinungen des deutschen Volkes in Steiermark*, Zeitschrift für oesterr. Volkskunde, II, p. 307; E. H. Hoffmann Krayer, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglauben*, III (*füttern*).

[2] Ginčev, *op. cit.* Sb.N.U. III (1890), p. 144.

[3] V. M. Nikolić, *Iz Lužnice i Nišave*, S.E.Z. XVII, p. 277.

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she killed with her breath. Against either the fruit of a tree resembling a wolf's paw is stuck over the door. Throughout Dalmatia it was anciently the custom to hang out a wolf's tail or the tail of an ass or some other beast, as is now sometimes done in the hinterland.

God was building a monastery—so a Bulgarian song begins—He sent Plague ('the swiftest sickness') to fetch innocent souls—of old people for the foundations, young men for the walls, young women for the windows, children for the transept, and so on. Plague went to Janko's house, but she could not get into the courtyard, for Janko's dogs had been born on a Saturday of Holy Week and recognised her for what she was, though she came disguised as a gipsy. God told her to take the form of a bear, which she did, and appeared as a savage terrible bear, and so accomplished her mission.[1] Like Death, Plague in stories has a book or scales and, like Death, she has been known to take a bribe or to serve men out of gratitude or friendship.[2]

Against Small-pox, Cholera or the Plague, whichever happens to be most familiar, this kind of precaution was and may still be taken. Fresh water, a mirror, a comb and salt are left for her by a tidy hearth at night, or a present of fowls, bread and wine taken to a distance beyond the village in the hope that she will go there and pass by the houses. Or she is induced to take her seat in a cart, given presents and left somewhere in the open fields or by the roadside, or in the next parish, with a couple of roast fowls, a bottle of wine and a loaf of bread. Plague is the god-parent of those born on a Saturday or the Saturday of Holy Week and therefore these are immune from her and take a principal part in the ploughing rites described below. Further, it is said that she will not attack a clean neat house.

South Slav folk-lore abounds in monsters, many quite unburdened by any departmental duties, but some not unlike

[1] M. Arnaudov, *Sverna Dobrudža*, Sb.N.U. xxxv (1923), pp. 150–2, cf. p. 339; Kačanovski, *Pamjatniki* ('*Janko i Kuga*'), etc.
[2] E.g. Ristić and Lončarski, *Srpske Narodne Pripovjetke*, III.

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the disease sisters. Male personifications of disease are more rare. The Bulgarian shepherds of Libjahovo have from time to time been plagued by *Dedejko* ('grand-daddy') who attacks their sheep in summer. A magician is then engaged, who goes from sheep to sheep shaking each in turn. As soon as he spots *Dedejko* he strikes out at him and falls to the earth as though dead. The shepherds throw water on him and revive him. *Dedejko's* blood is found where his stick struck a sheep, on its horns or on the ground.[1] The herdsmen of Bosnia have a similar enemy, *Kravosac* (cow-sucker) whose blood is many-coloured. When he can do so unseen, his chief pleasure is to suck the milk of mottled cows. The udders then swell and the cow often dies. *Ustrel* is another cattle or sheep disease which in Serbia (so far as I know) is not personified, but in certain districts of Bulgaria is believed to be a kind of spirit which rides on the heads of animals.

Diseases are said to be caused by winds[2] and to be carried in the air, for the wind is the element of many spirits. A certain class of skin eruptions, with eczema and erysipelas, are called black, red, white wind, etc. 'Keep the devils' wind from me' is a Hercegovinian saying (*Odbite od mene vjetar sotonski*). It is also said that wind blows strongly where human blood is spilt. Diseases said to come on wind are called—among other names—*dobrinjice* (*v. supra*). In an evil-eye exorcism comes the phrase: 'On the winds you came, on the winds are you gone.' Gusts of wind, particularly when they raise a cloud of dust or leaves or small stones are dangerous. They bring fever, for example. Rheumatic pains are caused by blood and wind getting mixed, or by being 'caught by wind'.[3] Wind is associated with chill, and hence the sharp pains in back and chest which may indicate an internal inflammation. It was said that winds had entered

[1] *Bajania, Vračuvanija i Lekuvanija et selo Libjahovo, Nevrokopsko* (*rukopis G. M. Gornev*), Sb.N.U. XXXVI (1926), p. 163.

[2] 'Wind', of course, includes what is popularly called in England 'wind in the stomach', flatulence, etc.

[3] Cf. Gl.Z.M. XII, p. 128.

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353 ● 777 No home was really furnished until it had a small wooden iconostas which contained an icon, a picture of the Virgin or a saint. The iconostas was usually placed in the east or southeast corner of the room. In case some disaster befell the family, they found out to which saint the unlucky day belonged, and got a picture of him for their iconostas. Thereafter, on his name day they did no work and used holy water in the house. In the *kandilo,* the small lamp before the icon, they burned olive oil during church time and on the eve of holidays. In case the family had used holy water at home in the hope of curing some sick person, the flowers with which the water had been sprinkled were placed on the household shrine.

352 285 Usually there were a number of small implements or articles scattered about the room. A two-edged axe might be leaning against the door frame, and old clothes or bed clothes hanging from a long thick pole in a corner. I often saw in common use small baskets obtained from the gypsies. For pay, the gypsies asked the purchaser to fill the basket with beans or wheat, which they retained. The peasants themselves, especially the shepherds and goatherds with much leisure on their hands, made the very large baskets or hampers used for carrying hay or straw. These baskets stood in the entryway or hung under the eaves.

312 Only a few of the Dragalevtsy homes had a washstand, but even for these the water had to be carried from the nearest fountain. Over and over again the peasant women would say:

"We would like to have running water in our houses because it would help us a lot and make our life a little easier. But we don't have the money, and all this needs much money for installing a water system in the house, and also we would have to pay quite a high tax to the Obshtina. Anyway, the fountains in the village are sufficient and it doesn't take us much time to go and get water."

415 312 The water was carried from the fountains either in clay vessels called *stomni* or in the more modern large copper vessels called *mentsi.* The long sticks on the ends of which the water vessels were suspended were called *kobilitsi.* The water from the fountains was used only for preparing food and drinking, and the water for the animals came from the little brooks in the street. Maintaining personal cleanliness was

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parents' hands and ask pardon for past misbehavior, and all day long there had been a wandering in and out of homes by men to meet some other men with whom they had been at odds, and by a handshake to ask pardon.

I came into the tavern late in the afternoon of that day. It was snowing heavily and the warmth from the stove felt good. Near me sat a man rubbing his chilled hands. After we had exchanged formal greetings, I asked him where he was going, the usual village question.

"I'm going back to my village, eleven miles farther on."

"Where have you been?"

"I've been over to Durvanitsa [two miles away] to visit my parents and beg their forgiveness."

"Have you had any trouble with your parents during the past year that would make you take such a long walk in such bad weather?"

Patient with me, a foreigner, he said, "No, I've had no troubles with my parents. I've been to visit them. That is the custom."

A little later he went out into the snow to resume his eleven-mile tramp back home. His heart was at ease, for he had fulfilled the age-old custom of *Sirni Nedelya* (Cheese Sunday).

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The Saturday following Cheese Sunday was *Todorovden* (the day of St. Theodore, patron saint of horses). Then the children stopped fasting, for their young bodies could not stand seven weeks of a milkless diet. Early in the morning they, together with some of the old people, took communion in the village church. Many of the young men visited the village of Gorna Banya, which had its *Subor* on *Todorovden*. There was a great deal of horseback riding and racing up and down the muddy village streets, in honor of St. Theodore and "to protect the horses from worms."

[777]

Eight days before Easter was the Saturday called *Lazarovden* (St. Lazarus's Day). *Lazarki* groups, consisting of six girls each, went from house to house to sing and dance, according to the villagers in honor of the resurrection of Lazarus. They were given coins and eggs by the peasants who believed that these girls would bring them good luck in the months to come.

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527 This was the peasant version of the Sabbath being made for man, not
857 man for the Sabbath.

One holiday which children particularly enjoyed was New Year's Day, which, like Christmas, came two weeks later than our own because of the Old Style Calendar still in use by the church. Boys and girls were up at break of day to tap every passer-by with a gaily decorated branch of a cornel cherry tree. As they tapped they chanted:

[539]

Fresh, fresh New Year
Happiness to the end.
Let mother and father be healthy
Like the past year!

Striking with a cornel-twig higher than the cap;
Wishing you a houseful of corn,
Yellow as the gold,
To ripen early, early in
The fields during the summer.

Let wedding guests again pass by
With full wine casks
To present us with white kerchiefs
And embroidered belts.

Fresh, fresh New Year,
Let us get sister married! . . .

With this chant they wished good health. In return they expected a coin or something to eat. This tapping continued until nightfall. [772] Most members of the family looked sleepy during the day because they had stayed up late the night before to gamble. Their success or failure on New Year's Eve was supposed to foretell what luck the new year had in store.

Early in the morning the older boys and girls told fortunes by gathering around a copper kettle in which each one had placed some identifying article, such as a ring or knife. The group sang a song, connected with some occupation, while one token was drawn from the pot. If a boy's token was drawn, the occupation described would be his; if a girl's token was drawn, then she would marry a man engaged in that occupation. After this they all danced the *horo*.

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Epiphany or Bogoyavlenie on January 19 commemorated the baptism of Christ. The Dragalevtsy boys and girls knew how the day was celebrated in other villages near the rivers or the sea. There the altar cross was thrown into the icy water. Naked youths dove in and struggled violently for it. The winner, carrying the cross, then collected money from the crowd. More important even than the money was the feeling that he would be fortunate during the coming year. But Epiphany did not pass unnoticed in Dragalevtsy, even though the river was nothing more than a racing mountain brook. The priest brought the cross out to sell at auction. The buyer, of course, returned it to the priest, but with his purchase received the assurance of God's blessing in the days to come. One year, a hiker happened to be passing through on his way up to the top of Vitosha. He saw the crowd gathered around the priest, bought the cross, went to the tavern for a free drink, returned the cross to the priest, and went on his way up the mountain. Peasants marveled for some time afterwards over the dispatch he showed in the whole affair. 796 527 857

Formerly on this day, children were christened with cold instead of lukewarm water, and all brides of that year were bathed in the river. When I asked why such custom was no longer practiced, Bai Angel, the village registrar, shrugged: "Oh, then the people were stronger and could stand such treatment."

On the previous day the children had all awaited the priest's arrival to sprinkle holy water in every room of the house. As we have already seen, many families collected bottles of the water that had been especially blessed for Epiphany, in the belief that it would cure various illnesses later on. [777] [788]

Bulgarian boys and girls never celebrated their birthdays. Instead, they made much of their name days. Each child bore the name of some saint, with a special day on the church calendar. Each Ivan (John) celebrated on the day following Epiphany, January 20; each Grigor (Gregory) on February 7; each Iliya (Elijah) on August 2. And so it ran throughout the year. Those with names not appearing on the calendar generally chose the day of "The Forty Holy Martyrs." Whereas Americans would expect to receive gifts on their birthdays, Bulgarians, especially those who were married, expected to entertain 527 857

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EF6 Serbs EF6
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Aromunes EH 13
Historical Bulgaria EE 2

The Eastern Slavs

had a sacred tree to which they sacrificed and where they made and registered vows, which recalls the South Slav custom of *zavetine* when the tree's roots are sometimes sprinkled with blood or a common meal is partaken of beneath its branches. The Vlahs of the Timok district in spring kill a lamb under the village tree and allow the blood to run into a hole dug at its roots. In the Bulgarian life of St Theodosius (from the Greek of the fourteenth century) a certain Theodorit, a follower of the Massalian (?) heretic Akindin, set up an oak-tree cult at Trnovo, where people worshipped and sacrificed sheep to the tree for the sake of their health.[1] An old South Slav gloss reads: 'Not only should the forms of idols be destroyed and razed and altars, that is temples, dug up, but no trace of idolatrous worship remain in any place or in forests or in oak-tree groves or in trees....'

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Vuk mentions a ghost (*sjenovito*) tree at Grbalje, which, if anyone cut, he will sicken to the end of his days. He should therefore with the same axe cut off a hen's head, holding the bird over the stump of the tree.

S 782 778

When a sheep or goat died, if it had had young, the body was hung by Hercegovinian shepherds on a tree, and left there to decay, since this prevented more deaths in the flock, and also encouraged the fertility of the tree.

S [825]

The legend of sacrifice to a pestilential dragon or demon is universal, and there are grounds for thinking that human sacrifices to lake and river demons existed amongst the South Slavs to purify a village or district. This is borne out by numerous local traditions of the kind.

S 782 538

In Old Serbia the guardian of lakes is believed to be a bull, to whom an offering of money must be thrown before beginning the sheep washing, and on this occasion the shepherds fire guns. There are innumerable local customs of blood, plant, money and grain sacrifices to streams for the sake of cattle or for rain and fertility. Sometimes images are thrown into the water or simply green boughs, and although these

S 782 776

[1] *Vide Žitie i Žizn prepodob. Otca našego... Theodorija* in *Čtenie* of *Imp. Obščestvo Istorii i Drevnosti Rossii*, 1 (1860).

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Prayers were also believed efficacious. As soon as a person became sick, his people prayed to God to help him and cure him. In addition, the priest prayed for the sick individual in the church (or in the home if the sick person could not go to the church) asking God to cure his servant from such and such a sickness and to give him peace. Candles were burned when the prayers were being said, but the burning of these candles was not supposed to have any curative power. "This service is performed more for the old people and although it is said to be *vetur rabota* [plumb foolishness], yet many times it helps the sick to recover. Nowadays people do not believe in God and this is why many people die, and also that is why life in general is as it is, so heavy." 758 782 [761]

In looking for the causes of illness the peasants also turned to the Almighty who, it was formerly believed, sent sickness as a punishment upon individuals for wrongs they had done. While many people in 1937 had the same attitude, there were some who accepted the germ explanation. But even some of these, if a sickness dragged on and on, suspected that God might be meting out some punishment, germs or no germs. Here was the way they so often put it: "And God has the right to punish the people, for now they have begun not to believe in him and not to listen to him. Now the people are forgetting God and are with the Devil." 753 771

The villagers knew the names of only a few diseases and classified all illnesses under one of these few. The worst disease was the "plague" (typhoid fever), then tuberculosis, *sharka* (pox), scarlatina, and finally, "a bad cold." The doctor used a more scientific classification in listing the causes of death. Her report for 1936 showed that thirty-three people died within the year. Diseases accounting for four deaths each were tuberculosis, nervous disorders, and pneumonia; those accounting for two deaths each were scarlatina, whooping cough, diphtheria, cancer, heart disease, old age, and childbirth (mother); those causing one death each were childbirth (infant), typhus, erysipelas, bronchitis, diarrhea, digestive ailment, and accident. Her scientific approach did not necessarily mean that the doctor's recovery percentage was very high, because patients were brought too late for proper treatment. Therefore the peasants said: "And 753 [165]

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Bulgaria EE1

be divided into something like natural diseases and supernatural ones. The latter are called *vila* diseases, 'treacherous' (*neverne*) diseases, and diseases 'put on' (*nametnute*) by magic or the evil eye.

If one goes outside at night in an evil hour, or makes water at night in an unclean place (he should as a safeguard spit first three times) and after he fall ill, he is said to have come upon evil (*uradisal*). The cure at Libjahovo is to wash him with unbroken water and throw the water outside the house saying: 'From the dung heap you came, to the dunghill return, gentle and honied ones.' Or else let the unfortunate man take a cake smeared with honey and put it on the place where he thinks that he caught the disease to *appease the* '*urama*'.[1] Such offerings are to be made should one urinate under an old rose bush or any other tree, and afterwards be troubled by pains in the back and head and legs. In the Nišava district for this kind of disease (*ogradisanje*), the woman doctor (*bajalica*) sprinkles the place with sherbet on a sprig of hyssop, and at the same time beseeches those who have sent the illness to remove it *in return for this rich gift*.[2] Honey or honey water is the usual libation, and honey is one of the traditional offerings to the *vile*.

Namera is used rather in the same sense, as well as to signify an ill-wished misfortune or an evil eye. Diagnosis of these diseases can be made from the clothes worn by the patient when he caught it, or by bringing certain things—flowers, nails, horseshoes, a glass of wine, water, salt, and food—either to the spot in question or to trees commonly associated with spirits, such as roses, blackthorns, willows, etc. A prayer is generally addressed to the spirits or to the tree. It is common to leave the offerings over night, and if the next day they have been in any way disturbed, a leaf fallen into the wine or what not, it is clear that the man has been enchanted. The offerings can serve afterwards as a medicine.

Distinguished from ill-wishing and spell casting in the

[1] Cf. S.E.Z. XIII, p. 445; Sb.N.U. (1926), p. 162; Gl.Z.M. p. 387.
[2] V. M. Nikolić, *Iz Lužnice i Nišave* (1910), p. 278.

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In Bulgaria at the feast of the *Rusalje* or *Samovile*, *Vile*—the date varies, but Ascension Day will do as an example—on the eve of the feast a person suffering from a *vila* disease went to a field near water where the *Vila's* plant—*Rosen*, Dittany—grew, with someone of the opposite sex, who was willing to become a brother or sister. An offering of food and wine was made, and one of the flowers was balanced over a new vessel of unbroken water, beside which the sick person lay down and slept while the other watched. After one o'clock the flowers were supposed to fade, and the watcher covered the pot with a new cloth. The next morning before dawn the position of the flower was inspected to see whether it had been visited by the spirit and the sick person drank the water with anything that had fallen into it overnight.[1]

B 755 608 B [782]

In Bosnia[2] a person who had fever went down to a running stream with a coal from the fire and a piece of garlic, and called on the name of the last member of the family who had died: 'Oh, So-and-So! When you arise and light a fire from this coal and eat this head of garlic then may fever take hold of me!' and he threw the coal and the garlic into the water. (Similar rites in Serbia repeat the throwing of coals and garlic into water and a similar formula but without mention of a dead relative.) Or, having split a young willow branch and made a hoop of it or of a stem of nettle, he drew it over his head and off at his feet. Then he cut notches in the stem to the number of attacks of fever that he had had, counting: 'One fever, two fevers....' Then counting backwards he cut out the notches, and the hoop was hung up behind the fire to dry, just as in Serbia, after the redeemer has helped his brother through a rose-tree hoop, the latter is hung up in the chimney or under the eaves for forty days and after forty days it is floated away down a river or buried.

S 755 769

It is worth noting that one of the formulae for redemption occurs on other occasions. In order to preserve a new-born child a hole is dug in the ground where its head first touches

S 751 844

[1] D. Marinov, *op. cit.* 1; V. N. Čolakov, *Bulgarskyi narodn Sbornik*, p. 39.
[2] T. Dragičević, in Gl.Z.M. XXI.

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S 751 844

the earth. Then the 'head' of a spindle, a silver coin, a piece of gold and the sole of an old shoe which has been picked up anywhere are put in the hole, and the women say three times: 'Earth, Mother-God! I give you head for head, body for body, gold for gold, money to buy the slave from the grave and a sole for security.'[1]

B 782 755

Redemption may be one of the fundamental notions of sacrifice. In Thrace a black ram is selected to be the substitute (*namesnik*) of a sick man, and is killed and eaten ritually.[2] In the Rhodopes a black ram was tied to the corpse of someone who had died of a pestilence; its eyes were bandaged and then it was set free and driven into another village.[3] At Grlište[4] a black chicken is ritually killed and eaten by each household during an epidemic of dysentery and so on.

S 755

S 782

Passing to other sacrificial rites, to avoid confusion, I shall take as the criterion of a sacrifice a dedicatory specification or intention. All forms of sacrifice are known—libation; blood offering without fire; the laying of objects at a shrine; feeding to a creature or spirit; alms-giving; sin offerings; scape offerings; communion meals; and so on. Burnt offering is less well authenticated. There is evidence to show that burnt offering was probably known amongst the early ancestors of the Slavs, but the burnings of more recent date are doubtfully sacrificial. The early Slavs made sacrifice of men, animals, fruit, flowers, grain, honey, milk, etc., to the higher gods, the spirits of the underworld, the ancestors, and to nature spirits. Procopius mentions oxen and other beasts sacrificed to the god of the universe and of thunder, which Trojanović connects with modern instances of oxen dedicated to St Elijah and eaten communally. Sacrifices to nature spirits are of particular interest here, since with their cult popular medicine retains an intimate link. The Eastern Slavs

[1] Cf. M. Mijatović, *Narodna Medicina u Srba Seljaka u Levču i Temniču*, S.E.Z. XIII; T. Djordjević, *Učitelj* (1897); Miodragović, *Gradja za narodnu Pedagogiju*, pp. 64, etc.

[2] Cf. Sb.N.U. III, 275.

[3] S. Šiškov, *Rodopski Starini*, I (1867), p. 13.

[4] S. Trojanović, *Glavni Srpski Žrtveni Običaji* (1911), p. 39.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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The Eastern Slavs

had a sacred tree to which they sacrificed and where they made and registered vows, which recalls the South Slav custom of *zavetine* when the tree's roots are sometimes sprinkled with blood or a common meal is partaken of beneath its branches. The Vlahs of the Timok district in spring kill a lamb under the village tree and allow the blood to run into a hole dug at its roots. In the Bulgarian life of St Theodosius (from the Greek of the fourteenth century) a certain Theodorit, a follower of the Massalian (?) heretic Akindin, set up an oak-tree cult at Trnovo, where people worshipped and sacrificed sheep to the tree for the sake of their health.[1] An old South Slav gloss reads: 'Not only should the forms of idols be destroyed and razed and altars, that is temples, dug up, but no trace of idolatrous worship remain in any place or in forests or in oak-tree groves or in trees....'

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Vuk mentions a ghost (*sjenovito*) tree at Grbalje, which, if anyone cut, he will sicken to the end of his days. He should therefore with the same axe cut off a hen's head, holding the bird over the stump of the tree.

S 782 778

When a sheep or goat died, if it had had young, the body was hung by Hercegovinian shepherds on a tree, and left there to decay, since this prevented more deaths in the flock, and also encouraged the fertility of the tree.

S [825]

The legend of sacrifice to a pestilential dragon or demon is universal, and there are grounds for thinking that human sacrifices to lake and river demons existed amongst the South Slavs to purify a village or district. This is borne out by numerous local traditions of the kind.

S 782 538

In Old Serbia the guardian of lakes is believed to be a bull, to whom an offering of money must be thrown before beginning the sheep washing, and on this occasion the shepherds fire guns. There are innumerable local customs of blood, plant, money and grain sacrifices to streams for the sake of cattle or for rain and fertility. Sometimes images are thrown into the water or simply green boughs, and although these

S 782 776

[1] *Vide Žitie i Ezxn prepodob. Otca našego... Theodarija* in *Čtenie of Imp. Obščestvo Istorji i Drevnosti Rossii*, 1 (1860).

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Should the baby appear to be in the wrong position for delivery 844
those attending put the mother in a rug and swung her until the baby came into the "right" position. Normally coffee or wax was used on the navel "so it will stay there one week without falling." Furthermore, the mother was supposed to drink some of the water in which the baby was washed and to which a clove of garlic had been added "in order that the mother's milk may come sooner."

"After the baby has arrived the children are told that the stork has brought a little brother or sister to them through the chimney and they are very glad about it," was the way a proud young father phrased the matter in the course of our conversation about the arrival of his son.

The taboos of childbirth did not cease with the birth of the child. 846
Since the woman was considered unclean for forty days she had to remain at home and was not allowed to attend the christening of her own child. At the end of this period she went to the church for a [793] special purification ceremony at the hands of the priest.

If the child had a birthmark, many peasants assumed that the 826
mother had stolen some object which touched her own body where 842
the birthmark appeared on the child. Any serious abnormality in an infant was explained by the *babi* on the grounds of too close kinship of the parents to each other or the occurrence of conception on Tuesday, Thursday, or Saturday night, each of which is supposed to be kept free of intercourse because Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday are holy days. As one would expect, the latter taboo is of little importance nowadays; it is simply recalled as a convenient way of explaining something out of the ordinary.

Some of the more ignorant peasants rubbed the head of a very 854
sick infant with urine or, if the baby was born with a "closed nose," 757
a cure was "effected" by putting a small fresh fish tailfirst up the nose. Afterwards the fish was put under a stone.

To keep the mother from fainting during her convalescence the 846
family surrounded her with incense smoke and burning feathers both morning and evening, and gave her holy water to wash the baby's face and her face. Should some member of the family have returned after dark he could not enter the room where the mother was lying. She

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

individuals were celebrating their name days with appropriate hospitality. 796

Bulgarian children did not hang up their stockings on Christmas Eve but, if their parents were being influenced by modern ideas, did find a present or two at the foot of their bed when they woke up in the morning. They immediately ran to kiss the hands of their father and mother. They called Santa Claus *"Dedo Koleda"* which meant "Grandfather Christmas." He did not wear a bright red, white-furred costume but had on a brown homespun outfit that corresponded more nearly to the peasant's manner of dress.

On these ceremonial occasions the father and mother presided with quiet dignity over the celebrations. They were accorded every respect by their children. As the Christmases passed, the couple's feeling of partnership deepened. Each year left its accumulation of memories, about which husband and wife said little, but about which they could feel sure the other was thinking. [593]

Christmas and the holidays that followed were only a prelude to *Velikden*—literally, the Great Day—the day of Christ's resurrection. On the eighth Sunday before Easter, or *Mesni Zagovezni* (meat fast), all those who kept the long Easter fast stopped eating meat. The following Sunday was *Sirni Zagovezni* (cheese fast) after which those fasting gave up all milk products. This Sunday itself was a day of great feasting on all sorts of cheese products. On both Sundays fires were lit; on *Mesni Zagovezni* there was a great fire at night in the village square, and on *Sirni Zagovezni* almost every household lighted a fire in the yard around which the youngsters waved burning straw stuck in the cleft end of a stick and chanted an ancient couplet [785]

> Orata, Kopata!
> Dai mi, chicho, momata

whose significance had vanished with the ages.

On this Sunday, and the three days preceding, all quarrels among the villagers were settled, everyone visiting his neighbors and relatives to beg pardon for real or fancied offenses. The quiet that reigned over the village on the evening of *Sirni Zagovezni* was little short of wonderful. At the break of day the children had risen to kiss their 796 578

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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[785]

On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Passion Week, all the people fasted and refrained from work. Even a stranger felt a certain awe at the grave anticipation filling the village. On Saturday evening all the village gathered in the church for the midnight service. The long liturgy led the silent, densely packed worshipers into a mood of growing suspense, emphasizing in word and music the tragedy of the tomb. But at midnight, reputedly the time when Christ's tomb burst open, a startling transformation took place. The glorious Easter hymn "Christ Is Risen" thundered forth to the clanging of the church bell. At first it was stately and restrained, but as the magic of its message spread, a joyousness exalted the worshipers. All rushed to light the tapers which they had held unlit throughout the service. They had been waiting for this moment for the holy fire sent down each Easter from heaven. Carefully they watched the taper while exchanging the happy greetings—"Christ is risen," "Risen indeed"—and passing red Easter eggs from palm to palm in lieu of a handshake. The church had come into its own. As the crowd dispersed, each villager protected the sacred fire from the breezes in an effort to reach home with the taper still alight, whereupon it would be blown out and put aside for special use later on.

At home the people broke their long fast by eating the hard-boiled eggs and the *kozunatsi,* or very yellow Easter cakes. Then a feast followed. For forty days afterwards the spell of the occasion was often recalled as pious villagers greeted each other with those sacred words, "Christ is risen," and received the answer, "Risen indeed."

Another holiday of importance to every family was May 6, or St. George's Day. The head of the house, no matter how poor he might be, contrived to have a lamb killed for the festivities. When the meat was roasted to a delicious flavor the family gathered, often in a sunny meadow with other relatives, to feast. The husband and wife planned carefully for this day, and together saw to it that everyone enjoyed himself. Though the husband might later go to the tavern to be with other men, he and his wife had experienced again an event for which both prepared and which both enjoyed.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

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are sometimes most scrupulously observed. In its older type of environment the sexual life is regulated by seasonal activities, partly for economic considerations, while although the very reverse is also known in practice, it is still said in the ranks of the army that coition increases the dangers of active service.

Whatever more elevated or mystical teaching and supermaterial aspirations were contained in Bogomil and kindred teaching have long been lost. Folk-religion is neither gnostic nor dualist, nor its practice ascetic, nor its demonism generally satanistic. The foregoing notes have emphasised the close identity between recent beliefs and the records of them that remain from earlier times, in order to hint that there has been a single fundamental attitude in the mass of the people which accounted equally for the record of Procopius and the formation of the South Slav heretical sects. The material of legend and literature, again, directs us now to seek an origin in the gnostic cults of the Near East, in Armenia and ultimately Iranian sources, now in a possible affinity to the traditions of Central Asia. But the general conclusion must be that Bogomilism, like the whole of folk-christianity, owes a much to the local character of the society into which it first came as an exotic influence, as popular tradition in the Balkans owes to essential Bogomilism. At no stage of cultural development are 'influences' allowed to go uninfluenced. Curious parallels are to be found among the recently converted primitives such as in the Hauhau religion of the Maoris or the Tuka of Fiji—both doctrines founded on a medley of Christian missionary legend, pagan cults and new interpretations of both religions. These two later heresies, if we may so call them, are also dualistic in tendency. It would be interesting to know how far this is the rule when Christian teaching undergoes this modification on the part of converts.[1]

[1] For instance in the *Hibbert Journal* for 1913 Mr Hocart gives the original speculations of a Fijian nationalist-revivalist, which show remarkable parallelism, not only in the theme of dual creation, etc., but in details such as the cause of the Fall, the relations between Eve and Satan, etc. For an account of the political and social background of Bulgarian heresy *v.* V. N. Zlatarski, *Istorija na bulgarskata Durlava*, Tom. 1, pt. 2, pp. 551, etc.

Maintaining personal cleanliness was
very difficult indeed. Not only did the villagers have to contend with 515
the problem of carrying water but also with the lack of privacy in their crowded dwellings. One peasant said:

"We have no public bathhouse in our village, so only the wealthier people can take baths, because they are able to go to the nearby villages two or three times during the summer and make use of the mineral baths. In general, we do not bathe in fall, winter, or spring. If we bathe in the summer at home, we use a wooden tub and warm water. Sometimes when the weather is warm, men and women [of course, separately] bathe in the river. When the women are bathing there must be someone to guard against their being seen by others. Regularly at least once a week we wash our heads with soap and hot water, and also wash our faces and hands in the morning, but not necessarily with soap. No, we do not wash our hands before every meal, nor do we ever wash our teeth."

Throughout Bulgaria it was a common courtesy to say to a friend who had just emerged from a bath, *"Chestito banya"* or "Congratulations on your bath." However, if one dreamed of bathing, the villager [787] ●
would tell him that some trouble, perhaps death, was imminent.

I was surprised to find that some of the poorest homes had electricity. The occupants explained: 373

"Oh, we find electricity cheaper than petroleum lamps provided we use small electric bulbs. Those who do not have electricity in their homes know of this advantage but have never saved up enough money to put in the wires."

And there they sat on a winter's night: the older women doing 512
fine, closely stitched embroidery, the girls knitting, and the man per- 373
haps reading a newspaper. The only illumination in the whole room, except for the flicker of the fire in the sheet metal stove, was a fly-specked twenty-watt bulb swinging from the ceiling.

The two or three large kettles hanging over or resting on the 415
floor beside the stove, the knife and fork rack on the wall, and the 262
few pottery dishes stacked on the kneading trough called my attention to the peasant's food habits. This was the way the people described their diet:

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

birth receives a guardian angel, the soul of the deceased after leaving 764
this world starts first to visit all the people and places where it has 775
been when on this earth. This journey, no matter how great the distance may be, must be completed in forty days. If the departed has lived most of his time in his village, and only occasionally has gone to neighboring towns or villages, the journey will be an easy and pleasant one, but if he has traveled great distances the journey will be tiring and rough. It may be that this belief has been responsible for keeping the peasants so firmly attached to their land and village, and preventing them from migrating to new lands. . . .

"The soul has started on its journey, while the body is still in the house, being mourned by the family and the neighbors. The members of the family throw grains of corn or wheat into the coffin. They also believe that there is a great river to be passed and if the deceased has no money he will be unable to cross, and his journey will be impeded. Another peculiar belief is that the neighbors send through him messages to their departed, firmly believing that he will deliver them."

Investigation showed that these statements held true generally 763
of Dragalevtsy but needed to be supplemented. For one thing, the [821]
villagers had definite ways of foretelling death. They said, for instance, that there were as many stars in the sky as there were people on earth, and that there was a particular star for each person. When a star fell to the ground, someone was said to have died and his star to have gone out like his soul. If the star merely moved from one place to another, then its particular earthly representative had changed his residence. Many peasants also believed that "stars with tails" (meteors) foretold some great misfortune to be sent by God. Usually they were thought to signify war "because before the Balkan War and the World War there were such." But there were even more specific ways of predicting death in any given locality. When the owls cried at sunset toward a house or when a hen crowed, death was sure to follow soon. Certain dreams indicated the coming of death. Bai 787 ●
Angel, the village registrar, told me that a soldier could be practically 763
certain of death if he dreamed of a snake. He supported this belief with the story of an officer in the first World War who lined up his men before a battle and went down the ranks to shake hands with

763 the soldiers and told them that he would not return from the fight. He
● 787 was sure of this because he had dreamed of a snake during the night. Sure enough, he was killed in the action that followed.

If a person dreamed of a wedding or that he was leading a *horo*, death was probable; or if he dreamed of having a tooth pulled, the same held true. If he dreamed that he saw a deep black hole (similar to a grave), someone connected with him would die; if it was white inside, somebody else would die; if he fell into the hole, he would die.

764 In Dragalevtsy there were certain old women who considered themselves specialists in the preparation of the body for burial. They were "priestesses of superstition" who saw to it that all the pagan rites were carried out before the priest arrived to conduct the funeral. Their presence at any crisis showed the duality of the peasants' view of the universe.

771 God was thought to be the force symbolizing the Good. The
793 priest was His representative and should be given due respect; furthermore, he should be asked to perform all of the customary ceremonies such as the sprinkling of holy water in every room of the house at Bogoyavlenie or Epiphany on the nineteenth of January. Keeping on the good side of the priest meant keeping on the good side of God, whose favors one needs both in this life and the next.

[771] Inasmuch as they believed in a principle of Good at work in the
754 universe, it was logical for the peasants to believe in a principle of Evil which could do them harm, with or without the consent of the Good. Some parts of the church ceremonies, such as spitting over the child at the devil during the christening, were directed at nullifying the efforts of the Evil One. Seeing that the church concerned itself chiefly with the Good, the peasant in his naivete felt compelled to do something to ward off the Evil, and thus perpetuated many primitive customs which startle both educated Bulgarians and those westerners who are not familiar with the equally primitive customs found within certain areas of their own supposedly civilized lands.

754 The intermediaries in this "cult of the Evil Eye, Devil, Bad Luck"
789 were certain old women, called *babi*, already described in the account of a village birth.[1] These women showed people how to keep the Evil Eye away. They advised mothers whose babies were only one

[1] [See pp. 30-31, category 116-- Analyst]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

was directing the group, rather than the hostess, suggested that they take up work once more.

I spent many hours in the fields chatting with these women. There was a hypnotic rhythm of sound and color in their work as the line of black-clad bodies, and white headcloths, swayed forward together through the thin green blades. In the high altitude everything was sharply defined: the red-roofed village two miles away, the puffs of white cloud infinitely high in the blue, the strong harsh peasant voices close by. While the women worked they sang old folk songs about beautiful heroines and the brave Krali Marko, a legendary Balkan hero who carried out prodigious feats against the Turks, or of peasant girls knitting gay stockings for village boys. The songs were usually romantic and often were cheerful in theme; but now and then one was moved by a haunting sadness deeper even than that of the Negro work songs. Hour after hour I used to hear the unhappy music rise in its bizarre cadence; day after day for three weeks the corn was hoed in one field after another. Week after week the sun beat down on Vitosha and the Sofia plain, while summer burned itself away. The corn grew waist high, then shoulder high, and finally yielded the golden ears to the strong brown fists of some boy or girl at the autumn cornhusking *sedenki.*

Early July was the haying season. Each sunrise would find most of the villagers out in the fields. Some of the men with their sharp scythes cut the hay in even swaths, letting it lie as it fell, to dry in the parching sun. Others would load the cured hay onto the wagons fitted out with ladderlike sides. As the wagons rolled through the village streets they were greeted by the little children who had had to stay at home with their aged grandparents or great-grandparents. The haystacks, whether left in the field or dressed near the house, were weighted down by lines to which heavy stones had been attached.

One could not be with the peasants long at haying time, or indeed at any other time, without sensing their feeling of close dependence upon the weather. In fact, I soon found myself sharing this feeling, although I remained somewhat dubious of the infallibility of the signs by which they "read the weather." They believed, for example,

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

787 821 that it would rain if the crows bathed in the river, if the sun set or rose behind a cloud or was surrounded by a circle, or if the oxen dug the earth with their horns in the springtime. When the moon was surrounded by a dark circle, the weather would supposedly change to rain if it was summer and to snow if winter. Rain would also follow if the stars shone brightly, the sky was red in the morning, or the middle part of Vitosha was foggy. But the surest sign of bad weather was the sight of pigs carrying straw to the sty at sunset. Yet good weather alone did not ensure good crops. The human element was of utmost importance.

464 241 Bulgaria had, according to prewar figures, the largest labor supply per decare in Europe, with 5.8 workers available for 100 decares (25 acres) of land. Italy came next with 4.7, then Poland with 4.3, but Great Britain had only 0.7. In spite of such a surplus of labor the people had not begun to cultivate intensively. An increasing number of young people therefore had to seek a living from sources off the farm. Such intensive cultivation, however, would require radical changes in farming practices. Not more than thirty Dragalevtsy families saved liquid fertilizer, although the rest did haul wagonload after wagonload of manure from the stables to the fields late in the winter to be dumped in piles awaiting later spreading. There was very little harrowing, and what was done took place in the spring after the rains.

243 The cornfields were plowed under at once after the harvest and were immediately sown with grain. If the field had produced *smes*, the stubble was plowed under to lie fallow for one or two years. The fallow fields were plowed once in the spring, once in the middle of the summer, and again in the autumn just before the grain was to be sown.

What might be considered a Bulgarian counterpart of our Thanksgiving feast occurred at the time of this fall sowing of grain. Early in the morning the woman arose quietly to bake one large and two small loaves of bread, and to catch a young rooster which she handed over to her husband just before he was ready to start to the field in the oxcart. What followed was the observance of a pagan fertility rite. With the dignity of a priest performing an ancient sacrifice, the

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

spirits. It will also be noted that these names include a number of animal names.[1]

Any attempt to discover a primal relationship between these categories or the initial reason for the adoption of animal names, would, of course, be so much waste of time if the investigation is confined to one linguistic area. In the examples that follow there will be found ample evidence of

[1] The following are names of the various kinds of supernatural beings, any of which may cause disease or harm. The greater number of these words also signify specific diseases. Even *plašnja* and *strava* may mean personal forces or beings. *Smlata*, which is generally nothing more than *Hexenschluss*, and often has ceased to have any connection with witchcraft, also means a witch or *mora*. Note that the names of supernatural beings, of the witch or fairy order, also occur as names of professional magicians and witch doctors (*viljenak, vilovnjak, vještnik, vještica, brodnik, brodnica, vila, vračarica, bajalica, baharica, madžionica*, etc.); i.e. these can be either human beings or supernatural beings. Note that some of them are generally referred to in the plural.

Beštija, brodnica, coprnja (*ica*), *čuma, čumica* (pl. *čumice*), *duh, loš duh, zao duh, izdat, izdajnica, jude, kamenice, okameni, okamenica, kuga, krivo oko, karan, karakandžeri, krvopilica, kratelj, skrat, skrata, kosac, kudlak, vukdolak, lisa, lune, leptir, netopir, vampir, lumpir, vampirčići, ljutice, mora, tmora, pomora, muravini, mekarine, mame, mamica* (pl. *mamice*), *mlamusi, matić, medivančići, nastrijelice, nastrelina, namerice, namet, nametnice, nežid, nežit, naprasnik, naprasnica, nahud, nahudnica, hudnici, nažurenice, žura, žuravice, nastrijelina, naletnice, nočnice, noćni osjen* (*sjen*), *senka, nečestivi, nečastivi, nečisnjak, nepomenica, ogram, ogramnica, otrovnica, prožđreljevica, poganica* (pl. *-e*), *plašnja, uplah, polegać, rusak, rusa, ruse, rusalje, roške, stuhe, stihiji, sekarine, striga, sekarice, slute, sklopci, strava, strašnice, strijelica, sihir, strelka, ustrijel, šejtan, sotona, saturnica, tentacija, talasam, tenćac, utvar* (pl. *-i, -e*), *vila, samovila, samodiva, vještica, vile otrovnice, vrag, vražići, vražalica, vada, povada, vadine, urok, uročica, uročići, vadika, vražalica, viruške, uljezina, urama, uramnica, vlas, vlasi* (*ovi*), *vihor, vihorice, usadi, usov, zmet, zmaj, zduhovi, stuhe*, etc. Note the variations of meaning such as *činilica*, a witch, a charm worker, an evil spirit, a mental disease; *lahus*, a lying-in woman; *lahusi*, spirits that attack her or her child, an illness (also *kokošite lahusi*, a disease of fowls); *babice* is the usual Serbian word for this series, and also means diarrhoea. In Bulgarian we also find *ermenki* (a kind of evil spirit) which can also be equivalent to *urismice*, spirits which foretell the fortune of a new-born child; *usov*, a sheep disease, as well as a spirit; *ustrel*, a spirit, in particular a spirit which attacks sheep, or the spirit of an unchristened child, a vampire and so on, also a disease without reference to the agency of spirits; *čumice* are the children, *čuma*, plague; *bolehčići* are disease-spirits collectively. (Šiškov, *Život na Bulgarite v Srednja Rodopa* (Plovdiv, 1886), p. 46.)

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Bulgaria EE1

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The theme of a fiery and a watery *Urok* or 'eye' may represent the trace of some definite belief now obscured. Either this belief or the imagery has influenced diagnosis of *Urok*. When the patient's urine is watery in appearance iron is used for exorcising the disease, with this formula: '*Urok* has two eyes, one watery, one fiery. The old woman has been to the hills and she has dug three holes. Let the watery *Uroci* bathe there. Let them leave the sick man.' When the urine is reddish, the operator takes a bowl of water and wipes the eyes and head of the patient with two fingers, saying: '*Urok* has two eyes, one watery, the other fiery. Granny came at dawn to drive *Urok* into the hills. Where *Urok* supped let him not dine again. But let him go to the hills. I quench fire with water. To save the sick man from *Urok*.' The water is then thrown behind the door.[1] With this one may compare the following method of divination. The plant called *trava od izida* is dug up at evening and placed in a bowl of unbroken water. If the water is red the next morning the person concerned is suffering from witch-bite (*izid*) and he should drink the water. If the water is found to be clear and not red, he is evidently under a spell, and should not drink the water but try something else.

'Sleep went to sleep, but *Urok* did not sleep. If he slept in sleep he came to himself. Two eyes, two evil eyes (*dva uroka*). One watery, the other fiery. I took the watery one and poured water on the fiery one. Come, *uroci*, along the earth like waves along the corn and the waters and the green grass.'[2]

Such themes as these, with ceremonial bathings, etc., will be found throughout the territory and throughout the popular literature of charms, etc., even in some of the earliest sources.

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A very curious diagnosis is quoted from Bulgaria. When a man gets a pain in the small of his back or loins, a muscular

[1] The formula '*Urok* has two eyes' is probably the most widely known charm both in tradition and in written sources. For the version given here cf. Zb. VII, p. 13.

[2] *Ibid.*

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

B 755 787 strain after a physical effort, they take the yolk of an egg and put it on his back and move it about with one finger until the yolk breaks. That place is then known to be the real seat of the pain and is rubbed with egg and bound up for a day or so. Eggs are frequently used in divining, and for divining when preparing to dig for treasure. Dark spots in the yolk of the egg are significant, generally of evil. In Turkish magical literature I have found numberless uses for eggs.

S 152 609 521 Caution in identifying and fear of envy are deep-seated instincts. Ask a peasant how much land he has and his usual reply will be: '*We* have *about* so-and-so-many days' ploughing', usually under-estimating. Ask him how many head of cattle or how many sheep in his flock and he may look as though, were it not for his natural courtesy, he would answer: 'What business is that of yours?', and perhaps shrug his shoulders and add that he does not know. Vrčević noted, and I also have seen it, that the shepherds, when they count sheep, use a switch of hazel or cornel wood. It is as much caution as the often over-praised corporative sentiment that will make a man refer to anything in the plural: 'Your field?'—'Yes, ours.' 'You are digging?'—'We are.' Such is his manner. He may genuinely dislike anyone, stranger or neighbour, staring too much at his beasts, let alone admiring them. To a word of well-meant congratulation he may say: S 152 754 777 'What harm have the poor beasts done to you for you to admire them? Go and admire your own backside.' Admiration (*čudjenje*) as well as envy (*zavist*) causes *urok*. An abundant crop, a tree that has borne exceptionally well, are regarded doubtfully. In these days of severe crisis in the villages, older men shake their heads over the bumper harvests of a few years back—nothing has gone well since. My mother when she used to laugh a great deal would say: 'There must be trouble coming for me.' It is children of particular beauty or goodness who are overlooked or shot by *vile*. S [825] The mountain shepherds of Hercegovina and elsewhere will not kill a horned ewe or a ram with peculiar horns, or they keep a goat amongst their sheep. The leader of the flock

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Slovenes EF7
Croats EF4
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

B CM S Sl C 372 C B M 31 [787]

village. These ceremonies to the best of my knowledge survive in Northern Croatia, the Dalmatian hinterland, Slavonia, Macedonia, in Bulgaria and sporadically in Serbia, and that mainly in pastoral districts. It is now not usual that the fire on these occasions is new fire. Divining is practised; the aim seems to be mainly apotropaeic and often specifically relates to health, or to prevent magic, or the attacks of witches. The ashes of the fires are kept for medicine or to promote the fertility of animals. Not only do these ceremonies change their dates but there is a tendency to amalgamate rites in which fire takes a part. Some authorities are of the opinion that the various fire ceremonials are ultimately of the same origin. Arnaudov distinguished two main types: one that is cathartic, and one that is exorcismal in aim; and among the latter he classed the celebration of the summer solstice, which in his opinion has sometimes been transferred to the spring.[1]

B [755] [821]

S 121 171 372

Mannhardt adopted from Kuhn[2] the identity of the need fire with St John's fire and attributed the same motives to the Roman Palilia. Prof. Trojanović, who has recently published a valuable collection of fire ceremonies, seems to follow the same train of thought, and elaborates the theme 'fire circle = sun disc'. He has sought his parallels, however, in Vedic literature, which cannot possibly give us a prototype on account of its date. The most striking similarity in the Balkan and Indian ritual of new fire is the inspection of melted fat, which the domestic sacrificer in India was instructed to gaze upon, and to show to the other members of his family. In one passage the ghee is called 'thunder'—a term that I am unable to explain.[3] These passages, however, refer to sacrifices to Agni, and I am not sure that Trojanović is right in regarding need fires as sacrificial, although sacrifices occur sporadically. The Indian ritual further demands

[1] M. Arnaudov, *Spisanie na Bolg. Akademia na Naukite*, IV, p. 30.

[2] Cf. Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers*, p. 50, and Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, I (1875–7), pp. 519, etc.

[3] E.g. *Satapatha-Brâhmana*, III, S.B.E. XXVI, pp. 106, 169.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

000 of the milkmen began at once to retrace the long uphill journey from the city's outskirts to the village.

576 Sometimes I overtook these men outside the village and fell in with them.* *"Dobra stiga"* ("Well-reached"), I said; and they answered, *"Dal ti bog dobro"* ("God has given you good"). The [822] amenities observed, I then asked about other matters. "How far is it from Sofia to your village?" Always the answer came in terms of "walking hours" and never in kilometers, the accepted measure of distance in Bulgaria. When we would encounter those going in the opposite direction we stopped our conversation long enough to say, *"Dobra sreshta"* ("Well-met"). When I chanced to inquire about the size of Dragalevtsy, the usual answer was, "About three [161] hundred houses." If I wanted to know how many inhabitants this would mean, I multiplied the figure by five, the size of the average household. (The difference between this crude estimate of fifteen hundred and the 1934 census figures of 1,669 persons meant little to the peasant.)

000 No, Dragalevtsy was in no sense of the word a large village, as some savants used to point out to me when they asked where I saw material enough there for a book. Theirs was the loss. An old village of more than sixteen hundred people teems with life. The stuff of which its days are made is rich and lasting; the intricate crisscross of vigorous personalities and deep-rooted folkways proved a never-ending drama for which nature usually provided a superb setting.

● 788 181 The meadows were lush from the spring rains, some of the fruit trees were in bloom, numberless tiny silver streams spread a glittering net down the side of Vitosha, and a veil of green leaves lay over all the red roofs of the village. Against such a background, a group of peasants made ready for their pilgrimage to Rila Monastery. Such an occasion was as truly an outpouring of joy as was the departure of the Canterbury pilgrims in Chaucer's day. The clanging of the church bell summoned the friends and relatives of the departing pilgrims to the incense-filled church. Inside, before the iconostas, dark and gilt, the priest read a prayer and led the little flock of people to the edge of the village, to the beginning of the outside world, where the

*[i.e. milkman delivering their milk to Sofia -- Analyst]

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travelers, dressed in their brightest, newest garments, were speeded on their way. The friends and relatives loaded them with money and presents of clothing, food, and wool, which the pilgrims were to donate to the great and holy monastery. The whole ceremony of leave-taking was made a part of the bright landscape by the flowers everywhere—on the dress of the pilgrims, fastened to the gifts, and carried in huge bunches. Upon their return a few days later the dusty pilgrims were met at the outskirts of the village and escorted home through the blue twilight by those eager to hear of every adventure during the days and nights in the great mountains, whose jagged walls have protected Rila Monastery for hundreds of years.

Formal piety, as shown in pilgrimages, was only one of the major characteristics which these Bulgarian villagers possessed. The Dragalevtsy people, especially the men, were predominantly literate. Bulgaria, despite what seems a forbidding Cyrillic alphabet, has the highest rate of literacy of all Balkan countries, a fact which can be attributed to the tendency to regard education as a panacea for individual and social ills. While only 44 per cent of the women over fifteen years of age could read and write, 92 per cent of the men were literate. Of course, I often came upon groups of peasants crowded around a friend slowly spelling out a newspaper article aloud, but these little clusters of attentive listeners originated because of the scarcity of newspaper subscribers, not necessarily because of illiteracy.

The Dragalevtsy people were also law-abiding. During the first three years I knew the village, and informants said that the record went much farther back than that, no Dragalevtsy peasant had been taken to Sofia for imprisonment. There was no local jail, nor any need for one. This was not a sign of the inefficiency of local police, but rather an indication of the peaceable and honest traits of the people.

In many other characteristics the villagers shared what have come to be known as the universal "rural virtues," for theirs was an agrarian way of life. More than three-fourths of the family heads were peasant proprietors. In addition to these, there were two other occupational groups: the intellectuals and the artisans. Despite their small number, the intelligentsia, as they were called by the peasants, were the most influential group in the community. Whenever the

2:
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Epiphany or Bogoyavlenie on January 19 commemorated the baptism of Christ. The Dragalevtsy boys and girls knew how the day was celebrated in other villages near the rivers or the sea. There the altar cross was thrown into the icy water. Naked youths dove in and struggled violently for it. The winner, carrying the cross, then collected money from the crowd. More important even than the money was the feeling that he would be fortunate during the coming year. But Epiphany did not pass unnoticed in Dragalevtsy, even though the river was nothing more than a racing mountain brook. The priest brought the cross out to sell at auction. The buyer, of course, returned it to the priest, but with his purchase received the assurance of God's blessing in the days to come. One year, a hiker happened to be passing through on his way up to the top of Vitosha. He saw the crowd gathered around the priest, bought the cross, went to the tavern for a free drink, returned the cross to the priest, and went on his way up the mountain. Peasants marveled for some time afterwards over the dispatch he showed in the whole affair. 796 527 857

Formerly on this day, children were christened with cold instead of lukewarm water, and all brides of that year were bathed in the river. When I asked why such custom was no longer practiced, Bai Angel, the village registrar, shrugged: "Oh, then the people were stronger and could stand such treatment."

On the previous day the children had all awaited the priest's arrival to sprinkle holy water in every room of the house. As we have already seen, many families collected bottles of the water that had been especially blessed for Epiphany, in the belief that it would cure various illnesses later on. [777] [788]

Bulgarian boys and girls never celebrated their birthdays. Instead, they made much of their name days. Each child bore the name of some saint, with a special day on the church calendar. Each Ivan (John) celebrated on the day following Epiphany, January 20; each Grigor (Gregory) on February 7; each Iliya (Elijah) on August 2. And so it ran throughout the year. Those with names not appearing on the calendar generally chose the day of "The Forty Holy Martyrs." Whereas Americans would expect to receive gifts on their birthdays, Bulgarians, especially those who were married, expected to entertain 527 857

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156 turn to Sofia for employment and sympathy. But the significant fact is that
702 most young people do submit to the process of resocialization and as they grow older adopt the conservatism of their elders. In other words, no attempt is made in the army experience to teach them new farming methods, bee-keeping, animal breeding, or anything else which they might apply in a useful way upon their return to the village.

554 3. For the Good of His Soul. When asked "Why do you go on pil-
788 grimages to various Bulgarian monasteries?" the peasants often answer: "We
484 go for the good of our souls." No mention is made of the enhanced social status that is theirs as a result of such a trip or the excitement of being sped on their way at the edge of the village by the priest and a flock of relatives or welcomed back far outside the village by the same relatives two or three days later. The most popular place to visit is Rila Monastery, the historic, magnificent establishment in the heart of the Rila Mountains to which thousands come at Easter time. The Dragalevtsy peasants (only thirty-five from the village went in 1934) mix with the assembled multitudes at Rila, attend the services, buy sacred objects, and snatch what sleep they can before starting on the return journey. If they are walking, the pilgrimage requires five or six days; if they go by automobile from Sofia, they spend one day en route each way. In olden days pilgrimages played a great part in creating social contacts between the villages and the outside world. Now we can safely conclude that as other means of making social contact increase, the importance of making pilgrimages decreases.

484 4. To Visit Socially. Once a year a Bulgarian village has an "At Home
574 Day." This event always falls on the name day of the saint, angel, or member of the Trinity for whom the local church is named and is commemorated by the preparation of immense quantities of stews for the few hundred guests from outside. Many of these guests are old residents returning with their families for a visit. There is a special service at which bread and boiled corn is blessed, the priest in return receiving a portion of the food. At the meal afterwards, to which all guests are invited, pledges are made for the upkeep of the local church. Many guests would rather go to the homes of friends and relatives than partake of the common meal; this makes more intimate visitation possible. These "At Homes" of neighboring villages are the chief attractions drawing the peasants from Dragalevtsy to other villages. Table 13 on the following page shows us how often Dragalevtsy family heads visit other villages (for the "At Home" as well as other purposes).

484 Combining the data in this table with other information obtained we can make the following conclusions regarding the social visits of Dragalevtsy people to other villages:

763 the soldiers and told them that he would not return from the fight. He
787 was sure of this because he had dreamed of a snake during the night. Sure enough, he was killed in the action that followed.

If a person dreamed of a wedding or that he was leading a *horo*, death was probable; or if he dreamed of having a tooth pulled, the same held true. If he dreamed that he saw a deep black hole (similar to a grave), someone connected with him would die; if it was white inside, somebody else would die; if he fell into the hole, he would die.

764 In Dragalevtsy there were certain old women who considered themselves specialists in the preparation of the body for burial. They were "priestesses of superstition" who saw to it that all the pagan rites were carried out before the priest arrived to conduct the funeral. Their presence at any crisis showed the duality of the peasants' view of the universe.

771 God was thought to be the force symbolizing the Good. The
793 priest was His representative and should be given due respect; furthermore, he should be asked to perform all of the customary ceremonies such as the sprinkling of holy water in every room of the house at Bogoyavlenie or Epiphany on the nineteenth of January. Keeping on the good side of the priest meant keeping on the good side of God, whose favors one needs both in this life and the next.

[771] Inasmuch as they believed in a principle of Good at work in the universe, it was logical for the peasants to believe in a principle of
754 Evil which could do them harm, with or without the consent of the Good. Some parts of the church ceremonies, such as spitting over the child at the devil during the christening, were directed at nullifying the efforts of the Evil One. Seeing that the church concerned itself chiefly with the Good, the peasant in his naivete felt compelled to do something to ward off the Evil, and thus perpetuated many primitive customs which startle both educated Bulgarians and those westerners who are not familiar with the equally primitive customs found within certain areas of their own supposedly civilized lands.

754 The intermediaries in this "cult of the Evil Eye, Devil, Bad Luck"
●789 were certain old women, called *babi*, already described in the account of a village birth.[1] These women showed people how to keep the Evil Eye away. They advised mothers whose babies were only one

[1] [See pp. 30-31, category 116-- Analyst]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

or two months old to make a spot on the baby's neck beneath the ear, using axle grease from the wagon. The spell of the Evil Eye could be cast by one who was envious or of an evil heart. That is why I soon stopped complimenting babies or animals, for the frightened look that came into the mother's or owner's eyes on occasion showed me that mine must seem an envious heart. Such envy was supposed to cause sickness in the object admired. Then a *baba* who was old and ugly, with crooked teeth, pale and wrinkled face, and sunken eyes, was called upon to perform a magic rite *(baiane)*. Water was put in a pottery bowl, an incantation was read, and live coals were dropped into the water. Some people suggested that an Evil Eye might be kept away by hanging an onion or garlic over the house, or by wearing blue beads. A few people were said to dye good animals in order to distract the attention of people from their good qualities. 754 789 ●

Along with the belief in the Evil Eye was the belief in vampires. No cat or dog should ever be allowed to jump over a corpse before burial, or that person would become a vampire and return to plague his friends and relatives. In some Balkan villages, when it was suspected that a person might be or become a vampire, a stout stake is driven through the heart of the corpse upon interment. But there were no such stakes in the Dragalevtsy cemetery. 754

Funeral ceremonies could not be extensive since the body had to be in the ground within twenty-four hours after death. One of the last funerals I attended was that of an old woman whom I had interviewed on one occasion. When the priest arrived he found the room filled with about twenty people, two-thirds of whom were relatives and one-third neighbors. The body dressed in the best holiday costume was placed on a black, rough wooden coffin with some white flowers, dahlias, and fruit such as oranges and apples. Around the head and under the chin was a white band. The room became blue with incense smoke through which the black cover of the coffin, standing against the wall, could scarcely be seen. The chanting of the priest was constantly interrupted by the wailing of the women. 764

At the conclusion of the service in the house, four men bore the coffin into the yard as the wailing continued. All the sons and daughters carried under their arms new garments which their mother had

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296 formation as to wash days: "We wash twice a week: on Monday and Wednesday, or on Wednesday and Saturday."

351 Many of the yards still had the threshing floor, reminiscent of Old Testament days. This could be located by a forlorn post which seemed to be serving no useful purpose. In the fall great quantities of drying wool hung from the clotheslines; and a little later the family piled in the yard the winter supply of wood from the forest.

342 The eaves of the house, deep as they were, sheltered such things as strings of drying peppers and ears of corn; milk utensils hung beneath them practically the year round; even the scythes and wooden hayforks found frequent lodging there. Storks nested in the trees and chimneys. With the coming of the warmer weather the sheep left their folds in the yards for the pastures, and the shepherd took with him his wattled shelter, which he moved on sleds across the grassy meadows.

●[789] In many yards a heavy, large-wheeled wagon stood near the
351 primitive sheds for the animals and the ever-present strawstack. If the peasants were unusually superstitious, there would be dabs of blue paint on the wagon to keep the Evil Eye away. When the weather
231 was nice there were usually children at play in the yard. Upon seeing
609 a visitor they added their lusty shouts to the ominous barking of the dogs. They chased the dogs away from the gate by throwing sticks and stones at them, and at the same time warned the visitor to be on the alert. Far too often the dogs sneaked up behind to nip an ankle of the unsuspecting visitor.

247 The yards had few flowers, because chickens of a nondescript
351 variety pecked freely throughout the premises. One or two scraggly trees, from which the children shook most of the fruit before it had
735 time to ripen, stood in a corner wistfully seeking to give a touch of
511 beauty to the scene. In the spring the blossoms of such trees made the village bright, but when the fruit and leaves were gone the bare, black skeletons of the trees fitted in only too well with the poverty and sternness of village life. Poor land, inefficiently tilled, contributed to this poverty. Although the peasants worked hard in their fields, they had little cash on hand after selling their crops and paying their debts. Home improvements were postponed from year to year, but the hard work kept on just the same.

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But some of the peasants who turned Communists were having their days of religious doubt. They asked quite frequently, "Can we be Communists and still believe in God?" They voluntarily sent their children to the priest's class in religion held in the schoolhouse. "And the Communist children know their lessons better than the children of the opposition," was the opinion of a member of the intelligentsia. 668 178 626

The ideas of many new converts to the Marxist doctrine had been rudely shaken the previous summer at the time of the church processional for rain. The drought had been devastating. Corn was drying up; pastures were turning brown. So a band of villagers, with some Communists who went along for old times' sake, accompanied the priest on a circuit of the fields. The boys carried the church relics and the priest walked faithfully along in his hot, black vestments. No rain came and the Communists thoroughly enjoyed scoffing at those who had started out with such bright hopes. Conditions grew worse and worse, so the religious leaders thought another processional in order. The whole performance was repeated, with Communists along again. This time the priest went up high on the mountainside, so as to include village properties not previously visited. His prayers were efficacious, for a shower which later turned to steady rain burst forth upon the band of villagers, wetting them to the skin before they could return to shelter in the village. The religious people thus had the last word when atheism was discussed. [789]

The prevalent feeling of insecurity included more, however, than beliefs and basic attitudes about religion and politics. It stemmed also from the economic uncertainty which characterized the period. Always lurking in the peasant's consciousness was the fear that his holding, his precious acres, would be collectivized as was done in Russia. It mattered not to him that his farming was inefficiently done or that such inefficiency was no solution for the overpopulation which characterized his land. He wanted no part of a great impersonal *kolkhoz* where in the long run he would become a worker instead of an owner, or where he would work land which he could not call his own. That to him was serfdom; it was not freedom. And discussions of these topics trailed off into many beside-the-point objections, which 668 178 626 423 829

000 771 789 were formerly often taken from ancient coins. Under the cover of--Eastern, Greek Orthodox--Christianity many remnants were preserved of old conceptions of unmediated spirits, of the belief in elemental beings in nature (forest fairies, water spirits--coins are still thrown into the fountains in order to propitiate them, and so forth), and of spiritual forces that are everywhere effective and which are put in the service of magical ends. For example, children are touched with the rein of a horse if they have been frightened or become sick by another horse. The processions with the little rain men designed to banish the drought occur in Bulgaria just as much as they do in Rumania (see the Plate, Rumania); the rubbing of wood to produce fire in case of illnesses and epidemics occurs just as it does in Serbia (see the Plate, Serbia): a piece of linden wood is nailed to a tree stump and is rubbed together with another piece of wood in a sawing fashion (Figure 11). In Figure 14 the two worlds of the old emanatory belief, which hangs up plaited wheat ears, and of the Christian faith touch 769 upon each other. In the monastery of Trojan a kind of skull cult was maintained: On holidays the women search out their old relatives and friends among the skulls of the deceased monks, which have been supplied with an inscription of their name and a sign of the cross. The women then stick burning candles on the skulls and pray and meditate before them.

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113 Kanitz, Donaubulgarien. Buschen, Die Bulgaren. Tetzner, "Zur Volkskunde der Bulgaren in Ungarn" /Towards an ethnology of the Bulgarians in Hungary/, Globus, Vol. 90. Grothe, Bulgarien. Kassner, "Klapperbretter und anderes Volkskundliches aus Bulgarien" /Rattle boards and other ethnographical materials from Bulgaria/, Globus, Vol. 94. Filow, Altbulgarische Kunst /Ancient Bulgarian art/. "Feuerreiben" /Rubbing wood for fire/, in the Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, Vol. 13.

/89: Illustrations./

/90/ The Dalmatian South Slavs

I.

000 1. Log cabin. 2. Conical hut 3. Hora dance. 4. Large

[See 1: Kantz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a -- Analyst]

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Aromunes EH13
Bulgaria EE1

three or five fires, while the characteristic feature of the ritual which we have been considering is the passing between two fires and through a tunnel or hoop. There are examples nearer home which are probably of more value for comparison. Among these, it may be that the little that is known of the Mediterranean cult of the Kouretes, associated with thunder and claimed by the Greeks to be the protectors of cattle, will throw light on the important part played by the twin fire makers. On the other hand, one would have to consider the fire cults of the Scythians, Sarmatians and other peoples who were in contact with the Slavs, and of whose customs we know comparatively little. Trojanović also connects circular ploughing with the fire circle, but in doing so almost flatly contradicts what he had earlier written about ploughing. He mentions an instance of a shirt woven and made in a day, as part of the paraphernalia of a need fire ceremony, which may be compared with the cloth carried round a village described above. This looks like an illustration of how ritual tends to be transferred or generalised. Trojanović also says that 'in all probability all *zavetine* arise from the day on which live fire was first produced'.[1] There is no evidence at all for this. The *zavetine* refer to every kind of need or occasion, and their origins are often distinctly remembered.

Swinging and turning may be a cure derived from, or influenced by, a seasonal ceremonial of a more general order, or part of a specific cult. The few examples that I have been able to find, either of a seasonal (spring) rite, or a special healing rite, are confined to remote, generally mountainous, parts of Serbia, Bosnia and parts of Bulgaria, and occur amongst the Kucovlahs. I have thus had the impression that to-day swinging survives amongst the pastoral people. It is sometimes particularly associated with St George's Day and the popular explanation is that it promotes health, hastens marriage or birth, or is anti-febrile. At Vidin, on the Monday before St Theodor, the dogs are swung to prevent

[1] S. Trojanović, *Vatra*, p. 169.

113, 323, 462, 415, 354, 789 Bulgaria EE1

[For information pertaining to the production of pottery, ceramic utensils, earth ovens, by women in Bulgaria, and associated magical beliefs, see 3: Filipovic, E13 Balkan Peoples, category 116.]

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933) 1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5
Bulgaria EE1

S 124 787 those whose dream experiences would be the most interesting. Those who take dreams seriously avoid discussing their own dreams. By so doing they may realise an evil or check a propitious dream prophecy. The nature of dreams varies in interpretation as greatly as the interpretations of dream symbols. Some apparently take certain dreams for actual and real experience; some scarcely distinguish these more vivid impressions from actuality; others hold that sleep is a special state of mind and of body; and some that the spirit departs and returns—as many variations, in short, as there are folk-lorists' theories. The eyes, said one, when they close can go away and see things elsewhere. 'It is nothing more nor less than that the soul comes out of a man and goes about the world and only blood remains in the man to keep S [513] him alive.'[1] There are others who imply that the sleeper undergoes no change or movement, but, none the less, at M S 754 774 times he can see in sleep things that are not actually there; he can have visions. Human beings, who are endowed with a special nature, leave their bodies at night and become spirits, dragons or animals. In the neighbourhood of Gusinje, for instance, this idea of witches still prevails. In other parts I found memories of the *zmaj* or dragon-man, *stuhi*, *vedogoni*, etc.—men who during sleep become spirits or animals, such as bulls or dragons, and meet at night, or, endowed with supernatural strength, battle with evil spirits, enemies of their S B 754 774 177 791 own villages, bringers of storms. From all accounts these ideas are still alive in parts of Bulgaria, but everywhere else they are disappearing, or turn up only in the form of stories. *Viljanici*, who in ordinary life were herb doctors or seers, were also believed to have these powers of movement in sleep, of flight and of changing form.

S 774 775 A distinction which is more than a linguistic one is made between *duša* (soul) and *duh* (spirit). A man breathes his last (*izdahne*) and his soul (*duša*) departs; for forty days it lingers above the grave or near its old home, after which tradition offers a variety of fates. The spirit (*duh*) is also spoken of as

[1] Zb. XIX, p. 151.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

622 159 the matter. The mayor was happily married to an attractive wife, who dressed *po modata* (in the latest fashion) and kept her children so neat and proper that they contrasted vividly with the peasant urchins who ran up and down the unpaved streets.

625 159 622 The mayor was charged with maintaining law and order with the help of the *strazhar* (police officer), the field policeman, and the forest policeman. The second wandered from field to field to see that cattle did not stray unattended onto strips where there were growing crops; the forest policeman prevented the purloining of wood from the forest lands used by Dragalevtsy people. The mayor also acted as local justice of the peace, and was ex officio member of the school board, health board, and any other village organization he considered worthy of serious attention.

● 793 622 But the mayor, although he enjoyed the spotlight, had to share it with the village priest. For five centuries, while the Bulgarians were subject to the Turks, the priest was often the only person in a village with any formal education. He not only interpreted the laws of God, but the laws of man as well. The Bulgarian monks and priests helped keep the feeling of Bulgarian nationality alive during those dark days, and thereby eventually aided in the achievement of national independence in 1878 at the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish [554] War. Since traditions die slowly in a Bulgarian village, the position of the priest is still very high, although few people attend religious services and fewer people observe the rather rigid fasts of the Eastern Orthodox Church. However, the priest is an essential officiant at christenings, weddings, and funerals. Without him the peasants have no way of meeting life's major crises.

159 793 581 Father Sava was the *sveshtennik* or priest in Dragalevtsy. He wore with dignity his long black gown and high brimless hat, his uncut red hair in a knot at the back of his head, and a long auburn beard. I never failed to marvel at his wide range of interests. One day we would poke around his beehives; the next day he would show me his favorite photographs and competently discuss the relative merits of American and German cameras. But it was after I learned of the man's romance that I began to see him in a clearer light. The young lady whom he wanted to marry was the daughter of a priest

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who flatly decreed that his daughter could marry no one but a priest. 159
(Not only are priests well provided for financially, but they can marry 793
only once. This means that they supposedly take exceptionally good 521
care of their mates.) Sava had already completed the commercial gymnasium, had studied for two years in a school for leaders of co-operatives, and planned to attend the university. In order to comply with the demands of his sweetheart's father, however, he interrupted his educational plans long enough to prepare himself for the ecclesiastical examinations, which he passed with credit. He was then assigned to the Dragalevtsy parish. Meanwhile he had married the young lady of his choice. Soon thereafter he obtained leave of absence from his church responsibility in order to complete his work in Finance at the Svoboden (Private) University in Sofia. He was highly respected by the people whom he shepherded and was vitally interested in their welfare.

There were often two or three kibitzers while the intelligentsia 557
played cards. These were lesser officials interested in advancement, or well-to-do peasants who wanted to hobnob with the controlling group. None of these hangers-on had been westernized to the point [291]
of wearing a tie, and some of them still wore the heelless, pointed pigskin sandals.

Oddly enough for a Bulgarian village, the veterinarian and 759
physician were both women, who constantly found the patriarchal 562
traditions stumbling blocks to the winning of village support. The medical doctor was a Russian who had spent part of her childhood in San Francisco, but returned to the University of Petrograd for her medical training. After the Revolution she left Russia with her family.

The only other "educated" people in the village were the 875
teachers, eight in number, selected for their posts by outside school authorities rather than by the villagers themselves. Four of the eight had been born outside the pre-Hitler boundaries of Bulgaria, in territories which irredentist Bulgarians sought to recover permanently. Maria, for example, was from Dobruja, which was then a part of Rumania; Anna and Georgi were born in parts of Macedonia which

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793

"But the mayor, although he enjoyed the spotlight, had to share it with the village priest." *See page 10.*

[facing p. 12]

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754 universe, it was logical for the peasants to believe in a principle of Evil which could do them harm, with or without the consent of the Good. Some parts of the church ceremonies, such as spitting over the child at the devil during the christening, were directed at nullifying the efforts of the Evil One. Seeing that the church concerned itself chiefly with the Good, the peasant in his naivete felt compelled to do something to ward off the Evil, and thus perpetuated many primitive customs which startle both educated Bulgarians and those westerners who are not familiar with the equally primitive customs found within certain areas of their own supposedly civilized lands.

754 The intermediaries in this "cult of the Evil Eye, Devil, Bad Luck"
789 were certain old women, called *babi*, already described in the account of a village birth.[1] These women showed people how to keep the Evil Eye away. They advised mothers whose babies were only one

[1] [See pp. 30-31, category 116-- Analyst]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

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"Even the priest was a government employee . . ." *See page 163.*

[Facing p. 160]

175 toward the East stayed. It became solidly rooted when in the
797 ensuing years he patterned the organization of his State after
648 Byzantium and introduced to Bulgaria adaptations of Byzantine law, such as the "Statute of Trial of Men", the "Nomocanon", etc.

[793] The new church strongly tended to emancipate itself from the primacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople and rid itself of Byzantine clergy. A fortunate chance presented itself when an alphabet was devised to suit the peculiarities of the Slavic tongues. A wave of Slav awakening hit Bulgaria during the reign of Boris' son, Simeon I, and soon scriptures and prayer books, in Bulgarian, displaced the media of Byzantine influence. The process was so rapid and his military victories so promising that Simeon proclaimed the archbishop of Preslav a patriarch independent of the Patriarch of Constantinople and himself Czar of the Bulgarians and the Greeks. Seven bishoprics were established, of which those of Preslav and Ochrida (Macedonia) became important centers of enlightenment.

Bulgaria turned again toward Rome in the 13th century. Desirous of international recognition which had been lost during the Byzantine domination of Bulgaria (1018 - 1186), the Bulgarian King Kaloyan contacted the Pope with an offer to accept the Pope's primacy over the Bulgarian church in exchange for an imperial crown. In 1204, a Catholic cardinal arrived at the Bulgarian capital Tirnovo to hand a crown to Kaloyan on behalf of the Pope and ordain a Bulgarian prelate. This Western orientation caused by the Crusades and dictated by political expediency was rather
000 short-lived. In 1232, Kaloyan's successor, Ivan Asen, denounced

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The conflict was aggravated when the Patriarchate refused to recognize the Statute of Exarchate drafted by the Bulgarian Church Council. One of the objectionable points was the new method of filling the positions in the hierarchy of the Bulgarian Church. All prelates in the Bulgarian lands were hitherto appointed by the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Under the Statute of the Exarchate the Bishops were to be elected by the diocesans, and the Exarch, by the highest dignitaries of the Church with the participation of representatives of the laymen.

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The refusal of the Patriarchate to recognize the Exarchate and its Statute provoked a schism, or split, between the Patriarchate and the Bulgarian Church. This split, between the Patriarchate and the Bulgarian Church. This split lasted until 1945 when a reconciliation was negotiated and achieved.

In spite of he fierce opposition of the Greek clergy and the Patriarchate in Constantinople, the Bulgarian regions (Danube province with the capital in Rushtchuk, and Nishava province with the capital in Nish), as well as most of Macedonia and Thrace, voted to submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Exarchate. An Exarch was elected by the Bulgarian Church Council, and with the consent of the sublime Porte established his seat in Constantinople.

This unique plebiscite, which emancipated the Bulgarian nation from Greek ecclesiastic domination, became

Princedom preserves its link with the Ecumenical Eastern Church in all matters concerning the dogmas of the faith. 659 642

The opening phrase suggests that the Bulgarian Church is something of a higher authority than the State authority of the Princedom of Bulgaria. However, this has never been observed and the Bulgarian State has always striven to control the Church. There existed, however, an apparent linkage and close cooperation between the Church and State.

In the broad sense of the term the Church was a state institution and its officials, agents of the public authority.* The budget of the Church was part of that of the State, viz., of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Denominations, which represented the state in all religious matters. All bishops, priests and administrative employees in the various parishes and dioceses received from the government modest salaries which supplemented their income from fees received for religious rites and services performed by them. Aside from that, the churches, and especially the monasteries, disposed for their subsistence, of valuable properties, such as fields, forests, or buildings, either bought by them or willed to them by parishioners. All that netted a sizable income. 659 642 793

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* Ivan Altinov, Divrece in Bulgaria: Brakorazvodnite Conflicti v Bulgaria (Sofia, 1929), p. 9.

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These revenues, even though they were affected to some extent by the land reforms of the Agrarian Government of Alexander Stambeliiski, not only met all needs not fully covered by the State Budget, but enabled the Church to erect quite monumental buildings. The most remarkable of these were the Palace of the Holy Synod, the two seminaries in Plovdiv and Sofia, the Divinity Academy (which was accepted by the University of Sofia as a theological faculty) and last but not least, the Archiepiscopal Palace in Sofia, of which Archbishop Stefan, later elected Exarch of the Bulgarian Church, had said that it was "a small Versailles".

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The Church did not take part in the management of State affairs, since it officially did not mix in politics; but it always supported the State, always willing to bless the latter's public functions with religious ceremonies. National holidays were celebrated with a Te Deum at which the local bishop officiated, together with the prescribed number of priests. All consecrations were prrformed before the eyes of the people by representatives of the Church, bishops or priests --as the occasion required.

Customarily the National Assembly upon its official opening began its work by attending a religious ceremony (blessing of the water) at which the Archbishop of Sofia swore in the deputies. In general, oaths of ministers of state, deputies, officials, soldiers, and witnesses in court were always administered by clergymen. It may be said that nothing

evidence was not sufficient, the court could order a temporary separation of the parties with the recommendation that they themselves explore all possibilities of reconciliation. Only after all such possibilities had been exhausted did the court grant the divorce. 698

C. Religious Instruction and Training of Priests

Religious instruction in public schools and theological training of priests were conducted in a manner different from that used in many other countries. The Bulgarian Church did not operate any denominational schools open to all. For a period of time it had no special schools for training of the priests, and, finally, religion was not always taught at public schools by clerics. Special schools for the training of future priests became definitely established only after the Exarchate came into being and in some respect were under the supervision of the State. 793 874

After the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate and especially after the Bulgarian State was restored, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church took measures to raise the cultural standard of its hierarchy. Until then its higher dignitaries had been instructed first at the Greek Theological Academy on the island of Halki (one of the Princely Isles off Constantinople in the Marmara Sea) and later (after 1878), in Moscow, the corresponding centers in Switzerland, Germany, and Austria-Hungary (mainly at Czernowitz in Bukovina). To carry out its

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training program the Church founded two theological schools. one in Samokov (1883) which later (1903) was moved to Sofia for the Princedom of Bulgaria and one in Constantinople for the Bulgarian inhabitants of Thrace and Macedonia which, after the Balkan Wars, was moved to Plovdiv. Later, in 1917, a Theological Academy was opened at Sofia and soon (1921) transformed into a Theological College at the University of Sofia, making it possible for the graduates of the theological schools to receive higher theological education and qualify for episcopal posts.

It must be emphasized, however, that both the theological schools and the theological college, which were subsidized by the State, were administered by the Holy Synod only in purely religious matters; their curricula were under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Education. The theological schools gave their students not only a theological education but also, a general one as well, which made them equivalent to secondary schoolds, Hence, those graduates of the theological schools who did not wish to pursue an ecclesiastical career could select another field of study at the University. Thus, ex-theological students were to be found in all professions. Some became politicians and Statesmen, as, for instance, was the case of the distinguished leader of the Peasant Union, Dimitr Guitchoff presently imprisoned by the communist regime. This was possible only because the ecclesiastical education was as broad as public education in public schools.

000 public schools.

• 793 A certain amount of religious instruction was given in the primary and secondary schools, religious history being included in the curriculum. However, these subjects were not taught by clerics but by the laymen, in most cases graduates of the theological schools. Clerics served as instructors in the secondary schools only in the first years after the establishment of the Bulgarian State when the demand for educators exceeded the available number of teachers.

IV. Status of the Bulgarian Church Developments Since 1944

A. General Survey

[178] 659 The seizure of power on September 9, 1944, by the Communist-dominated Fatherland Front coalition signalized important changes in the position of religion and the religious denominations. Ideologically, the dominant Bulgarian Communist Party was committed to a negation of all religion as the "opium for the masses". Practically, its policy toward religion and the Orthodox Church in particular was determined by more realistic considerations.

The communists could only desire to destroy the relationship established between the State and the Church. Likewise, they could not but desire to reduce and if possible, to destroy the great freedom which the Constitution of 1879 granted to the minority denominations allowing them to "be

659 798 then had been conducted in all schools, to the removal of the presence of church officials at the taking of the oath and to the introduction of civil marriage, which became obligatory, instead of the religious one, which hitorto was required [671] (Articles 1 and 2 of the Decree having force of Law concerning Marriage, Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 108, May 12, 1945).

Although there was no formal declaration of the separation of Church and State, representatives of the church no longer appeared at public functions and the part which the church played in public life was mutely but radically reduced.

659 Nevertheless, the government continued to subsidize the church by allotting funds to it in the State budget. Moreover, in a purely political move, it amended the Statute [671] of the Exarchate with a special Decree-Law (Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 11, January 15, 1945) and authorized the election of an Exarch. Apparently the government preferred to deal in the future with one man - the Exarch - instead of a Synod. Again the Bulgarians were always strongly in favor of having a single prelate at the head of their national church.

• 793 In January 1945 Archbishop Stefan of Sofia was elected Exarch of the Orthodox Church of Bulgaria. The new Exarch was an arden Russophile, but not a bolshevik or communist sympathizer. Immediately after the election he journeyed to Moscow to pay a visit to the Moscow Patriarch, Alexis, which demonstrated a recognition of the primacy of the Moscow Patriarchate, and sent a delegation to the Patriarchate of Constantinople to negotiate for the removal

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of the schism which separated the Bulgarian Church from the Constantinople Patriarchate since 1871 (see supra, I). Presumably, the Soviet authorities expected the Russian Orthodox Church to restore the Russian religious influence throughout the Orthodox world. To carry out this mission the Patriarch of Moscow announced a journey to the Holy places and the adjoining countries in the Near East. The Bulgarian Exarch was expected to visit the Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople to demonstrate the lifting of the schism and meet the Russian Patriarch there for a demonstration of the latter's primacy over the Orthodox world. An affirmation of the Russian religious protectorate over the Eastern Orthodox nations in the Orient was planned as the preliminary step to the expansion of soviet political influence in that area.

This plan for concerted action, however, failed in its implications because the Turkish Government became highly alarmed by the announcement of Patriarch Alexis' journey. Under its influence the Patriarchate of Constantinople asked the Patriarch of Moscow to postpone his visit. The Bulgarian Exarch for his part achieved the removal of the schism by the Patriarchate of Constantinople whose jurisdiction had already been reduced to a few dioceses in and around the former Ottoman capital. The reconciliation between the two churches took place on February 23, 1945, and in October of the same year Exarch Stefan paid a visit to the Patriarch of Constantinople to inaugurate the reconciliation between the two churches.

However, as a result of a rather complex political development (see Appendix A) the Holy Synod deposed on the

793 communist initiative the Exarch in 1948. He was banished to a remote villa in the province town of Karlovo. At the present time the Bulgarian Church is again administered by the Holy Synod.

659, 642 The general principles of the communist policy toward religion were finally embodied in the so-called "Dimitrov Constitution" passed on December 4, 1947. Its Article 78 states:

> Freedom of conscience and religion, as well as freedom of performance of religious rituals is guaranteed to all citizens.
>
> The Church is separated from the State.
>
> A special law shall determine the legal status, the question of material support, and the right of internal autonomy and self-government of the various religious communities.
>
> The misuse of church and religion for political purposes and the creation of political organizations on a religious basis is forbidden.

There is no mention of the status and functions of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. All questions pertaining to this Church, as well as to the minority denominations in the country, were left in abeyance until February 1949, when a general law on religious denominations was passed on the strength of the cited constitutional provision (<u>infra</u>, B). This law did, among other things, mention the Bulgarian Church. This law is analyzed and translated in the next Section B.

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(viel) for women, and the change from the Arabic to the Latin 167
alphabet. 175

These fundamental reforms provoked a schism at first, and for a long time Mustafa Kemal and his followers were 175
considered infidels by other Moslems. The Bulgarian Government, 563
keenly aware of the potential menace presented by the compact and numerous Turkish minority, was only too happy to exploit this schism, which caused the Turks in Bulgaria to turn away from Ankara and Constantinople.

Bulgaria refused to exert any pressure on the Moslem 659
minority to force it to organize its social and religious life 175
along the lines advocated by the Kemalists. The Moslems were 563
left entirely free to keep the Sheriat and the Arabic alphabet. 795
Nothing was changed in the Turkish clergy and schools in 793
Bulgaria. This was all the easier to effect because the separation of the Church and State, which is the core of the Kemalist reforms, had long been realized in Bulgaria by the very fact of the establishment of the Christian Bulgarian State side by side with an ethnically foreign Moslem minority.

Left entirely to itself, this minority, whose nationality and religion have always been scrupulously respected, organized itself on the basis of the Sheriat, which governed every phase of its civic and religious life, particularly in matrimonial matters - marriage and divorce (i. e., repudiation of the wife by the husband), as well as in the matters of inheritance.

This organization, which developed side by side with

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the Bulgarian State, was maintained by the Bulgarian authorities by means of the institution of the muftis, whose network covered all the Turkish-inhabited regions and which was centered at Sofia in the person of a Great Mufti, elected by the regional muftis. The Great Mufti was assisted by a Council elected by all the Moslems in the country. Thus, the Turkish minority not only enjoyed equal political rights with other citizens, but also was provided with a system of self-government concerning all matters regulated by the Sheriat. Such was the privileged position of the great Moslem community, which was able to support a considerable number of mosques (no less than two thousand) and schools (more than one thousand) and to publish several newspapers in its own language.

The Kemalists were extremely dissatisfied with this state of affairs. It frustrated the expansion of their reforms beyond the frontiers of Turkey. The Government in Sofia, however, took a firm stand and refused to change anything in the direction desired by Ankara. What was more, the Turks in Bulgaria, being a compact and a large group, were a source of votes for the politicians, who did much to raise their primitive standard of living. Great projects were carried out by the Bulgarian State over several years whose purpose it was to provide drinking water and irrigation for the arid region of Doliorman (Northeastern Bulgaria) predominantly populated by Turks.

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APPENDIX A

to Chapter IV

Elections of the Exarch in Detail

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The eledtion of the Exarch was performed by a body consisting of both the representatives of the clergymen and the laymen parishioners. The mandates of some of these representatives of the clergymen and the laymen parishioners. The mandates of some of these representatives elected before expired in some dioceses but they were extended by government decree because the Diet (Sobranie, Decree having Force of Law for the Extension of the Mandates of the Lay and the Ecclesiastic Electors within each Diocese under Article 59 of the Statute of the Exarchate, Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 9, January 12, 1945). Since, furthermore, the Statute required the participation of the President and of the Vice-Presidents of the Diet which had been dissolved, the Council of Ministers passed a resolution replacing these two delegates with three representatives of the Fatherland Front coalition, because of the impossibility of holding legislative elections (Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 9, January 12, 1945).

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Needless to say, the representatives of the Fatherland Front played the most important part in the election.

The Communists had no use for an Exarch. They agreed to the election only under pressure from the other members of the coalition and under the expressed condition that the latter would, on their part, agree to the immediate introduction of

● 793 civil marriage ascobligatory, regardless of the Church's stand. That step was taken four months later.

There had always been three candidates to the Exarch's Tiara: Archbishop Stefan of Sofia, who had served as Archimandrite under the late Exarch Joseph, whose name and memory are worshipped in all Bulgarian lands; Archbishop Paissy of Vratza, who almost had himself elected during the war with the support of the Germans; and Archbishop Antim of Vidin, who, for a great number of years, had presided over the sessions of the Holy Synod, whose president, the Exarch, is ex officio.

Owing to the international situation of the country at the time under full soviet occupation, it could not be a question of electing Paissy and his candidacy was tacitly eliminated. There remined the choice between Antim and Stefan. The former had his longtime presidency of the Synod to his credit, while the latter enjoyed a certain priority under a general recommendation incorporated in the statute of the Exarchate in 1921. This recommendation stated that the new Exarch had to be the Archbishop of Sofia from which one may conclude that the Archbishop of Sofia would be the new Exarch. This was designed to facilitate the election of Mgr. Stefan as the candidate of the government at the time against Mgr. Antim, who, politically related to the radical party, was considered as a leftwinger and consequently as inacceptable to the dictatorship.

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But during the war, Mgr. Stefan, being an ardent Russophile, took a stand in favor of the allies and later, of the U.S.S.R.. This immediately brought him in close contact with the opposition, especially with the group Zveno and the Military League whose anti-governmental activities was encouraged by him. This also brought him closer to the soviets whose anti-religious policy he had criticized before the war. When the Patriarchate was restored in Russia, in 1943, he no longer had any reservation toward Moscow. When, in the fall of 1944, the coalition of the Fatherland Front was being formed, Mgr. Stefan adhered to it quite openly and in this quality was kept informed of all preparations for the Coup d'Etate of September 9, 1944, when Mgr. Antim remained loyal to the end to the national government and kept himself out of any active participation in politics.

Thus, Stefan was nominated by the Fatherland Front with the tacit consent of the Communists, who had little confidence in him. But on the one hand, they were not at all interested in the internal affairs of the Church and on the other hand, did not feel strong enough as yet to dictate to their partners concerning such matters. In January 1945, the Archbishop of Sofia was elected Exarch of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church.

The new Exarch was a political, rather than a religious figure. He demonstrated it the day of his election in the address which he made during the service at which he officiated,

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assisted by the other Archbishops, in the renovated old church of St. Sophia, dating back to Byzantine times. He presented himself as the choice of the Fatherland Front, which he defended and to whom he swore fealty, so to speak, before a numerous and well-selected audience from which the government was conspicuously absent. The communists had insisted on that latter point, not trusting the new Exarch's Anglo-Saxon sympathies. Stefan, who was a staunch anti-bolshevik before the war, had many ties in the Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastic world and had been very active in the international organization, "Peace through Faith". Such activities could not but arouse the suspicion of the Bulgarian members of the Comintern. Furthermore, there is the prelate's political past. In 1934, he, in order to improve his position, supported the anti-royalist coup carried out by the group Zveno and the Military League. Then, when the King succeeded in liquidating the rebels and in establishing his own dictatorship, Mgr. Stefan went over to the Head of the State and thus acquired an omnipotent position with the Bulgarian Church. During the entire duration of the Royal dictatorship, he did not cease to uphold the cause of the Russian refugees in Bulgaria against the Moscow Government, attacking the latter in numerous articles, approved and even inspired by the Council of Ministers. Finally, the events of the second world war caused a general desertion of the sovereign; Mgr. Stefan, who hated him, abandoned him to seek the support of King Boris' sworn enemies, the group Zveno and the Military League. These elements had begun to prepare a new rebellion

long before the King's death, which occured in 1943. With such a past, he could hardly hope to gain the confidence of the communists. But, thinking himself a great politician, he hoped to be able to manouver with the communists as he had done with his sovereign, from whom he had once hoped to be called upon to preside over the destinies of the nation.

However, after his election, he did take two intelligent and timely steps. On the one hand, the Patriarchate of Constantinople having renewed the advances which it had been making for some years toward the removal of the schism separating it from the Bulgarian Church, and these advances being favorably regarded by the Russian Patriarchate and by the Soviet Government, he intercoded before the Fatherland Front in favor of and succeeded in obtaining the appointment of a delegation which would engage the necessary negotiations. As chariman of the delegation, he appointed a Macedonian prelate, the Archbishop of Nevrokop, Mgr. Boris (later assassinated by a communist priest of his diocese), who was to be assisted by Mgr. Andreij, Bishop of the Bulgarians in America, who was then temporarily in charge of the ghost of an Exarchate which Bulgaria was maintaining in Constantinople. And on the other hadn, without waiting for the results of the negotiations, he went to Moscow to pay his respects to the Russian Patriarch Alexis and to place himself at the latter's disposal. This was in accordance with the international mission which the Politburoau has assigned to the Russian Orthodox Church, namely, the restoration of the former Russian influence, both religious and political, in the Middle and Near East. The lifting of the Greek-Bulgarian schism was a part of this program. In keeping with his

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ambitious nature, Mgr. Stefan wanted to play an important part in that scheme. That is why he offered his services to Alexis, whom he charmed and in whose person, moreover, he wanted to have a champion among the communists. Nevertheless, in doing so, he was also following the tradition established during the long period of the schism when the Russian Church had always supported the Bulgarian Church, for which the Bulgarians were quite thankful.

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Alexis was soon to visit the Holy Land, and Stefan, who would have to pay a visit to the Patriarch in Constantinople after the lifting of the schism, suggested that that visit coincide with that of his big brother, on the latter's return from the Holy Land, in such fashion that the two would meet in Constantinople as guests of the Ecumenical Patriarch and affirm a soviet moral protectorate over the Eastern Orthodox Christians in the Orient, which was to facilitate the expansion of soviet political influence.

This scheme failed. The Turkish Government was highly disturbed by the announcement of Alexis' journey; and the Constantinople Patriarchate, fearing the consequences of the projected visit, asked the Moscow Patriarch to postpone it.

This was all taking place while the political group, known as the E.A.M. in Greece, which was communist dominated, still had hopes of seizing power through peaceful means, with the active support of the U.S.S.R., of course.

The negotiations with the Greek Patriarchate, which

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but refused to let himself be drawn into political matters by his religious superior. Besides, the latter died three months later, and his healthy influence on Greek-Bulgarian political reconciliation ceased. The U.S.S.R. supported this reconciliation very energetically, as the E.A.M., the Greek equivalent of the Bulgarian Fatherland Front, still thought it had a good chance of seizing power by peaceful means after its rebellion in the fall of 1944 had been bloodily and decisively repressed. The maneuver, if it had been successful, would probably have been ~~of profit~~ to the E.A.M.. But it would also have helped Greece and prevented the bloodshed of the three following years. In any event its failure caused the Soviet Government and the Bulgarian Communists to scrap the ecclesiastic policy which they had drawn up in 1944, and the central figure in which had been Mgr. Stefan. The latter immediately lost all the value which he had held for the communists which would enable him to maintain some independence of action as Head of the Bulgarian Church. Now the communists no longer had any use for him and still had all the old reasons to distrust him because of his autoritarian attitude.

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In effect, his election to the Exarchate and his visit to Istanbul had inflated his ego to a point where he began to believe that he had become a great factor in the life of the country, and he wanted to play a part proportionate to that importance. But, since it was the Fatherland Front who had elected him, he was confronted with overgrowing demands from the

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government, which intended to make the church its tool, both in and out of the country, when it was rapidly becoming the center of opposition, especially after the suppression of the political opposition in the Sobranie. To these demands, Mgr. Stefan had to give satisfaction, albeit half-heartedly, and in so doing, he provoked the ire of both the clergy and the people. On the other hand, to complicate things further, he took a dim view of the activities of the Holy Synod, and wanted to decide everything alone.

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Thus, while he was in Istanbul, he informed Patriarch Benjamin of his intention to proclaim himself Patriarch in 1917 and invited him to send delegates to attend the ceremonies which he planned. In this he acted without consulting either the government of the Synod, and, quite naturally, both protested when he returned to Bulgaria and declared that they disagreed with him, and that they considered the transformation of the Exarchate into a Patriarchate an untimely step. The conflict which opposed him to the government on the one hand, and to the Holy Synod on the other hand, went from bad to worse, especially after the separation of Church and State had been decreed officially by the adoption of the new Constitution at the end of 1947. Mgr. Stefan thus literally found himself between the hammer and the anvil. Moreover, because of his personally aggressive attitude towards the other prelates, which made him attempt to dictate to his friends and to crush his opponents, the two forces finally joined against him. On

September 6, 1948, following an incident with the communists, he saw himself placed in the position where he had to hand in his resignation to the Holy Synod which accepted it unanimously with the support of the government, which did nothing to prepare for the election of a new Exarch. The Holy Synod, taking full charge again of the Church, did more than accept the resignation of Mgr. Stefan. By applying the last amendment of the Statute of the Exarchat (Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 108, May 12, 1945) which definitely linked the office of the Exarch with that of the Archbishop Primate of Sofia, it deprived him of his diocese, reserved for the new Exarch, and relegated him as a virtual prisoner to the surroundings of the small provincial town of Karlovo, where the government permitted him to establish himself in a castle which had once been the property of the late King Boris. His health, by the way, was particularly precarious.

The decision of the Holy Synod really amounts to a deposition of the Exarch, rather than as an acceptance of his resignation. It was the revenge of the Synod, whom Mgr. Stefan had systematically ignored in his ambition to arrive at a personal and arbitrary rule over the Church, contrary to the very spirit of the Statute of the Exarchate, which had established the Bulgarian Church on an essentially democratic and national basis.

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religious organization. Faithful to its Byzantine origins, the Greek Orthodox Church recognized (as we have previously noted) the Patriarch of Constantinople as its head, but accepted the Hierarchy of Greece as the center of ecclesiastical power. This Hierarchy had, however, ruled that the Bulgarian Orthodox Church was a schismatic body, and all pleas that its decision be altered fell on deaf ears. When the war ended, the Bulgarian Holy Synod met and elected the Metropolitan of Sofia president and head of the Church with the title Exarch Stephan I. He had long fished in the troubled waters of Bulgarian politics and was widely known as an anti-Communist, but now he began to manifest a zealous ardor in support of Communism which virtually knew no bounds. When he made representations to the Constantinople Patriarch that the curse of schism be lifted from the Bulgarian Church, an affirmative answer was received, owing no doubt to the weakness of the Greeks and the peril in which they at that time found themselves.

Much going and coming ensued. Stephan journeyed to Kiev, Moscow, and Leningrad. In turn the Patriarch of Moscow, despite his eighty years, made an official visit to Bulgaria. Not a few students of the situation reason that a plan had been concocted to make the Patriarch of Moscow head of all the Eastern Orthodox Churches, conferring a new and signal distinction upon the Russian capital, which would thus become not only the world center of Communism but also the "Third Rome," and manifestly rival the Vatican in importance as a seat of ecclesiastical authority. The plan—if it actually existed—soon ceased to bear any relation to reality; but it is interesting to conjecture as to what might have happened if the Greeks had been absorbed into the Russian orbit.

All this had a complex and sometimes confusing historical background. The services rendered by the Orthodox clergy

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
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domination of the State, clearly implied that Orthodoxy was to have an opportunity to qualify as the "people's religion." Note, for example, the language of Section 12: C59 C71

> Clergymen and other officials guilty of violating the laws, public order, or good morals, or of acting in a manner hostile to the democratic institutions of the State, may, over and above other applicable penalties, be provisionally suspended or removed from office on the request of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Upon receipt of such a request from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, suspension or removal from office shall be effected immediately by the leadership of the respective religious denomination. If the clergyman is not removed by the responsible leadership, he shall be removed by administrative order.

We shall now see how the legislation described was put into effect. C59 793

In so far as the Orthodox Church is concerned, the story opens with the removal from office of Exarch Stephan I, who was said to be an overly ambitious prelate bent on skillfully juggling the disparate objects of Communist ideology and Christian tradition. Apparently Church and State agreed on his removal to the small town of Karlovo, the former because it deemed him too dictatorial and the latter because it no longer had any use for him. Ecclesiastical authority was lodged anew in the Holy Synod, which had already learned that the Communists took seriously ordinances abolishing religious marriage, prohibiting the teaching of religion in the schools, banning religious observances from military establishments, and subjecting the public to barrages of irreligious propaganda. Absolute dependence upon the State was associated with absolute surrender of traditional privileges.

It must be noted that the Exarch, during his tenure of office, had sounded almost every note in the scale which Dimitrov may have dreamed of as the ideal music for an ideal Church.

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Bulgaria EE1

C53 Here is a brief report written by one who was an unhappy eye-
●193 witness of the events described:

> On the occasion of the anniversary of the October Revolution in Russia, the Exarch addressed a letter to all the Metropolitans in which he glorified the achievements of the Soviet Union. He also spoke glowingly of the role of the Slavic peoples in history. Finally he lauded Czechoslovakia and emphasized the need for very close relationships between Church and State. At about the same time, Marshal Tito visited Bulgaria, and the Exarch sent a telegram to Dimitrov in which he paid homage to the alliance between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and expressed the hope that these two great peoples would continue to foster mutual assistance. But the message also stressed the role which the Church had played in the history of the two countries. During the summer of 1947 the Exarch paid a visit to Carlsbad as the guest of the Czechoslovak Government, and took the cure there. During his stay he delivered an address in which he praised the Government of the country; and when the time came for him to enter his name in the Golden Book of the City of Prague he expressed gratitude for the honor and paid his respects to the "Slavic ideal and to the contributions it had made to the triumph of peace and justice in the world." He hailed the formation of the Cominform as a step towards the safeguarding of Slavic solidarity.

The Synod which succeeded to the authority of the Exarch was scarcely less supine. Despite the fact that the Communist Party had ordered that courses in dialectical materialism be offered in the seminaries which trained young men for the priesthood, it commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Lenin. It likewise instructed the clergy to accept membership in the Fatherland Front. The situation is illustrated by an émigré from Sofia, who relates that the editor of the principal Orthodox theological journal had approved an article in which the author expounded the thesis that natural science alone could not answer all questions. He was summoned to the Ministry and made to apologize profusely for the aber-

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
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ration. At any rate, the Holy Synod was soon reechoing every banal attack on Anglo-American imperialism and applauding every appeal for the Moscow version of "peace." In the summer of 1949, its official journal expressed regret that the center of Roman Catholicism (the Vatican) and the heartland of Protestantism (the United States) had of their own free will blessed a new war and sung the praises of the atomic bomb.

These various attitudes received final binding expression in the series of resolutions on relations between Church and State which the Holy Synod adopted on September 20, 1948: the clergy were authorized to join pro-Communist organizations and to support the collective farm system; government decrees prohibiting the teaching of religion in the schools were endorsed; all priests were warned not to make any statement from their pulpits which might be considered to be political. The Synod assured the government that it stood ready to cooperate in any measure "for the reform of society in accordance with the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity." For the seventieth birthday of Stalin it addressed a letter, dated December 12, 1949, to all pastors urging them to conduct Divine services for the welfare of the great Russian leader. It also formally endorsed the peace plea with all its might and main.

Yet all this does not mean that the rank and file of the Bulgarian Orthodox clergy betrayed their faith without a struggle. It took the pro-Communist Union of Orthodox Priests a long while to recruit members. Watched constantly by the security police, removed from office for dissident attitudes, often sent to slave-labor camps, the clergy witnessed with foreboding the working out of policies designed to seduce youth, secularize all welfare activity, and subject all preaching, whether oral or written, to censorship by an uncompromisingly Marxist ideological authority. Eventually only one theological school, at Plovdiv, was permitted to remain open. Two theological jour-

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659 nals, one of them the organ of the Communist-dominated
793 Synod, made propaganda at the government's behest. Every-
626 one who gave any indication of fidelity to the Christian creed in its true significance and glory had to reckon with the possibility that he would speedily be sentenced to one of the dreaded prisons—Kolarovgrad, for example—which were always crammed with the unfortunate victims of tyranny.

659 The Orthodox Church having been transformed into an ab-
798 ject lackey of the State, Communist wrath descended on the religious minorities. Protestants were the first victims. Missionaries had come to Bulgaria from Turkey, and had established schools which, despite wars and upheavals, gave a good education to boys and girls. An exemplary woman introduced the kindergarten system and trained native teachers. By the close of World War I, hostility to Protestants had pretty largely died down; and although the small congregations did not grow rapidly they successfully maintained their identities. Their pride and joy was the American College, situated near Sofia. It was closed by the Nazis in 1942 and has not been reopened. The work of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. was suppressed at the same time, and the Communist regime has not lifted the prohibition.

The legislation adopted during February, 1949 (often re-
ferred to as the Canonical Purity Laws) contained a number
648 of provisions designed to render impossible any religious activity under the auspices of a Church or institution with headquarters outside Bulgaria. It stipulated, for example, that any Church or any clergyman desiring "canonical relations with or aid or gifts from" institutions, organizations, or official personages abroad must secure permission in advance from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. It was presumably under this legislation that fifteen Protestant pastors were brought to trial for high treason during 1949. It was the first large-scale action

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735 on by the faithful, all actions detrimental to our People's Republic,
658 and anything which may threaten the independence and liberty of our people. And we condemn such things even more strongly when they are carried on by those who profess other creeds.

The statements made by the Catholic bishops, both of the Latin and of the Greek rite, contained professions of loyalty to the government but did not comment on the trial of their Protestant brethren.

658 The Catholic Church wielded an influence in Bulgaria which
687 was wholly disproportionate to its size. Fewer than ten persons
793 in a thousand professed to belong to this Church, which of course was also hampered by the division according to the two rites. But Catholics had played a stirring part in the struggle for liberation from Turkish rule, and so their heroes were eminent in the nation's song and story. Educational institutions created and developed by members of religious orders were likewise held in high esteem, and many of the graduates were prominent in the civil service and the professions. These institutions have been nationalized, and the Church itself is circumscribed by the laws affecting religion. During 1949, the Catholic Bishops acceded to the government's request and sent a message to the United Nations affirming the existence of religious freedom in Bulgaria. Subsequently the lot of both clergy and laity grew steadily worse; but the first spectacular and drastic action taken against the Church was the arrest of a bishop, more than a score of priests, and a number of laymen, on the usual charge of conspiring with a hostile foreign power. The Bishop and three priests were sentenced to death for high treason, and twenty-four priests and twelve laymen received prison sentences. Therewith an almost mortal blow was struck at the life and organized activity of the Church.*

000 * Most of the more than half a million Mohammedans in Bulgaria were of Turkish descent. During 1950 the government began deporting them to Turkey,

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almost entirely of the intelligentsia. The peasants no longer had much to say about the employment of teachers, or what or how they taught. They and their children accepted what the national government, through its local representatives, provided for them. They took it or left it, but mostly took it.

The national government, along with its other activities, maintained a close connection with the national church. Before the liberation of Bulgaria, the practice arose of having three or five members act as a church board in each village. Even if there happened to be no church building, this group was elected to see about the construction of one. Such a board followed the familistic practice of expecting elders to manage local affairs. After the growth of the national state the board was continued, but subjected to outside control. In Dragalevtsy it consisted of five people: the priest (who was the president), a treasurer, and three other village men who acted as a control committee to audit the work of the old board which they succeeded at the end of its two-year term. In the past the biennial election was held on a Sunday morning immediately after church. But the government took care to see that only those men who had the right to vote *politically* were eligible to elect the church board from a list of candidates prepared by the priest. As the priest prepared his slate with the help of the older people in the village, his choices usually met with the approval of the majority of men.

A candidate had to be an Orthodox Christian by baptism, should never have been in a lawsuit, should not be a drunkard, thief, and the like, nor an atheist opposed to the church. The elections had to be approved by the Sofia Metropolitan, or the high church court, thus removing the authority still further from the village. An office of an elective nature such as this carried a great deal of honor with it. The duties of the office were not burdensome because the church possessed no lands to be administered. Traditionally the church board was supposed to aid in enforcement of Sabbath observance, but members were not particularly zealous in carrying out this obligation. The priest had been having trouble of late with one board member who had become such a tippler that the board's prestige was suffering. If some question needed to be decided, as was the case about five or six times

659 794 a year, the priest asked the board members to assemble at the church, minutes were kept, and no outsiders attended. The government's influence was further felt during the period 1934-1937, when all political elections were suspended, and with these all church board elections too. No one was eligible to vote.

659 869 771 As the national school and church authorities had not been satisfied with the type of religious training that the children had been getting in the average peasant home, they had set up in each village an organization called "The Association for the Orthodox Christianization of Bulgarian Youth." In general, the work of the group consisted in teaching the school children the significance of the iconostas, church ceremonies, and other related matters. School hours were used, and attendance was compulsory. The school director, who had been asked by the Archbishop in Sofia to conduct the work of the association in co-operation with the priest, said that they had had about twenty-five meetings during the year. Parents and others who were interested attended these meetings. This was one activity which the peasants had accepted quite willingly because, as one woman said, "the children are kept off the streets when there is a group gathering, and thus do not learn so many bad things." This was the woman's way of berating parents for failing to take better care of their children. But fundamentally the acceptance was based upon the traditional recognition of the church's importance. In the past, whatever had bolstered up the established church had bolstered up the familistic system.

178 181 596 Such a barrage from the batteries of commerce, government, and education[1] had left the familistic way of life in Dragalevtsy battered but not crumbling. The peasants were still amused at the intense activity of the intelligentsia; the few who were asked to confer with the authorities enjoyed reporting back to their families and friends just what they said and did. The people co-operated in the campaigns for this-and-that only when they knew that the mayor would send the policeman along if they did not co-operate. They attended lectures when ordered to do so, but they joined few of the organizations planned outside. Perhaps the best indication that this beehive of governmental activity was still on the surface was the failure of the peasants to seek advice from the intelligentsia who were supposedly there to help

[1] [For a detailed account, see category 116, pp. 161-176 - Analyst]

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to the cause of Bulgarian independence, and to the resurrection of the Bulgarian language as a medium of literary expression, gave the Church universally recognized prestige. After 1878, when national freedom was gained, the Orthodox Church was a State institution, and the members of its Hierarchy were public officials. A portion of the national budget was set aside to support the Church, which in addition owned considerable property largely derived from bequests. The case was comparable with that of a large state university in the United States. Salaries of professors in such a university are paid out of the state treasury; but it may own not inconsiderable wealth in its own right, is permitted to collect fees from students and to charge for other services rendered. When one considers the rural character of Bulgaria and the poverty of most of its 6,000,000-odd people, the financial strength of Orthodoxy reflected in such magnificent structures as the Archiepiscopal Palace in Sofia is genuinely impressive. Clergymen of all ranks officiated on public occasions; and, though the spirituality of the Bulgarian people may well have been far from deep, they prized the Church as the primary agency of the national culture.

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Bulgarian education enjoyed a well merited repute, and the theological schools established after 1878 ranked high among the country's institutions of higher learning. The training given consisted in the main of what we should call "general education," theology being taught as a field of specialization. The result was that many leading citizens were graduates of these schools. Religious instruction, normally by laymen, was likewise included in the curricula of elementary and secondary schools. About 4,000 churches served the people, under the direction of the Holy Synod. This body also fostered breadth of view, and held membership in the World Council of Churches prior to the war. On the whole, the religious situation

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871 794 was idyllic, in spite of a rather constant exchange of uncomplimentary remarks with the Greeks.

C59 The first approach to the Church by the Communists was made rather gingerly and was not unfriendly. They seemed, indeed, to regard this venerable institution as a political instrument worth keeping in repair. True enough, religious instruction was banned from the public schools, and the control of marriage legislation was reserved to the State. Previously the Church not only had married aspirants to wedlock, but had maintained an elaborate system of marriage counseling and of divorce courts—courts with rules far more lenient than those recognized by either Catholic or conservative Protestant Churches in Western Europe. But the State budget continued to provide for the support of the clergy, and the prosecution of priests and prelates for alleged subversive activities was minimal.

[C62] A drastic change took place when the Communist Party assumed complete control during December, 1947, following the return of Georgi Dimitrov from Russia. The Constitution signed on the fourth day of that month dealt with religion in the customary Soviet manner: guaranteeing freedom of conscience and religion, and specifically endorsing freedom of worship; on the other hand, decreeing separation of Church and State, and prohibiting political organizations based on re-
659 ligious belief and political activities by the Churches. During
671 February, 1949, statutes were decreed which outlined in detail the relationship of the Churches to the government. Control over ecclesiastical matters was lodged in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which could hold the recognized authorities of each Church responsible. All such authorities had to be Bulgarian citizens, and to register with the Ministry, which might insist upon the removal from office of any clergyman it deemed undesirable. These laws, which subjected the Church to the

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Churches and Religion

Introduction

795 The vast majority of the Bulgarian Nation belongs to the Eastern Orthodox Christian Church, or Greek Catholic Church, which is also the church of the Russians, Greeks, Serbians, Romanians, as well as the Armenians, Syrians, and other Near Eastern nationalities. Second in number is the Moslem religious minority, with the Jewish, Roman Catholic, and Protestant denominations representing only minute fractions of the total population.

Unlike the Roman Catholic Church, the Eastern Orthodox Church has no central international authority. It consists of several rather loosely-connected national churches which have emerged at one time or another from the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople. It has been the persistent tendency of the various national churches to emancipate themselves as separate entities and cooperate with the respective national states. In the case of Bulgaria, all efforts of the State, from the establishment of the Princedom in 1878 to the Communist seizure of power in 1944, have centered upon the creation of a national church independent of foreign primates and symbolic of national unity. Therefore, Bulgarian legislation, until 1949, was concerned primarily with the nation's Eastern Orthodox Church.

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The Act on Religious Denominations put into effect by

175 In 1232 Kaloyan's successor, Ivan Asen, denounced
195 the union and severed all ties with the Roman Catholic Church.

During the nearly five centuries of Turkish rule (1393-1878) supreme authority over religious matters in the Bulgarian lands was vested in the Patriarch of Constantinople who was recognized very early (15th century) by the Turks as the religious head of all Christians in their empire. A Bulgarian Archbishopric at Ochrida was nevertheless allowed to function untill 1766 when the Greek Patriarch finally prevailed over the Turks to have this last vestige of Bulgarian past abolished.

[656] According to the general principle of the Ottoman law the non-Mohamedan communities enjoyed the jurisdiction not only in the religious matters but also in domestic relations and inheritance. Thus, all the disputes arising in this field among the Bulgarians were in fact judged in the last analysis by the dignitaries of the Patriarch of Constantinople who were predominantly Greek.

After the collapse of the State, the Bulgarian clergy was either banished or eliminated, thus opening a spiritual vacuum which was swiftly filled by the Patriarch's hierarchy, leaving only remote monasteries intact. From those very monasteries were to spring three centuries later (1762) the strong currents of a national Renaisance which finally culminated in religious and cultural emancipation of the Bulgarian nation from the Greek Patriarchate and Political liberation from the Ottoman Empire.

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II. Establishment of a Bulgarian Exarchate and Relations with the Patriarchate of Constantinople

A. Under the Turkish Rule, 1870-1878

With the approval of the Moslem Sultans, the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople maintained a complete religious, and in many instances, cultural control over the areas inhabited by the Bulgarian people. A detailed apparatus was set up manned by appointees of the Patriarch exclusively. Treated as being the spoils of the office, the population was exposed to corruption and threat of Hellenization. Reaction was sporadic until 1762 when an obscure Bulgarian monk, Father Paisiy, published his History of the Bulgarian People and roving the country to let the people copy his book, aroused national pride and consciousness. From then on, the ideas of a separate Bulgarian political and cultural entity gave birth to a movement for national awakening and emancipation. Wisely, it first concentrated on the issue of Greek religious authority over Bulgarian lands versus a national Bulgarian church within the Turkish Empire. The issue came to a climax in the events of 1870-1872.

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In 1870, the Turkish Government finally intervened in the religious dispute between the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Bulgarian population under its jurisdiction and issued an Imperial Decree (Firman) which recognized the validity of the Bulgarians' claim to an independent ecclesiastical authority and provided for the establishment of an autonomous Bulgarian Exarchate. In designating the area of jurisdiction of the new

656 Church, the Firman enumerated some of the Bulgarian-populated
795 regions and provided for the holding of a plebiscite to determine
175 the preference of the rest of the Bulgarian lands:

> If the population of any other places besides those enumerated above, and professing the Orthodox faith, should wish unanimously or at least by a two-thirds majority to be subject to the Bulgarian Exarchate, and if subsequent investigation should prove this to be so, their desire should be gratified (Article 10).*

795 In the following year, an all-Bulgarian church council convened at Constantinople to lay the foundations of a national Bulgarian church. The council met with stubborn opposition on the part of the Patriarchate which, claiming the status of an ecumenical church, refused to consent to the proposed creation of a church on the principle of nationality. The formula of the Ottoman Government in the Firman of 1870 whereby the Exarchate, though autonomous, was to recognize the primacy of the Patriarchate, would have avoided all the conflict if it had not been for the issue of the Exarch's residence. Supported by the Ottoman government, the Bulgarian council took the stand that the residence of the Exarch must be in Constantinople, capital of the Ottoman Empire and seat of the Patriarchate. The Patriarchate opposed the Exarch's having a seat in the same locality as the Patriarch himself.

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* The full text of this important document is in Stoyan Protic, The Aspirations of Bulgaria (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton and Co., 1915), appendix.

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The conflict was aggravated when the Patriarchate refused to recognize the Statute of Exarchate drafted by the Bulgarian Church Council. One of the objectionable points was the new method of filling the positions in the hierarchy of the Bulgarian Church. All prelates in the Bulgarian lands were hitherto appointed by the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Under the Statute of the Exarchate the Bishops were to be elected by the diocesans, and the Exarch, by the highest dignitaries of the Church with the participation of representatives of the layman.

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The refusal of the Patriarchate to recognize the Exarchate and its Statute provoked a schism, or split, between the Patriarchate and the Bulgarian Church. This split, between the Patriarchate and the Bulgarian Church. This split lasted until 1945 when a reconciliation was negotiated and achieved.

In spite of he fierce opposition of the Greek clergy and the Patriarchate in Constantinople, the Bulgarian regions (Danube province with the capital in Rushtchuk, and Nishava province with the capital in Nish), as well as most of Macedonia and Thrace, voted to submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Exarchate. An Exarch was elected by the Bulgarian Church Council, and with the consent of the sublime Porte established his seat in Constantinople.

This unique plebiscite, which emancipated the Bulgarian nation from Greek ecclesiastic domination, became

795 the symbol of the religious and cultural unity of the Bulgarian nation and constituted the prelude to its political liberation in 1878.

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B. From the Creation of Princedom to the Balkan Wars, 1878-1913

Under the treaty of Berlin which settled the issues raised by the Russo-Turkish War in 1877-1878, the provinces of the Turkish Empire with predominant Bulgarian population were not included in one body politic. Two regions were incorporated into Romania (Dobrudja) and Serbia (Morava region).*

Moreover, two large Bulgarian provinces, Thrace and Macedonia, remained within the Ottoman Empire. The rest assigned to the Bulgarians and at first formed two political entities: Princedom of Bulgaria, including the regions between the Danube River and the Balkan range (present Northern Bulgaria) and was placed under the nominal sovereignty of the Turkish Sultan. In the region south of the Balkans (present Southern Bulgaria) an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire - Eastern

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* Dobrudja was given to Romania in compensation for the loss of Bessarabia annexed by Russia. The regions east of Morava River with the city of Nish were given to Serbia. This met the aspiration of Austria-Hungary to divert Serbian attention from the Slavs in Bosnia and Herzegovina occupied by Austro-Hungarian Empire and annexed in 1908.

175 Rumelia - was formed but it joined, in 1885, the Princedom of
131 Bulgaria and severed all ties with Turkey.

Thus, in fact, there were two Bulgarian churches:
795 that of the Princedom of Bulgaria, no longer under the authority of the Ottoman Empire, and that of Turkey, which lay outside the jurisdiction of the new Pricedom. A reorganization of the Exarchate was imperative but not easy to achieve. There was at first a provisional, more or less arbitrary, ecclesiastical organization. This situation lasted until 1882; a compromise was then reached and in 1883, the Sobranie (National Assembly or legislature) of the Princedom prepared a draft of a statute for the Exarchate for the territory of the Princedom. The final wording of the Statute was not completed until 1895.

Under this statute the Church was administered by both the Exarch in Constantinople and the Holy Synod, or Council, established in Sofia. All matters involving the Bulgarian Church in the Princedom were submitted to the Exarch through the Holy Synod or decided by the Synod itself. The Exarch administered directly the affairs of the Bulgarian churches in the provinces remaining in the Ottoman Empire, including Macedonia and Thrace. However, the hope was never given up by the Bulgarian churchmen and people that one day Macedonia and Thrace would join Bulgaria and thus the reunion of the Exarch with the Synod would be made possible.

These hopes were not fulfilled as is explained <u>infra</u>. The statute was amended several times but the amendments were of minor importance and dealt only with current, purely administrative problems.

659 ever occurred, not even military parades, without the blessing and prominent presence of the representatives of the Church.

Thus, a close cooperation was established between the State and the Church, and the Bulgarian people considered it quite important even though Bulgarians were not very religious. The Bulgarian people saw in the church a national institution for which they had fought bitterly before they had obtained statehood, and which was a source of encouragement in good and of solace in bad days. These were not two separate concepts but actually two parts of one and the same national concept. Given this union it is not at all astonishing that some prelates temporarily left their religious duties and assumed political or diplomatic functions, as it was the case, immediately after the liberation of Bulgaria, of Clement, the Bishop of Stara Zagora, who in 1879-80 was Prime Minister for several months and later headed the Bulgarian delegations frequently sent to St. Petersburg before the Russian Tzar. In later times and during World War II, two bishops, Stefan of Sofia (a Russophile) and Paisii of Vratza (a germanophile), became notorious by their endeavors to play a part in politics and aspire to the position of Prime Minister.

B. Ecclesiastic Courts, Marriage and Divorce*

●795 692 Not being separated from the State, the Bulgarian Church performed, up to the advent of the communist regime, certain public functions. Religious celebration was required for the validity of a marriage, vital statistics were kept by the clergy and even the legal questions of marriage and divorce

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were under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastic courts. The participation of laymen in these courts rendered them national and democratic in character.

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* The matter is treated in Part VI of the Statute of the Exarchate, completed only in 1897 and passed by the National Assembly the same year (Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 85, April 22, 1897).

B. The General Law of 1949

1. Summary and Analysis

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The Communist Government promulgated, on March 1, 1949, a general law on the religious denominations in the country (Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 48, March 1, 1949). The full text of the law is given infra, (2). This law was promulgated while the trial of the Protestant pastors was in progress. Although it recognizes that the "Bulgarian Orthodox Church is the traditional religion of the Bulgarian people associated with its history" and suggest that "it may become the people's democratic church" (Section 3), the law introduces a uniform regime for all denominations, the over-all detailed control of which is vested in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. While it restates the constitutional provisions for freedom of conscience and religion and separation of church and state, the law recognizes only the exercise of "religious rituals" (Section 2) and makes no mention of activities for the propagation of the faith. To exist, a denomination requires recognition by the government granted through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Section 6) subject to arbitrary withdrawal. Recognition by the government of a denomination carries with it the status of a legal entity for its church.

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The governing bodies of the denominations are responsible before the government (Section 9) and must be composed of Bulgarian nationals (Section 10). Clergymen who "act against the democratic institutions of the state" may be

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removed from office upon the request of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Section 12).

In financial matters, the annual budgets of the denominations must be submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; "when necessary, the state may subsidize them (the denominations)" (Section 13). All financial, hierarchical or personal relations with institutions abroad must be conducted through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Section 22 and 24).

The denominations are permitted to open schools for the training of ministers subject to control by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Section 14) but cannot maintain hospitals, orphanages and the like (Section 21). All messages, circular letters and publications issued by the denominations are subject to previous approval by the same Ministry which may stop such publications (Section 15).

An important feature of the new regime of denominational control is the registration of the governing bodies with the public authorities (Section 16). Furthermore, religious institutions established abroad cannot have subdivisions in the country; all such subdivisions are to be closed within one month from the promulgation of the law (Section 23). Within the same period the denominations must submit lists of their ministers to the Minister of Foreign Affairs which may request the dismissal of any one found objectionable (Section 31).

671 to confirm the statute.

Section 31

Within a month from the date on which the present law takes effect, the central directive agency of each denomination must submit to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs rosters of their ministers and religious representatives; these may retain their positions if the Minister of Foreign Affairs raises no objection.

Objections may be raised against those ministers who do not fulfill the qualifications established by the present law.

Section 32

The present law repeals all legislation which contradicts it.

The carrying out of the present Ukase shall be entrusted to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

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V. Minority Denominations

There are four minority denominations in Bulgaria: Mohammedan, Jewish, Protestant and Catholic. Each has its religious communities, which are administered by a Central Authority established in Sofia, with the exception of the Protestants who are subdivided into several groups (Methodists, Baptist, Episcopal, Etc.), each with its own Administrative Authority.

A. Mohammedan Minority

Of the minority denominations the Mohammedan has been and is the most numerous. It numbers more than 600,000

795 faithful and is politically important because of its ties with Turkey. It must be noted, however, that since the Balkan War the Turkish population in Bulgaria has continously been emigrating to Turkey.

167 175 The emigration of the Moslem population from Bulgaria to Turkey began with the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. Most of the Turks living in the cities left Bulgaria immediately. They were slowly followed by the peasant element. The Turkish Government did not encourage this emigration. Under Sultan Abdul Hamid's rule the Turkish authorities were always suspicious of Moslem immigrants from the newly-liberated countries where they had lived under much more liberal conditions and had learned to value freedom and rights - two things which were not allowed in the Turkish Empire. There was another for this attitude. Turkey was greatly interest in keeping abroad a large and compact Moslem minority. They remained under the religious rule of the Cheikh-ul-Islam of Constantinople and could be of invaluable assistance in a Bulgarian-Turkish conflict, as they could not fail to respond to the appeal of their religious leader. But with the gradual stabilization of the situation the religious fanaticism of these Moslems weakened, and the passive character of the Turkish race led them to become loyal subjects of the Bulgarian State.

The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 caused the disappearance of Turkey from Europe. World War I, following a year later, brought about the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire whose

(viel) for women, and the change from the Arabic to the Latin alphabet. 178 167 175

These fundamental reforms provoked a schism at first, and for a long time Mustafa Kemal and his followers were considered infidels by other Moslems. The Bulgarian Government, keenly aware of the potential menace presented by the compact and numerous Turkish minority, was only too happy to exploit this schism, which caused the Turks in Bulgaria to turn away from Ankara and Constantinople. 175 563

Bulgaria refused to exert any pressure on the Moslem minority to force it to organize its social and religious life along the lines advocated by the Kemalists. The Moslems were left entirely free to keep the Sheriat and the Arabic alphabet. Nothing was changed in the Turkish clergy and schools in Bulgaria. This was all the easier to effect because the separation of the Church and State, which is the core of the Kemalist reforms, had long been realized in Bulgaria by the very fact of the establishment of the Christian Bulgarian State side by side with an ethnically foreign Moslem minority. 659 175 563 795 793

Left entirely to itself, this minority, whose nationality and religion have always been scrupulously respected, organized itself on the basis of the Sheriat, which governed every phase of its civic and religious life, particularly in matrimonial matters - marriage and divorce (i. e., repudiation of the wife by the husband), as well as in the matters of inheritance.

This organization, which developed side by side with

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the Bulgarian State, was maintained by the Bulgarian authorities by means of the institution of the muftis, whose network covered all the Turkish-inhabited regions and which was centered at Sofia in the person of a Great Mufti, elected by the regional muftis. The Great Mufti was assisted by a Council elected by all the Moslems in the country. Thus, the Turkish minority not only enjoyed equal political rights with other citizens, but also was provided with a system of self-government concerning all matters regulated by the Sheriat. Such was the privileged position of the great Moslem community, which was able to support a considerable number of mosques (no less than two thousand) and schools (more than one thousand) and to publish several newspapers in its own language.

The Kemalists were extremely dissatisfied with this state of affairs. It frustrated the expansion of their reforms beyond the frontiers of Turkey. The Government in Sofia, however, took a firm stand and refused to change anything in the direction desired by Ankara. What was more, the Turks in Bulgaria, being a compact and a large group, were a source of votes for the politicians, who did much to raise their primitive standard of living. Great projects were carried out [312] by the Bulgarian State over several years whose purpose it was to provide drinking water and irrigation for the arid region of Doliorman (Northeastern Bulgaria) predominantly populated by Turks.

B. Jewish Minority

The Jews in Bulgaria numbered about 50,000 and came originally from Spain. Until the last war they lived in absolute liberty and enjoyed all the rights of Bulgarian citizens. The Jewish colony maintained about 30 synagogues, of which seven are in Sofia, three in Plovdiv, two in Pleven, one in Vidin, one in Vratza, etc., and a consistory composed of prominent men, the most notable of whom was the great Rabbi Dr. Ehrenpreiss (actually residing in Stockholm). For more than fifteen years Dr. Ehrenpreiss made a center of his residence from which Hebrew culture was propagated not only in the Balkans but in Eastern Europe as well. [162] 563 795

The Jews not only were not persecuted, but also enjoyed the sympathy of the local population. This explains the fact that, although not numerous, they controlled the greater part of Bulgarian commerce, both domestic and foreign. The relations between Bulgarians and Jews were excellent, and sometimes went even as far as inter-marriage. The wife of the last Bulgarian Minister to the United States, Dr. Mevorah, who is of Jewish descent, is a Bulgarian.

This harmony was not disturbed even after Hitler's seizure of power in Germany when, under the influence of the new regime in the Reich, national-socialist and fascist groups were also organized in Bulgaria. These groups endeavored, among other things, to incite anti-Jewish feelings among the 798 569

tied to the Communist Party and the present government. It is, therefore, not to be expected that they will leave Bulgaria. It must be noted, however, that by means of this organized emigration to the State of Israel, the Russians, who are the masters in Bulgaria, have succeeded in sending there a rather large number of communists and they played an important part in that country in favor of a pro-soviet orientation. 563 167

C. Roman Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church was one of the most influential although Roman Catholics were not numerous in Bulgaria. Indeed, Catholicism penetrated Bulgaria as early as the XVII century. It did not come directly from Rome, but through the intermediary of the then powerful Austrian monarchy, which sought to expand into Southeastern Europe and which, in order to realize the goals of that policy, was promising the Bulgarian people to liberate them from the Turkish rule at a time when Russia had not yet entered the International arena. 795 175

The pioneers of that denomination were then Bulgarian merchants with connections abroad who often visited the Dalmatian port Dubrovnik (Raguza), an important cultural center at the time. There they were won to the idea of the liberation of Bulgaria with the help of Catholic Austria, an idea encouraged by the Vatican authorities, and they frequented Vienna and Rome for political conferences. Such merchants came mostly from the small but rich town Tchiprovtsi, in the present region of Vratsa,

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in northwestern Bulgaria. Consequently, Catholicism spread in the region and town of Plovdiv, in southern Bulgaria. These are the two main Catholic centers in Bulgaria to which Sofia must be added not because it has a large Catholic population, but because the old King Ferdinand was Catholic and favored Catholicism. There were, therefore, two Catholic Churches in Sofia. Also, the Catholic Bishop, religious head of all, though no numerous, Bulgarian Catholics, had his seat there where the Pope likewise maintained an Apostolic Nuncio as his representative to the Bulgarian Government and the Bulgarian court.

Another Catholic current penetrated the Bulgarian provinces during the second half of the XIX century, this time via Constantinople. This was at the time when the Bulgarian nation was engaged in the fight for its religious emancipation. The country had already been convinced that liberation was going to come only from Russia, but Russian diplomacy at first refused to support the demand for the creation of an autonomous Bulgarian Church. It threatened to cause a schism in the Orthodox world because of the uncompromising atitude of the Constantinople Patriarchate, which insisted on its ecumenical. Jurisdiction as opposed to the national principle in religious affaris. In view of this situation a certain number of Bulgarians reacted to that opposition by soliciting the protection of the Vatican in the hope that this protection would help to draw the attention of Europe and induce it to take an interest in the fate of the Bulgarian people and also expedite their religious and political liberation.

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Thus, in 1859, the inhabitants of the Macedonian towns of Doiran and of Kukush (Kilkish), north of Saloniko, now in Yugoslav and Greek lands, respectively, left the Patriarchate to form a Bulgarian Uniate Church which registered some gains in Macedonia and Thrace, particularly in Adrianople, between 1860 - 1870, before the Bulgarian Exarchate was established. In these two regions the Vatican appointed bishops for the dioceses which were established there, and toward the end of that decade, a young Bulgarian patriot, Dragan Tzankoff, who later was to play a considerable part in the political life of the Princedom of Bulgaria at the head of the liberal party, began serious negotiations with the Vatican for the incorporation of the entire Bulgarian nation into the Roman Church as a Uniate Church. A Uniate Archbishopric was established, but proved to be of short life. The Turkish government authorized lather the establishment of the Exarchate as the Bulgarian National Church.

The Bulgarian Uniates, like the Uniates in the Ukraine and in Byelorussia, constituted a special branch of Catholics. They preserved the dogmas and rituals and other religious rules of the Eastern Church, but accepted the supreme authority of the Pope, praying for him during the Mass and mentioning him as the supreme church authority instead of the Patriarch, and later, the Exarch.

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The Uniate movement was centered around Saloniko and directed from Constantinople. It rendered great services to the Bulgarian population in Macedonia and Thrace under the

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Ottoman Empire. Its influence was greatest in the vilayet (province) of Salonika. A great cathedral was erected in that city in 1878 to replace the little chapel which had until then served the small Catholic community. The same soon took place in Adrianople. The Uniate communities of these two cities, with the authorization of the Turkish authorities and the material support of the Vatican, founded primary and secondary schools for their children. These schools helped considerably the Bulgarian population, exposed immediately after the Russo-Turkish War of 1878 to the double persecutions by the Greek clergy, who were trying to detach it from the Exarchate. The Catholic educational institutions educated a great number of indigent children who later made powerful contributions to the cultural progress of the Bulgarian Nation.

Several religious missions came to these regions from Rome, and, once established, did some beneficial work. Two of them particularly distinguished themselves. One was the Order of St. Vincent of Paul of the Brothers and Sisters of Charity, which acquired the estate of Zeitinlik, two kilometers from the Vardar Gate of Salonika, on the road to Serres and where they erected the vast buildings of the "Bulgarian Catholic School of St. Cyril and Methodius", circled by a great wall; the other was the school of the two italian clerics, Brother Guiseppe Aloati and Sister Christine Aloati, of Turin, who, in 1892, bought a large farm, near the village of Palortzi, in the region of Ghevgheli, in Macedonia, actually located on the Greek-Yugoslav border on which they founded an orphanage with a convent school for nurses and one for home economics, and

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where many Bulgarian children of Southern Macedonia found asylum, especially after the great insurrection of August 1903. After the Balkan War, which Bulgaria fought for the liberation of her national territories of Macedonia and Thrace from Turkish rule, but which ended disastrously for her, these two important centers of education for the Bulgarian youths were suppressed, the school buildings and their grounds having been seized by the Greek and Serbian authorities, which likewise forced all other Bulgarian schools under their jurisdiction to be closed. This brutal occupation was resented by the local population, and many disgraceful scenes took place, such as the suppression of the school in Palortzi. The order stated that instructions be changed from the Bulgarian to the Serbian language; Father and Sister Aleati declared that when they established the school, they had found nothing but Bulgarian children in that region and that, for this reason, they could not fail in their duty to teach these children in their own Bulgarian language. This courageous declaration was unanimously supported by the students, who declared that they were Bulgarians and that they had no desire to learn the Serbian language. The order to change the language which was repeated several times was not carried out. One day a detachment of Serbian police invaded the grounds of the school with the official notice that either the curriculum was going to be Serbianized, or the school was to be evacuated immediately. The teachers and students remained firm in their attitude and preferred

exile to renunciation of the Bulgarian character of the school. 795
With their few belongings that they managed to salvage, they 797
sought refuge in Bulgaria. 563

The Uniate movement did not expand after the 795
establishment of the Exarchate in 1871 and the creation of a 175
Bulgarian State in 1879. The towns of Adrianople and Kukush were devastated and almost destroyed by the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913. Turkey and Greece soon thereafter expelled most of the Bulgarian population of those regions. The Uniates among them were dispersed throughout Bulgaria and disappeared as an organized religious community.

Between the two world wars a powerful Catholic action was begun by Italy in the Balkans and particularly in Bulgaria. This action was carried out by a special religious organization called "Pro Oriente". It did not, however, pursue religious aims but pure Italian propaganda and there is beyond the scope of this report.

The foreign denominations, however, have even enjoyed 656
the greatest freedom in Bulgaria, this freedom being consecrated by the Constitution itself (see supra) and were under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which also took care of the ecclesiastic affairs of the Bulgarian Church. The Constitution of 1879 had created in this Ministry a bureau in charge of the denominations.

The need for a special law for the foreign denominations 671
was not even felt under the pre-war regime. Such a law was not

promulgated until 1949. Sections 5, 7-15, 17, 18, 20-24, 28, 30, and 31 of this law especially affect the Roman Catholic Church. 671

D. Prostestant Church

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The activities of the Protestant Churches are described in more detail in Appendix B. No law was disclosed which would specifically regulate the position of the Protestant Church in Bulgaria. The activity of this church was primarily educational, that is, the Protestants opened and conducted several private schools in Bulgaria. They did not come under some special denominational churches which were treated like any other private schools. For this reason such activities are being reported in a separate appendix to this digest, which is primarily designed to give a picture of the legal status of the church.

ambitious nature, Mgr. Stefan wanted to play an important part in that scheme. That is why he offered his services to Alexis, whom he charmed and in whose person, moreover, he wanted to have a champion among the communists. Nevertheless, in doing so, he was also following the tradition established during the long period of the schism when the Russian Church had always supported the Bulgarian Church, for which the Bulgarians were quite thankful. 793

Alexis was soon to visit the Holy Land, and Stefan, who would have to pay a visit to the Patriarch in Constantinople after the lifting of the schism, suggested that that visit coincide with that of his big brother, on the latter's return from the Holy Land, in such fashion that the two would meet in Constantinople as guests of the Ecumenical Patriarch and affirm a soviet moral protectorate over the Eastern Orthodox Christians in the Orient, which was to facilitate the expansion of soviet political influence. 795

This scheme failed. The Turkish Government was highly disturbed by the announcement of Alexis' journey; and the Constantinople Patriarchate, fearing the consequences of the projected visit, asked the Moscow Patriarch to postpone it.

This was all taking place while the political group, known as the E.A.M. in Greece, which was communist dominated, still had hopes of seizing power through peaceful means, with the active support of the U.S.S.R., of course.

The negotiations with the Greek Patriarchate, which 000

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The negotiations with the Greek Patriarchate which A7 although still called "Ecumenical", actually was reduced to a few dioceses in and around Constantinople, were carried on rather smoothly. The reconciliation of the two rival churches had been in preparation for a long time by the march of the events. The rivalry itself had no foundation any more. The defeat of the Greek expeditionary forces at the hands of Kemal Ataturk in their attempt at restoring the Byzantine Empire of the old days had had, as a consequence, the disappearance of Greek religious supremacy in the Orthodox world. As to the Bulgarians, the loss of Thrace and Macedonia had left them little to dispute about with the Patriarchate of Phanar. Moreover, the Greek-Bulgarian ecclesiastic quarrel was far less of a dogmatic nature than that of a political nature, and one may even say, a purely administrative one.

In effect, the canons of the Orthodox faith forbade the presence of two religious leaders of the same denomination in one town. It is on the basis of that rule that the Patriarchate had opposed, in 1871, the establishment of the See of the Bulgarian Exarch in Constantinople. However, at that time all Bulgarian lands were still under Ottoman rule, and there was no other place the Exarchate could go and still be in direct contact with the Turkish Government as its capital. Since that period, things have changed radically, and now there is no need for the presence of the Bulgarian Exarch in Constantinople. Furthermore, the Patriarchate was willing to recognize the complete independence of the Bulgarian Church, which it

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was ready to proclaim autocephalous under an Exarch or a Patriarch, as the Bulgarians would have it.

On such a basis, an agreement was soon reached, and on February 23, 1945, a protocol was signed by the Patriarch and the Bulgarian delegates, and ratified by the Holy Synods of the two churches. The schism separating the Bulgarian Church from the Patriarchate since 1871 was eliminated.

This result was greatly facilitated by the favorable attitude of Patriarch Benjamino himself. Sensing the end of his days was drawing nearer, he was determined to carry out the task of reconciliation and pacification before his death. He came from the southern part of Macedonia (incorporated into Greece in 1913), and there are good reasons to consider him as a Bulgarian. He had not lost his national feeling and wanted to express that feeling by taking the intiative of the rapproahement between the Greeks and the Bulgarians. His moral strength is all the more outstanding in view of his weak physical condition. The Apostolic Nuncio in Constantinople has said of him and his ideal: "that old man rises above the contingencies of everyday life in the pursuit of a great ideal in the service of God and of Humanity."

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The protocol of February 23 was to recive a solemn confirmation by a visit of Exarch Stefan to Patriarch Benjamin. that visit was delayed by events until the second half of October 1945. In the meantime, the Patriarch suffered two heart attacks, and the composition of the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate had

been altered by one of the periodical re-shufflings, which had removed precisely the most zealous supporters of the reconciliation. The Patriarch had enough strength to impose the continued adherence to the decisions which had been made, but the atmosphere was not at all the same. Stefan's visit to Alexis and the fact that he arrived in Constantinople (Istanbul) as it were directly from Moscow, were widely exploited to cause alarm and suspicion in the old Ottoman capital where a Russian-Bulgarian maneuver aimed at gaining moral control of the city was always feared. These fears were tacitly shared by the Turkish Government, and consequently, there were many obstacles to be removed. Nevertheless, Mgr. Stefan's visit was very successful in the outcome. 795 798 648

Sofia tried to exploit that success and to widen the work of reconciliation to the peoples themselves, and not only to the churches. On October 30, 1945, Exarch Stefan handed to the Patriarch a short memorandum, in which the Bulgarian Government was asking the Patriarch to intercede before the Regent of Greece, Mgr. Damaskinos, in favor of the normalization of Greek-Bulgarian relations. Bulgaria decalred her readiness to repair all damages effectively caused by Bulgarian occupation authorities, taking into consideration, however, the public utility projects which the Bulgarians had undertaken in Greece. Bulgaria asserted that she had no purpose other than to establish friendly conditions of cooperation between the two countries. 648

To that Mgr. Damaskinos, then head of the Greek State, gave an evasive reply. He approved the lifting of the schism

government, which intended to make the church its tool, both in and out of the country, when it was rapidly becoming the center of opposition, especially after the suppression of the political opposition in the Sobranie. To these demands, Mgr. Stefan had to give satisfaction, albeit half-heartedly, and in so doing, he provoked the ire of both the clergy and the people. On the other hand, to complicate things further, he took a dim view of the activities of the Holy Synod, and wanted to decide everything alone. 793

Thus, while he was in Istanbul, he informed Patriarch Benjamin of his intention to proclaim himself Patriarch in 1917 and invited him to send delegates to attend the ceremonies which he planned. In this he acted without consulting either the government of the Synod, and, quite naturally, both protested when he returned to Bulgaria and declared that they disagreed with him, and that they considered the transformation of the Exarchate into a Patriarchate an untimely step. The conflict which opposed him to the government on the one hand, and to the Holy Synod on the other hand, went from bad to worse, especially after the separation of Church and State had been decreed officially by the adoption of the new Constitution at the end of 1947. Mgr. Stefan thus litorally found himself between the hammer and the anvil. Moreover, because of his personally aggressive attitude towards the other prelates, which made him attempt to dictate to his friends and to crush his opponents, the two forces finally joined against him. On 793 795

September 6, 1948, following an incident with the communists, he saw himself placed in the position where he had to hand in his resignation to the Holy Synod which accepted it unanimously with the support of the government, which did nothing to prepare for the election of a new Exarch. The Holy Synod, taking full charge again of the Church, did more than accept the resignation of Mgr. Stefan. By applying the last amendment of the Statute of the Exarchat (Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 108, May 12, 1945) which definitely linked the office of the Exarch with that of the Archbishop Primate of Sofia, it deprived him of his diocese, reserved for the new Exarch, and relegated him as a virtual prisoner to the surroundings of the small provincial town of Karlovo, where the government permitted him to establish himself in a castle which had once been the property of the late King Boris. His health, by the way, was particularly precarious.

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The decision of the Holy Synod really amounts to a deposition of the Exarch, rather than as an acceptance of his resignation. It was the revenge of the Synod, whom Mgr. Stefan had systematically ignored in his ambition to arrive at a personal and arbitrary rule over the Church, contrary to the very spirit of the Statute of the Exarchate, which had established the Bulgarian Church on an essentially democratic and national basis.

school. By this time the missionaries felt their theological training school should be more available for Asiatic Turkey and away from a big city. Therefore, the theological school was moved into Asia Minor. About the same time, in 1863, a Mr. Christopher R. Robert of New York, was urging Dr. Hamlin to found a Christian college to furnish higher education for all races in the Turkish Empire. So in 1863 the Robert College was founded, which was to educate and train future Bulgarians. 797

In 1845 a girls' boarding school was started by the missionaries in Constantinople with two pupils. This later became the well-known and important "American College for Girls at Constantinople", in 1872.

Many Armenians became attracted to the new form of Christianity and after some time the Orthodox Armenians began severe persecution of their "evangelicals" and finally resorted to excommunication. This treatment caused the organization of the first Protestant Church on July 1, 1846, in Constantinople. 795

The American Board began its work in European Turkey in 1858. For some time attention had been turned to this part of the Empire as a strategic missionary field. 797

Dr. Hamilin of the school at Bebek, on a visit to England in 1856, enlisted the substantial aid of friends there, notably the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Turkish Missions Aid Society in the needy and important lands which Turkey held in Europe.

It was felt that in this middle ground between East

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Here an appeal to the new law of religious liberty in Turkey, together with the help of friendly officials brought good results even from persecution. 797 798

One of the best-known contributions of the Prostestants to Bulgaria began as a little mission school for young men in 1860. It was called "The Collegiate and Theological Institute" and started with four pupils. It was shifted to several locations ans was closed temporarily during troublesome times, but was finally reestablished in 1871 at Samokov. The mission school for girls was also moved to Samokov that same year. 797

Samokov was chosen as a more promising town at that time. The climate was much better than in the hot district around Plovdiv. There were still no railroads in the country, and Sofia was an insignificant little place. There were prospering iron mines at Samokov and the place seemed one that would grow in the future.

Both boarding schools increased in attendance and in influence.

On June 30, 1871, the initial annual meeting of the European Turkey Mission was held at Stara Zagora. To this meeting the scholarly Dr. Riggs of Constantinople brought the first bound volume of theBulgarian Bible. At this meeting the "European Turkey Mission" was organized. It was the first mission of the Board that, from the beginning, had the Bible in the language which the people could understand.

In 1871 the first evangelical church in Macedonis was organized at Bansko 795

000 consider himself outside danger.

795 The principal sects of Protestants now working in Bulgaria are the Congregationalists, the Methodists, the Baptists, and the Pentecostalists.

These are all native Bulgarian, as their foreign representatives have been sent out.

In numbers, the membership in the churches is small. However, there is much interest at present in the "hotter" denominations, no doubt as a direct result of the present war tension in the country. The work of the churches is limited to meetings in their church buildings. These meetings are "supervised" always by someone from the Communist Party, but attendance is especially large. The pastors officiating are chosen carefully with the idea of conforming with the government, yet they are allowed to preach sermons.

None of the schools started by the Protestant work are functioning at present in Bulgaria, except that at Pordim which is run by the government.

There is evidence that, in spite of the terror exercised by the Communists in Bulgaria, the Protestants will continue to have their churches. Many Protestants will remain loyal to their beliefs and will suffer quietly, as all good Bulgarians are now doing, hoping for the day of a real liberation that will bring freedom to the conscience again.

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175 Franks (678) and the English Kingdom (Kingdom of Essex—802 United Kingdom of England with King Egbert—828), while Rurik organized the Moscow principality even later, in 862.

After the unification of the Slavs in the initial stage of Bulgarian statehood, followed the period of united legislation (802—814) which amalgamated the invaders with the conquered local inhabitants. Then came the period of spiritual enlightenment (852—889), during which Christianity was accepted (866) and, in this manner, the complete assimilation 795 of the mixed population was attained. The Bulgarian church 175 was entirely independent from the very outset, both of Rome, and of any of the Eastern churches. This important fact has run like a red streak through the entire history of Bulgaria for 1080 years, from 865 up to 1945, and has helped the formation of the Bulgarian State and its resistance against all encroachments. The church movement has always been one of the paramount problems in the history of the Bulgarians and, in this respect, they differ from other Slavic nations. The Bulgarian church is closely connected with the experience and the life of the nation. It is entirely independent and its actions are determined only by the will of the Bulgarian people. This fact should be appreciated by those who seek to understand the history of Bulgaria.

538 **8. Literature and Cultural Achievements.** The conversion of the Bulgarians to Christianity (866) and their need for church instruction and prayer books gave rise to literary production, which is the beginning of literature for the whole Slavic world. The entire Bulgarian nation celebrates the day of its enlightenment on May 24. This is the holiday commemorating the life of the saintly brothers of Cyril and Methodius of Salonica who made our alphabeth and prepared our eclesiastical books. This is what the noted Russian historian and academician, N. Derjavin, said in 1914, when he was a professor in the Leningrad (Petrograd) university:[1])

„In this way Bulgaria gave the Slavic people their language, upon which the present Slavic culture grew and developed. It was destined to be the first in giving life to the feeling of tribal self-consciousness among the Slavs and to serve,

[1]) N. Derjavin; The Bulgarian-Serb Relations and the Macedonian Question; Petrograd (i. e. Leningrad), 1914; (in Russian).

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538 such glorious development that, so far as the wealth of ecclesiastical literary production was concerned, it was able to compete bravely with the choicest Greek and Latin literatures of the time and to excel all other European literatures in that respect."

Prof. Ernest Denis[1]) states the following on the same subject: „The Bulgarian literature reached its golden age under the reign of Simeon and its historic importance was considerable. There was no other western literature in that distant period which contained such enormous quantity of biblical, liturgical and theological works borrowed from the Greeks. They translated the heroic and legendary narratives which were spread all over Europe in the Middle Ages... The Bulgarians were the first to use the old Slavic language and their works, distributed among all the orthodox Slavs, contributed to the establishment of national literature".

In the same work, St. Novakovitch and A Malet[2]) say: „Persecuted in all the countries dominated by Rome the learned Slavs, from 886 on, took refuge in Bulgarla which was the only country capable of protecting them. They formed there a veritable seminary of letters at the begining of the tenth century".

795 **9. Bogomilism.** In two hundred and fifty years (679 — 927), since the coming of the Bulgarians to the Balkan Peninsula, they had already become well nigh the real masters of the Peninsula. Simeon had acquired the title „Tzar of All Bulgarians and Greeks". After his death in 927, however, the Bulgarian State failed to retain the height of its power. The decline was due partly to the rise of the boyars, (nobility) feudal claims. But it was caused also by the appearance of Bogomilism and by the drawn and weary battles. The Bogomils maintained that the church, ikons, ecclesiastical hierarchy, kings, wars, wealth and even human flesh were the works of Satan. Many think that Bogomilism was a contribution by the Bulgarian Slavs to human civilizat on. A. N. Vsevolski[3]) says: „Through the influence of Bogomilism, the

[1]) In Ernest Lavisse et Alfred Rambaud; Histoire générale du 4-lème siècle à nos jours; 1893. Vol. I, p. 733.

[2]) Ibid Vol. III. p. 903

[3]) Slavianskia Skazania, pp. 146—147; cf. D. Misheff, Rectifications of History, Sofia, 1922, p. 13.

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Slav people introduced in the European civilization, before Huss, their manner of thinking which left lasting traces in all the literature of the Middle Ages". 795

Ernest Denis says[1]): „The dualist doctrine invaded from Bulgaria not only the Slav countries of the Balkan Peninsula, but also Italy and Southern France. The Cathares and Albigenses were n frequent relations with the Southern Slavs. For a long time the Bogomil doctrines were preached by some of the nobility, by kings and even by bishops in some provinces of the peninsula. They dominated Bosnia, in spite of all the efforts of the Popes and the Hungarian kings".

Ed. Gibbon says:[2]) „The Bulgarians spread their branches over the face of Europe, united in common hatred of idolatry and of Rome, they were bound by a form of episcopal and presbyterian government; their various sects were distinguished by some fainter or darker shades of theology; but they generally agreed on two principles: the contempt for the old testament and the denial of the body of Christ, either on the cross or in the Eucharist. A confession of simple worship and blameless manners is extorted from their enemies; and so high was their standard of perfection, that the increasing congregations were divided into two classes of disciples, those who practised and those who aspired..."

Simonde de Sismondi[3]) makes the following statement: „Along with their goods, the Bulgarian merchants brought down the valley of the Danube the first seeds of the Reformation. Their doctrine, carried into Bohemia, cleared the road for John Huss and Jerome of Prague".

10. Military Power. We prefer to dwell on the cultural activity of the Bulgarians rather than on their military achievements, although that these achievements were quite significant because the Bulgarian armies reached the walls of Constantinople several times. Bulgarians exercised always great pressure on the Byzantine Empire. Bulgarian history is nothing less than a ceaseless struggle for Slavic supremacy against Byzantine authority. 175

[1]) Opus cit. vol. I. p. 733—734.

[2]) Ed. Gibbon, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; vol. IV, p. 87; New York, American Publ. Corp.

[3]) Histoire des Republiques Italiennes, vol II, pp. 100—101.

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tures, and the Russians could legitimately conclude that the warm friendship suddenly manifested in both countries when Red troops marched in was not wholly sincere. 648

The United States made a serious effort to insure effective democratic government in the Balkan region. For example, with Great Britain, it protested against the manner in which the Bulgarian elections of November, 1945, were conducted. The voting had led to a scarcely contested triumph for the pro-Communist Fatherland Front. The matter was debated at the Moscow Conference which convened in the next month, and the Russians indicated that possession was just about the whole of the law, although they did agree to include representatives of other parties in the government. From that time on, Soviet domination of the two countries slowly and implacably became more complete, and any likelihood that Western intervention could alter the course of events evaporated like a morning mist.

Except Greece, Bulgaria was the country in which the Greek Orthodox Church was strongest. Moslems were the only minority of notable size, Jews and Roman Catholics and Protestants being negligible in number.* Accordingly, as soon as the Russians had taken over and begun to establish a collectivist economy, the Orthodox Church was an object of immediate attention. There was a maneuver which has been a topic for speculative comment ever since. For many years the hostility between Bulgaria and Greece which had its roots in the struggle for Bulgarian independence had manifested itself also in the 648 [62] 795

* Prewar population statistics for Bulgaria reveal that 83.5 per cent were Greek Orthodox; 14.3, Mohammedan; 0.9, Jewish; and 0.8, Roman Catholic. Postwar (1948) estimates for Rumania indicate that 72 per cent of the population were Orthodox; 10, Roman Catholics according to the Greek rite; 7, Roman Catholics; 4.6, Calvinists; 2.3, Jews; and 1.6, Lutherans. Other Protestant groups, including Unitarians and Baptists, constituted about 1 per cent. Most Rumanian Catholics and Protestants belonged to German or Hungarian minority groups.

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religious organization. Faithful to its Byzantine origins, the Greek Orthodox Church recognized (as we have previously noted) the Patriarch of Constantinople as its head, but accepted the Hierarchy of Greece as the center of ecclesiastical power. This Hierarchy had, however, ruled that the Bulgarian Orthodox Church was a schismatic body, and all pleas that its decision be altered fell on deaf ears. When the war ended, the Bulgarian Holy Synod met and elected the Metropolitan of Sofia president and head of the Church with the title Exarch Stephan I. He had long fished in the troubled waters of Bulgarian politics and was widely known as an anti-Communist, but now he began to manifest a zealous ardor in support of Communism which virtually knew no bounds. When he made representations to the Constantinople Patriarch that the curse of schism be lifted from the Bulgarian Church, an affirmative answer was received, owing no doubt to the weakness of the Greeks and the peril in which they at that time found themselves.

Much going and coming ensued. Stephan journeyed to Kiev, Moscow, and Leningrad. In turn the Patriarch of Moscow, despite his eighty years, made an official visit to Bulgaria. Not a few students of the situation reason that a plan had been concocted to make the Patriarch of Moscow head of all the Eastern Orthodox Churches, conferring a new and signal distinction upon the Russian capital, which would thus become not only the world center of Communism but also the "Third Rome," and manifestly rival the Vatican in importance as a seat of ecclesiastical authority. The plan—if it actually existed—soon ceased to bear any relation to reality; but it is interesting to conjecture as to what might have happened if the Greeks had been absorbed into the Russian orbit.

All this had a complex and sometimes confusing historical background. The services rendered by the Orthodox clergy

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to the cause of Bulgarian independence, and to the resurrection of the Bulgarian language as a medium of literary expression, gave the Church universally recognized prestige. After 1878, when national freedom was gained, the Orthodox Church was a State institution, and the members of its Hierarchy were public officials. A portion of the national budget was set aside to support the Church, which in addition owned considerable property largely derived from bequests. The case was comparable with that of a large state university in the United States. Salaries of professors in such a university are paid out of the state treasury; but it may own not inconsiderable wealth in its own right, is permitted to collect fees from students and to charge for other services rendered. When one considers the rural character of Bulgaria and the poverty of most of its 6,000,000-odd people, the financial strength of Orthodoxy reflected in such magnificent structures as the Archiepiscopal Palace in Sofia is genuinely impressive. Clergymen of all ranks officiated on public occasions; and, though the spirituality of the Bulgarian people may well have been far from deep, they prized the Church as the primary agency of the national culture.

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Bulgarian education enjoyed a well merited repute, and the theological schools established after 1878 ranked high among the country's institutions of higher learning. The training given consisted in the main of what we should call "general education," theology being taught as a field of specialization. The result was that many leading citizens were graduates of these schools. Religious instruction, normally by laymen, was likewise included in the curricula of elementary and secondary schools. About 4,000 churches served the people, under the direction of the Holy Synod. This body also fostered breadth of view, and held membership in the World Council of Churches prior to the war. On the whole, the religious situation

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against Protestants in any satellite country, though to be sure 691
Protestant Churches had suffered grievously in Czechoslo- 687
vakia, Hungary, and Poland. The pastors, none of whom had 648
occupied a position of eminence, were confronted with a lengthy list of charges. In particular they had, the Public Prosecutor contended, given military, economic, and political information to representatives of hostile foreign powers. They were also accused of having "spread malicious rumors about Russia." Those indicted—the Reverend Basil Ziapkov, for example—made confessions of the length desired and pleaded for mercy. The Court pronounced sentences of varying severity.

Manifestly this trial was also a blow struck at the prestige of the United States, from which most of the support for the Protestant congregations had come. Its primary effect was, no doubt, that the curtain was rung down on any hopes Bulgarian citizens might have that diplomatic intervention by the West would blunt the edge of the Soviet sickle, or that Washington could defend the interests of Americans in regions under Russian domination. How complete the resulting loss of morale 735 ●
was can be deduced from the official statements issued by the 653
other Churches on the subject of the ordeal to which Protestantism had been subjected. The Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church declared, for example:

> In accordance with our Church's traditional solicitude for fostering the aspirations of the people and maintaining loyalty to the State, the Holy Synod has always exhorted its clergy to look upon themselves as preachers of the Divine Word and as guardians of the Holy Spirit, and to remain aloof from all political influences hostile to the country and its people. We must add that the pastors of the Holy Orthodox Church have consistently obeyed our admonition. Not one of them has been prosecuted by the authorities on account of religious activities.
>
> The Holy Synod strongly condemns all subversive activities carried

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735 on by the faithful, all actions detrimental to our People's Republic,
658 and anything which may threaten the independence and liberty of our people. And we condemn such things even more strongly when they are carried on by those who profess other creeds.

The statements made by the Catholic bishops, both of the Latin and of the Greek rite, contained professions of loyalty to the government but did not comment on the trial of their Protestant brethren.

659 The Catholic Church wielded an influence in Bulgaria which
687 was wholly disproportionate to its size. Fewer than ten persons
793 in a thousand professed to belong to this Church, which of course was also hampered by the division according to the two rites. But Catholics had played a stirring part in the struggle for liberation from Turkish rule, and so their heroes were eminent in the nation's song and story. Educational institutions created and developed by members of religious orders were likewise held in high esteem, and many of the graduates were prominent in the civil service and the professions. These institutions have been nationalized, and the Church itself is circumscribed by the laws affecting religion. During 1949, the Catholic Bishops acceded to the government's request and sent a message to the United Nations affirming the existence of religious freedom in Bulgaria. Subsequently the lot of both clergy and laity grew steadily worse; but the first spectacular and drastic action taken against the Church was the arrest of a bishop, more than a score of priests, and a number of laymen, on the usual charge of conspiring with a hostile foreign power. The Bishop and three priests were sentenced to death for high treason, and twenty-four priests and twelve laymen received prison sentences. Therewith an almost mortal blow was struck at the life and organized activity of the Church.*

000 * Most of the more than half a million Mohammedans in Bulgaria were of Turkish descent. During 1950 the government began deporting them to Turkey,

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in 1900 about 12,000 (according to V. Cintula). In 1891 the statistics numbered them at /201/ 23,000; but it confused other Slavs with the Bulgars, for example the Serbs of Krasso.

In America, Valjavec figured on 4,000 Bulgars, but obviously this is too few, for in the most recent statistics the Bulgars are always placed with the Serbs. We have seen that in Russia statistics for 1897 enumerated 172,659.

It is in Turkey that estimates are most difficult. For Macedonia I have followed the figures of Kanchov, in regard to his opinion upon the Macedonian problem.

Cvijic has estimated the number of Slavs in the vilayets of Kosovo, of Salonica, and of Bitolj to be 1,300,000 (450,000; 500,000; 340,000). Brankov and Skopalski have figured on 1,172,000 Bulgars; in Turkish Rumelia I have counted the Pomaks among the Bulgars. In the vilayet of Adrianople, Mach estimated the number of Bulgars at 370,000 of the Orthodox religion and 115,000 of the Mohammedan religion.

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According to a census conducted by Hilmi Pasha and reported by M. Rene Pinon (of which the results are far from being exact), there were in the vilayet of Kosovo 164,476 Patriarchists, 184,912 Exarchists (1), 420,388 Mohammedans; in the vilayet of Bitolj, 309,759 Greek

1. Spiritual subjects of the Bulgarian Exarch of Constantinople, otherwise Bulgars.

Patriarchists, /202/ 11,301 Rumanians, 8,461 Serbs, 178,527 Exarchists, 509,307 Mohammedans; in the vilayet of Salonica, 311,982 Greek Patriarchists, 24,377 Rumanians, 244,723 Exarchists, 531,431 Mohammedans. For these three vilayets, Monsieur Pinon, accepting the old statistics of certain districts, gave a total of 3,267,265 souls, of whom 1,795,359 were Mohammedans and only about 600,000 Bulgarian Exarchists. He counted 850,000 Greek, Rumanian, and Serbian Patriarchists; but of this number the Serbs make up only a very insignificant total.

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Other statistical data, for well known reasons, can be applied only to the Bulgars of the Kingdom. This is the only country which provides statistical data. We shall study them here on the basis of the work of Urbanic, who goes back to the census of 1888.

work of Vrbanic, who goes back to the census of 1888.

S.P. B. 163 [162] He[1] presents the following results:

Among the Bulgars the number of men is 1,000 for every 965 women; the males show an excess of births of 54.2%; the ratio between single persons to married persons is for men, 53%; for women 41.9% (4.4% widowers). The birth rate is 36.36 per 1,000; it is below that of the Serbs; on the contrary, the death rate is less than among these, only 18. (compare the figures given above in Section 31). In Bulgaria S.P. B. [165] very few infants die during the first year. They have the lowest infant mortality of any among the South-Slavs /203/ (8.3% only, against 15.4% in Dalmatia, 16.3% in Serbia, 21.2% in Croatia). As a result of this peculiarity, the coefficient of the excess of births over deaths is, if Jirecek is to be believed, as favorable as in Serbia, it represents 1.83. For the years 1881-1887, Sarafov found an increase of 1.85 (during this period there were born 100 boys for 89.7 girls); for the period 1890-1900, the coefficient was, it seems, slightly less. More recently, Iurkevich suggested the figure of 1.5 for the north of Bulgaria and of 1.2 for the south.

S.P. B. 161 According to Popov, the population density is 38.8 inhabitants per square kilometer.

S.P. B. 795 From the religious viewpoint the Bulgars belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church. They have a church of their own whose head, called The Exarch, lives at Orta-koi (now Ivailovgrad) near Constantinople. Along with the Orthodox majority, one finds two dissident groups. The first of these is the Catholic Bulgars, or Paulitians (Pavlikiani). They speak the eastern dialect and live in the districts of Nikopol, of Svishtov, in seven villages in the outskirts of Plovdiv (Philippopolis). There is also a Catholic community at Berdavski Geran, near Byala Slatina, and another, that of Gostilia, near Oryakhovo (district of Vratsa). All of them originated in the region of Plovdiv or Philippopolis, which was formerly their center. They formerly composed a whole series of communities between Plovdiv and /204/ Nikopol. It is from these that there came the colonies of Bulgars who settled in Hungary (Vinga, Besenov), and who are Catholics.

S.P. B. 795 101 Another rather sizeable section is composed of the Bulgars who, under Turkish domination, embraced Islam. They are called Pomaks.

[1] [i.e. Vrbanic, op. cit. 116, p. 125 -- Analyst]

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They have settled by preference in the Rhodope (Grk., Rodope), where they constitute a rather large group between Plovdiv and Salonica. They are met with here and there to the north of the Balkans in the region of Lovech, Pleven (Plevna), especially between the Vid and Panega Rivers, to the south of Pleven. In the Kingdom of Bulgaria their number has greatly diminished; for, as a result of their Turkish sympathies, they have since 1878 been in perpetual conflict with the other Bulgars. The latest statistics numbered 20,644 of them in Bulgaria, of whom 17,055 were in the district of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) and 2,837 in that of Pleven.

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From the viewpoint of education, the Bulgars are not very much advanced, which is explained by the difficult conditions in which they have lived, deprived of all the advantages of civilization. They are now making an effort to make up for lost time. According to the latest statistics the number of literate persons in the principality was an average of 28.4%. The districts may be placed in the following order:

Rusc 38.5%; Shumla 35.9%; Varna 34%; Trnovo /205/ 34%; Plovdiv (Philippopolis) 29.6%; Burgas 29.4%; Sofia 28.8%; Stara Zagora 28.3%; Pleven 23.1%; Kustendil 20.1%; Vidin 19.8%; Vratsa 19%. The highest degree of education is found naturally in the regions of the great cities: 60% at Sofia, Ruse, and Varna; 49% at Plovdiv; 47% at Kotel and at Shumla; 37% at Kazanluk. The least literate areas are those of Radomir (20%), Tsaribrod (now Dimitrovgrad) (19%), Kyzilagatch (19%), Berkovitsa (16%), Kula (14%), Belogradchik (13%), Ferdinandovo (13%).

S.P. B. 197 101

S 38. Internal Differentation.--The Bulgars are divided into three groups from the point of view of language.

1). That of the western dialect: it is bounded on the east by a line which starts from the confluence of the Vid and the Danube and runs towards Salonica across the regions of Nikopol, Pleven, Lovech, Teteven, Pirdop, Novo Selo, Panagyurishte, Ikhtiman, Chepino, Rezlog, Nevrokop, Melnik, Petrich, Demir Hissar (now Siderokastron), Seres, and Salonica.

2). The eastern group is divided into two branches:

A. That of the northeast where the people bear the general name of Zagortsi (Mountaineers), or Khertsoi*, or Poliantsi*.

B. That of the southeast, or branch of the Rhodope, whose

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local designations. The peoples are called Mervatsi who are settled between the Struma and the Rhodope Mountains in the area of Serrai, Demir Hissar (now Siderokastron), Melnik, Drama, Nevrokop (now Delchev) and Bratsigovo. In western Macedonia there is a region called Mala Reka, "The Little River," whose inhabitants have received the name of Miak*. They call the inhabitants of Kichevo, Bitolia, Prilep and Tito Veles the Brsiak: (compare the Greek Bersetai). Among the other Macedonian names, Kanchov mentions the Esti on the right bank of the Black Drin, the Kekovtsi in the region of Popolie, the Pulivakovtsi in the western part of the plain of Salonica, the Ketskari, the Uliufs. Let us also mention /208/ the Touriaki and the Torlaki whose name is also applied by the inhabitants of Sofia to the inhabitants of the regions of Pirot and of Tsaribrod, the Tokuntsi, the Niniovtsi, the Marachi between the Osem and the Isker (now Sibir), etc.

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The Mohammedan Bulgars who live near the sources of the Arda are called Ashrians; this name comes from the ancient form Agariane, the children of Agar (1); between the Dospat and the Mesta

1. On this name see the index of my Chronicle supposedly by Nestor. Translator.

are found the Tseshtentsi and, below the Chardagh, the Torbechi.

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We have spoken above (Section 33 1/1) of the names of the old Bulgars. An enigmatic appellation is also given them. They are called the Khrsoi, and this word generally means an uncouth man, a rustic. They are spread out between the Black Sea and the Isker (now Sibir) and also in the region of Vidin and to the south as far as the Starndja Planina (Mountains). They speak the dialect of the northeast and may be distinguished by their special costume. Likewise, the costume of the women is distinguished by the somber color of the woolen gown called sukman.

The immigrants from the Balkans who come into the regions of Shumen, or Razgrad, and of Ruse are called by the natives "The Blacks," because of the color of their breeches. In western Bulgaria "the wearers of white" and "the wearers of black" are distinguished. Other sobriquets are due to the cut of the breeches.

We owe special mention to the Schopi. They inhabit especially the mountainous region of Kustendil, Kratovo, Radomir, Breznik and

1/1 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 113-118 -- Analyst]

S.P.
B Sofia. According to Broch they start directly on the Serbian frontier,
101 at Kriva Feia, to the east of Varna, and are distinguished from the other Bulgars by their costume (white breeches) and their physignomy. Some observers see in them an ancient Slavified Thracian tribe, the Sapaioi. Thus some people have found in the name of the Ruptsi the former Greek name of Merope, which has lost its first unaccented syllable.

Moreover, the Bulgars of the east call even the inhabitants of Vratsa and of Trun, by the name of Schopi even though they themselves do not use the name. If one were to believe Miletic, it is in the the village of Mechka, on the road from Nikopol to Pleven, that the Khrtsoi stop and the Schopi begin. Formerly the Schopi did not cross Isker (now Sibir).

B 563 101 Let us again mention that in the various sections of Bulgaria there exist communes which are called Arnaut, or in other words Albanian (Arnaoutlar), for example in the districts of Varna, Provadia, Razgrad, and Kermen. The inhabitants of these villages are partly of an origin neither Slavo-Albanian nor Greek. They are called the Arnaut because they came from Macedonia, notably from the regions of Kostur and of Voden. Such are the pretended Arnaut of Silistria, /210/ Razgrad, and Bratsigovo. On the contrary, the often repeated thesis which attributes a Slavic origin to the Tsakoniens and to the Mainotes of southern Greece must be considered to be without foundation.

B 795 In the northeastern section of Bulgaria live the Gagauz. They are Christians who speak Turkish. A certain number of Gagauz speak Bulgarian and declare that they are Bulgars. Some persons consider them to be the descendants of Turkized Bulgars.

The Gagauz of the coast are settled at Varna and in some communes at Kestrich, Kara-Hussein, Djevizliji, Djaperliji, Ala Klise, Giaur-Suiutchuk, Eni Kioi, Kavarna, and Biela. The Bulgarian Gagauz are settled in several communes in the outskirts of Varna and of Provadia and especially in the village of Beidaut in the Dobrudja. There is no agreement as to the origin of the Gagauz. Jirecek considers them as the descendants of the Cumaeans, Mochov as the Karakalpak of the Russian chroniclers, Zanetov as the ancient Bulgars of the Volga.

B 101 Many Bulgarian Gagauz to be found also in Bessarabia, in the

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Bulgaria EE1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

S 754 This was the curse of St Petka and St Nedelja upon Vuk Vučković for robbing a monastery. After sickening for twelve years his mother asked him for what sin he was chastened, and no sooner had he confessed the truth than his soul slipped out of his bones. He was buried but the earth heaved him up out of her, and the sea refused his corpse. His mother took his body and put it into a cannon and so blew him to fragments and his dust was scattered. We have already given enough examples to show that the symptoms described are not likely to have been understood originally as mere poetical hyperbole, but as sound folk-pathology.

C B CM S 776 753 795 The *vile* (*samovile*, *samodive*) are nature-spirits, and they are of different kinds according to the places which they inhabit: trees, mountains, sweet waters, seas, clouds and so on. They are frequently called 'the good ones', 'the sweet ones'. In some parts they are called *vještice*, *coprnice*, the usual names for witch. Sometimes they are decidedly evil spirits, sometimes good, sometimes merely capricious or envious; but they are always connected with disease, with its origin and with its cure. They can heal the wounds given by their own arrows.

The diseases brought by these nymphs are typically fevers, perhaps because of their association with watery places, as well as aches in the bones, madness and epilepsy. A *vila* can take a man's shadow from him, and he wanders as aimlessly as a headless fly. Perhaps *vrbanac*, as a name for a skin disease, has been coined by a popular analogy with the willow tree (*vrba*), which figures largely in cures and in *vila* mythology. Diseases of this name are sometimes said to be *vila* sent. In Macedonia, North and West Bulgaria, in the Dalmatian hinterland and elsewhere a complete *vila* cult can be found at least in traces, with sacred springs visited and petitioned on certain days, offerings made to the spirits and special intermediaries between them and ordinary men. Some features of these local cults and survivals are reminiscent of those known to be connected directly with the cult and tendance of the dead ancestors. The *vile*, as we have remarked, are also connected with winds. A local name for them in

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religious organization. Faithful to its Byzantine origins, the Greek Orthodox Church recognized (as we have previously noted) the Patriarch of Constantinople as its head, but accepted the Hierarchy of Greece as the center of ecclesiastical power. This Hierarchy had, however, ruled that the Bulgarian Orthodox Church was a schismatic body, and all pleas that its decision be altered fell on deaf ears. When the war ended, the Bulgarian Holy Synod met and elected the Metropolitan of Sofia president and head of the Church with the title Exarch Stephan I. He had long fished in the troubled waters of Bulgarian politics and was widely known as an anti-Communist, but now he began to manifest a zealous ardor in support of Communism which virtually knew no bounds. When he made representations to the Constantinople Patriarch that the curse of schism be lifted from the Bulgarian Church, an affirmative answer was received, owing no doubt to the weakness of the Greeks and the peril in which they at that time found themselves.

Much going and coming ensued. Stephan journeyed to Kiev, Moscow, and Leningrad. In turn the Patriarch of Moscow, despite his eighty years, made an official visit to Bulgaria. Not a few students of the situation reason that a plan had been concocted to make the Patriarch of Moscow head of all the Eastern Orthodox Churches, conferring a new and signal distinction upon the Russian capital, which would thus become not only the world center of Communism but also the "Third Rome," and manifestly rival the Vatican in importance as a seat of ecclesiastical authority. The plan—if it actually existed—soon ceased to bear any relation to reality; but it is interesting to conjecture as to what might have happened if the Greeks had been absorbed into the Russian orbit.

All this had a complex and sometimes confusing historical background. The services rendered by the Orthodox clergy

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875 were turned over to Greece and Yugoslavia, respectively, after the first World War; while Dimiter was from the section of Thrace which Bulgaria was forced to surrender. Since the teachers had such backgrounds it was no wonder that adorning one of the classrooms was a sign, "NEMA MIR DOKATO NEUILLY" or "There will be no peace as long as the Treaty of Neuilly is in force."

The director of the school was a vigorous woman with splendid preparation for her task. She told me on several occasions how disappointed she was that her teachers took so little interest in helping the peasants improve their way of life. They were supposed to spend Sunday afternoons visiting the homes of their pupils in an effort to advise parents in matters of child care and standards of hygiene. Actually, the teachers, being all too human, preferred to spend the week end in Sofia rather than reform the unenthusiastic adults.

[565] 527 659 The intelligentsia were usually seen in their glory at some great occasion such as the celebration of an important holiday. The event which caused most excitement during my six years of residence in Bulgaria was the birth of Prince Simeon, heir apparent to the throne of his father, King Boris. The exercises which were held in Dragalevtsy four days after the royal birth in 1937 showed how the intellectuals worked hand in hand, since the school, the church, and the state were so closely allied.

[796] The crowd had to wait at least forty-five minutes for the priests from the monastery who were to help Father Sava with the liturgy of the *vodosvet,* or consecration of the holy water, whose sprinkling gave official religious recognition to the closing of the school year. Then the mayor began to speak the high-sounding phrases which the villagers loved to hear. He told them how significant for Bulgaria was the birth of Prince Simeon.

> June Sixteenth [he said] will be written in golden letters in the history of Bulgaria. June Sixteenth marks the day when an heir was born to the throne of Bulgaria. Our school house has no name, so I recommend that we petition for the right to call our school "Prince Simeon II." The first Simeon who reigned a thousand years ago was called Simeon the Great. I feel sure that Simeon the Second will likewise go down in history as Simeon the Great.
>
> [871] In honor of this great occasion, the Government has decreed that the marks of every student will be raised, so that no one will fail in any subject. [Hurrah!

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369 443 back street. I do know that the inarticulate peasant woman who sat for hours crouched on the sidewalk wondered at the strange styles of women's clothing, and that the village man, in his wandering, coveted some glittering object in a shopwindow for his child. In the late afternoon as they went home, and during the days that followed, man and wife talked about this trip to market. For them it had been a shared adventure.

-527 Other activities which the family members shared besides the tasks of home and field and the trip to market were the holidays. The traditional holidays were religious, while the ones most recently introduced were patriotic.

796 January sixth was *Malka Koleda,* or Little Christmas. Many Bulgarian villagers would tell you that Christ was really born on the day before Christmas, but his birth was not made known until the following day. For that reason, great emphasis was laid upon the celebration of Little Christmas, or Christmas Eve, with the meal on Christmas Eve as the most important part of the season's festivities.

[609] Each time I spent Christmas in a Bulgarian village home I was deeply impressed with the simplicity and beauty of its symbolism. I was a foreigner and a Protestant nonbeliever. Bai Milush and his family received me as though I were one of their own large family. Carefully and patiently they explained to me each bit of ceremony and tradition and symbolism. Often a ceremony was repeated so I could photograph it. There was not a single appurtenance of the Western Christmas in the household; even the date was different, but the Christmas spirit meant more there than anywhere else I had ever been.

To commemorate Christ's birth in a manger, straw was laid on the floor and covered with a blanket which served as the tablecloth for the evening's repast. The whole family gathered around this blanket after an incense urn had been carried as a good luck symbol from the iconostas to each room of the house and to all of the animal stalls. Because the meal was late in starting, three of the smallest children had gone to sleep, one in a crib and the other two on a wooden bed. In order to get the meal under way without further formalities, the women passed hot, fiery *rakiya* (plum brandy) to each person and stood patiently until the single glass had been emptied

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before filling it for the next in turn; wine followed *rakiya* as the single glass continued to perform its simple function. There was a china cup, to be sure, but it was used by those preferring water. 796

Then the real ceremony began. The loaves of bread, crudely adorned on top with symbols standing for plows, sheep, the house, and sheaves of wheat, were passed to the head of the household, who broke the loaves with great solemnity. The loaves contained many notched pegs, the number of notches standing for objects on the farm; somewhere in the loaf was also hidden a coin, far more coveted than the notched pieces of wood. I, as the guest, broke open my bread first, only to find a three-notched peg, and was laughingly told that I would have to tend the sheep during the year and would not be as lucky as my neighbor who got the two-notched peg representing the cow. Still luckier was the elder brother who found the one-notched peg representing the house. A shrill shout of joy told at once that Mitko, the eleven-year-old boy, had found the coin and would be the luckiest of all.

The excitement subsided as all began to eat heartily of the special food which the women had been preparing all afternoon. Every home followed the same traditional menu, which featured the meatless main dish of pumpkin pie or *banitsa,* soggy in spite of long baking in hot ashes. The family, in between bites of *banitsa,* spooned with great gusto into the compote of stewed prunes to which pounded garlic and nuts had been added. Everyone had to partake of this for, as the villagers assured me with a twinkle in their eye, "it makes hair grow under the arms." 262 796

The other traditional dish was *surmi,* a combination of onions, peppers, raisins, and rice rolled up and stewed in brine-soaked cabbage leaves. The compote and *surmi* were eaten from communal bowls.

The meal was concluded by the serving of withered apples, stored just for this occasion, and nuts cracked in the mouth of a neighbor who soon discovered the guest's unwillingness to risk his teeth for a kernel. As the men got out their cigarettes a girl rose to pass, in lieu of a match, a live coal, held with tongs, from the sheet metal stove.

On important occasions like this, the animals were not forgotten. A piece of the specially prepared bread was dipped into the compote 796

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● 796 and given to each animal, though the chickens tussled over a large chunk thrown to them. Sometime during the night straw was reverently taken from beneath the blanket and tied in little tufts onto all of the fruit trees "in order to ensure a good crop of fruit the following season."

The feast was concluded around midnight. All of the family retired with the exception of Trayko, the young man with a sacred duty to perform: He had to watch the yule log *(budnik)* and see that it burned continuously until the rising of the sun. This log had been chosen with care up on the mountainside and brought down to the house on a crude sled. As the flames crept up its gnarled sides Trayko let his imagination run riot until he heard the sounds of husky voices cursing the dogs out in the yard. He knew that a group of friends who had been out caroling were stopping to have a word with him. The visitors were carrying lanterns and staves, which they waved recklessly because of the mixture of drinks and food given them at every house in which they had sung. They got a late start this particular Christmas Eve because they had had to go to Sofia to sing over the radio. Trayko was particularly anxious to hear about this experience. Before leaving, the carolers sang for the benefit of the now wide-awake family, but found difficulty in consuming all the food and drink offered to them. Trayko's mother insisted upon putting on the staff of each boy doughnut-shaped pieces of bread, prepared for this purpose.

On Christmas Day the rising sun did little to warm the wind-swept village. A few of the most pious men and women were returning from the early morning service, but most of the villagers were sleeping late. When at length the people got up they began to indulge in quantities of pork meat, for every home had killed a pig for the grand occasion. Those who had kept the long six-week church fast found the taste of meat most pleasing. In the afternoon the people gathered in the main square to dance, to visit, to watch the antics of tipsy men. Around midafternoon a lively band struck up a *horo* tune and the dance got under way. The chief social gatherings throughout the village at Christmas time took place at the homes of those named Hristo or Hristina (Christo or Christina), since these

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individuals were celebrating their name days with appropriate hospitality. 796

Bulgarian children did not hang up their stockings on Christmas Eve but, if their parents were being influenced by modern ideas, did find a present or two at the foot of their bed when they woke up in the morning. They immediately ran to kiss the hands of their father and mother. They called Santa Claus *"Dedo Koleda,"* which meant "Grandfather Christmas." He did not wear a bright red, white-furred costume but had on a brown homespun outfit that corresponded more nearly to the peasant's manner of dress.

On these ceremonial occasions the father and mother presided with quiet dignity over the celebrations. They were accorded every respect by their children. As the Christmases passed, the couple's feeling of partnership deepened. Each year left its accumulation of memories, about which husband and wife said little, but about which they could feel sure the other was thinking. [593]

Christmas and the holidays that followed were only a prelude to *Velikden*—literally, the Great Day—the day of Christ's resurrection. On the eighth Sunday before Easter, or *Mesni Zagovezni* (meat fast), all those who kept the long Easter fast stopped eating meat. The following Sunday was *Sirni Zagovezni* (cheese fast) after which those fasting gave up all milk products. This Sunday itself was a day of great feasting on all sorts of cheese products. On both Sundays fires were lit; on *Mesni Zagovezni* there was a great fire at night in the village square, and on *Sirni Zagovezni* almost every household lighted a fire in the yard around which the youngsters waved burning straw stuck in the cleft end of a stick and chanted an ancient couplet [785]

> Orata, Kopata!
> Dai mi, chicho, momata

whose significance had vanished with the ages.

On this Sunday, and the three days preceding, all quarrels among the villagers were settled, everyone visiting his neighbors and relatives to beg pardon for real or fancied offenses. The quiet that reigned over the village on the evening of *Sirni Zagovezni* was little short of wonderful. At the break of day the children had risen to kiss their 796 578

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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parents' hands and ask pardon for past misbehavior, and all day long there had been a wandering in and out of homes by men to meet some other men with whom they had been at odds, and by a handshake to ask pardon.

I came into the tavern late in the afternoon of that day. It was snowing heavily and the warmth from the stove felt good. Near me sat a man rubbing his chilled hands. After we had exchanged formal greetings, I asked him where he was going, the usual village question.

"I'm going back to my village, eleven miles farther on."

"Where have you been?"

"I've been over to Durvanitsa [two miles away] to visit my parents and beg their forgiveness."

"Have you had any trouble with your parents during the past year that would make you take such a long walk in such bad weather?"

Patient with me, a foreigner, he said, "No, I've had no troubles with my parents. I've been to visit them. That is the custom."

A little later he went out into the snow to resume his eleven-mile tramp back home. His heart was at ease, for he had fulfilled the age-old custom of *Sirni Nedelya* (Cheese Sunday).

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The Saturday following Cheese Sunday was *Todorovden* (the day of St. Theodore, patron saint of horses). Then the children stopped fasting, for their young bodies could not stand seven weeks of a milkless diet. Early in the morning they, together with some of the old people, took communion in the village church. Many of the young men visited the village of Gorna Banya, which had its *Subor* on *Todorovden*. There was a great deal of horseback riding and racing up and down the muddy village streets, in honor of St. Theodore and "to protect the horses from worms."

Eight days before Easter was the Saturday called *Lazarovden* (St. Lazarus's Day). *Lazarki* groups, consisting of six girls each, went from house to house to sing and dance, according to the villagers in honor of the resurrection of Lazarus. They were given coins and eggs by the peasants who believed that these girls would bring them good luck in the months to come.

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2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Passion Week, all the people fasted and refrained from work. Even a stranger felt a certain awe at the grave anticipation filling the village. On Saturday evening all the village gathered in the church for the midnight service. The long liturgy led the silent, densely packed worshipers into a mood of growing suspense, emphasizing in word and music the tragedy of the tomb. But at midnight, reputedly the time when Christ's tomb burst open, a startling transformation took place. The glorious Easter hymn "Christ Is Risen" thundered forth to the clanging of the church bell. At first it was stately and restrained, but as the magic of its message spread, a joyousness exalted the worshipers. All rushed to light the tapers which they had held unlit throughout the service. They had been waiting for this moment for the holy fire sent down each Easter from heaven. Carefully they watched the taper while exchanging the happy greetings—"Christ is risen," "Risen indeed"—and passing red Easter eggs from palm to palm in lieu of a handshake. The church had come into its own. As the crowd dispersed, each villager protected the sacred fire from the breezes in an effort to reach home with the taper still alight, whereupon it would be blown out and put aside for special use later on.

At home the people broke their long fast by eating the hard-boiled eggs and the *kozunatsi,* or very yellow Easter cakes. Then a feast followed. For forty days afterwards the spell of the occasion was often recalled as pious villagers greeted each other with those sacred words, "Christ is risen," and received the answer, "Risen indeed."

Another holiday of importance to every family was May 6, or St. George's Day. The head of the house, no matter how poor he might be, contrived to have a lamb killed for the festivities. When the meat was roasted to a delicious flavor the family gathered, often in a sunny meadow with other relatives, to feast. The husband and wife planned carefully for this day, and together saw to it that everyone enjoyed himself. Though the husband might later go to the tavern to be with other men, he and his wife had experienced again an event for which both prepared and which both enjoyed.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

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"To commemorate Christ's birth . . ." *See page 106.*

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"The loaves of bread, crudely adorned on top . . ." *See page 107.*

[Facing p. 112]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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". . . the carolers sang. Trayko's mother puts on the staff . . . doughnut-shaped pieces of bread prepared for this purpose . . ." *See page 108.*

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"*Lazarki* groups . . . went from house to house to sing and dance in honor of the resurrection of Lazarus . . ." *See page 110.*

[Facing p. 113]

21:
Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Epiphany or Bogoyavlenie on January 19 commemorated the baptism of Christ. The Dragalevtsy boys and girls knew how the day was celebrated in other villages near the rivers or the sea. There the altar cross was thrown into the icy water. Naked youths dove in and struggled violently for it. The winner, carrying the cross, then collected money from the crowd. More important even than the money was the feeling that he would be fortunate during the coming year. But Epiphany did not pass unnoticed in Dragalevtsy, even though the river was nothing more than a racing mountain brook. The priest brought the cross out to sell at auction. The buyer, of course, returned it to the priest, but with his purchase received the assurance of God's blessing in the days to come. One year, a hiker happened to be passing through on his way up to the top of Vitosha. He saw the crowd gathered around the priest, bought the cross, went to the tavern for a free drink, returned the cross to the priest, and went on his way up the mountain. Peasants marveled for some time afterwards over the dispatch he showed in the whole affair.

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Formerly on this day, children were christened with cold instead of lukewarm water, and all brides of that year were bathed in the river. When I asked why such custom was no longer practiced, Bai Angel, the village registrar, shrugged: "Oh, then the people were stronger and could stand such treatment."

On the previous day the children had all awaited the priest's arrival to sprinkle holy water in every room of the house. As we have already seen, many families collected bottles of the water that had been especially blessed for Epiphany, in the belief that it would cure various illnesses later on.

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Bulgarian boys and girls never celebrated their birthdays. Instead, they made much of their name days. Each child bore the name of some saint, with a special day on the church calendar. Each Ivan (John) celebrated on the day following Epiphany, January 20; each Grigor (Gregory) on February 7; each Iliya (Elijah) on August 2. And so it ran throughout the year. Those with names not appearing on the calendar generally chose the day of "The Forty Holy Martyrs." Whereas Americans would expect to receive gifts on their birthdays, Bulgarians, especially those who were married, expected to entertain

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5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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swinging will be found as specific cures. Weighing seems to be a substitute for swinging, the balance being hung on to certain trees, and weighing itself was a cure for epilepsy.[1]

The practice of shamanistic healing through dance and possession occurs among the Vlahs, and has probably recently been adopted by a few Bulgarian and even by Serbian communities. These customs seem to be popular because they are easily assimilated into an existing system of ideas. They are found at the yearly festival of *Rosalia*[2] or the feast of the *Rusalje*.

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[1] Cf. M. Miličević, *Život Srba Seljaka*, p. 288.

[2] The most complete account and a survey of the literature are to be found in M. Arnaudov, *Kukeri i Rusalii* (1920). See also M. J. Majxner, *Dubočka Rusalje*, Godišnica Nikole Čupića, XXXIV (1921), p. 227 *passim*; S. Zahariev, *Geografsko-istoriko-statističesko opisanie na T. Pazardžiškoto Kaza* (1870), p. 78.

659 the Communist Government in 1949, sought to establish a uniform regime for all religious denominations in the country. Nevertheless, some of its provisions, especially Section 3, recognize the historic role of the Bulgarian Church and attempt to use the established tradition for the purposes of the communist policy.

Thus, the present status of the Church in Bulgaria cannot be properly evaluated without a survey of its past.

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I. Christianity in Bulgaria, 865 -1870

A sizable Bulgarian Kingdom came into being in 680 A.D. in the area between the Danube and the Black Sea bordering on the Balkan territories of Byzantium.

Seeking international recognition, one of its kings, Boris I, agreed in 865 A.D. to the conversion of his people to Christianity under the auspices of the Byzantine emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople, Byzantine missionaries and priests were swiftly dispatched to Bulgaria to evangelize the country. Five years later, the Patriarch conceded, on insistent Bulgarian demands, the right of the Bulgarian King to have a Bulgarian archbishop with authority to crown kings and ordain bishops, retaining, nevertheless, supremacy over the new ecclesiastic hierarchy.

The extension of the Patriarch's authority to Bulgaria was disliked in Rome, and contacts were soon established between Boris and Pope Nicolaus I. However, the territorial proximity of Byzantium prevailed as a factor and Boris' original orientation

175 toward the East stayed. It became solidly rooted when in the
●797 ensuing years he patterned the organization of his State after
648 Byzantium and introduced to Bulgaria adaptations of Byzantine law, such as the "Statute of Trial of Men", the "Nomocanon", etc.

[793] The new church strongly tended to emancipate itself from the primacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople and rid itself of Byzantine clergy. A fortunate chance presented itself when an alphabet was devised to suit the peculiarities of the Slavic tongues. A wave of Slav awakening hit Bulgaria during the reign of Boris' son, Simeon I, and soon scriptures and prayer books, in Bulgarian, displaced the media of Byzantine influence. The process was so rapid and his military victories so promising that Simeon proclaimed the archbishop of Preslav a patriarch independent of the Patriarch of Constantinople and himself Czar of the Bulgarians and the Greeks. Seven bishoprics were established, of which those of Preslav and Ochrida (Macedonia) became important centers of enlightenment.

Bulgaria turned again toward Rome in the 13th century. Desirous of international recognition which had been lost during the Byzantine domination of Bulgaria (1018 - 1186), the Bulgarian King Kaloyan contacted the Pope with an offer to accept the Pope's primacy over the Bulgarian church in exchange for an imperial crown. In 1204, a Catholic cardinal arrived at the Bulgarian capital Tirnovo to hand a crown to Kaloyan on behalf of the Pope and ordain a Bulgarian prelate. This Western orientation caused by the Crusades and dictated by political expediency was rather
000 short-lived. In 1232, Kaloyan's successor, Ivan Asen, denounced

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Thus, in 1859, the inhabitants of the Macedonian towns of Doiran and of Kukush (Kilkish), north of Salonika, now in Yugoslav and Greek lands, respectively, left the Patriarchate to form a Bulgarian Uniate Church which registered some gains in Macedonia and Thrace, particularly in Adrianople, between 1860 - 1870, before the Bulgarian Exarchate was established. In these two regions the Vatican appointed bishops for the dioceses which were established there, and toward the end of that decade, a young Bulgarian patriot, Dragan Tzankoff, who later was to play a considerable part in the political life of the Princedom of Bulgaria at the head of the liberal party, began serious negotiations with the Vatican for the incorporation of the entire Bulgarian nation into the Roman Church as a Uniate Church. A Uniate Archbishopric was established, but proved to be of short life. The Turkish government authorized rather the establishment of the Exarchate as the Bulgarian National Church.

The Bulgarian Uniates, like the Uniates in the Ukraine and in Byelorussia, constituted a special branch of Catholics. They preserved the dogmas and rituals and other religious rules of the Eastern Church, but accepted the supreme authority of the Pope, praying for him during the Mass and mentioning him as the supreme church authority instead of the Patriarch, and later, the Exarch.

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The Uniate movement was centered around Salonika and directed from Constantinople. It rendered great services to the Bulgarian population in Macedonia and Thrace under the

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Ottoman Empire. Its influence was greatest in the vilayet (province) of Salonika. A great cathedral was erected in that city in 1878 to replace the little chapel which had until then served the small Catholic community. The same soon took place in Adrianople. The Uniate communities of these two cities, with the authorization of the Turkish authorities and the material support of the Vatican, founded primary and secondary schools for their children. These schools helped considerably the Bulgarian population, exposed immediately after the Russo-Turkish War of 1878 to the double persecutions by the Greek clergy, who were trying to detach it from the Exarchate. The Catholic educational institutions educated a great number of indigent children who later made powerful contributions to the cultural progress of the Bulgarian Nation.

Several religious missions came to these regions from Rome, and, once established, did some beneficial work. Two of them particularly distinguished themselves. One was the Order of St. Vincent of Paul of the Brothers and Sisters of Charity, which acquired the estate of Zeitinlik, two kilometers from the Vardar Gate of Salonika, on the road to Serres and where they erected the vast buildings of the "Bulgarian Catholic School of St. Cyril and Methodius", circled by a great wall; the other was the school of the two italian clerics, Brother Guiseppe Aloati and Sister Christne Aloati, of Turin, who, in 1892, bought a large farm, near the village of Palortzi, in the region of Ghevgheli, in Macedonia, actually located on the Greek-Yugoslav border on which they founded an orphanage with a convent school for nurses and one for home economics, and

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where many Bulgarian children of Southern Macedonia found asylum, especially after the great insurrection of August 1903. After the Balkan War, which Bulgaria fought for the liberation of her national territories of Macedonia and Thrace from Turkish rule, but which ended disastrously for her, these two important centers of education for the Bulgarian youths were suppressed, the school buildings and their grounds having been seized by the Greek and Serbian authorities, which likewise forced all other Bulgarian schools under their jurisdiction to be closed. This brutal occupation was resented by the local population, and many disgraceful scenes took place, such as the suppression of the school in Palortzi. The order stated that instructions be changed from the Bulgarian to the Serbian language; Father and Sister Aloati declared that when they established the school, they had found nothing but Bulgarian children in that region and that, for this reason, they could not fail in their duty to teach these children in their own Bulgarian language. This courageous declaration was unanimously supported by the students, who declared that they were Bulgarians and that they had no desire to learn the Serbian language. The order to change the language which was repeated several times was not carried out. One day a detachment of Serbian police invaded the grounds of the school with the official notice that either the curriculum was going to be Serbianized, or the school was to be evacuated immediately. The teachers and students remained firm in their attitude and preferred

exile to renunciation of the Bulgarian character of the school. With their few belongings that they managed to salvage, they sought refuge in Bulgaria. 795 797 563

The Uniate movement did not expand after the establishment of the Exarchate in 1871 and the creation of a Bulgarian State in 1879. The towns of Adrianople and Kukash were devastated and almost destroyed by the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913. Turkey and Greece soon thereafter expelled most of the Bulgarian population of these regions. The Uniates among them were dispersed throughout Bulgaria and disappeared as an organized religious community. 795 175

Between the two world wars a powerful Catholic action was begun by Italy in the Balkans and particularly in Bulgaria. This action was carried out by a special religious organization called "Pro Oriente". It did not, however, pursue religious aims but pure Italian propaganda and there is beyond the scope of this report.

The foreign denominations, however, have even enjoyed the greatest freedom in Bulgaria, this freedom being consecrated by the Constitution itself (see supra) and were under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which also took care of the ecclesiastic affairs of the Bulgarian Church. The Constitution of 1879 had created in this Ministry a bureau in charge of the denominations. 656

The need for a special law for the foreign denominations was not even felt under the pre-war regime. Such a law was not 671

APPENDIX B

to Chapter V

Activities of the Protestant Churches in Bulgaria

(Report prepared by Mrs. M. G. Markham from "The Story of the American Board" by William E. Strong. 1910; "Valorous Ventures" by Mary Isham, Methodist Women's Board and Personal Experiences.)

Protestantism came into Bulgaria through Boston. It came at the time when Bulgaria was still a part of European Turkey. It was brought in by American missionaries who received their inspiration and religious fervor during the time of the religious revival in America, following shortly after the Revolutionary War in the United States of America.

So, in 1810, there was organized in Boston, Massachusetts, the A.B.C.F.M., or the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, for the purpose of sending missionaries to carry the gospel to the world.

From the beginning the Board had its eye on the Holy Land. It seemed intolerable to its founders that Christianity's birthplace should be forever in the grip of Islam, or left to the lifeless form of Christianity then found in Palestine.

The first attempts at missionary work in Turkey were not directed especially toward the Mohammedans nor to the Oriental Christians, but to the Jews when in 1819 the first two workers were sent to work in Turkey. At first they settled in Smyrna.

They were sent with the purpose of surveying the field

to see what could be done. They felt the field was a great challenge, for at that time the Turkish Empire was vast and covered almost every land named in Bible history. It extended also into Europe--into Greece and the Balkan Provinces.

They found there were 40,000,000 people crowded together and yet separated by irreconciliable differences of race and religion and embittered by years of controversy and warfare.

Except in coastal cities there were scarcely any educated men; the women were uniformly illiterate. There was no literature, apparently no desire for it, under the oppressive hand of the sultancaliph at Constantinople.

The early missionaries in Turkey worked with great endurance, persistence and devotion, suffering much from the primitive conditions in the country. They made careful investigations and did a great deal of exploring before planting their mission stations.

In 1830 some American Board missionaries set up a station at Constantinople for the Spanish Jews. They definitely stated then that they came as helpers, not as antagonists, of the Armenians and church. They hoped to "redeem that church to a more vital religion".

In 1840 a small boarding school for boys and young men started in Bebek - Constantinople - by Cyrus Hamlin. This school later developed into a theological school to train preachers. In 1862 circumstances made great changes in the

school. By this time the missionaries felt their theological training school should be more available for Asiatic Turkey and away from a big city. Therefore, the theological school was moved into Asia Minor. About the same time, in 1863, a Mr. Christopher R. Robert of New York, was urging Dr. Hamlin to found a Christian college to furnish higher education for all races in the Turkish Empire. So in 1863 the Robert College was founded, which was to educate and train future Bulgarians. 797

In 1845 a girls' boarding school was started by the missionaries in Constantinople with two pupils. This later became the well-known and important "American College for Girls at Constantinople", in 1872.

Many Armenians became attracted to the new form of Christianity and after some time the Orthodox Armenians began severe persecution of their "evangelicals" and finally resorted to excommunication. This treatment caused the organization of the first Protestant Church on July 1, 1846, in Constantinople. 795

The American Board began its work in European Turkey in 1858. For some time attention had been turned to this part of the Empire as a strategic missionary field. 797

Dr. Hamilin of the school at Bebek, on a visit to England in 1856, enlisted the substantial aid of friends there, notably the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Turkish Missions Aid Society in the needy and important lands which Turkey held in Europe.

It was felt that in this middle ground between East

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and West, where 4,000,000 Moslems were in close contact with western civilization and where also various Christian sects touched western Christianity, there was a field not to be passed over in any effort to carry the gospel into Asia.

Moreover, "the Bulgarians, the leading race in the Balkans, ambitious, progressive, and liberty-loving, made a particular appeal to the sympathies of the civilized world". (The Story of the American Board by William B. Strong).

In 1857 Dr. Hamlin, with a representative of the Turkish Missions Aid Society, made a tour of investigation into European Turkey and brought back a glowing report. They found "a people poor and ignorant indeed, yet thrifty and eager for learning".

By an understanding with the Methodist Episcopal Church North, of America, the American Board - Congregationalist - took its share of the land to be cultivated, the region south of the Balkans, placing its first missionaries at Adrianople.

Plovdiv was made the second station.

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The missionaries were brave, enthusiastic, gifted men and women. Their school for girls in Stara Zagora and the school for young men at Plovdiv prospered and encouraged the missionaries. But there were discouraging experiences too; influential parents at Stara Zagora withdrew their daughters when they understood the Protestant character of the school, and in 1867 a mob attacked the school and would have carried off the scholars but for the coolness and vigor of Mr. Morse in withstanding them.

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Here an appeal to the new law of religious liberty in Turkey, together with the help of friendly officials brought good results even from persecution. 797 798

One of the best-known contributions of the Prostestants to Bulgaria began as a little mission school for young men in 1860. It was called "The Collegiate and Theological Institute" and started with four pupils. It was shifted to several locations ans was closed temporarily during troublesome times, but was finally reestablished in 1871 at Samokov. The mission school for girls was also moved to Samokov that same year. 797

Samokov was chosen as a more promising town at that time. The climate was much better than in the hot district around Plovdiv. There were still no railroads in the country, and Sofia was an insignificant little place. There were prospering iron mines at Samokov and the place seemed one that would grow in the future.

Both boarding schools increased in attendance and in influence.

On June 30, 1871, the initial annual meeting of the European Turkey Mission was held at Stara Zagora. To this meeting the scholarly Dr. Riggs of Constantinople brought the first bound volume of theBulgarian Bible. At this meeting the "European Turkey Mission" was organized. It was the first mission of the Board that, from the beginning, had the Bible in the language which the people could understand.

In 1871 the first evangelical church in Macedonia was organized at Bansko 795

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organized at Bansko.

In 1875 the Bulgarian Evangelical Society, a native agency, was organized. This Society has been an important part of the Protestant work in Bulgaria. It was run by Bulgarians, distributed religious literature and tracts, Sunday school literature; it helped the native churches, and in recent times had taken over the publishing and editing of the Bulgarian religious weekly, "The Zornitsa", which was started missionaries in Constantinople, in 1871, where there was a Bulgarian printing press belinging to the Missions.

These were fearful times when Bulgaria became a separate principality through insurrection and war. The mission work suffered. The horrible massacres of the revolution and the ravages of the Russo-Turkish War spread terror and tumult through the land. Regular mission work was suspended in the most part; people hid in the mountains; missionary families left for Constantinople; Stara Zagora was destroyed; Samokov was threatened. Turkish officers and neighbors protected the missionaries and saved Samokov.

After the calamity, the missionaries became very efficient ministers of relief. As always in such times, they collected and distributed funds and relief in large quantities.

In spite of the troublesome times there was an era of advance in the European Turkey Mission after the first 15 years of its life.

During the decade 1877-87 the missionary advance

among the Bulgarians was rapid, judged by such tokens as increase in numbers, contributions of native Christians, the appearance of able native Christians, and the development of the Bulgarian Evangelical Society. 797

There were obstacles for the mission work too, because the Bulgarians hesitated in coming out for the new church. They felt it was disloyal to accept anything which discredited their state church; also there was much irreligion appearing with the new political freedom.

With all of this, though, many people who were educated in the mission schools and at Robert College and the Women's College at Constantinople admit their indebtedness to these schools.

With all of this, though, many people who were educated in the mission schools and at Robert College and the Women's College at Constantinople admit their indebtedness to these schools. 000

When a new church building was dedicated in Sofia, the capital, in 1888, one of the large audience was Prince Ferdinand, who on leaving presented the church with 500 francs as a token of good will. 797

During this period there was some hindrance to the work, especially in Macedonia, by the feuds between the races which resulted in frequent outbreaks.

In 1896 when war broke out between the Turks and the Greeks, Salonika and Monastir (Bitolia) were the centers of

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activity and the mission work was again disturbed.

This was a period when the religious literature was very much in demand in Macedonia. There was much unrest among the people, great eagerness for liberty and comparative seclusion from the world, so that the mountain people were especially attracted to the religious tracts.

On September 3, 1901, in the mountains of Macedonia, near the Bulgarian border, a comitadji band fell upon a group of Christian workers and carried off for ransom Miss Ellen Stone and Mrs. Tsilka, the wife of a Bulgarian preacher. The story of this event is well known. After 172 days in captivity in the mountains near Bansko, the two women and the baby, born in captivity, were set free upon payment of a ransom of $68,200. The comitadji band turned out to revolutionary leaders.

There were turbulent times in Macedonia, but the missionaries remained at their posts and their little schools, churches, and their pastoral visiting continued in spite of all difficulties.

The missionaries were unable to distribute much relief to those about them during this period.

In 1898 the publishing department was transferred from Constantinople to Samokov. A special missionary was appointed to have charge of this work and the "Zornitsa", which had been suspended for a short time because of the lack of funds was resumed. It was thought better that this work should be done on Bulgarian soil.

After World War I this missionary, with a committee of scholars, revised the Bulgarian Bible.

Later on, a new Hymn book was published for the use of the schools and churches.

The schools at Samokov had grown and in the early 900's they were feeling the need for new equipment. New buildings were put up for them, as well as for church meeting houses in the villages.

There was a call for better-trained preachers, so the staff was increased in the schools, and some young men were sent abroad to study.

It was during this time that the well-known kindergarten work of Miss Clarke was started in Sofia. It was pioneering work, but she trained many of Bulgaria's kindergarten teachers.

During the time of the Balkan Wars the Protestant work in Bulgaria was well established. The churches in the villages were active and attracted much interest. There were churches in Sofia and Plovdiv and were well attended. The two schools in Samokov were filled to capacity and were working toward government recognition with a better program besides the religious training they offered.

The pastors in the churches were better trained, and the churches were working toward self support. Bible women were active, holding meetings with the women and helping with child training.

During the Balkan Wars much relief work was again

797 carried on among the refugees. The feeling of suspicion that had often been apparent was fast disappearing. Queen Eleonora, second wife of King Ferdinand, was a close friend of the Samokov missionaries and, with their help, persuaded the American Red Cross to send two trained women to conduct a school for nurses. This school was interrupted by the coming of the Germans to Sofia during World War I, but after the war the two American nurses opened their school in Sofia at the Red Cross Hospital, and thus began a splendid work which has given Bulgaria some excellent nurses. These young women are now working all over the country, doing fine welfare work among the villages, and carrying on public health work in the cities. The Protestants can well claim credit for this achievement, for at the time the work was started the nursing profession was looked down upon by the Bulgarians. It was only through the persistence of the director of the Girls' School in Samokov that she persuaded some of her graduates to enroll in the nursing school. It was a time of hard decision for those girls who had no encouragement from their families and friends and plenty of discouragement. They became a nucleus of a worthy work which has helped the people of Bulgaria boundlessly.

Perhaps the most important contribution to Bulgarian life and culture has come from the schools.

In 1874 the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist-Episcopal Church sent out some women workers. They began their work among the women and taught the little children in the

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homes. Work was slow again because of the Russo-Turkish War.

In 1880 the missionaries felt a need for a school for girls, and a small one was started. In 1882 the Mission Board--Methodist--built a small building. There was very much persecution but the missionaries persisted and new American workers were sent out. Several primary schools were opened in Sistoff, Rustchuk, and Ochanie, with the Bible women teaching. The people grew more friendly and the Christians - Prostestants - were no longer stoned in the streets.

Sonn funds for two new buildings were granted by the Board in America and the school was recognized by the Bulgarian Government on June 3, 1927.

By this time the school was giving the regular gymnasium course and in addition had added a domestic science department.

A feature started by the missionaries at Lovetch was the Daily Vacation Bible School. In 1926 they had 575 pupils in attendance.

The Lovetch school has been a vital factor in preparing many of the Christian women in Bulgaria.

One should mention also that there were throughout Northern Bulgarian and in Sofia well-established Methodist Churches. Their pastors have been trained abroad in many instances. Although the membership in the churches is not large, there are good attendances at the meetings, and the reputation of the "Protestants" or "Evangelisti" is of the highest

797 for integrity and high standards of conduct.

At different times the Methodists have had publications in Bulgarian also. In recent years the trend has been to unite the work in north and south Bulgaria. So that both sections meet together in annual conferences. both are responsible for the publications, that is, they were until the present Communist Government stopped all such work, The school at Lovetch is also closed, and the last principal, the late Miss Mellony Turner, was expelled by the communists in 1948.

A direct outgrowth of the Protestant work in Bulgaria was the American Grade School in Sofia. It began in 1923 to fill a need for the children finishing the kindergarten organized by Miss Clarke some years before. She had hoped to have a full course of American schools for children in Bulgaria. Mrs. Woodruff began the grade school which did excellent work and continued with overflowing attendance until it was closed by the Nazis in 1942. The school has not been able as yet to reopen.

Another contribution of the Protestants was the village and folk school for girls and boys in Pordim in 1929. This school was founded by Dr. and Mrs. Edward Haskell with the purpose to train the village youth for practical living. The girls especially were trained for better housekeeping, child care, etc. This school is now under government control.

The best known Protestant school in Bulgaria is what is now called the "American College", near Sofia. It is the

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the outgrowth of the little school that went to Samokov soon after mission work began in Bulgaria.

Eventually both the boys' and thr girls' schools in the compound at Samokov outgrew their plant. The boys had some practical work along with the regular gymnasium course which had been recognized by the government in 1922. There was a printing plant and a carpentor shop in connection with the boys' school.

After World War I when the work took on new vigor, the missionaries began to feel the need for enlarging the scope of their work and of providing wider opportunities for their students. The funds of the Mission Board were not suffiecient for such work, so when the invitation came for the schools to join the Near East Colleges Foundation, it was decided to take part in that. It meant putting the schools under a swparate Board with the other colleges of the Near East. It also meant moving the schools to Sofia, which was now a big city and the capital. A fine new plant was built outside Sofia on a fine plot of land. The school began moving over to Sofia in 1927 and continued to work there until it also was closed by the Nazis in 1942. It has not been reopened by the Americans, and the Communists are at present using the buildings for a Police School.

In mentioning the contribution of the Protestants, we should not forget the temperance work which was started by the Clarkes. There were Temperance Leagues in all the church

797 communities, and they worked only for the good of the communities.

797 575 The organizations of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. were started independently of the Protestant or mission people. But those starting both organizations were people who had been closely connected the the Protestant work in Bulgaria. The purpose of organizing these was to make them serve all Bulgarians, especially the Orthodox Christians as well. The Y.M.C.A. was started by the husband of a graduate of the Lovetch School, who was not a Protestant himself, and a friend of his, a banker who was a Methodist. They were able to have an American secretary sent out, and the Y.M.C.A. did an excellent work for the Bulgarian youths. It held evening classes and had fine summer camps in the mountains and on the Black Sea.

The Y.W.C.A. was started by a graduate who was the daughter of a graduate from the Women's College at Constantinople, a Bulgarian. She was ably assisted by several young women who were graduates also of the Constantinople School. The Y.W.C.A. was a vigorous and successful undertaking, reaching many young women and girls in Bulgaria. It conducted many classes and had a summer camp for industrial girls at Zemen all through the summer. It also carried on a good work for the factory girls around Sofia.

Both the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. have been closed since the arrival of the Nazis in 1942. The Communists also do not allow them to continue their work.

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The Protestants had started an orphanage or two and these were being carried on in a Christian manner. It is not known whether or not they are still in operation. 797

It is appropriate in these notes to mention the recent trials of early 1949 when 15 Protestant pastors were brought before the courts in Sofia and condemned by the Communists for treason. Much attention was given to these trials by the outside world. The trials were a part of the general persecution of religion and religious workers by the present Communists. 798

These Bulgarian pastors were on the whole humble people, representing small religious groups. They were trying in every way to conform to the new regulations of the Communists, so they were not dangerous to the regime. All they wanted was to be able to work quietly among their people. Several of them even went so far as to serve the Communists and try to show that the Communist regime was really a democratic one. Strange to say, these men suffered most in the trials and the sentences.

Aside from being representatives of religious groups, these men were also attached to American groups of the same name in America, so that fact worked against them too. The Communists want to convince their countries that religion and America are enemies of Communism.

At present in Bulgaria anyone who has at any time been connected with America, American schools, or organizations starting from America, is under surveillance and does not consider himself outside danger

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

with these words: "I took the child away a Jew and now I return him to you a Christian." 553 851

There was usually an awkward wait of half an hour or more until the meal was ready and the priest had come to give the blessing so the feasting could begin. The christening dinner was one of the most significant of all family events for both adults and children. A child could not attend school without a baptismal certificate, nor could he later join the army, get a passport, or do anything of real importance without this church record. For a child from an Orthodox home to be unchristened was worse than having him unnamed; he did not exist legally. The national government, however, honored the equivalent of these baptismal certificates given by religious minority groups for their members, and also considered valid their marriages and divorces, be they Moslems, Jews, or Protestants. This religious freedom and tolerance had been a source of pride to many a Bulgarian in the past. 608 [798]

There were times in Dragalevtsy, though rare indeed, when the two families involved felt it best to break off the godparent relationship. If a woman, for instance, had three or four miscarriages, the godparents, who officiated at the wedding, might say: "You're not having very good luck with your children. We've been talking it over, and believe that things would work out better for you if you had different godparents." The husband and wife could then invite another couple to be godparents. 608

There were a few instances where babies did not have godparents at birth. Former godparents for the family might have died, moved away, or been unwilling to serve. In such a case the baby, no matter what the weather happened to be, was left on a street corner near the church just prior to the Sunday morning service. Naturally, the cries of the child attracted the curiosity of some passer-by. At the moment that he went over to look at the baby some elderly woman rushed out of hiding to say: "Congratulations, sir. You have the honor of serving as godparent to this child." So off he was marched to the church, be he foreigner, gypsy, drunk, or on important government business, to participate as godfather in the christening. Should he move to some distant place, he was still expected to keep in touch with his unexpected charge and, if possible, return in due course of time to take part in the 608 553 851

659 governed by their ecclesiastical authorities under the supreme supervision of the minister of state." (Article 42).

659 798 However, the communists did not attack the Church but on the one hand, they proceeded very cautiously in religious matters not wanting to offend openly the feelings of the people; on the other, under a new policy toward religion inaugurated by the U.S.S.R. they did not undertake to destroy the Church but use it for their purposes. The general line established by the Russian Communist Party in 1942 called for a truce with and the utilization of religion for the sake of political expediency. A lesser factor for this attitude was the necessity to operate within a political coalition in which there existed strong forces of moderation.

Thus, in its policy toward religion the Fatherland Front government declined at first to adopt a clear-cut formula and proceeded with individual measures primarily dealing with the Orthodox Church. The regime governing the status of the Orthodox Church until 1944 was tacitly suspended.

The communists did not proclaim immediately the complete separation of the Church and State, which they had originally planned. This could have provoked great discontent not only because of the national and moral prestige enjoyed by the Bulgarian Church, but also because of the deprivation of priests and bishops of the financial aid which they received under the State budget. Thus, the communists confined themselves to the elimination of the instruction of religion, which until

659 then had been conducted in all schools, to the removal of the
798 presence of church officials at the taking of the oath and to the introduction of civil marriage, which became obligatory, instead of the religious one, which hitorto was required
[571] (Articles 1 and 2 of the Decree having force of Law concerning Marriage, Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 108, May 12, 1945).

Although there was no formal declaration of the separation of Church and State, representatives of the church no longer appeared at public functions and the part which the church played in public life was mutely but radically reduced.

659 Nevertheless, the government continued to subsidize the church by allotting funds to it in the State budget. Moreover, in a purely political move, it amended the Statute
[571] of the Exarchate with a special Decree-Law (Durzhaven Vestnik, No. 11, January 15, 1945) and authorized the election of an Exarch. Apparently the government preferred to deal in the future with one man - the Exarch - instead of a Synod. Again the Bulgarians were always strongly in favor of having a single prelate at the head of their national church.

793 In January 1945 Archbishop Stefan of Sofia was elected Exarch of the Orthodox Church of Bulgaria. The new Exarch was an ardon Russophile, but not a bolshevik or communist sympathizer. Immediately after the election he journeyed to Moscow to pay a visit to the Moscow Patriarch, Alexis, which demonstrated a recognition of the primacy of the Moscow Patriarchate, and sent a delegation to the Patriarchate of Constantinople to negotiate for the removal

B. Jewish Minority

The Jews in Bulgaria numbered about 50,000 and came originally from Spain. Until the last war they lived in absolute liberty and enjoyed all the rights of Bulgarian citizens. The Jewish colony maintained about 30 synagogues, of which seven are in Sofia, three in Plovdiv, two in Pleven, one in Vidin, one in Vratza, etc., and a consistory composed of preeminent men, the most notable of whom was the great Rabbi Dr. Ehrenpreiss (actually residing in Stockholm). For more than fifteen years Dr. Ehrenpreiss made a center of his residence from which Hebrew culture was propagated not only in the Balkans but in Eastern Europe as well. [162] 563 795

The Jews not only were not persecuted, but also enjoyed the sympathy of the local population. This explains the fact that, although not numerous, they controlled the greater part of Bulgarian commerce, both domestic and foreign. The relations between Bulgarians and Jews were excellent, and sometimes went even as far as inter-marriage. The wife of the last Bulgarian Minister to the United States, Dr. Mevorah, who is of Jewish descent, is a Bulgarian.

This harmony was not disturbed even after Hitler's seizure of power in Germany when, under the influence of the new regime in the Reich, national-socialist and fascist groups were also organized in Bulgaria. These groups endeavored, among other things, to incite anti-Jewish feelings among the 798 563

local population. The most active of those groups in that respect was the nationalistic organization "National Defence", under the leadership of a reserve general. Now and then the members of that organization staged a raid on some Jewish shops in Sofia where there lived no less than 20,000 Jews. But these sorties usually provoked by some discourteous act of the Jewish merchants, or of his employees, towards their Bulgarian customers, were ostracized by the government. 798 563

The situation changed abruptly at the beginning of World War II when the victories of the German Army in France made Hitler the virtual master of Europe. Bulgaria could not but take into account this change, the more so since her government was obviously inclined toward Germany. King Boris, whose power knew no limit, appointed then to the Ministry of Interior an attorney, none too intelligent, but an ardent Germanophile, who began to apply the national-socialist principles in the country and especially the theory of the purity of the race, which was claimed to be endanged in Bulgaria too. The national-socialists were shocked by the great liberty which the Jews enjoyed in Bulgaria, and openly began to talk of its suppression. Under German pressure, the Bulgarian government began to restrict its Jewish citizens. In December 1940 it sponsored in the legislature and the latter voted a law on the "Defence of the Nation", which deprived the Jewish citizens of their liberty and made them a lower class of citizens. The Jews were deprived of the right to serve in 656 798 563

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government or public institutions and in the army; the right to own landed property and movie theaters, and the right to publish newspapers or to participate in their publication. The Jews were forbidden to marry Bulgarians or hire Bulgarian maids and the Jewish children were denied admission to Bulgarian schools. Jewish participation in commerce and industry was made proportional to the Jewish population. This was very difficult to establish and resulted, therefore, in numerous abuses. Provision was made for the forcible evacuation of the Jewish population from the capital to the country, so as to remove it from the sight of the Germans, who were preparing to enter Bulgaria. Jewish youngmen, who were forbidden to fulfill their military service together with their Bulgarian fellow citizens, were sent to serve in the labor detachments organized after the first world war when the subsequent peace treaty prohibited universal military training in Bulgaria, and the Bulgarians replaced it with the so-called labor service for the utilization of the conscripts for various public works, mainly road construction. This organization was maintained after the creation of a regular army and still exists. The fact that the Jews were drafted into the labor service did not indicate discrimination. Discrimination consisted of the creation of separate units for the Jews, which, of course, were treated more severely than the others.

Nobody was pleased by this law, inspired by the desire to disprove the reproaches which the Germans were making to the

government, and King Boris, after signing the law, preferred to suspend its application for six months with the hope that events would allow him to abandon it as an unnecessary measure against public opinion. The government confined itself to the mere registration of all Jewish property, movable and immovable. However, when the German Army entered Bulgaria in March 1941, and in April, crushed and occupied Yugoslavia and Greece, anti-Jewish legislation could no longer be deferred. Since King Boris disliked to sign outright discriminatory laws, a law was passed which authorized the Council of Ministers to issue decrees designed to settle the Jewish and related questions. Another law assessed a levy of 20 percent on all property of the Jews. A third law took away from the Jews the concessional pharmacies by obliging them to liquidate their business. (In Bulgaria pharmacies are opened only with a concession from the authorities which give these concessions under strict conditions, and for strictly limited sections of the community under state control.)

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Acting on the authority of the powers given him by the legislature, the Council of Ministers established a special Commissariat for Jewish Affairs, which was given extensive powers, and which was placed under the direction of one of the most embittered persons in the country, acting in close cooperation with the German Legation in Sofia. It was this Commissariat which introduced the regime of limitations for the Jews who were required to sell all apartments and houses not used as personal residences; i.e., those which were rented, as well as the stock piles of various articles which they had

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hoarded at the beginning of the war. The Jews were required to entrust the Bulgarian National Bank with all their valuables, stocks, bonds, and insurance policies, and to liquidate their participation in various commercial and industrial enterprises. Property owned by Bulgarian Jews living abroad was simply seized. In the field of liberal professions, only 53 Jews were admitted to free practice, of which 21 were attorneys, 21 physicians, 7 dentists, 3 chemists, and 1 architect; most of them were allowed to practice because they were either decorated war veterans or converts to Christianity. Special identification cards were issued to Jews, and in order to distinguish them from Bulgarians, they were forced to wear on the lapels of their coats a yellow star of David (foreign Jews and war veterans were to wear red circles). Jewish radio and telephone receivers were often abused by the pro-German part of the population; but they never lost the sympathy of the people who knew that all of this was due to the Germans.

In Macedonia, which was occupied by Bulgarian troops but under German rule, the situation was slightly different. There were not many Jews there; they were assembled in one place, not in a concentration camp, as such a thing did not exist, but in a little town from where the Germans, one night in 1942, deported them without even informing the Bulgarian authorities, and transported them to Poland in closed freight cars.

The Germans could not treat the Bulgarian Jews in the

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same way; but they were determined to deport them with the consent of the government. To this effect they recived the cooperation of the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs and signed with the latter a formal agreement, which was ratified by the Council of Ministers, and according to which the government agreed to hand over to the German Government a certain number of Bulgarian Jews. This agreement was published by the press after a change in the government took place, but at the time it was kept strictly secret. The Jews, however, learned that they were to be sent to ~~the German~~ concentration camps and frenziedly began to look for protection. A spontaneous outburst of protests arose among the Bulgarian population, which had been badly rattled by the passage through the country of the freight trains loaded with the Macedonian Jews on its way to Romania. By the sickening scenes of the conditions of their transportation, the impression made by this action was shocking, and when it was learned that the same fate was reserved for the Bulgarian Jews, the whole country rose in a wave of protests which was expressed in thousands of letters addressed to the Court, imploring insistingly, and some even menacingly, the Head of the State to prevent this shame. The frothing created was such that the King saw himself obliged to emerge from his passiveness and to warn the Germans discreetly, but firmly, that he was not responsible for the order and the peace in the country if they continued this action. The Germans understood the warning and forsook the deportation of the Jews from Bulgaria. Instead, they

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deported the Jews en masse from Sofia forcibly to two main Jewish centers in the country, namely, the towns of Pleven and Vratza. There the Jews lived unmolested until the Coup d'Etat of September 9, 1944, when the new government immediately restored them to their former status. Thus, the Bulgarian Jews, although they suffered material and moral damages, were saved from destruction, contrary to what happened in some of the other countries occupied by Germany.

The new government repealed all anti-Jewish legislation; all the seized or sequestered property was returned to the Jewish owners. A special decree-law was promulgated for "the settlement of the consequences of the revocation of anti-Jewish legislation affecting private property." The Jews were given full satisfaction. This was at the beginning. No laws or decrees were disclosed which would discriminate against the Jews or restrict the exercise of Jewish faith. However, the general program of nationalization of industry and commerce affected strongly the source of livelihood of many Jews in Bulgaria. Once the government had nationalized all the commerce and all the industry of the country, most of the Jews were deprived of the exercise of their trade. Since 1947, they have been emigrating en masse to Palestine. According to a letter from Israel, published in the organ of the Bulgarian National Committee "Free and Independent Bulgaria" of October 28, 1949, there already are 40,000 Bulgarian Jews in Israel, and there are only about 8,000 Jews left in Bulgaria, which are awaiting their turn to leave, with the exception of 2,000 to 3,000 at the most who are

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The negotiations with the Greek Patriarchate, which although still called "Ecumenical", actually was reduced to a few dioceses in and around Constantinople, were carried on rather smoothly. The reconciliation of the two rival churches had been in preparation for a long time by the march of the events. The rivalry itself had no foundation any more. The defeat of the Greek expeditionary forces at the hands of Kemal Ataturk in their attempt at restoring the Byzantine Empire of the old days had had, as a consequence, the disappearance of Greek religious supremacy in the Orthodox world. As to the Bulgarians, the loss of Thrace and Macedonia had left them little to dispute about with the Patriarchate of Phanar. Moreover, the Greek-Bulgarian ecclesiastic quarrel was far less of a dogmatic nature than that of a political nature, and one may even say, a purely administrative one.

In effect, the canons of the Orthodox faith forbade the presence of two religious leaders of the same denomination in one town. It is on the basis of that rule that the Patriarchate had opposed, in 1871, the establishment of the See of the Bulgarian Exarch in Constantinople. However, at that time all Bulgarian lands were still under Ottoman rule, and there was no other place the Exarchate could go and still be in direct contact with the Turkish Government as its capital. Since that period, things have changed radically, and now there is no need for the presence of the Bulgarian Exarch in Constantinople. Furthermore, the Patriarchate was willing to recognize the complete independence of the Bulgarian Church, which it

was ready to proclaim autocephalous under an Exarch or a Patriarch, as the Bulgarians would have it. 795 798

On such a basis, an agreement was soon reached, and on February 23, 1945, a protocol was signed by the Patriarch and the Bulgarian delegates, and ratified by the Holy Synods of the two churches. The schism separating the Bulgarian Church from the Patriarchate since 1871 was eliminated.

This result was greatly facilitated by the favorable attitude of Patriarch Benjamine himself. Sensing the end of his days was drawing nearer, he was determined to carry out the task of reconciliation and pacification before his death. He came from the southern part of Macedonia (incorporated into Greece in 1913), and there are good reasons to consider him as a Bulgarian. He had not lost his national feeling and wanted to express that feeling by taking the intiative of the rapprochement between the Greeks and the Bulgarians. His moral strength is all the more outstanding in view of his weak physical condition. The Apostolic Nuncio in Constantinople has said of him and his ideal: "that old man rises above the contingencies of everyday life in the pursuit of a great ideal in the service of God and of Humanity."

The protocol of February 23 was to recive a solemn confirmation by a visit of Exarch Stefan to Patriarch Benjamin. that visit was delayed by events until the second half of October 1945. In the meantime, the Patriarch suffered two heart attacks, and the composition of the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate had 795 798 648

been altered by one of the periodical re-shufflings, which had removed precisely the most zealous supporters of the reconciliation. The Patriarch had enough strength to impose the continued adherence to the decisions which had been made, but the atmosphere was not at all the same. Stefan's visit to Alexis and the fact that he arrived in Constantinople (Istanbul) as it were directly from Moscow, were widely exploited to cause alarm and suspicion in the old Ottoman capital where a Russian-Bulgarian maneuver aimed at gaining moral control of the city was always feared. These fears were tacitly shared by the Turkish Government, and consequently, there were many obstacles to be removed. Nevertheless, Mgr. Stefan's visit was very successful in the outcome. 795 798 648

Sofia tried to exploit that success and to widen the work of reconciliation to the peoples themselves, and not only to the churches. On October 30, 1945, Exarch Stefan handed to the Patriarch a short memorandum, in which the Bulgarian Government was asking the Patriarch to intercede before the Regent of Greece, Mgr. Damaskinos, in favor of the normalization of Greek-Bulgarian relations. Bulgaria decalred her readiness to repair all damages effectively caused by Bulgarian occupation authorities, taking into consideration, however, the public utility projects which the Bulgarians had undertaken in Greece. Bulgaria asserted that she had no purpose other than to establish friendly conditions of cooperation between the two countries. 648

To that Mgr. Damaskinos, then head of the Greek State, gave an evasive reply. He approved the lifting of the schism

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and West, where 4,000,000 Moslems were in close contact with western civilization and where also various Christian sects touched western Christianity, there was a field not to be passed over in any effort to carry the gospel into Asia.

Moreover, "the Bulgarians, the leading race in the Balkans, ambitious, progressive, and liberty-loving, made a particular appeal to the sympathies of the civilized world". (The Story of the American Board by William B. Strong).

In 1857 Dr. Hamlin, with a representative of the Turkish Missions Aid Society, made a tour of investigation into European Turkey and brought back a glowing report. They found "a people poor and ignorant indeed, yet thrifty and eager for learning".

By an understanding with the Methodist Episcopal Church North, of America, the American Board - Congregationalist - took its share of the land to be cultivated, the region south of the Balkans, placing its first missionaries at Adrianople.

Plovdiv was made the second station.

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The missionaries were brave, enthusiastic, gifted men and women. Their school for girls in Stara Zagora and the school for young men at Plovdiv prospered and encouraged the missionaries. But there were discouraging experiences too; influential parents at Stara Zagora withdrew their daughters when they understood the Protestant character of the school, and in 1867 a mob attacked the school and would have carried off the scholars but for the coolness and vigor of Mr. Morse in withstanding them.

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Here an appeal to the new law of religious liberty in Turkey, together with the help of friendly officials brought good results even from persecution. 797 798

One of the best-known contributions of the Prostestants to Bulgaria began as a little mission school for young men in 1860. It was called "The Collegiate and Theological Institute" and started with four pupils. It was shifted to several locations ans was closed temporarily during troublesome times, but was finally reestablished in 1871 at Samokov. The mission school for girls was also moved to Samokov that same year. 797

Samokov was chosenas a more promising town at that time. The climate was much better than in the hot district around Plovdiv. There were still no railroads in the country, and Sofia was an insignificant little place. There were prospering iron mines at Samokov and the place seemed one that would grow in the future.

Both boarding schools increased in attendance and in influence.

On June 30, 1871, the initial annual meeting of the European Turkey Mission was held at Stara Zagora. To this meeting the scholarly Dr. Riggs of Constantinople brought the first bound volume of theBulgarian Bible. At this meeting the "European Turkey Mission" was organized. It was the first mission of the Board that, from the beginning, had the Bible in the language which the people could understand.

In 1871 the first evangelical church in Macedonia was organized at Bansko 795

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The Protestants had started an orphanage or two and these were being carried on in a Christian manner. It is not known whether or not they are still in operation. 797

It is appropriate in these notes to mention the recent trials of early 1949 when 15 Protestant pastors were brought before the courts in Sofia and condemned by the Communists for treason. Much attention was given to these trials by the outside world. The trials were a part of the general persecution of religion and religious workers by the present Communists. 798

These Bulgarian pastors were on the whole humble people, representing small religious groups. They were trying in every way to conform to the new regulations of the Communists, so they were not dangerous to the regime. All they wanted was to be able to work quietly among their people. Several of them even went so far as to serve the Communists and try to show that the Communist regime was really a democratic one. Strange to say, these men suffered most in the trials and the sentences.

Aside from being representatives of religious groups, these men were also attached to American groups of the same name in America, so that fact worked against them too. The Communists want to convince their countries that religion and America are enemies of Communism.

At present in Bulgaria anyone who has at any time been connected with America, American schools, or organizations starting from America, is under surveillance and does not consider himself outside danger

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

befell them, There was another oppression, far more consequential in its scope, which tapped the resources of its spiritual culture amassed from the brilliant past. Such was the spiritual slavery imposed by tha Greek church. 175

15. Church and Spiritual Slavery. The struggle between the Bulgarian nation and the Greek church continued under the Turkish dominion. 798 175

These two contestants were caught in a deadly grapple. The Bulgarians claimed their proper rights but the Greeks opposed them on all points and saw to it that they were kept back on the land to till the soil for them behind the sea. The battle now was waged for churches, for bishops, for reading the gospels in Bulgarian and not in Greek, for schools, teachers, books and libraries! The Turks gave the Greek Patriarchate in Constantinople complete freedom of action over the spiritual life of the subjected Christian „rayahs". The Greeks never dreamt of such unlimited ecclesiastical authority even in the brilliant periods of the Byzantine empire. Never was the principle „divide and rule" applied more effectively, than by the Turks during the time of their domination. Bulgarian libraries were burned. The Patriarchate library in Tirnovo, for instance, was burned in 1628 and this was an irreparable loss for the Bulgarian nation. Such was the fate of many monasterial and church libraries and their priceless manuscripts. In 1823 old manuscripts were destroyed by fire in Tserovina, near Sofia; the same thing happened at Titcha, county of Shumen, in 1840, in Stara-Zagora and in the St. Zograph Bulgarian monastery of Athos. What little was left, in form and essence of the Bulgarian Patriarchate at Ochrid, was lost and wasted with the closing of the Patriarchate in 1867. This church struggle lasted since the second half of the 16th century until to-day. For nearly 400 years the Bulgarian people fought for their rights to establish their national language in the church service and prayers, to have their own clergymen and their own national church was to depend exclusively on the will of the people. How many nations could boast of such history and what other church has played such significant part in the preservation of its people?

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Bulgaria EE1

659 nals, one of them the organ of the Communist-dominated
793 Synod, made propaganda at the government's behest. Every-
626 one who gave any indication of fidelity to the Christian creed in its true significance and glory had to reckon with the possibility that he would speedily be sentenced to one of the dreaded prisons—Kolarovgrad, for example—which were always crammed with the unfortunate victims of tyranny.

659 The Orthodox Church having been transformed into an ab-
798 ject lackey of the State, Communist wrath descended on the religious minorities. Protestants were the first victims. Missionaries had come to Bulgaria from Turkey, and had established schools which, despite wars and upheavals, gave a good education to boys and girls. An exemplary woman introduced the kindergarten system and trained native teachers. By the close of World War I, hostility to Protestants had pretty largely died down; and although the small congregations did not grow rapidly they successfully maintained their identities. Their pride and joy was the American College, situated near Sofia. It was closed by the Nazis in 1942 and has not been reopened. The work of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. was suppressed at the same time, and the Communist regime has not lifted the prohibition.

69 The legislation adopted during February, 1949 (often re-
637 ferred to as the Canonical Purity Laws) contained a number
648 of provisions designed to render impossible any religious activity under the auspices of a Church or institution with headquarters outside Bulgaria. It stipulated, for example, that any Church or any clergyman desiring "canonical relations with or aid or gifts from" institutions, organizations, or official personages abroad must secure permission in advance from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. It was presumably under this legislation that fifteen Protestant pastors were brought to trial for high treason during 1949. It was the first large-scale action

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

The hearth or stove was the focal point of the barely furnished living room. When winter came the small fires burned steadily, but slowly as though undernourished. For fuel, people in Dragalevtsy used small branches brought from the village forest up on the mountainside, though a few bought coal from the mine at Pernik. No longer did they burn cow dung. Older people of the family felt that fire was sacred because it could bring on great disasters; therefore, it should not be treated lightly. The aged would never think of spitting in the fire, and gravely deplored this disrespect of the young. This attitude is perhaps an ancient survival of the days when the Bulgarians were sunworshipers. 354 372

The walls of the homes were pierced by comparatively few windows, which were small and were kept tightly shut during the winter to keep out the "dangerous" night air. The rest of the wall space was brightened somewhat by gaudy calendars decidedly patriotic in theme. The iron bedsteads or the heavy wooden beds which lined the walls contrasted strikingly with some homemade cradle or trundle bed reserved for the succession of young. A kneading trough stood near the door, usually covered to serve as a table. The only other table was a low circular *sofra* around which people ate seated on three-legged stools. I once asked a peasant: 342 [353] 352 811

"Why do all of your little stools have three legs instead of four?"

"Far back in the past people used such stools and so we use them also. And I guess they are easier to be made and also are cheaper; furthermore, some people think that they keep a better balance since on a three-legged stool there is one less leg to wear down and become uneven than would be the case with a four-legged stool."

I have not been able to discover any flaw in this example of peasant logic. The same woman once explained to me why the people use the *sofra,* which is two feet high:

"This height was chosen through the ages because if it were lower, people would have to sit on the dirty floor. If it were the height of a regular table such as people have in the taverns, the three-legged stools would be too short. Therefore, the height of our table and the height of our stools are intimately connected."

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

nicus and Galileo who opened for us the celestial world. We 175
have at ths time the invention of the art of printing which helped the spread of ideas by books. Here is the age of most gifted masters of speech, beauty and marble, like Petrarch and Boccacio, Ariosto and Tasso, Camoens and Servantes, of Rabelais and Montaigne, of Shakespeare, Michel-Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Rafael and Tician. This is the period of great philosophers like Bacon, Giordano Bruno etc. etc... Bulgaria was unable to benefit by all these miracles of rich material, intellectual, spiritual and esthetic culture... At this same time, our half illiterate monks the only representatives of our intellectual life in this remote dark age, contemporaries of Ariosto and Tasso, of Shakespeare and Servantes, of Rafael and Tician, devoted their lives to the painstaking and tedious work of copying the lives of saints or of painting ikons, which betryed the complete conventionality and frigidity of Byzantine art!"

But neither the Turkish political, nor the Greek ecclesia- 175
stical slavery were in a position to suppress the spirit of the 814
Bulgarian nation. It was encouraged by the enlightened 186
groups of artizans, merchants and clergymen. A bright spark flashed all of a sudden in this dark period. This spark was the Slavic Bulgarian history of a Bulgarian monk of Macedonian origin called Paissi Hilendarski[1]). This was a hand written manuscript of 1762, which told the Bulgarian people of their glorious past, of their Kings and Patriarchs. The manuscript was called by the common people „The Book of Kings" and was copied and distributed widely in the Bulgarian lands. The plea of this Bulgarian monk to his people was „Oh Bulgarians, get to know your origin and your language". This was a forward call for the hard struggle to obtain schools and churches, enlightement, civilization and freedom of conscience: a struggle against anything that was Greek. The hatred, accumulated for centuries past — already 1083 years old — broke out with new force. This was the Bulgarian Renaissance.

„The Bulgarian Renaissance, as a process of develop- 178
ment, has something in common with the Renaissance of 186
Westren Europe:

[1]) A monk of the Hilendar Monastery, Mont Alhos.

000 seek to read it and copy it and be thou content, that with it thou canst save thy brother."

These remarks of the Presbyter Kozma are striking and at the same time prophetic, since he predicted here the role which books would play in Bulgaria, just as he also foresaw that eight centuries later, his people would be awakened from the spiritual lethargy of five hundred years of the Turkish yoke, or as the Bulgarian poet Vazov said, "that there will be an end of history and they will become a nation", by the books of an inspired patriot. These books passed from hand to hand in manuscript copies to play in Bulgaria the role of the life-giving elixir which aroused the tsar's daughter from the magic sleep which an evil spirit had cast upon her.

175 814 The book which the Bulgarian regards as the cornerstone of his present liberty and which is reflected in all modern Bulgarian literature is the "History of the Slav Bulgarians" by Paisi of Hilendar, a monk of Mount Athos.

In the eighteenth century the Bulgarian people had lost nearly all national self-confidence as a result of the Turkish yoke and the propaganda of the Pan-Hellenic idea by the Greek clergy and they seemed on the point of disappearing. Then Paisi, as the first of a series of clerical and lay writers who supported the feeble study of Bulgarian letters under the Turkish yoke, felt the significance which a knowledge of the past might have for the continued existence of his people and the importance to them of an understanding of the bases of its national culture. In 1762 he commenced a manuscript "History" (there were then no printing presses in Bulgaria) to remind his contemporaries that despite the oppression and

the contempt of the Turks and Greeks, they did not need 175
to be ashamed of their own traditions. In the past the 814
Bulgarians had had their own empire and had received tribute from the wise Greeks and they had had the most progressive tsars and patriarchs of all the Slavonic peoples and they had been among the first peoples to accept the Christian faith, which they had later handed on with a rich literature to the other Slavs.

With its poetic inspiration and its ardent love for his [186]
country, the History of Paisi appeared as a torch to kindle the lowly and undeveloped national consciousness of Bulgaria. It set it ablaze and thus caused the surprising advance of the Bulgarian people. In one century 2/n they turned from an amorphous mass to one of the strongest nationalities of the Balkans. They raised their level of culture, and developed their art, science and literature.

It goes without saying that the History of Paisi could 538
not have worked this miracle, if it had not found a fertile 814
soil in the souls of the Bulgarian people, and more than 186
that, if the soil had not been cultivated by a long series of enthusiastic imitators of Paisi. Between 1800 and 1850 these writers, without stopping, first in manuscripts and later in printed books, continued to arouse the national consciousness of the Bulgarians and to spread enlightenment in their native land. The aims of these men were purely practical. The definite object of Sofrony Vratchanski, of Neofit Bozveli, of Neofit Rilski in their works which are almost always of a didactic character, was to help their people, to educate them and to lead them on the path of proper development. Yet so strong and so inspired was the love that these men had for their

2/n [i.e., the eighteenth century--- Analyst]

538 people that without their endeavor, their works became
814 works of art and formed a stage in the development of
186 Bulgarian literature and the Bulgarian literary language. This gradually evolved under the guidance of the democratic spirit of the authors from the dead Church language which had predominated in the work of Paisi, until it approximated the Bulgarian colloquial dialects on which the modern language is based.

538 Not a little credit for the formation and crystalization
186 of the Bulgarian literary language and the development of modern Bulgarian literature must be given to the writers who walked in the steps of Paisi and his school and who were also public spirited men. This last circumstance explains the fact that the list of the most prominent authors includes the names of those Bulgarians who in the epoch preceding the political liberation of Bulgaria, the period between 1840 and 1875, took the leading and most self-sacrificing part in the cultural struggle for their country, for its spiritual awakening and its ecclesiastical independence, who fought in the revolting bands of various heroes, who worked inside the country in various revolutionary committees or with the Central Committee in Bucharest (Rumania was already free), and who thus tried in every way to secure the liberation of their country. Thus, whether we consider the men who appealed for aid in the struggles for ecclesiastical and national independence or list the writers or the leaders in any popular movement, we always come upon the names of Rakovski, Lyuben Karavelov, Drumev, and above all Khristo Botev.

The character of Sava Rakovski (1821-1867) is especially interesting and original in this group. He worked

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

birth receives a guardian angel, the soul of the deceased after leaving 764
this world starts first to visit all the people and places where it has 775
been when on this earth. This journey, no matter how great the distance may be, must be completed in forty days. If the departed has lived most of his time in his village, and only occasionally has gone to neighboring towns or villages, the journey will be an easy and pleasant one, but if he has traveled great distances the journey will be tiring and rough. It may be that this belief has been responsible for keeping the peasants so firmly attached to their land and village, and preventing them from migrating to new lands. . . .

"The soul has started on its journey, while the body is still in the house, being mourned by the family and the neighbors. The members of the family throw grains of corn or wheat into the coffin. They also believe that there is a great river to be passed and if the deceased has no money he will be unable to cross, and his journey will be impeded. Another peculiar belief is that the neighbors send through him messages to their departed, firmly believing that he will deliver them."

Investigation showed that these statements held true generally 763
of Dragalevtsy but needed to be supplemented. For one thing, the [821] ●
villagers had definite ways of foretelling death. They said, for instance, that there were as many stars in the sky as there were people on earth, and that there was a particular star for each person. When a star fell to the ground, someone was said to have died and his star to have gone out like his soul. If the star merely moved from one place to another, then its particular earthly representative had changed his residence. Many peasants also believed that "stars with tails" (meteors) foretold some great misfortune to be sent by God. Usually they were thought to signify war "because before the Balkan War and the World War there were such." But there were even more specific ways of predicting death in any given locality. When the owls cried at sunset toward a house or when a hen crowed, death was sure to follow soon. Certain dreams indicated the coming of death. Bai 787
Angel, the village registrar, told me that a soldier could be practically 763
certain of death if he dreamed of a snake. He supported this belief with the story of an officer in the first World War who lined up his men before a battle and went down the ranks to shake hands with

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

was directing the group, rather than the hostess, suggested that they take up work once more.

I spent many hours in the fields chatting with these women. There was a hypnotic rhythm of sound and color in their work as the line of black-clad bodies, and white headcloths, swayed forward together through the thin green blades. In the high altitude everything was sharply defined: the red-roofed village two miles away, the puffs of white cloud infinitely high in the blue, the strong harsh peasant voices close by. While the women worked they sang old folk songs about beautiful heroines and the brave Krali Marko, a legendary Balkan hero who carried out prodigious feats against the Turks, or of peasant girls knitting gay stockings for village boys. The songs were usually romantic and often were cheerful in theme; but now and then one was moved by a haunting sadness deeper even than that of the Negro work songs. Hour after hour I used to hear the unhappy music rise in its bizarre cadence; day after day for three weeks the corn was hoed in one field after another. Week after week the sun beat down on Vitosha and the Sofia plain, while summer burned itself away. The corn grew waist high, then shoulder high, and finally yielded the golden ears to the strong brown fists of some boy or girl at the autumn cornhusking *sedenki.*

Early July was the haying season. Each sunrise would find most of the villagers out in the fields. Some of the men with their sharp scythes cut the hay in even swaths, letting it lie as it fell, to dry in the parching sun. Others would load the cured hay onto the wagons fitted out with ladderlike sides. As the wagons rolled through the village streets they were greeted by the little children who had had to stay at home with their aged grandparents or great-grandparents. The haystacks, whether left in the field or dressed near the house, were weighted down by lines to which heavy stones had been attached.

One could not be with the peasants long at haying time, or indeed at any other time, without sensing their feeling of close dependence upon the weather. In fact, I soon found myself sharing this feeling, although I remained somewhat dubious of the infallibility of the signs by which they "read the weather." They believed, for example,

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

787 that it would rain if the crows bathed in the river, if the sun set or
821 rose behind a cloud or was surrounded by a circle, or if the oxen dug the earth with their horns in the springtime. When the moon was surrounded by a dark circle, the weather would supposedly change to rain if it was summer and to snow if winter. Rain would also follow if the stars shone brightly, the sky was red in the morning, or the middle part of Vitosha was foggy. But the surest sign of bad weather was the sight of pigs carrying straw to the sty at sunset. Yet good weather alone did not ensure good crops. The human element was of utmost importance.

464 Bulgaria had, according to prewar figures, the largest labor
241 supply per decare in Europe, with 5.8 workers available for 100 decares (25 acres) of land. Italy came next with 4.7, then Poland with 4.3, but Great Britain had only 0.7. In spite of such a surplus of labor the people had not begun to cultivate intensively. An increasing number of young people therefore had to seek a living from sources off the farm. Such intensive cultivation, however, would require radical changes in farming practices. Not more than thirty Dragalevtsy families saved liquid fertilizer, although the rest did haul wagonload after wagonload of manure from the stables to the fields late in the winter to be dumped in piles awaiting later spreading. There was very little harrowing, and what was done took place in the spring after the rains.

243. The cornfields were plowed under at once after the harvest and were immediately sown with grain. If the field had produced *smes*, the stubble was plowed under to lie fallow for one or two years. The fallow fields were plowed once in the spring, once in the middle of the summer, and again in the autumn just before the grain was to be sown.

What might be considered a Bulgarian counterpart of our Thanksgiving feast occurred at the time of this fall sowing of grain. Early in the morning the woman arose quietly to bake one large and two small loaves of bread, and to catch a young rooster which she handed over to her husband just before he was ready to start to the field in the oxcart. What followed was the observance of a pagan fertility rite. With the dignity of a priest performing an ancient sacrifice, the

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
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heavens nor the *ale* (dragons) can harm, so may no illness be able to do anything to him over whom this knife is placed. Strengthen it, Moon, make it powerful, bless it, Moon' (three times).[1]

Over and above the ties of natural and marital kin, and of tribe, clan or citizenship, three persons in particular were outstanding in the Southern Slav social code and structure: the guest, the brother by adoption and the *kum*, that is, persons with whom a temporary or permanent alliance was solemnly made.

It is very likely that theophanic associations influence the cult of hospitality, but it is certain that a guest can not only bring good or ill fortune or disease, but that he can also carry them away. Beggars, particularly vagrant beggars, have their use. They receive in many places the clothes of dead people and other tabooed articles. Disease enclosed in various objects is given secretly to them or thrown after them, say in water in their tracks, or swept out of doors as they go. Moreover they can sometimes perform rites for the sick, for instance when it is essential that this or that should be done by someone whom the patient has never seen before. Perhaps this, as much as the notion of charity, accounts for the fact that beggars are given dedicated food. Formerly the presence of strangers, at any rate beggars, was almost an essential feature of the *slava*. When the disease is thrown out with the parting stranger, I do not know whether or not he is supposed afterwards to suffer. Water in which a sick person has been washed is also thrown in the tracks of a neighbour who may be supposed responsible for the evil eye or spell.

The motif is illustrated in the following charm—when washing oneself and an old copper coin in water at the same

[1] M. Milosavljević, *Običaji srpskog naroda iz sreza Homoljskog*, S.E.Z. XIX, pp. 397–401. In Bulgaria the witch (*magionica*) enticed the moon during an eclipse into a sieve, and after holding a conversation with it, allowed it to return to the sky. Her procedure and apparatus were somewhat similar to those given above; cf. D. Marinov, *Živa Starina*, I (1891), p. 52. The belief that witches caused the eclipse of the moon by magic is mentioned in early mediaeval sources.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Slovenes EF7
Croats EF4
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

B CM S 51 C 372 C M 31 [787]

village. These ceremonies to the best of my knowledge survive in Northern Croatia, the Dalmatian hinterland, Slavonia, Macedonia, in Bulgaria and sporadically in Serbia, and that mainly in pastoral districts. It is now not usual that the fire on these occasions is new fire. Divining is practised; the aim seems to be mainly apotropaeic and often specifically relates to health, or to prevent magic, or the attacks of witches. The ashes of the fires are kept for medicine or to promote the fertility of animals. Not only do these ceremonies change their dates but there is a tendency to amalgamate rites in which fire takes a part. Some authorities are of the opinion that the various fire ceremonials are ultimately of the same origin. Arnaudov distinguished two main types: one that is cathartic, and one that is exorcismal in aim; and among the latter he classed the celebration of the summer solstice, which in his opinion has sometimes been transferred to the spring.[1]

B [755] [821]

S 121 171 372

Mannhardt adopted from Kuhn[2] the identity of the need fire with St John's fire and attributed the same motives to the Roman Palilia. Prof. Trojanović, who has recently published a valuable collection of fire ceremonies, seems to follow the same train of thought, and elaborates the theme 'fire circle = sun disc'. He has sought his parallels, however, in Vedic literature, which cannot possibly give us a prototype on account of its date. The most striking similarity in the Balkan and Indian ritual of new fire is the inspection of melted fat, which the domestic sacrificer in India was instructed to gaze upon, and to show to the other members of his family. In one passage the ghee is called 'thunder'—a term that I am unable to explain.[3] These passages, however, refer to sacrifices to Agni, and I am not sure that Trojanović is right in regarding need fires as sacrificial, although sacrifices occur sporadically. The Indian ritual further demands

[1] M. Arnaudov, *Spisanie na Bolg. Akademia na Naukite*, IV, p. 30.
[2] Cf. Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers*, p. 50, and Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, I (1875–7), pp. 519, etc.
[3] E.g. *Satapatha-Brâhmana*, III, S.B.E. XXVI, pp. 106, 169.

000 of the milkmen began at once to retrace the long uphill journey from the city's outskirts to the village.

576 Sometimes I overtook these men outside the village and fell in with them.[1] *"Dobra stiga"* ("Well-reached"), I said; and they answered, *"Dal ti bog dobro"* ("God has given you good"). The ● [822] amenities observed, I then asked about other matters. "How far is it from Sofia to your village?" Always the answer came in terms of "walking hours" and never in kilometers, the accepted measure of distance in Bulgaria. When we would encounter those going in the opposite direction we stopped our conversation long enough to say, *"Dobra sreshta"* ("Well-met"). When I chanced to inquire about the size of Dragalevtsy, the usual answer was, "About three [161] hundred houses." If I wanted to know how many inhabitants this would mean, I multiplied the figure by five, the size of the average household. (The difference between this crude estimate of fifteen hundred and the 1934 census figures of 1,669 persons meant little to the peasant.)

000 No, Dragalevtsy was in no sense of the word a large village, as Sofia savants used to point out to me when they asked where I saw material enough there for a book. Theirs was the loss. An old village with more than sixteen hundred people teems with life. The stuff of which its days are made is rich and lasting; the intricate crisscross of vigorous personalities and deep-rooted folkways proved a never-ending drama for which nature usually provided a superb setting.

788 181 The meadows were lush from the spring rains, some of the fruit trees were in bloom, numberless tiny silver streams spread a glittering net down the side of Vitosha, and a veil of green leaves lay over all the red roofs of the village. Against such a background, a group of peasants made ready for their pilgrimage to Rila Monastery. Such an occasion was as truly an outpouring of joy as was the departure of the Canterbury pilgrims in Chaucer's day. The clanging of the church bell summoned the friends and relatives of the departing pilgrims to the incense-filled church. Inside, before the iconostas, dark and gilt, the priest read a prayer and led the little flock of people to the edge of the village, to the beginning of the outside world, where the

[1] [i.e. milkman delivering their milk to Sofia--Analyst]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Should the baby appear to be in the wrong position for delivery 844
those attending put the mother in a rug and swung her until the baby came into the "right" position. Normally coffee or wax was used on the navel "so it will stay there one week without falling." Furthermore, the mother was supposed to drink some of the water in which the baby was washed and to which a clove of garlic had been added "in order that the mother's milk may come sooner."

"After the baby has arrived the children are told that the stork has brought a little brother or sister to them through the chimney and they are very glad about it," was the way a proud young father phrased the matter in the course of our conversation about the arrival of his son.

The taboos of childbirth did not cease with the birth of the child. 846
Since the woman was considered unclean for forty days she had to remain at home and was not allowed to attend the christening of her own child. At the end of this period she went to the church for a [783]
special purification ceremony at the hands of the priest.

If the child had a birthmark, many peasants assumed that the 826
mother had stolen some object which touched her own body where 842
the birthmark appeared on the child. Any serious abnormality in an infant was explained by the *babi* on the grounds of too close kinship of the parents to each other or the occurrence of conception on Tuesday, Thursday, or Saturday night, each of which is supposed to be kept free of intercourse because Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday are holy days. As one would expect, the latter taboo is of little importance nowadays; it is simply recalled as a convenient way of explaining something out of the ordinary.

Some of the more ignorant peasants rubbed the head of a very 854
sick infant with urine or, if the baby was born with a "closed nose," 757
a cure was "effected" by putting a small fresh fish tailfirst up the nose. Afterwards the fish was put under a stone.

To keep the mother from fainting during her convalescence the 846
family surrounded her with incense smoke and burning feathers both morning and evening, and gave her holy water to wash the baby's face and her face. Should some member of the family have returned after dark he could not enter the room where the mother was lying. She

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
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not as a real story but in fragments, remarks, speculations. It is by the aid only of this small change that we can hope to construct a relative chronology of folk-lore.

THE NATURE AND CAUSE OF DISEASE

The blood, the various fluids of the body and its secretions and excretions are also essential parts which can be considered to bear in themselves life. In their expulsion from the body good or evil forces can also be expelled, which is the reason given for blood-letting and for purgation which often precede other treatment, notably in febrile complaints; while excrement is considered as a carrier of disease and carefully avoided as unclean or dangerous. But besides this, as intimately connected with the man, or lest it fall on an unclean place or be used against him, he himself must take care to secrete it. There are fragmental observances relating to evacuation in accordance with the local flora and certain taboos associated with plants, etc., and still very definite taboos with regard to places (sacred places, such as churchyards, cross-roads, scratched-up places (*sugrebljiva mesta*—Serbia), sacred trees, etc.).

The fluids or humours of the body, sometimes referred to collectively as blood, can go stale as it were. The blood can congeal or sour or be poisoned or become 'bad blood'. Only then is it usually considered reasonable to part with blood. Venous blood is often taken to be this bad blood. There is an extended idea that blood flows through the body and does not remain stationary. Headaches are caused by bad blood or too little blood, or too much blood. Epilepsy is 'a grave sickness of the blood'[1] and is treated by letting blood. Blood can flow to the head and cause headache, which is then cured by applying leeches to the temple. Infantile convulsions were treated by applications of herbs said to still the

[1] Cf. F. Ivanišević, *Poljica*, Zb. IX, p. 39; cf. G. Golemanov, *Materiali po narodna Medicina iz Gorno-Orehovsko*, Sb.N.U. XXX, p. 35.

CHAPTER I

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR VILLAGE

000 WINTER had begun. The first snow of the year had fallen. It covered the muddy streets of the village, softening the nakedness of the fruit trees which stood lonely in the bare yards. The wind from Mount Vitosha came whistling down the empty lanes, sending both man and beast to seek protection and warmth. The animals huddled in their thatched folds and shelters; the women and children crowded on the little stools near the fireplace at home. The fall sowing of wheat was in. The fields, wind-swept and snow-laden, were deserted, seemingly forgotten by the men and women who had spent so much time with them during the past months.

512 231 One ordinary day followed another. Every morning the water buffalo had to be groomed until they shone; the oxen had to be cleaned after the night in the dirty stall; these, as well as the sheep, had to be fed. Usually the animals received their meager rations before ten [291] o'clock. Shortly thereafter the men, wearing their dirty-gray sheepskin coats, their brimless lambskin hats, and their pigskin sandals, congregated at the taverns to relieve the monotony of their daily routine. At noon they plodded home to a lunch of beans, looked after the cattle once more, and gave commands to their womenfolk. The rest of the day was spent at the taverns in drinking and talking, interspersed with long, easy silences. After the evening meal, the cattle were fed again. Then the men dropped off to sleep along with the rest of the household.

181 ● 829 The winds and enforced idleness of winter were not alone responsible for the apparent sluggishness on every hand. Slow motion was characteristic of Dragalevtsy life in general, but especially of the bodily movements of the people. *Ima vreme* (there's ~~plenty~~ of time) was either a practical philosophical tenet which explained their lack of hurry or else it was an expression frequently used to rationalize their casual manner. I never saw a peasant with a watch.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

veniently arranged to be away from home. The villagers occasionally joked about the peasant who climbed a tree to escape the tax collector and had to remain in that uncomfortable predicament for many hours before the visitor left. But the Turks did recognize the traditional form of village government, or government by elders, and let the heads of the zadrugas, or large joint families, run village affairs to their liking. Most of the time, the head of the zadruga had to accept the responsibility for the deeds of all members of his family group.

These zadrugas were little principalities guided by a *stopanin,* usually the oldest male. His word was law; he distributed the work among the men, bought the necessities, sold the produce, and represented the zadruga before the outside world; therefore, the zadruga usually bore his name.[3] Whenever a son, brother, or nephew of the *stopanin* married, he brought his wife back home to become a member of his zadruga. The wife of the *stopanin,* known as the *domakinya,* managed the housework. She kept the women busy making bread, cooking, washing, spinning, and weaving. Everything was owned in common. Work too was done in common, and whatever one earned outside was turned over to the *stopanin* for the common treasury. In return, all the members got clothes and food, which in those days were about all they expected to have.

After the death of the *stopanin,* the members met to select the next most capable male as their leader. At times, the *domakinya* took over the position of responsibility. Such was doubtless what happened in the case of Baba Dragana, or her prototype, since the ending of the word Dragalevtsy would indicate that it had been settled by a zadruga. The old joint family comprised married cousins descended from the same ancestor, with the result that it sometimes numbered as many as one hundred people.

When the older Dragalevtsy peasants talked to me of the zadruga, which persisted as late as 1880 in their village, they showed that wistfulness for the past which runs through the works of many Bulgarian writers. The zadruga was supposed to be a source of plenty and happiness to its members. One aged peasant listed for me the advantages of this joint family over the modern family. First of all, he said, it had great economy. The members had only one lamp,

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

596 one stove, and one of everything, but now the same number of people
178 living separately require many of each thing. In the second place,
829 there was obedience. The young people respected the old. This made for efficiency, since the *stopanin* was like "a general in the army, directing the young." Finally, he concluded, all the people worked together and could earn more, thus becoming richer.

596 Even under the Turks the zadruga was passing from the scene
178 because it was too unwieldy to adjust to the economic and social changes taking place. Contributing to its decline was the spirit of independence which stemmed from the French Revolution and eventually reached the Balkans. Greeks, and then Serbs, drove the Turks from their midst and established national independence. In Bulgaria and Macedonia, still under the Turks, the *haidutsi,* or guerrillas, went to the mountains every spring on Annunciation Day to spend the summer warring against their Mohammedan masters. It was this same tradition which the Yugoslav guerrillas followed in their resistance to the Nazis. This spirit of independence and the other influences from the West led one zadruga member after another to ask for a division of the common property. Usually the older men, brothers or cousins to each other, secured their shares and then established semi-patriarchal families of their own which consisted of their own sons and their sons' families. What had been common land now became the property of the individual families living in dwellings of their own. But more important sociologically than the smaller size of the individual family unit was the changed basis of authority in the family circle.

In the zadruga the head had been an overseer who achieved his position on the basis of age, ability, and special influence in the community at large. He constantly had to exercise care to keep in the good graces of the zadruga members upon whose assent his office was dependent. In this way the patriarchal pattern, although it ran through the zadruga system, was tempered by the control vested in an elected as opposed to an hereditary head. The father of an individual family, on the other hand, felt that his right of dominance was God-given. He, allied with God, invested himself with the lordship and so held his own in spite of personal unworthiness and in spite of dissension and revolt of the subject children. The father was

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

intelligentsia, when it came to the point dared not run counter to the old village sanctions against divorce. 586

More often it was the husband who left the home. When he did and in rare cases interested himself in another woman, the villagers did all in their power to make him return. If he refused at first, they made him feel the indignation of public opinion, treating him as an outcast and sometimes going to the length of beating him. If he remained in the village, he had no choice but to go back to his wife. During the time he was away his wife also was put to shame, getting little sympathy from the general public. She knew, furthermore, that in case of a divorce both parties would be held guilty by the villagers, so she was willing to take her husband back and get along with him as best she could. A divorced man was considered to have loose morals; a divorced woman would have been thought thoroughly bad. There was thus a situation in which everyone was expected to marry, with no sanctioned way out once the marriage contract had been entered upon. Though such an attitude meant that unfortunate marriages had to drag on interminably, it also had the effect of forcing couples to adjust themselves to each other. [208] [558]

Dragalevtsy seemed a curiosity indeed: a village in which marriage was little questioned, where there was practically no marital unfaithfulness, and no divorce. What were the reasons for the family stability? For one thing, life was still lived according to ancient customs. People only recently had begun to wonder about the age-old patterns which they had been following so faithfully. Some writers would call them the "dead hand of the past," others "the cake of custom." Whatever their name, they were conducive to a common understanding of the place of marriage. All the people expected the same things from life and from the home. 581 593 181 829

Then, too, earning their living by farming was a joint enterprise. People got used to putting their shoulders to the wheel as a family group. In addition to what they all did together, women were supposed to do certain things, men other things, and children still other things. As long as every person did his part there was no friction, but quiet efficiency. Furthermore, the presence of a number of relatives made for greater stability. In the case of apparent misunderstanding

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581 between a husband and wife, the proper relative intervened to suggest
593 a way out. Most of the husband's relatives were in the same locality
181 with him and could keep an eye on his behavior.
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One was not only tied closely to the husband's blood kin *(rodstvo)*
593 but had to enter upon a formal relationship with one's in-laws.
606 Families related by marriage felt close to each other, the intensity of the feeling depending upon the frequency with which the families met and the way the young couples got along. Ordinarily, however, the family of the bride was considered by the husband's parents to be as close, at times even closer, than blood relatives. For instance, if there was any sort of celebration to which guests were invited, the family of the bride was the first to be asked. One reliable informant estimated that ninety out of one hundred people in Dragalevtsy felt the force of *svatovstvo,* or this relationship springing up through intermarriage. The young people, who are usually so prone to make a break with the past, maintained it in all its vigor. Here was the way one young man explained the *svatovstvo:*

"If my sister married some man in Simeonovo, even though I had never seen him before, his brother and sister would be my *svati,* and if I met them we would feel like cousins. I would never curse them or quarrel with them and would call their father *'dedo'* and their mother *'baba,'* the same names I use for my own grandparents. My parents and the parents of my new brother-in-law would likewise be *svati* and would treat one another reverently." Two brothers could
[582] not marry two sisters from another family, though there was no blood relationship, because the second couple were *svati* after the first couple married, and *svati* could not marry. Two brothers could marry two first cousins, but not two sisters. This feeling of closeness in families related by marriage did not stop with the husband and the wife, nor with the single in-law gained by each family. It included, as well, the in-law's parents and brothers and sisters with whom just dealings and proper behavior had always to prevail.

593 More than anything else, however, the shared activities of husband and wife developed an understanding which lasted through thick and thin. Some of these shared activities were the trip to market, the

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CHAPTER VIII

FAMILISM, A CHANGING WAY OF LIFE

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THE DAY at last arrived when I could anticipate the peasants' answers to most of the questions that I asked them. When I inquired what they would do if they had five hundred dollars to spend, I could list in advance the items they would name. The older people, especially, thought and acted largely in terms of the Dragalevtsy of the "good old days," when life was lived in a *familistic* way because the family played the major role in the community. When I understood the characteristics of familism, as a result of observing and reading about peasant life in other parts of the world, the many interesting but isolated facts I had noticed in Dragalevtsy began to make sense and to form a pattern. In a familistic society, whether it is in the Balkans or China, life is largely customary and traditional. Individualism is discouraged because of the crises that the unusual person creates in the daily routine. People prefer a dead uniformity, or a leveling of the best toward the mediocre. The family plays the leading part in this task of molding an individual into the accepted pattern. From childhood to old age the kinship group brings pressure to bear upon any nonconformist, since the family as a whole loses prestige in the community if a member gets out of hand. The family, too, is the chief training ground for the young, and parents cannot blithely transfer any responsibility of this sort to an outside agency such as the school or the church. Village opinion holds the parents accountable.

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Furthermore, economic life is centered about the family. Since family members grow or make for themselves most of the things they need, they depend only to a minor degree upon stores, factories, and other commercial agencies. The family is the productive, distributive, and consumptive unit. This is one reason why village families can weather so many wars and so many depressions: they can satisfy most of their immediate wants at home.

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Visitors suddenly confronted with the familistic way of life for the first time are often shocked at the low level of living which they observe: animals sharing the same dwelling; monotonous diet and low health standards; waste of time and energy with inefficient tools and methods. Before the peasant is condemned as unambitious, indolent, or stupid, there are a few things the outsider must bear in mind. In agricultural villages throughout the world the land base has been shrinking while the population has been expanding. This has meant decreased economic opportunity. Farms which were once adequate are now divided up strip by strip and handed over to many descendants, with the results that the term "eking out a living" has come to have real meaning for the peasant. The outsider often forgets that the rise in the level of living in the cities through the techniques of mass production and mass distribution has been relatively recent and phenomenally rapid. The villager is not really so far behind the times if one compares his life with that of many cities a few decades ago, or with the blighted areas of these same cities today. But one cannot deny that quite a few peasants seem to take pride in resisting social change; they are slow to experiment with new methods, and they assume that what was good enough for their fathers is good enough for them. This resistance is based, to a great degree, upon the realization that accepting too much from outside will seriously affect the social organization of their community. Urban society is not nearly so close-knit and can allow for contradictions and inconsistencies on a much broader scale than in the village, where life is still intimate and face-to-face. [illegible]evtsy people, for example, in 1937 were conscious of the far-reaching changes brought about by the abandonment of sheep raising in favor of dairying. Sometime ago, a number of the peasants actively resisted this economic trend. In the opinion of many, these conservatives were stupid; at the same time they were bright enough to figure out that changes would result in the economy to which they were accustomed. Because they were accustomed to it, they wanted to preserve it.

In a familistic society religion has usually become rigidly institutionalized and is closely allied with the family. All family events call for the blessing of the religious intermediary; there are usually household shrines; there is considerable emphasis upon observing the

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181 forms of the religion; and usually the prevailing religion has a monopoly in its field. Where there once existed two or three competing religions, the peasants now have a syncretistic set of beliefs that almost all of the people accept.

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[168] The population in a familistic society tends to be stable. The folk legends and religious beliefs stress the importance of remaining at home. Permanence becomes a virtue, for travel outside introduces too much novelty. Separation places a strain upon the family relationships, which must be kept at full vigor in the interest of community self-preservation.

[517] Recreation is personalized instead of being commercialized. Peasants, as far as possible, spend their leisure hours in the company of others, to say nothing of the many hours women spend working with each other within a family or neighborhood circle. Just as the villagers have ceremonial ways of doing many things, they also have formal ways, or proverbs, of saying many things. This we saw earlier in the description of the *Sedenki*. Proverbs reinforce those beliefs that help maintain the familistic society, and serve as convenient means of self-expression. At the same time they are standards of behavior.

[212] Because recreation and economic life are personal, the familistic society has little need for much reading and writing. The priest, the middlemen, the taxgatherers, and a few others who early associated themselves with the village economy needed to "figure," but the rest of the people had little concern with that.

In most family-dominated societies, life is man-centered. In some areas this arrangement is related to religious beliefs; in others, it is related to the economic organization of the family in which somebody has to give orders necessary to the carrying out of the daily activities. A recognized head, conscious of his own importance, acts authoritatively in directing his family group.

The local government is traditionally managed by elders, who represent families rather than political parties or individuals. The village elders make their decisions from the standpoint of what is good for the village as a whole in the light of precedents rather than from a narrow legalism. The religious writings or sacred legends are conveniently cited to justify the actions they take. Such govern-

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mental activity exists primarily to meet crisis situations and to keep the established ways of life moving smoothly. The giving of relief, the provision of education, healing of the sick, insurance of cattle and crops are all left to the family rather than to the government. 181 829 596

It is quite possible for several societies to use the familistic approach, in the sense that the family is the dominant institution, and still differ as to the relative importance of many community values. Most of them would probably respect the heritage from the past, but even here there would be variations. As far as Dragalevtsy was concerned, the chief values or virtues were land ownership, hard work, frugality, premarital chastity, observance of some of the more important religious rites, and being a good neighbor. In connection with the last, the villagers said, "God help those with bad neighbors" and "Without good neighbors life couldn't go on." [577]

The Dragalevtsy people, although their underlying organization and philosophy was primarily familistic, had adjusted themselves to a number of modern ways. Some ways persisted because they fitted in with the established customs, and others because they were kept in vogue by force or by the authority of the mayor.

Commerce, as represented by about ten merchant groups, had become established in the village because it was conducted essentially as a family enterprise. From time to time a local man sold some of his land and started in business for himself. He always employed members of his family rather than outsiders, because he trusted his own. If he needed extra help and had an unmarried son, the normal thing was to urge matrimony. He carried over into his business the same idea of division of labor which prevailed at home and in the field. The men ordered the goods, settled the accounts, sold the liquor in the taverns. The women acted as cooks or clerks. Some of the wives who helped keep the store could not read, write, add, or subtract and had to give whole measurements or else depend upon the customer to hand them the right amount for fractions. A husband explained when I discussed the matter with him, "It is better to lose money through error than through dishonesty." Both men and women co-operated in keeping the place clean. Here the man made a concession which he would seldom have made in the home. 441 596 462

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529 of view, its members got little encouragement from the older people
575 and had little lasting enthusiasm for its program.

575 The Reading Room Association *(Chitalishte)* was organized
829 locally on February 10, 1921, upon the initiative of men who had been outside the village and had returned with the desire to raise the cultural level. From its founding, however, it concerned itself more with financial than with cultural problems. In the words of the constitution, the purposes of the organization were:

A. to influence the people of the village, especially the young to self-improvement.

B. to cause to grow among the people a feeling for public unity in life and for intelligent usage of the village domain.

C. to cultivate love towards the fatherland and towards the good and morally edifying elements of the national literature.

The *Chitalishte* planned to achieve its purpose by opening a public reading room free for all inhabitants and visitors and supplying the room with suitable books. The *Chitalishte* group also planned to organize evening lectures and other public performances and entertainments "in order to create a patriotic feeling and appreciation of the nation's past."

The first act of the newly organized society was to buy a large sign inscribed with the name of the organization. After that the officers spent money for chairs, lamps, benches, bookcases, stovepipes, and tables, while individuals donated inkstands, water jugs, a box for gathering money, and a picture of the Madonna. Unfortunately this left practically no money for any form of reading matter. The expense of having a share in the construction of the *Obshtina* building further drained the financial resources of the organization. It was also a factor in keeping away prospective members who preferred to wait until the building was paid for before they joined. In 1937 twenty-two people, most of them charter members, were looked upon as active supporters of the work of the *Chitalishte*.

Most of the members were critical of the present officers, and recognized that the organization's activities were at a standstill. When members were asked to tell how they would improve matters if elected

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to a position of importance they answered: "We should choose a new executive committee, put the library in order, lend out the books, have more evening entertainments. To do this we should get in touch with people in Sofia." 575 829

Part of the trouble arose from disagreement among the officers. In the words of one member, "An organization cannot get ahead with that sort of business." But even more of the trouble went back to the fact that the organizers had not convinced the villagers of the importance of the group. Meanwhile, most peasants looked upon it as an importation of interest only to the intelligentsia and their hangers-on.

The experiences of the *Chitalishte* and other organizations in Dragalevtsy revealed that the peasants were not organization-minded. Even if we included the governmental groups to be discussed in the next chapter, we would find that less than ten women in the village belonged to any formal group, and only 107 of the 510 men over twenty years of age had an organizational membership. Where people's homes were so conveniently located one would expect greater participation on the part of the men, at least. But almost four-fifths of them avoided any organizational affiliation, largely because they were not accustomed to using an organization to do what they thought needed to be done. One of the most frequent reasons for failure to join was this: "Why should I pay the fees charged when I would get nothing in return?" 575

In this world of competing *isms* Dragalevtsy represented in 1937 a modification of familism, the oldest and most widespread way of life we know, perpetuated by agricultural villages all over the world. But familism was slowly losing out. In some quarters of the world the commercialism of a capitalistic system was supplanting the older values with money values; in other quarters the collectivism of a communist society was shaking the economic foundations of the large family group. 178 596

As far as Dragalevtsy was concerned, commercialism was in its infancy. Back in 1937 communism might have seemed to the outsider to have a hold on this village as well as on others in Bulgaria

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But some of the peasants who turned Communists were having 668
their days of religious doubt. They asked quite frequently, "Can we 178
be Communists and still believe in God?" They voluntarily sent 626
their children to the priest's class in religion held in the schoolhouse. "And the Communist children know their lessons better than the children of the opposition," was the opinion of a member of the intelligentsia.

The ideas of many new converts to the Marxist doctrine had been [789]
rudely shaken the previous summer at the time of the church processional for rain. The drought had been devastating. Corn was drying up; pastures were turning brown. So a band of villagers, with some Communists who went along for old times' sake, accompanied the priest on a circuit of the fields. The boys carried the church relics and the priest walked faithfully along in his hot, black vestments. No rain came and the Communists thoroughly enjoyed scoffing at those who had started out with such bright hopes. Conditions grew worse and worse, so the religious leaders thought another processional in order. The whole performance was repeated, with Communists along again. This time the priest went up high on the mountainside, so as to include village properties not previously visited. His prayers were efficacious, for a shower which later turned to steady rain burst forth upon the band of villagers, wetting them to the skin before they could return to shelter in the village. The religious people thus had the last word when atheism was discussed.

The prevalent feeling of insecurity included more, however, than 668
beliefs and basic attitudes about religion and politics. It stemmed 178
also from the economic uncertainty which characterized the period. 626
Always lurking in the peasant's consciousness was the fear that his 423
holding, his precious acres, would be collectivized as was done in 829
Russia. It mattered not to him that his farming was inefficiently done or that such inefficiency was no solution for the overpopulation which characterized his land. He wanted no part of a great impersonal *kolkhoz* where in the long run he would become a worker instead of an owner, or where he would work land which he could not call his own. That to him was serfdom; it was not freedom. And discussions of these topics trailed off into many beside-the-point objections, which

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668 nevertheless seemed important to the peasant. I recall one such
178 discussion which dealt with the idea of a shortened work-week at the
626 factories. The peasants disapproved of the whole plan and used it
423 as a basis for condemning land collectivization because "We want to
829 be able to work as long as we want without having people tell us that we have to stop working."

Peasants were greatly confused, therefore, over the farm policies to be pursued in the next two or three years. They planned and schemed and talked endlessly about what they should plant, what they should do about their debts, or whether the aged fathers should distribute their land to their sons before they died. But always there was the great unknown of government policy which upset their calculations and kept them insecure.

668 Another important social change was occuring in the institutional
178 pattern of Dragalevtsy. In earlier chapters we noted how the en-
596 croachment of the state was making considerable impact upon the traditional familistic patterns, while economic life was becoming more commercialized and religious activities were declining in importance. The coming of the Communists had begun to weaken the family ties even further, for the Fatherland Front had given votes to all women and had thus attacked the dogma of male supremacy; it had honored the young at the expense of the aged; and it had turned brother against brother as the struggle for control grew more bitter. As the representative of the central government, the Fatherland Front was affecting an even larger area of life than the prewar regime did, especially when its economic regulations and its threat to the hallowed traditional system of landownership.

668 Another disturbing effect was the substitution of Moscow as
771 the center of the universe, for the Communist adherents at least, when
178 formerly Dragalevtsy or perhaps Sofia by courtesy was thought to be
829 the center. These innovations of the present government had done much to prejudice it in the eyes of the people, who made decisions not upon the basic issues which the government was striving to champion, but resisted blindly and perhaps fanatically simply because the new regime spelled the end of their way of life. As they realized this, some of the peasants turned more and more to the church, the institu-

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tion which had kept Bulgarian nationality alive through the centuries and had become the champion of an independent Bulgaria in days gone by. In Dragalevtsy church attendance had increased and more attention was paid to the forms and ceremonies, although fasting was not gaining any in popularity. Nor were the peasants too trustful of Archbishop Stefan, the politically minded head of their church. But they knew that the church and the family served as mutual supports and that if one suffered the other suffered too. Government which was once tolerated as a necessary evil now had become an active menace to be combated whenever possible. The means of struggling against the government were inadequate, but the peasants had patience and said that they would bide their time. But as they bided their time many of them died and were replaced by men and women who had grown up under the tutelage of the Fatherland Front, who had forgotten about the days of village elders, of large family groups, and no longer reverenced out-of-date superstitions or valued quaintness in contrast to that which was modern.

A new Dragalevtsy was thus being born. Change was nothing new to the village, but this time changes were occurring so fast that the old way of life could no longer absorb the impact of strange traits and differing social values. The transition period was proving painful for those who still wanted to live in the past. Whether it held promise for those gazing toward the future depended upon the decisions or indecisions of men sitting around conference tables in countries thousands of miles away.

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with a relationship as deep-rooted as that of the Balkan peasant to his land, he is also creating the seeds out of which a spontaneous resistance movement could grow. There is little evidence of collectivization at present, but the peasants are not convinced that it is not just around the corner.

Then too, the Balkan peasants, especially in the settled agricultural areas, have not taken kindly to Communism because they characterize it as an urban movement. When seasoned Communists try to converse with peasants about the merits of the Russian system their factory-oriented dialectic falls flat. Nor have they developed an agricultural vocabulary with which to communicate intelligibly with the rural people. The more the Balkan Communists talk, the more the peasants are convinced of the urban orientation of the new government. They consider it anti-Agrarian and anti-peasant. In an attempt to overcome this reserve to their program the Communists organize deputation teams of artisans who spend Sundays out in carefully selected villages helping the peasants repair their wagons, mend their pots and pans, or they even bring along a corps of barbers to cut the villagers' hair. The spirit behind such a move is to have the artisans show by their deeds, "You see, we are your friends. We're all brother Bulgarians [or Yugoslavs, as the case may be]." But it takes more than this to sell such a radical program as Communism to the capitalistic-minded peasant.

The rural villagers elsewhere in the Balkans, as well as in Dragalevtsy, resent the term worker. Newspapers studiously attempt to get the worker ideology accepted by the rural citizens, but the social statuses of the peasant and the worker are such that the government is asking the former to step down a rung, in the peasant's estimation. So Communism is thought to represent a backward rather than a forward move, and is related to the all-important matter of land: the peasant generally possesses it, whereas the worker is usually landless.

Many analyses of the Balkan problems play up rightly the role of the church, whether it be Eastern Orthodox or Roman Catholic, in the peasants' lack of enthusiasm for Communism. Others stress the generations-old nationality antipathies which have some influence. Certainly Pan-Slavism is not paying high dividends in rural areas in

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The Communist experiment with Bulgaria is now ten years old. The evidence at hand is deemed more than sufficient for substantiating a case, with particular regard to labor law and relations.

In analyzing our primary source of evidence—Bulgaria's labor legislation—a sequence of important premises should be constantly borne in mind. The Bulgarian Communist Party, which is the one and only element of power, has fully subscribed to the theory and practice of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It has termed its form of government a "people's democracy" which "fulfills the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat."[5] According to Lenin, the dictatorship of the proletariat represents "a power limited by nothing, by no law, directly based on violence."[6] It is, therefore, difficult, if at all possible, to take even Communist legislation at its face value, when it is known that the law is not binding on the highest repository of power—the Communist Party and government. Still, the existing legislation can be safely considered as the expression of a "minimum of violence" (the way toward the maximum being left open) and, as such, will necessarily reflect the guiding principles of Bulgarian labor law and relations.

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Another important premise is the Communist identification of party and government with the "working class" and the establishment of government ownership over capital and means of production. From labor's point of view, this situation means that in practice the workers are employees of a single owner—the Communist government—yet in theory are owners of their place of work and employers of themselves. This obvious nonsense has a definite purpose: to make impossible any "contrast" between capital and labor and, thus, to place the whole labor force under absolute governmental control. That is why "strike" is an unknown term in Communist labor law (you cannot strike against yourself), its equivalent having been identified as a capital

(Footnote 4 continued)
insufficiently clarified. For details, see Michael Padev, *Dimitrov Wastes No Bullets* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1948), Ch. VI; William B. King and Frank O'Brien, *The Balkans* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), pp. 157-159; and author's study cited at footnote 3, pp. 11-14.

[5] Georgi Dimitrov, *Political Report to the 5th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party* (Sofia, 1949), in Bulgarian, p. 123.

[6] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works* (Moscow: 1930), Vol. 9, Second Russian Edition, p. 95, in Russian.

[7] Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria of 1947, full English translation in Andrew Gyorgy, *Governments of Danubian Europe* (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1949), Appendix, pp. 323-339.

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crime against the state and put within the proscription of Communist criminal law. Any transgression on the part of a worker is, therefore, a direct offense against the state authority. It is easily understandable why Communist criminal law has engulfed the great part of matters which usually pertain to labor legislation, and why even the latter is punitive rather than protective in character.

The basic legal documents related to labor law and relations in Communist Bulgaria are the constitution,[7] the Code of Labor[8] and the Statute of the Trade Unions.[9] They, of course, are supplemented by various acts which, according to the Communist doctrine of "normative acts,"[10] can and do supersede previous legislation, no matter what governmental body originated them.

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According to the constitution, labor, besides being "a right," is "a duty and a point of honor for every able-bodied citizen. It is the duty of every citizen to engage in socially useful labor and to work according to his powers and ability."[11] Of course, it is the government which enforces the observance of this constitutional norm and establishes the "social utility" of the work done. In practice, "the duty to work" is exemplified in the complete regimentation of Bulgaria's labor force.

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Two governmental agencies, the Office of Labor Cadres and the Main Board of Labor Reserves, are especially entrusted with the registration, distribution, recruitment and complete control of all available manpower from 14 years of age upward. Their basic tasks are, in Communist language, "to register the available labor force by finding and keeping at hand, through registration, all employed and unemployed workers; to find them appropriate jobs and, with respect to the fulfillment of the Five-Year Economic Plan, to meet the needs of the industrial, constructional, and other enterprises by guaranteeing to them the necessary manpower . . . . Workers who leave their jobs arbitrarily and without excusable

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[7] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year II, No. 91, November 13, 1951, in Bulgarian.

[8] *Ustav na Professionalnite Suyuzi v Narodnata Republica Bulgaria* (Statute of the Trade Unions in the People's Republic Bulgaria), approved by the Third Congress of the Bulgarian trade unions, December, 1951 (Sofia: *Profizdat*, 1952), in Bulgarian.

[10] In Communist jurisprudence, any act of a central governmental authority prevails upon preceding legislation, without distinction of formal superiority. The "doctrine of normative acts" is summarized in United States Department of Labor bulletin cited at footnote 1, pp. 5 and 6.

[11] Art. 73.

538 his victims and was not merely venting his own embitterment.

The work of another author of the nineties had this beneficial effect on Bulgarian social life. It was the work of a master of social and political satire like Mikhaylovski but much milder, more enlightened, more loving than he. This book which with Vazov's novel "Under the Yoke" is one of the most popular in Bulgaria, comes from the pen of Aleko Konstantinov (1863-1897) and is a cross between a chronicle and a novel; it consists of a series of loosely connected episodes from the life of one person Bay-Ganyu (the title of the book), who typifies the middle-class Bulgarian as he was in the first years after the liberation: clever, suspicious, but bold and self-reliant, not too cultured, not too able but yet rather clever in solving problems in which he seeks too much for subtlety, energetic, obstinately firm and in the depths of his soul not bitter, not spoiled, able to reform. [829] The value of the satire of Aleko Konstantinov, which is filled with humor, lies in the faith that Bay-Ganyu, the ordinary Bulgarian can change, that the evils from which he suffers are only temporary, that they are a result of the bad influences resulting from the Turkish yoke. These people deserve to be rebuked, but should be ridiculed rather than condemned irrevocably. Thus Aleko Konstantinov saves his victims, for his laughter is not cruel and does not slay completely. The book is salutary and gives a true picture of Bulgarian life in the epoch which it describes, much truer than the bitter satires of Mikhaylovski, and so Aleko Konstantinov, although he was not so serious a thinker as Mikhaylovski, yet holds a more important place in Bulgarian literature and his

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
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One may therefore summarize by saying that there has been virtually no religious struggle in Bulgaria, even though the victims are not few in number. This does not mean that all has been tranquil and serene. Georgi Dimitrov was not a man to give that sort of content to the word "peace." Nowhere have the Russians shown greater ruthlessness in carrying out the policies to which Leninism-Stalinism is committed. Marxist theorists consider the independent farmer as the greatest obstacle to social progress. They think it inevitable that industry should spawn the proletarian worker, and hold this worker to be at one and the same time a carrier of the Marxist virus and a member of the class majority in whose hands collective power over productive properties collectively owned and managed properly belongs. Accordingly there is only one way in which to speed arrival at the Communist goal, defined by Marx in the first volume of *Das Kapital*. The agricultural operation must be collectivized, so that eventually all tillers of the soil will cease to be owners of property and will work instead for the State. On this belief has been based the otherwise curious and paradoxical procedure of the Communists in Eastern Europe. In countries containing large estates, the Land Reform method is used to break them up and to parcel out small holdings; but as soon as this has been done the process is reversed, and the peasant owners are squeezed until they can only surrender their land for the organization of a "cooperative."

Therefore Bulgaria was almost made to order for Communist experimentation. Nearly four-fifths of the population earned a living by the soil; and, though after the First World

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and now the number of Mohammedans expelled is in excess of 150,000. Moslem religious activities are, as a matter of course, subject to the existing laws concerning religion. Turkey has therewith been faced with a grave problem of refugee resettlement, and reliable reports indicate that she has dealt with it skillfully. Refugees are receiving farm lands in Anatolia, which has been sparsely populated. Naturally there need be no fear of Communist infiltration.

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
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185 War a program of cooperative farming was inaugurated on a
829 voluntary membership basis, the vast majority of farmers were small landowners of the type which once was so characteristic of the Ukraine. As early as August, 1945, the first of a series of decrees was promulgated, to liquidate the hated kulak and incorporate him into the kolkhoz, or State farm, system. At the same time a blueprint of industrialization was drawn, on the
[466] basis of the familiar Two- and Five-Year Plans. The blueprint required first of all cheap compulsory labor in quantity. The published legislation outlines the methods by which that labor force was to be obtained. The police received authority "to commit to communities for educational labor, or to a new place of residence, persons guilty of fascist or antidemocratic manifestations." It was also decreed, soon after the seizure of power, that many hundreds of thousands of persons should be "sent to the factories or shifted to industry." On none of these matters was any effort made to maintain secrecy.

[371] Soon dams and electric power plants were being constructed
697 in various parts of the country. The exploitation of Bulgaria's
466 very modest coal deposits was greatly intensified. In order to supply the needed labor force, concentration camps were erected in a surprising variety of places. One of the better known is that at Belene, the inmates of which work at digging canals. Here are cooped up many prominent Bulgarian intellectuals, businessmen, and officers of divers political organizations once opposed to Communism. The Communists themselves have advertised widely this camp, where, it is estimated, 9,000 persons are interned under the most primitive penal conditions. If the accounts of prisoners who have escaped from it are to be credited (and there is no reason why they should not be), it is in all truth an infamous place. The methods of committing people to it have been spelled out in carefully devised legislation, which makes no provision for haling anyone before

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

closely packed in the church as the wedding party entered to face the 585
altar before a table in the center of the church.

The bride and groom had no more than taken their stand when [831] ●
a middle-aged woman hurried to place dough baked in the form of a male phallic symbol deep in the sash worn by the bride and another piece to represent the female organs around the waist of the groom. This was done half surreptitiously while the priest was busy about something else.

As the ceremony began I realized as never before the important [608]
part played by godparents in the ritualistic and spiritual life of the village. They stood behind the bride and groom, who were attended by the groom's brother as *dever,* or best man. The young couple shifted from foot to foot, each holding a bunch of flowers in one hand and a large burning taper in the other. The priest read from the Bible in his beautiful rich tones about the wedding at Cana of Galilee, and then asked God's blessing upon the couple.

At this point the priest stepped out of his role and said to me: "Would you like to take a picture now?" Then when I was set for a time-exposure, he said to the crowd: "Everybody, quiet!" My act done, he told the godparents to assist in the changing of the rings from bride to groom, as well as the fragile, bright crowns previously placed upon the heads of the couple. In addition, the priest, as part of the ritual, passed around the chalice so the young couple, the best man, and the godparents could sip the wine. These same people then followed the priest in a walk around the table on which a cross and the Holy Scriptures rested. Three times around they went, stopping four times during each circuit to symbolize north, east, south, and west. At each of these twelve stops the party bowed over the table and its sacred relics. It was during this walk that the godmother tossed the rice, candy, and coins in the air for the children.

Such a brief account fails to include much of the liturgy which was an important part of the Orthodox Church's ceremony, but the peasant accounts of a wedding skimmed over this as being either unimportant or else a topic about which they were uninformed. In fact, most of the men accompanying the bridal party to the church remained outside during the ceremony. The parents of the groom

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

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are sometimes most scrupulously observed. In its older type of environment the sexual life is regulated by seasonal activities, partly for economic considerations, while although the very reverse is also known in practice, it is still said in the ranks of the army that coition increases the dangers of active service.

Whatever more elevated or mystical teaching and supermaterial aspirations were contained in Bogomil and kindred teaching have long been lost. Folk-religion is neither gnostic nor dualist, nor its practice ascetic, nor its demonism generally satanistic. The foregoing notes have emphasised the close identity between recent beliefs and the records of them that remain from earlier times, in order to hint that there has been a single fundamental attitude in the mass of the people which accounted equally for the record of Procopius and the formation of the South Slav heretical sects. The material of legend and literature, again, directs us now to seek an origin in the gnostic cults of the Near East, in Armenia and ultimately Iranian sources, now in a possible affinity to the traditions of Central Asia. But the general conclusion must be that Bogomilism, like the whole of folk-christianity, owes a much to the local character of the society into which it first came as an exotic influence, as popular tradition in the Balkans owes to essential Bogomilism. At no stage of cultural development are 'influences' allowed to go uninfluenced. Curious parallels are to be found among the recently converted primitives such as in the Hauhau religion of the Maoris or the Tuka of Fiji—both doctrines founded on a medley of Christian missionary legend, pagan cults and new interpretations of both religions. These two later heresies, if we may so call them, are also dualistic in tendency. It would be interesting to know how far this is the rule when Christian teaching undergoes this modification on the part of converts.[1]

[1] For instance in the *Hibbert Journal* for 1913 Mr Hocart gives the original speculations of a Fijian nationalist-revivalist, which show remarkable parallelism, not only in the theme of dual creation, etc., but in details such as the cause of the Fall, the relations between Eve and Satan, etc. For an account of the political and social background of Bulgarian heresy *v.* V. N. Zlatarski, *Istorija na bulgarskata Dr'žava*, Tom. 1, pt. 2, pp. 551, etc.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

The girls of Dragalevtsy had no way of proposing to a boy. The girl waited and, if nobody proposed to her, she remained unmarried. 583 562

Sometimes unmarried young people had sexual intercourse. If the boy did not want to marry the girl, then she told her parents; the boy was brought before the *Obshtina* and, if the charge was proved, was made to marry the girl. As one peasant said in matchless understatement: "In such cases they do not have a happy life." 836

One such case occurred during my sojourn in the village and was an exciting topic of conversation. A girl with an unsavory reputation, in the hope of gaining a certain young man as a husband, accused him of having had intimate relations with her; the parents, too, insisted upon his marrying their daughter. He refused and the matter was taken up before the village court, where several of his friends swore that they likewise had had intimate relations with the same girl. Whether the friends swore truthfully or falsely was still a matter of doubt in the minds of many villagers, but the young man was freed from all responsibility in the matter. [691]

Chastity ranked high in the scale of village social values. Even though some couples had illicit relationships before they married, they were running a grave social risk. Public indignation was especially great in the case of illegitimacy. A girl giving birth to an illegitimate child was forced to leave the village. On this subject I had the following conversation with one of the more respected villagers: 848 836 558

"Where does the girl go if she is driven out of the village?"

"She goes to Sofia because she's a bad girl."

"Do the villagers try to find out who the father was and punish him for his part?"

"The father? Why should they? The girl is to blame, not the man."

"Are many illegitimate children born in the near-by villages?"

"In my time [the last thirty-five years] there have been two in Bistritsa, one in Dragalevtsy, and none in Simeonovo."

There was no particular stigma attached to being a widow or a widower, but the village mores decreed that, when remarrying, widows had to choose widowers, and vice versa. The explanation for this went back to the villagers' belief of the afterlife. They thought of 587 775

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

[775] 587 Heaven in concrete terms and believed that husbands and wives would be reunited there. Things would work out quite well mathematically if a widow and widower remarried each other, since in Heaven each mate would go to the first spouse, thus avoiding the unheavenly complication of a second mate left alone for eternity. For a second wife, they listened to the recommendations of neighbors far more than they did when marrying the first time. This was borne out by the testimony of a woman I found picking berries from a bush that overhung a garden wall. While speaking to me she kept a watchful eye turned toward the near-by house in fear that someone would tell her to leave the berries alone. "How did you happen to marry Nikola?" I asked her. Like the other women she seemed to welcome a chance to talk about herself.

"For three years I was a widow in Simeonovo before somebody recommended me to my present husband, at that time a widower living here in Dragalevtsy. One day he came over to Simeonovo, looked me up, and asked me to marry him. I accepted right away although I had never heard of him before. Winter was coming on and I didn't have any money to buy food for myself and my little boy. I went immediately home with him and lived with him as his wife for two months before we were married."

Her second husband was one of the poorest men in the village, and her life was decidedly unhappy; yet to the village way of thinking, she was better off than as a widow.

593 Most of these second marriages turned out successfully provided the question of stepchildren could be satisfactorily settled. Sometimes fathers sent away their own children to a relative and gladly took in those of the second wife. Quite often the children of both the husband and wife were brought up together as one family. A second wife was generally anxious to have children by her second husband in order to ensure her place in his affections, especially if she had children by her first husband who ate up the food and wore the clothes provided by their stepfather.

587 837 Widows and widowers were permitted by public opinion to live together as though they were married for awhile before the actual ceremony took place. This above all else emphasized the fact that

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second marriages were entered into because of convenience and necessity. But such tolerance was not shown to the previously unmarried. 587 837

In Dragalevtsy children married according to age, the oldest first. If a younger child wanted to marry before his brother, he had to buy permission, but in no case was a son or daughter supposed to have the customary wedding celebration before an older sister married, the only chance being an elopement followed by a very simple ceremony. 582

Most girls and men in Dragalevtsy married between the twentieth and the twenty-fifth year. At the time of the last census (1934) there were only one married man and eighteen married women under twenty. Men had begun to marry later than they had ten years before, although there seemed to be no such well-defined trend for the women.

Since marriage was the normal channel for sex expression, an enamored couple thought readily of a wedding. When they reached an understanding, they considered themselves engaged and sought parental approval. Of the thirty representative families that I studied, eighteen, or more than half, were engaged one week. Only two couples were engaged for longer than two weeks. 584

The engagement did not grant the couple any privileges of intimacy; indeed, the boy was not allowed to visit with the girl until the wedding. His sisters and relatives went to call upon her, or, if she had been stolen and was in his home, his parents kept the girl away from him until the day of the wedding. Therefore, the engagement period did not give the young couple any chance of getting better acquainted; it simply gave the families an opportunity to prepare for the wedding a week later. Whenever a wedding was to take place, someone usually sent a message to me at the College, and if possible I attended. As a foreigner I was attracted to those customs that were bizarre; so to offset this I persuaded three peasants of different ages and from different families to give me separately a complete description of the typical wedding. This showed me which points they thought most important and served as a check to my observations.

A wedding was a village affair, the parents of the girl inviting all of those who had previously invited them as well as those whose invitations they would like to receive. This meant the laying in of large 585

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Should the baby appear to be in the wrong position for delivery those attending put the mother in a rug and swung her until the baby came into the "right" position. Normally coffee or wax was used on the navel "so it will stay there one week without falling." Furthermore, the mother was supposed to drink some of the water in which the baby was washed and to which a clove of garlic had been added "in order that the mother's milk may come sooner." 844

"After the baby has arrived the children are told that the stork has brought a little brother or sister to them through the chimney and they are very glad about it," was the way a proud young father phrased the matter in the course of our conversation about the arrival of his son.

The taboos of childbirth did not cease with the birth of the child. Since the woman was considered unclean for forty days she had to remain at home and was not allowed to attend the christening of her own child. At the end of this period she went to the church for a special purification ceremony at the hands of the priest. 846 [793]

If the child had a birthmark, many peasants assumed that the mother had stolen some object which touched her own body where the birthmark appeared on the child. Any serious abnormality in an infant was explained by the *babi* on the grounds of too close kinship of the parents to each other or the occurrence of conception on Tuesday, Thursday, or Saturday night, each of which is supposed to be kept free of intercourse because Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday are holy days. As one would expect, the latter taboo is of little importance nowadays; it is simply recalled as a convenient way of explaining something out of the ordinary. 826 842

Some of the more ignorant peasants rubbed the head of a very sick infant with urine or, if the baby was born with a "closed nose," a cure was "effected" by putting a small fresh fish tailfirst up the nose. Afterwards the fish was put under a stone. 854 757

To keep the mother from fainting during her convalescence the family surrounded her with incense smoke and burning feathers both morning and evening, and gave her holy water to wash the baby's face and her face. Should some member of the family have returned after dark he could not enter the room where the mother was lying. She 846

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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262 252 From time to time during my stay in the village I tried to teach the tavern cook some simple and uncomplicated western dish to vary the biting peasant food. She tried faithfully but unsuccessfully to comply. After one such hopeless but courteous attempt she read me a little lesson in village menus:

"We Dragalevtsy people are pretty conservative in everything and have added no new dishes to our menu. The western combinations which people eat in Sofia are tasteless and slimy. If one doesn't use lots of salt, hot pepper, and vinegar, then the food has no taste at all."

273 Beverages other than milk and wine made little appeal. Wine was much in evidence on holidays or when there were guests. An average village home would use from 250 to 300 quarts of wine a year. Most of the *rakiya* was drunk either at the taverns or on festive occasions. In commenting on the liquor consumption of the village one man said:

"We are not such fools as not to drink wine, for the wine is transformed into blood and gives strength to man."

000 Someone has said that a house does not become a home until it knows a birth, a wedding, and a death. In other words, it is more than plaster walls, crude furniture, and steaming food. It is even more an association of memories deeply rooted in family crises.

844 [591] A frequently recurring crisis in Dragalevtsy was childbirth, which always took place in a home, never in a hospital. Usually it was the home in which the couple lived, for only rarely did the wife return to her paternal home for the event. When a woman learned that

● 843 [606] she was pregnant, she told the fact only to her own mother and to her husband, embarrassment preventing further disclosure. The mother-in-law learned about it a month later, for in the words of one of the older village men:

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

843 [606]

"She always looks at the undershirts of the daughter-in-law that are to be washed, and so draws the conclusion that leads her to ask the younger woman in the conventional phrase, 'Something's going to happen, isn't it?' The daughter-in-law becomes very embarrassed and does not say anything until the older woman assures her that it is something perfectly natural and something which she herself has experienced. Then the daughter-in-law will answer, 'Well, I don't know. Maybe there is such a thing as you suggest.' So pregnancy," concluded this informant, "is considered rather immoral and women are embarrassed to tell the others about it."

Because of the shyness and innate modesty of the Dragalevtsy matron, remarkable traits in view of the crowded living conditions, I found it helpful to supplement and check the information given by men in this connection. Miss Petrana Peneva, of the American College, rendered invaluable aid in interviewing the women.

No special prenatal care was given to the mother in spite of the efforts on the part of the doctor to get such women to come for advice. The villagers knew that the mother-to-be must not bend much nor lift heavy things. They also told her not to jump over a dog, "because the child would then have a hoarse voice or no voice at all." Generally she was given whatever she asked for on the grounds that "if she is not satisfied, there is danger that the baby in her will die." One day I attended a carding *sedenka,* which was a gathering of about twenty women in one of the homes to help the hostess card her wool. I noticed that one woman, obviously pregnant, tasted the stew being prepared for dinner in the entryway each time she passed it. I was given two reasons for this: "She better than anyone else present could judge the correctness of the seasoning" and "If she did not taste of the food each time she passed, she would have a miscarriage." Yet custom did not allow the expectant mother to eat fresh fish because "the nose of the baby will be closed [adenoids]"; nor could she drink from a pail of water for fear that the baby if a boy would be born with swollen sex organs. But, other than these practices and prohibitions, little fuss was made over the expectant mother. No special prayers were said for her nor were any special services held. "The woman is born

The woman is born
562 to be a mother. She knows it and, as her duty, should not expect anything from the others."

843 Before the birth of the child, swaddling clothes were prepared, and a cradle and wooden tub were bought. The mother herself was not supposed to sew because it was believed that this would make the baby dumb. In fact, nobody went to any trouble at all to provide an elaborate layette, for that would really seem to the peasants like tempting fate. One of the men asked me, "Who can tell whether it will be a boy or a girl, and most important, who has unnecessary money to throw away in vain, for the baby may die?"

844 At the delivery of the baby, all the young people were sent away, and only the old people and the midwife remained with the mother. "The business of the relatives is to give courage to the mother, and in case the delivery of the child is painful, the midwife massages and carefully pulls the baby out."

The peasants much preferred the midwife or *baba,* to whose old-fashioned ways they were accustomed. To be sure, they called in the village doctor if the case seemed very complicated or if the woman fainted in labor. Dr. Chirkova has encountered many interesting superstitions and folkways in her village experience; these she included in her annual reports to the District Health Office. For instance, since the baby is supposed to be born on straw, in conformity with the birth of Christ, some deliveries occurred in mangers where the doctor was quite apt to find the baby blue with cold. There were instances of women who kept the pains secret from everyone, especially the husband, for they did not "want to add to his troubles." Some of these women even went so far as to remain alone during the childbirth, cutting the cord with a sickle and tying it with their own hair. Such instances, however, were exceptional.

Many deliveries were made with the woman standing, but when labor seemed to be difficult those in attendance put a rope beneath her breasts, tied it to the ceiling, and swung her "in order that the baby
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5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs [redacted]
Great Russians RF2
Yugoslavia EF1
Bulgaria EE1

they made a noise, and they were preceded by girls carrying sickles and scythes and shouting, driving and threatening the cattle plague, the killer of cows. They killed any animal that might run out in the way of the procession. Three furrows were ploughed. Alternatively, two fires were lit at opposite ends of the village. The girls gathered at one end and the women at the other, and the girls drove a plough round the village. A naked woman then ran round the village with a black cock, which was thrown alive on to the fire. After that a woman was harnessed to the plough and made three circular furrows again.[1] Both Russians and Germans also sowed the furrows with sand or ashes. These rites bear certain resemblances to the rites connected with new fire for plagues, that are generally performed by men.

In most cases women, i.e. virgins or old women who have ceased to menstruate, drive or draw the plough. They are generally naked and with loosened hair. Among the South Slavs there is a tendency for their functions to be taken over by young men (as in Italy according to Pliny). Women take part in new fire ceremonies, but the actual making of the fire is characteristically reserved for men.

The same ritual elements occur in the following: In Western Bulgaria a bearing woman, who feared that she might have a premature labour, was 'ploughed in' (*zaorvana*). The business was done by another woman, who knew the exact ceremonial and was called *zaorvačka* (a good example of a special title for a person performing a special function). The plougher took the blade of a plough and ploughed the earth round the pregnant woman, who stood upright, going in a circle from right to left and ending at the exact spot from which she began the furrow. Three circles were made. The ring of the blade was washed over a dish of water and three spoons were held downwards over the water so that the latter was collected again in the dish. Nine grains of wheat, which had been put in the pregnant woman's mouth, were added

[1] Tereščenko, *Byt Russkago Naroda*, VI (1848), pp. 40–1; cf. Zelenin, *op. cit.* pp. 66–9.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

843 and she then washed in the water and swallowed the grains. When the time came for her to be delivered she had to be unploughed (*razorana*), the same ceremony being repeated, with the difference that the ploughing was done from left to right.[1] Marriage as a binding rite, in which circling sometimes plays a part, seems to be emphasised in the firmly enrooted prejudice to being married with any disease or defect, from the point of view of the sufferer, no less than that of the other party. 'God forbid that one should marry sickness, for then it will never pass.'

The measurement of a patient can serve for diagnosis, for prognosis and for cure. As a prognostic only it can be used in almost any case. As diagnosis and cure it is applied generally in illnesses of a more or less supernatural origin, above all to *strava* (the disease of fear or shock), *urok* (ill-wishing, evil eye, possession), and epilepsy; occasionally to fevers, partly those caused by magic, sore throat, mumps, and swellings, or in a district where this method happens to be in particular favour, to a great number of diseases. It is carried out by special persons, old women who know the words which should accompany the rite.

For instance, the patient informs the old woman that he has suffered some shock or annoyance; that his heart beats high in his throat or too quickly; he cannot sleep; he has a pain in his back; his appetite fails; and so on. The old woman fetches a length of twine or thread, a besom and a knife. The patient stands up, his feet together, his arms stretched out level with the shoulders. With the thread, mumbling some secret words, the old woman measures him first from the left heel to the chin and round the head, and from the tip of the right middle finger to the tip of the left middle finger. After each measurement the thread is cut with the knife to some such words as: 'Thus I cut you off, unhealthy sickness, thus I cut you from X.' During the second measurement both ends of the first thread are held in the hand. The difference in length between the two measurements, taken left heel end to right

[1] In the Lomsko district, cf. Sb.N.U. XII.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

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2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
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APPENDIX VII

THE FOLK APPROACH IN EXTENSION WORK

A BULGARIAN EXPERIENCE*

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THE INCIDENT. One day in Dragalevtsy, a Bulgarian village of 1,600 people, the mayor's courier went from house to house to inform all expectant mothers of a meeting to be held in the schoolhouse the next afternoon. The public health nurse from Sofia wanted to tell them about prenatal and postnatal care. Attendance, according to the courier, was compulsory. As he made his rounds, comments such as these flowed in his wake: "What does that mayor think he's doing? Making a public spectacle of pregnant women!" "I've already had more babies than that nurse will ever have. She can't tell me anything I don't know." By nightfall the women of the village, after discussing it over the stone fences between the yards, had decided that the expectant mothers should not attend the meeting.

The next afternoon two or three women did appear, women whose families felt under obligation to the mayor and consequently supported all of his programs. The mayor and the nurse were much disappointed, but dared not invoke the compulsory part of the courier's invitation. The nurse went ahead with her demonstration for the faithful few, but even these left the meeting much bewildered and quite disappointed. They told their friends, "We couldn't buy all the stuff she told us to buy, even if we should want to do everything she suggested."

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THE PROBLEM. Incidents similar to this occurred so frequently during my three-year study of that village that I tried to discover what more effective approach could be used to bridge the gap between the scientific and the folk knowledge. The mayor and those assisting him were well-intentioned, but the people never seemed to apply the suggestions that the outside lecturers made. Accordingly, the lecturers became more convinced that the peasants were stupid, and the peasants became more self-satisfied with the ways that they already had. What was supposed to be *extension of the new* really became *extinction of the new* before it had time to take root.

The "uplifters," who frequently used the phrase *izdigane na seloto* or "the raising up of the village," were unnecessarily complicating their task.

* This article appeared in *Journal of Applied Anthropology*, II, No. 4, September, 1943. Used by permission. This also appeared later in *Autonomous Groups Bulletin* as Vol. I, No. 3.

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on which they operate. Demonstrations then should be worked out not so much to illustrate the ideal but to show how present practices can be improved with the utensils already at hand. If this is done the village women no longer could say, "Oh, I can't do that, for I don't have all those things the stranger had."

4. *Local leadership would be recognized and used.* A great mistake, too often made, is the assumption that the mayor[1], an outside governmental appointee, is the leader of the village in all respects. Every activity has its own local leaders. By skillful questioning the outsider can learn which women are most respected in their particular neighborhoods. Each of these could be asked to call a *sedenka* together for her neighborhood at a time convenient both to the specialist and the women. Before they sponsored any such novelty the leaders must be convinced of the worthwhile nature of the activity; and can then be taught to assume an important part in the demonstration.

5. *The new proposals could be fitted more easily into the fabric of everyday life.* Not only must the women be given the techniques but they must be given an ideology to accompany those techniques. They must have an answer ready for the doubting husband, the curious neighbor, the pooh-poohing mother-in-law. They must see that what they are asked to do bolsters up rather than tears down those social values which they consider essential to their way of life.

To illustrate, we may return again to the matter of postnatal care. Expectant mothers in Dragalevtsy hesitate to prepare layettes for the infants in advance. They feel that such behavior, presuming as it does that the baby will survive, would anger the powers that be; women must expect the worst because the worst so frequently occurs. This is a fundamental fact to be reckoned with in the teaching of infant care. Most public health nurses recognize this difficulty, but many try to eradicate it by telling the women how superstitious and how silly they are. The more positive approach would recognize the limitations and try to do at least these two things:

a. Insist that clean cloths, soap, and all other available equipment needed at childbirth and in early infancy be prepared and set aside in advance. None of these cloths should require sewing, since all pregnant women are forbidden to sew.

b. Tell the mothers-to-be how they can make simple, hygienic garments as soon as they recover sufficiently from the delivery, for there is no *tabu* against such action then. Once they understand how to make and use such special garments in place of the unsanitary swaddling clothes, some of them

[1] The national government which came into power in May, 1934, sent engineers and lawyers and other educated people into key villages as mayors to supplant the local peasants, who had been elected by their fellow villagers.

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Should the baby appear to be in the wrong position for delivery 844
those attending put the mother in a rug and swung her until the baby came into the "right" position. Normally coffee or wax was used on the navel "so it will stay there one week without falling." Furthermore, the mother was supposed to drink some of the water in which the baby was washed and to which a clove of garlic had been added "in order that the mother's milk may come sooner."

"After the baby has arrived the children are told that the stork has brought a little brother or sister to them through the chimney and they are very glad about it," was the way a proud young father phrased the matter in the course of our conversation about the arrival of his son.

The taboos of childbirth did not cease with the birth of the child. 846
Since the woman was considered unclean for forty days she had to remain at home and was not allowed to attend the christening of her own child. At the end of this period she went to the church for a [783]
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If the child had a birthmark, many peasants assumed that the 826
mother had stolen some object which touched her own body where 842
the birthmark appeared on the child. Any serious abnormality in an infant was explained by the *babi* on the grounds of too close kinship of the parents to each other or the occurrence of conception on Tuesday, Thursday, or Saturday night, each of which is supposed to be kept free of intercourse because Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday are holy days. As one would expect, the latter taboo is of little importance nowadays; it is simply recalled as a convenient way of explaining something out of the ordinary.

Some of the more ignorant peasants rubbed the head of a very 854
sick infant with urine or, if the baby was born with a "closed nose," 757
a cure was "effected" by putting a small fresh fish tailfirst up the nose. Afterwards the fish was put under a stone.

To keep the mother from fainting during her convalescence the 846
family surrounded her with incense smoke and burning feathers both morning and evening, and gave her holy water to wash the baby's face and her face. Should some member of the family have returned after dark he could not enter the room where the mother was lying. She

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854 The baby's clothes were taken from the line before sunset. They were first held over the fire before they were put on the baby. During the whole first year the clothes were not turned inside out, nor were they pounded when washed by the customary *buhalka* (paddle). If this should be done, the baby might be afraid of thunder. Furthermore, the water in which the baby had been bathed could not be thrown out after sunset.

854 757 If a child became sick, "the first thing was to warm him, for he might have caught cold." Then he was given some home remedies prescribed by the *babi*. If the child did not then recover, the parents tried everything they knew, hoping that after some time "everything bad would pass away." In case the child grew worse, they called some of the neighbors or some old woman to come to see him. Only in very serious cases, when the peasants became convinced that nothing could help the child, would they carry him to the doctor. The reason for taking the child to the doctor was to save the extra fee charged for a home visit. Finally, "if God has given the child some more days to live, then the child will recover; if not, then his days are finished and God wants to take the child." [165] (It is no wonder, then, that in Bulgaria 123 out of every 1,000 infants born in 1941 died during their first year of life. Although this represented a decline from the 1938 figure of 144, it still is more than two and one-half times the rate in the United States, which was 46 in 1941.)

758 The care given to a sick adult differed somewhat from that given to a sick child. When a person had been ill for a long time, his relatives went to the priest for holy water called *babina voda* (old woman's water) by the less respectful peasants. Sometimes the family let the sick person drink some of this water, but this practice was falling into disuse, "for the young people do not believe in it." I was told that very few believed in the curative power of the icons; but if a sick person should happen to, he was carried to the church to kiss the icon.

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608 custom of giving him the "little name" of his paternal grandfather.
553 After the morning church service a small group of interested
851 people would gather around the priest up near the front of the church. The priest, dressed in his richly decorated robes and with his long auburn hair uncovered, made an impressive figure. The sexton and a woman or two scurried around getting lukewarm water ready in a basin. The air of the room was heavy with the combined smell of incense, used in the church service, and melting tallow, as the tapers in the front candelabra sputtered toward exhaustion. Before they flickered out an attendant doused them in water and threw the stubs into a tin receptacle near the bowl of sand, in which worshipers had placed candles in memory of the dead.

After the layers of swaddling clothes had been removed from the infant the priest quieted the small group by saying: "Let us begin." While the godparent held the baby he listened to the solemn obligation which he was assuming, an obligation made more impressive by the use of scriptural passages and a charge by the priest. Levity quickly replaced any serious thoughts as the godfather jocularly affirmed three times that he "resigned" from the devil, and spat across the baby resoundingly onto the floor to signify that he would keep everything unholy from the child.

The high light of the church ceremony was the immersion of the tiny baby three times in warm water mixed with olive oil. As Father Sava had had ample experience with the three little girls of his own, he deftly balanced the child in palm and forearm while laving it three times in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Then the woman assisting the godfather, usually his wife, dressed the baby in an entirely new outfit. While this was taking place the priest was washing and drying his hands with a bar of soap and towel which the godparents provided and which they expected him to keep as a part of his fee.

[846] The infant's mother had remained at home,[1] because her purification ceremony at the church could not take place until forty days after the child's birth. Of course, she was expected to help prepare the christening feast which followed the church ceremonies. The christening party invariably arrived at the home in a gay mood and stood around laughing as the godfather turned the child over to the mother

[1] [From the christening ceremony -- Analyst]

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The girls of Dragalevtsy had no way of proposing to a boy. The girl waited and, if nobody proposed to her, she remained unmarried. 583 562

Sometimes unmarried young people had sexual intercourse. If the boy did not want to marry the girl, then she told her parents; the boy was brought before the *Obshtina* and, if the charge was proved, was made to marry the girl. As one peasant said in matchless understatement: "In such cases they do not have a happy life." 836

One such case occurred during my sojourn in the village and was an exciting topic of conversation. A girl with an unsavory reputation, in the hope of gaining a certain young man as a husband, accused him of having had intimate relations with her; the parents, too, insisted upon his marrying their daughter. He refused and the matter was taken up before the village court, where several of his friends swore that they likewise had had intimate relations with the same girl. Whether the friends swore truthfully or falsely was still a matter of doubt in the minds of many villagers, but the young man was freed from all responsibility in the matter. [691]

Chastity ranked high in the scale of village social values. Even though some couples had illicit relationships before they married, they were running a grave social risk. Public indignation was especially great in the case of illegitimacy. A girl giving birth to an illegitimate child was forced to leave the village. On this subject I had the following conversation with one of the more respected villagers: 848 836 558

"Where does the girl go if she is driven out of the village?"

"She goes to Sofia because she's a bad girl."

"Do the villagers try to find out who the father was and punish him for his part?"

"The father? Why should they? The girl is to blame, not the man."

"Are many illegitimate children born in the near-by villages?"

"In my time [the last thirty-five years] there have been two in Bistritsa, one in Dragalevtsy, and none in Simeonovo."

There was no particular stigma attached to being a widow or a widower, but the village mores decreed that, when remarrying, widows had to choose widowers, and vice versa. The explanation for this went back to the villagers' belief of the afterlife. They thought of 587 775

[562] 178 593 were willing to grant that the changes introduced by the young people were a part of the times and might not be so bad after all. In talking to these older women I noted a touch of envy, which I would not have suspected ten years ago.

In contrast to these changes many phases of the family system remained the same. These included the attitude of intolerance towards a childless couple, the role of the mother-in-law in the caring for infants, the parents' preference for boys, the reserve between father and the children, the continued dwelling of many married sons with their fathers, and the importance attached to being an older brother or sister in the family. The godparent relationship and the attitude towards the *svatovstvo* (in-law relationships) were still of major importance.

[848] The moral standards remained relatively rigid, with continuing intolerance toward illegitimacy. The one such case within the past ten years[1] had caused a great amount of unfavorable comment. The mother resolved her predicament by leaving her child with relatives in the village and marrying in another place.

178 183 Many other traditional practices besides those related to the family still maintained their strong grip on the people. The Christmas Horo took place as always and the Sunday afternoon promenade had become more firmly established. The *babi* (older women) were called in whenever illness or childbirth occurred. The smaller families, of course, numbered fewer children these days, but the *babi* were kept just as busy since the state-employed midwife no longer worked for the Obshtina. The dead were buried much the same as formerly, although the priest forbade people to cry messages to the dead while the funeral procession paused at the crossroads on the way from the home to the church.

[527] The people still made much of the mice and wolf holidays. One day after St. Dimiter's Day (November 9) the peasants continued to fast to keep the mice from coming in and eating up not only stored food but even clothes and other prized possessions. Bai Yurdan, the tailor, told me in all seriousness, "When I was in Sofia I didn't observe such holidays but now that I am back in the village I must."

1 [ie. 1935 - 1945 -- Analyst]

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CHAPTER VI

MARRIAGE

585 517 THE BULGARIAN groom settled down naturally into the role of the married man as the embarrassment of the first few days of good-natured joshing wore away. He took less and less interest in the Sunday afternoon promenade, preferring to sit in front of the tavern with the other married men where he liked to be complimented on the woman he had chosen in the same way that he would appreciate compliments on a cow just bought. However, as marriage progressed he began to respect his wife as a person rather than as a possession.

593 851 It was when the first child arrived, in a year or so, that the husband suddenly felt a sense of tremendous importance. He was no longer just a married man; he was a father. Though the beginning of married life had little effect upon his behavior, the fact of parenthood changed even his facial expression, his earnestness in his work, and his whole attitude toward the future. I sensed this often in the requests that people made for photographs. Few young men came to ask for pictures of their brides; but many wanted pictures of their infants, especially of the sons. In the case of the first child they would hold him up squarely in front of the camera so that he would fill up the whole picture if possible. But as children continued to arrive year after year, the fathers often asked, "Could we get our new oxen into the picture too?"

581 Most of the men accepted marriage as they did the weather: inevitable, sometimes balmy and sometimes disagreeable, but utterly essential. They did not go out of their way particularly to adjust themselves to marriage, and spoke little of marriage. They patiently waited for parenthood, which was revolutionary in its effect upon them

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Epiphany the godparent went to the home of his godchild, poured water on him or, in a rare case, pushed him into the river for the sake of his health during the coming year. On Cheese Sunday, however, the godchild went to his godparent's home with a gift and begged forgiveness for all sins committed during the year. On certain other holidays and special occasions the godchild was also supposed to pay his respects. 608 527 857

Some features of this bond between godparent and godchild were strange to one unfamiliar with the Orthodox Church. Behavior in the presence of godparents was highly formalized and correct. A person would not lie to his godparent; nor was he supposed ever to swear in his godparent's presence. These customs emphasized the mystical spiritual union which was supposed to exist between godparent and godchild. 608

Because the office of the godparent was hereditary, the same family provided godparents for the members of another family for generations. Consequently a feeling of strong relationship had come about. A godparent was considered one of the closest of relatives. "The godfather is closer than an uncle, and the godmother is closer than an aunt," the peasants used to say. Children of the two families could not marry even though madly in love, because, in the sight of the village, they were related. The taboo against marriage into the family of the mother's godparents further complicated matters. A woman, upon marriage, adopted the godparent of her husband, who assumed the same responsibility to the children of that couple as he did to the father. If a godparent was called upon to officiate at a wedding or a christening and was unable to attend, he could send one of his children to perform in his stead. [582]

We have already seen the part that the godparents *(kumove)* played in the wedding ceremony.[1] The rite of christening revealed even more of the relationship between godparent and his spiritual ward. He went with a friend or relative to the infant's home, some two or three Sundays after its birth, and took it to the church. He had previously discussed the child's name with the parents and usually followed their wishes, but had the right to give the child any name he thought proper. In the case of the first son he was apt to follow the 608 553 851

[1] [See p 89, category 116 -- Analyst]

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with these words: "I took the child away a Jew and now I return him to you a Christian." 553 851

There was usually an awkward wait of half an hour or more until the meal was ready and the priest had come to give the blessing so the feasting could begin. The christening dinner was one of the most significant of all family events for both adults and children. A child could not attend school without a baptismal certificate, nor could he later join the army, get a passport, or do anything of real importance without this church record. For a child from an Orthodox home to be unchristened was worse than having him unnamed; he did not exist legally. The national government, however, honored the equivalent of these baptismal certificates given by religious minority groups for their members, and also considered valid their marriages and divorces, be they Moslems, Jews, or Protestants. This religious freedom and tolerance had been a source of pride to many a Bulgarian in the past. 608 [798]

There were times in Dragalevtsy, though rare indeed, when the two families involved felt it best to break off the godparent relationship. If a woman, for instance, had three or four miscarriages, the godparents, who officiated at the wedding, might say: "You're not having very good luck with your children. We've been talking it over, and believe that things would work out better for you if you had different godparents." The husband and wife could then invite another couple to be godparents. 608

There were a few instances where babies did not have godparents at birth. Former godparents for the family might have died, moved away, or been unwilling to serve. In such a case the baby, no matter what the weather happened to be, was left on a street corner near the church just prior to the Sunday morning service. Naturally, the cries of the child attracted the curiosity of some passer-by. At the moment that he went over to look at the baby some elderly woman rushed out of hiding to say: "Congratulations, sir. You have the honor of serving as godparent to this child." So off he was marched to the church, be he foreigner, gypsy, drunk, or on important government business, to participate as godfather in the christening. Should he move to some distant place, he was still expected to keep in touch with his unexpected charge and, if possible, return in due course of time to take part in the 608 553 851

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godchild's wedding. This strange custom illustrated that where there is a *must,* such as *having* to have a godparent, there was a traditional method for correcting any irregularity.

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Another *must* for the children, at least from the government point of view, was school attendance. The child began his formal education at seven years of age. In the "good old days" much ceremony attended this event. The peasants called the teacher *"Kandilo,"* a candle, the one to light the path for the child entrusted to him. As education became more common, the old ceremonies died out. All that remained of that old ceremonial respect was the handful of flowers the children sometimes gathered in the fields for a favorite teacher.

In Turkish times, only boys attended school. Educational activity in Dragalevtsy, however, took a new lease on life with the completion of the excellent building in 1931, made financially possible by the help of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior. The school consisted of four primary grades and three classes which were termed the "pro-gymnasium." Boys and girls were supposed to complete the pro-gymnasium, though they could drop out as soon as they reached their fifteenth year. The director was in charge of all of the school's activity, under the supervision of the school inspectors.

The diagram on the following page illustrates the educational hierarchy of the country.

Few decisions were left to the local school authorities, whose duties had become largely administrative, in the sense of observing the regulations handed down from above. As the school director said, "Everything is controlled from the *Inspection,* though the teachers have much freedom in the classroom." Even this freedom was supervised. At the conclusion of each class the teacher had to go to the office and list the work taken up that hour, the questions asked, and assignments made. The inspector made surprise inspections of the health situation, the records of the director, and, if he chose, of the lesson notebooks of the school children. The purpose of this inspection was to check up and control, not to supervise constructively.

The school was supported financially by the Dragalevtsy *Obshtina,* though the salaries of the eight teachers were paid by the national

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CHAPTER VII

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

"ARE children gods or kings that older people should tremble over them?" was the way one village woman reacted to what she considered the newfangled ideas of child rearing taught by the village doctor. Another woman said to me, "Why should so much be made of children when there is no sense of their living in such a heavy life?" 855

These attitudes reflected themselves in the statistics of infant mortality, which were given in Chapter II but deserve repetition. Back in 1926 one out of every five babies born alive died during its first year; this figure had fallen to one out of every eight in 1941, but was still much higher than the United States rate of one out of twenty-two. But the birth rate too has been falling. When I first went to Bulgaria in 1929 I found village after village where 45 babies were born annually for every thousand people. This number has fallen to around 30 for Dragalevtsy and 21 for Bulgaria as a whole. The United States rate was about 23 in 1946. 165 163

Childhood was a period to live through, not especially to enjoy. Bulgarian peasants, if they ever had given thought to it, would probably have agreed with the results of some of the American studies which suggested that childhood was not necessarily the happiest time of life. In Dragalevtsy it was, in fact, the period of greatest uncertainty and insecurity. The Dragalevtsy child early learned the basic principle of action: if you want to stay out of trouble, keep out of the grown-ups' way. The child's greatest errors were those of commission rather than omission. 855

"Children are the wealth of the poor. They are for God and for the peasants and so why should we worry about special care for them?" said one woman who realized that the townspeople had smaller families in spite of greater comforts. Her statement also showed how her

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855 people had reconciled themselves to comparative poverty: abundance of children in contrast to the abundance of goods. When I asked her if they gave the children any special food, she answered: "No, certainly not. They eat the same food as the older people. If they want to eat, we let them eat. If they do not want to eat, who is to be blamed?" Children's mealtimes were a matter of convenience. They asked for food when they were hungry, receiving a crust of bread if the adult was not too busy.

The mother-in-law usually took care of the children, especially while they were babies, because she was considered more capable and experienced than the young mother. There were cases in the village where a comparatively young mother-in-law took such complete care of her son's children that the mother of the children did not know what it meant to have children and to care for them.

When people went to work in the fields and there was no woman to remain with them in the home, the children were left by themselves on the streets.

"Doesn't the Village Council do anything to aid these children?" I asked.

"Oh, the *Obshtina* takes care of some children, but what can it do when it is not from the same blood? It is only to shut the eyes and the mouths of the peasants for the very high taxes they pay to the *Obshtina*."

The children were not well dressed. Their clothes were often dirty and ragged. One tired mother of several complained: "Can a child keep anything on his back clean and not torn? Now you put on his back something clean and new, and when he returns from playing in the street it is all wet, dirty, and often torn. So children do not deserve to have good and new clothes." Often their clothes were made out of garments discarded by adults, though they did receive new garments at Christmas.

858 593 But even though the peasants did not "tremble over" their children, they valued them highly. When they first came they were tokens of a successful marriage. The husband and wife had both borne fruit and so had conformed to the expected life cycle. As the children grew older, however, they became important as economic

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591 562 If a daughter failed to marry, she spent the rest of her life in her father's home and received sympathy only as long as her mother was alive. Her father and married brothers thought of her as a servant in the home and treated her accordingly. Fortunately there was rarely more than one old maid at a time in Dragalevtsy.

593 855 562 The treatment of younger children, of course, varied greatly with the home. Children in Dragalevtsy were accustomed to being yelled at from their first toddling days by displeased older people. As we have already seen, there was no question about boys being preferred to girls in most homes, especially if there was only one boy among several girls. In such homes it was the boy who received the presents when the father returned from town, and who was picked up first; it was the boy whom the parents held when they asked to be photographed.

[861] Whipping, which was usually done by the father, was such an effective check on misbehavior that parents often needed only to threaten it. Another method of punishment was to withhold bread from the child for two or three hours, but, as one father said, "This doesn't always work, especially if the child begins to cry."

[357] Some parents, when they were unable to make ends meet, sent a girl off to Sofia to work as a domestic. One family revealed that five years previously a twelve-year-old daughter had been sent to be a servant in Sofia; she would never return to the village to live, nor did she ever come to visit. In this case the parents could not support an extra person, so chose the simplest way out. The fact that many Bulgarian families in cities sought female servants from twelve to eighteen years of age made such a practice possible. Indeed, on St. Dimiter's Day (November 8) and St. George's Day (May 6) there used to be a "servant bazaar" in Sofia. Village girls went to a certain place and stood in a row where housewives could look them over like heifers and choose a maid. Changes in servants, including shepherds, were ordinarily made only at these two times during the year.

593 857 Should parents find a job for a teen-aged boy, the father might require the boy to accept the job. Most boys wanted work; only a few resented working at all. If a father had more sons than he needed on the farm, he sometimes chose a trade for or with the boy. Such

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In the Field

Caring for animals in the pasture: the children.
Plowing: the father or oldest son.
Sowing: the father or oldest son.
Hoeing the corn: unmarried daughter or housewife.
Harvesting the grain: the whole family.
Threshing the grain: the whole family.
Saving the seed for next year: no one in particular.

At the Market

Selling butter, eggs, poultry, vegetables: the housewife.
Selling sheep, pigs, and other animals: the men.
Buying the necessities from Sofia: the men.
Buying necessities in the village: the women and children.
Keeping the cash box: the father; in rare cases, the mother.

●857 883 It can be seen that children as well as the adults shared in this specialization of labor. The chief occupation of those below sixteen was the care of the animals. During the pasturing season these children spent more time in the fields than in the village. Because their pastures joined they were able to get together for group games and still keep a watchful eye upon their animals. The work they were called upon to do was not dangerous, but it was time consuming. Many famous men who grew up in the villages looked back upon this pastoral experience as a childhood heaven-on-earth. Some of the old men, recalling the days when the large joint families *(zadrugi)* still existed, told of being sent with the animals up the mountains a long way from the village. For a month they were absent, seeing no one but a few strangers who happened to pass by. But those distant pastures were no longer available to the peasants, so they kept their animals (and children) close to the village.

464 Whether this seems exploitation or not is a matter of definition, but custom did decree that there should be no idle hands in the village economy, even to the extent of keeping small children occupied. To be sure, the attitude toward labor was changing, but the love of the land persisted, and owning land meant working that land, at least in

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boys usually became cobblers, tailors, or tanners. In all cases where the sons remained to work in the village, they were expected to turn over to the father a part or all of their earnings. This practice once more emphasized the economic importance of children.

As far as I could discover, none of the villagers resented my questions into their personal affairs. More than once, after the routine interviewing was over, a man unburdened himself of some hurt or grievance that revealed more than any questionnaire could. It was through such outpourings that I realized how land could dominate or warp completely otherwise normal family relationships of father and sons or brother and brother.

Lonely old Bai Dimiter held especial interest for me since his wife had earlier told about incidents in his past which helped me to understand better why he began to drink so much that his girls felt ashamed of being called his daughters; to see how he bore his loss of economic and social position in the village owing to bad business methods coupled with a disabling accident. The key to the whole situation was the fact that his own father had tricked him in his early married days. After the son had paid off a heavy debt owed by his father, the father refused to deed him meadows in return but frankly confessed: "I fooled you in order to get money." To make the deception harder to bear, Dimiter inherited no land from his father, all of it going to another son with whom the father had been on better terms. Naturally, Dimiter had a falling out with his brother, and took the matter to the courts where, after long litigation, he failed to obtain any part of the inheritance.

The books I had read about Bulgaria in the old days pointed out the role the older brother formerly played when the father died. One village home was actually operated on the old principle of subordination of the younger brother to the older. Hristo, the older brother, was smaller than the younger brother, standing huge and stooped in the low-ceilinged room in such a way that the kerosene lamp cast a grotesque, mountainous shadow behind him. I knew, of course, about these men, as I knew about most village men, from the talk of tavern groups and other willing informants. I knew that they were ashamed of their family name which meant "the son of a donkey," and I knew

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593 Although this insight into the relations between parents and their children, both adult and immature, has taken us beyond the period of childhood, it does show us why the children had to learn obedience and respect and why the village would soon show its dissatisfaction with anyone who flouted the established rules. Children also learned to defer to an older brother or sister, and assumed responsibility for those who were younger. In the main, a child's life was centered about the home and about those activities which he shared with members of his immediate family or the relatives in the neighborhood who were young enough to be his playmates.

[857]

527 574 Children became acquainted with their relatives in other villages on the annual *Subor* or "At Home Day" which each village observed. Dragalevtsy families had four village *Subori* which they could attend; on Pantaley Den (August 9) they could go to Boyana; on Spasov Den (the Monday of the eighth week after Easter) they could go to Durvenitsa; on Petkov Den (October 27) they could visit Bistritsa; and on Archangel Day (November 21) they could visit Simeonovo.

I once attended this Simeonovo *Subor* with the Dragalevtsy families. I was told gravely by the old women that on this day everyone must be especially good, for the Archangel Michael was the one who received the souls of the dead into heaven. On the day preceding, the Simeonovo women had gathered to make many loaves of bread from flour previously donated to the church by its loyal supporters. Early on the morning of the *Subor* the church sexton with some helpers killed four sheep for the big meat stews; later he gave terse commands regarding the flavoring of the stews: bean and mutton, cabbage and mutton, and rice and mutton—a somewhat monotonous menu, but one hallowed by tradition.

We started our four-mile walk at an early hour. The air was crisp and so clear that the great Balkan range, miles across the plain, stood out sharply in its rose and blue. By midmorning a large number of people, including the children, had come into the churchyard. Most of them entered the church and attended part of the service; the women carried bread and boiled corn to be blessed by the priest, who received a portion. At noon, the church service was concluded and the priest blessed the meal prepared under the auspices of the church. Then it

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was that a few hundred people—guests, villagers, and total strangers—partook of the common meal. This dinner was typical. There was wine in abundance, for, as a member of the financial committee told me, wine induced a generous spirit in the hearts of those making their annual pledges to the church. After the meal and the pledges, the crowd dispersed. Visitors went home with family groups for further eating and drinking. The village square became a kaleidoscope of colors when peasant boys and girls began to dance the stately *horo* to the music of the pipes and drums. 527 574

With the coming of evening the guests left the village. Simeonovo moved again through a period of quiet and almost unbroken monotony until Archangel Day next year. Of course Christmas and Easter brought celebrations, but not the dash and gaiety that the presence of several hundred outsiders invariably created.

In spite of these set occasions for visiting, a surprising number of Dragalevtsy people stayed put, at least as far as going to other villages was concerned. *(See Appendix V.)* They had business in Sofia, and could justify going there. But almost half of the *stopani* never went to another village, even though there were four villages within five miles of Dragalevtsy. The same held true for their wives, the *domakini.* But those that did take such trips usually let their children go along, at least on some of the visits. These proved to be gala events in the lives of the youngsters. 574

In addition to the commemoration of Christmas and Easter and the celebration of St. George's Day, described in the last chapter,[1] there were other holidays during the year which interested the children as much if not more than they did the adults. On the few summer holidays the villagers avoided any strenuous field work; since most of the special days came in the winter it was simple enough "to remember the holiday and take it easy." If the people found it necessary to do some important job on a holiday, they had a precedent set by no less a personage than St. Peter himself. On his own name day (July 12) he saw that the grain needed harvesting, so he took a piece of hearth cake in one hand and a sickle in the other and went to work reaping his wheat "so that the ripe grains wouldn't fall to the ground." 527 857

[1] [Cf. pp 106-111, Category 116--Analyst]

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527 This was the peasant version of the Sabbath being made for man, not
857 man for the Sabbath.

One holiday which children particularly enjoyed was New Year's Day, which, like Christmas, came two weeks later than our own because of the Old Style Calendar still in use by the church. Boys and girls were up at break of day to tap every passer-by with a gaily decorated branch of a cornel cherry tree. As they tapped they chanted:

[539]

Fresh, fresh New Year
Happiness to the end.
Let mother and father be healthy
Like the past year!

Striking with a cornel-twig higher than the cap;
Wishing you a houseful of corn,
Yellow as the gold,
To ripen early, early in
The fields during the summer.

Let wedding guests again pass by
With full wine casks
To present us with white kerchiefs
And embroidered belts.

Fresh, fresh New Year,
Let us get sister married! . . .

With this chant they wished good health. In return they expected
[777] a coin or something to eat. This tapping continued until nightfall. Most members of the family looked sleepy during the day because they had stayed up late the night before to gamble. Their success or failure on New Year's Eve was supposed to foretell what luck the new year had in store.

Early in the morning the older boys and girls told fortunes by gathering around a copper kettle in which each one had placed some identifying article, such as a ring or knife. The group sang a song, connected with some occupation, while one token was drawn from the pot. If a boy's token was drawn, the occupation described would be his; if a girl's token was drawn, then she would marry a man engaged in that occupation. After this they all danced the *horo*.

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Epiphany or Bogoyavlenie on January 19 commemorated the baptism of Christ. The Dragalevtsy boys and girls knew how the day was celebrated in other villages near the rivers or the sea. There the altar cross was thrown into the icy water. Naked youths dove in and struggled violently for it. The winner, carrying the cross, then collected money from the crowd. More important even than the money was the feeling that he would be fortunate during the coming year. But Epiphany did not pass unnoticed in Dragalevtsy, even though the river was nothing more than a racing mountain brook. The priest brought the cross out to sell at auction. The buyer, of course, returned it to the priest, but with his purchase received the assurance of God's blessing in the days to come. One year, a hiker happened to be passing through on his way up to the top of Vitosha. He saw the crowd gathered around the priest, bought the cross, went to the tavern for a free drink, returned the cross to the priest, and went on his way up the mountain. Peasants marveled for some time afterwards over the dispatch he showed in the whole affair. 796 527 857

Formerly on this day, children were christened with cold instead of lukewarm water, and all brides of that year were bathed in the river. When I asked why such custom was no longer practiced, Bai Angel, the village registrar, shrugged: "Oh, then the people were stronger and could stand such treatment."

On the previous day the children had all awaited the priest's arrival to sprinkle holy water in every room of the house. As we have already seen, many families collected bottles of the water that had been especially blessed for Epiphany, in the belief that it would cure various illnesses later on. [777] [788]

Bulgarian boys and girls never celebrated their birthdays. Instead, they made much of their name days. Each child bore the name of some saint, with a special day on the church calendar. Each Ivan (John) celebrated on the day following Epiphany, January 20; each Grigor (Gregory) on February 7; each Iliya (Elijah) on August 2. And so it ran throughout the year. Those with names not appearing on the calendar generally chose the day of "The Forty Holy Martyrs." Whereas Americans would expect to receive gifts on their birthdays, Bulgarians, especially those who were married, expected to entertain 527 857

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"Studying their lessons in the pasture while tending the sheep . . ."
See page 117.

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Dragalevtsy families on their way to a *Subor* in Simeonovo.
See page 124.

[Facing p. 128]

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527 and provide food and drink for their friends on their name days. Children had to grow into the many practices surrounding holidays
857 just as they had to grow into understanding of how to become a good farmer. It took some time to learn, for example, that on September 11, the Day of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, one should have nothing to do with objects colored red. That color symbolized blood and guilt. On the first of March, however, red was very much in evidence. In the cities the young people exchange *martenitsi,* equivalent to our Valentines. This day was popularly called *Baba Marta* or "Old Woman March," because the weather during March was changeable and whimsical.

Although the villagers themselves paid little attention to the patriotic holidays which had been started within the past few decades, children welcomed them, for they meant a variation in the school routine. Schoolteachers would never think of letting a patriotic holiday go by without some special exercises. Among such holidays were those commemorating the liberation of Bulgaria, the King's birthday, the King's name day, the King's ascension to the throne. A special holiday for students was also becoming firmly rooted. It was the one honoring the missionary brothers, St. Cyril and St. Methodius, who were the patron saints of learning.

[574] These holidays, both religious and patriotic, were often the occasion for relatives to come to the village. The buses, mysteriously held together in places by baling wire, chugged up the hill to the square to disgorge their load of people and grotesque bundles. Children crowded around to greet the newcomers and merrily skipped beside
[166] them as they walked toward the house. However, one-third of the homes had *no* visitors from outside the village during the year. Many of the visitors were originally from Dragalevtsy. A record of one year's migrants, twenty-one in all, showed that six had married outsiders and settled elsewhere; four had gone as soldiers, four as students, two as laborers, and the rest as cabmen, watchmen, and a coffeehouse proprietor.

527 All these holidays meant much to the children: exciting food,
857 observance of age-old customs, and the arrival of guests. A few holi-
608 days were of special importance to godparents and godchildren. On

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"Boys and girls were up at break of day to tap every passer-by with a gaily decorated branch of a cornel cherry tree." *See page 126.*

[Facing p. 129]

Epiphany the godparent went to the home of his godchild, poured water on him or, in a rare case, pushed him into the river for the sake of his health during the coming year. On Cheese Sunday, however, the godchild went to his godparent's home with a gift and begged forgiveness for all sins committed during the year. On certain other holidays and special occasions the godchild was also supposed to pay his respects. 608 527 857

Some features of this bond between godparent and godchild were strange to one unfamiliar with the Orthodox Church. Behavior in the presence of godparents was highly formalized and correct. A person would not lie to his godparent; nor was he supposed ever to swear in his godparent's presence. These customs emphasized the mystical spiritual union which was supposed to exist between godparent and godchild. 608

Because the office of the godparent was hereditary, the same family provided godparents for the members of another family for generations. Consequently a feeling of strong relationship had come about. A godparent was considered one of the closest of relatives. "The godfather is closer than an uncle, and the godmother is closer than an aunt," the peasants used to say. Children of the two families could not marry even though madly in love, because, in the sight of the village, they were related. The taboo against marriage into the family of the mother's godparents further complicated matters. A woman, upon marriage, adopted the godparent of her husband, who assumed the same responsibility to the children of that couple as he did to the father. If a godparent was called upon to officiate at a wedding or a christening and was unable to attend, he could send one of his children to perform in his stead. [582]

We have already seen the part that the godparents *(kumove)* played in the wedding ceremony.[1] The rite of christening revealed even more of the relationship between godparent and his spiritual ward. He went with a friend or relative to the infant's home, some two or three Sundays after its birth, and took it to the church. He had previously discussed the child's name with the parents and usually followed their wishes, but had the right to give the child any name he thought proper. In the case of the first son he was apt to follow the 608 553 851

[1] [See p. 89, category 116 -- Analyst]

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(secondary school) education, found no work in Sofia, and came back to farm his land. The fact that he could survey his fields, keep his accounts, and do various other things more quickly and efficiently than his unschooled neighbors, had made him a living example of the benefits of education, as far as the Dragalevtsy farmers were concerned.

I had often heard both Bulgarians and foreigners say that children in Bulgarian villages did not know how to play. Though such a statement accurately describes the past, it was certainly becoming less true because of the growing influence of the school. Nevertheless, with the exception of certain games played in the pastures, children's group games were new to the village.

The older people said that fifty years ago there were almost no games; even these few were played only by men and boys while the women and girls always carried their knitting needles or distaffs with them. "The women sang while they worked and that was their game. The lonely shepherd boy had his *kaval* [flute]." Most of the old people had absolutely no recollection of games they played when young, which probably accounted for their unfriendly attitude toward children's games. One laconic old *baba* snapped: "The children throw stones at one another for a game."

There was much difference of opinion among the adults as to just what the children did in their playtime and with whom they played. A young man told me that children played together even if the families were unfriendly, but an older woman insisted that parents completely controlled their children's choice of playmates. The simplest way of getting at the truth was to talk to the children themselves. The children were used to seeing me and were uniformly friendly, often running to meet me as I came up the lane from the meadows. I had photographed many of them and knew their parents, so it was easy to get them to talk.

One solemn little group of five girls told me they were playing, which I took to mean that they were at leisure for the moment, for they were simply sitting on the ground by the stream trickling down the village street.

"What do you play?"

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"Oh, we play 'woman's work' and talk about the cattle, school, and such things."

"Don't you ever play with dolls?" I ventured, for only one of the group was as old as thirteen. Five pairs of black eyes looked at me seriously.

"Some of us have never had dolls, and now we are much too old."

Shocked exclamations greeted my last question, when I asked if they ever quarreled.

"Never, for we are neighbors, and share our bread, and play together every day."

Borislav, Ivan, and Boris (one thirteen-year-old and two eleven-year-olds) were an entertaining triumvirate. The father of Borislav was a streetcar conductor in Sofia and often took his son to the city. On one of these trips, the boy had seen Sofia children rolling hoops. When Borislav got back to the village, he showed his cronies how to make and play with hoops. The boys said they shared food as well as toys, and helped one another with work. Ivan had to work a great deal, which curtailed their games considerably. When I asked this group if there was any fighting, the boys grinned.

"We fight with the other boys because they make fun of us when we don't know our lessons."

"What about fighting among you three?" I persisted.

"Well," said Borislav frankly, "we have to beat Ivan once in a while because when we fight for fun to see who is strongest and Ivan wins, he boasts, and then we have to fight him seriously." (Boris told me later in private that he didn't like Ivan very much, but "I take him as a friend so as not to be without any one.")

While I was sitting on the curbing near the fountain with the three boys, a tiny, six-year-old girl wandered up. I asked her if she ever played with boys. The thin little braids bobbed vigorously up and down for the Bulgarian "no," as she gave the universal reason, "My mother doesn't let me."

All the children to whom I talked agreed that it was more fun for boys and girls to play separately. (Seven-year-old Mara did play with Peter, but only, she assured me earnestly, because she had no one

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else in the neighborhood.) It was also better to play with relatives because "one doesn't quarrel so much." The boys in general liked to play in the schoolyard "because one meets one's friends from outside the neighborhood there." One brown-skinned imp in ragged hand-me-downs said that "Lots of us play near the school because our parents cannot see us and call us to work." Both boys and girls said that the teachers showed them many games which they still played in the summer.

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The children of Dragalevtsy seldom acted out stories or dramas which they had seen portrayed in books or in a *vecherinka* (entertainment). The boys did almost no tree-climbing because there were few trees in the village large enough. All the climbing that was done was "for work," to get nuts or fruit. Games with balls or marbles were brought to the village by students going daily into Sofia to one of the higher schools. The group games of a formal nature requiring ten or fifteen children were learned in the village school and were usually played in the schoolyard. Some of the most popular children's games were the following:

Na svinkya (Playing swine). Several boys hit a wooden ball into holes with the use of clubs knotted at the end. There was a boy guarding each hole and one in the center. The idea was to get the ball into the hole. This was a peasant form of golf and was one of the oldest games played by Bulgarian villagers. It was the special favorite of boys who were keeping the animals in the pastures.

Sus kukla (With a doll). Some people estimated that one out of every six little girls had a doll, while others maintained that the number was nearer three out of six. There were no statistics on this subject, but playing with dolls was uncommon enough to make it a source of great joy to children who did so. Some of the dolls were very crude and ugly, though many parents were buying western dolls in the market to bring home.

Na Tsiganeta (Playing gypsies). Since every boy caring for animals carried a stick, it was natural that a game using this stick originated. The game called for the contestants to bounce their stick from one end to the other in rapid succession, much as one would "skip" a rock on the surface of water. The stick might jump five or

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●857 524 six times before falling motionless. The least skillful contestant received a beating from the others.

Na machuklin (In New England called "Peggy"). Consisted chiefly of tapping the end of a small stick so that it would rise into the air to be hit again before it fell to the ground.

Na Kokumish. This was a form of tag played by children sitting around in a circle.

Na gonenitsa (Form of running tag). The one to be "it" *(gogan)* was chosen by "counting out" with the use of the following poem, which corresponded to "eeny, meeny, miney, mo":

[539]

Ala bala nitsa,
Turska panitsa,
E, gidi Dancho,
Nash kapitancho.

Ala bala nitsa,
A Turkish plate,
Hey, you Dancho,
Our leader.

The children when counting out spit on their fingers. The *gogan* would run and try to touch the others.

Na zhmish (Hide and seek). The one who was "it" said the following poem while the others hid:

[539]

Dve vrabcheta
Se skaraka
Na Popovota vrata.
Pop izleza i im kazva
Ish, pish, tish, stesh, mish.

Two sparrows
Quarreled
At the Priest's gate.
The Priest came out and told them
Ish, pish, tish, stesh, mish.

After he said this he went to hunt the others. Wherever he found anyone he spit in the place where he was. The others tried to run to the homebase and spit there before he did.

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Kosharki (Sheep folds). This was a game which had been played extensively a generation ago, but its use was dying out in the village. The children would build miniature sheep folds, houses, and fences out of rocks. This game corresponded after a fashion to our building with blocks. 857 524

The outstanding characteristic of all these games was that they required little equipment and few participants. At home, the play groups were inevitably restricted to the family and nearest neighbors, often relatives. At school, children could choose relatives and other children in the same grade. Play groups in the fields were formed on the basis of family ownership of land and common pasture. These latter groups often gathered in the village and went to the fields together, the youngsters carrying loaves of bread, baked peppers, and fresh tomatoes. Even in play, the family was important, for every type of play group almost automatically included relatives. As was previously pointed out, there was less quarreling among the children who were related. I often heard: "You shouldn't hit him; he's your relative."

The new types of play were still limited. The radio, comic papers, and movies were almost unknown to the village child, just as they were to the average adult. Only twenty-five newspapers reached the village daily, and these had few comic strips. Magazines and books were a rarity. Sofia bookshops had some exquisite children's books, but I never saw one in the village. Sometimes when I came into a village home on a winter evening, I would see an unforgettable picture. Near the fire the father sat quietly, elbows on knees, the mother was spinning near the one dim electric bulb, and in the center, crouched at the low table, a boy, nine or ten years old, was laboriously reading some fragment of a periodical to his parents. Their pride and pleasure was unspoken but obvious. [214] [593]

There was one radio in the village, and the children were of course conscious of it as it blared incessantly in Renaissance Square, but it was not a part of their life, any more than the movies or trains. Only 45 per cent of the total population, including babies, had ever attended a movie, and less than 40 per cent had ever been on a train. [207] [517] 369

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[369] With Sofia, a city of over a quarter million people, only five miles away, the ability of the villagers to resist, however passively, the influence of the "people of the world" was astonishing. It was a remoteness, not to be measured in miles, but in generations.

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Such pleasant customs as keeping pets were almost nonexistent. The tiny puppies with which the children sometimes rolled were bred for strictly utilitarian purposes, to guard the sheep, and were taught to be unfriendly to man.

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858 593 Yet there was warmth and affection for the children. When a child died, the tempo of the household perceptibly slackened. "It is God's will. It is Kismet [Fate]," the family said, but the father grew more taciturn and the mother wept silently as she spun in the evenings. And when a funeral procession reached the cemetery, the new mourners often found there other mothers who had lost their children. These wailed again for the long-departed and begged the spirit of the newly dead to carry messages to their babies.

And when a family grew rich according to village standards, it was on the children that gifts were lavished, perhaps a wish-fulfillment by the elders inherited from their own drab childhood.

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The irrepressible fun of childhood could break through even the hard crust of conformity to village life. The older villagers might suspect and even condemn the amusements of the "people of the world," as they did the trouser-clad women skiers who streamed through the square on winter week ends. The youngsters were different. As I was leaving the tavern one February afternoon I saw a pigskin-sandaled urchin, seven or eight years old, attempting to go down the hill on a crude pair of homemade skis. The snow was thin and he stuck fast in the mud. He took off his skis, put them on his back, and started up the steep slope to try again, and again. 857

"Hey, there, what have you got?" I called. The answer was a sly smile and a revealing comment: "Skis, like the 'people of the world.'"

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855 people had reconciled themselves to comparative poverty: abundance of children in contrast to the abundance of goods. When I asked her if they gave the children any special food, she answered: "No, certainly not. They eat the same food as the older people. If they want to eat, we let them eat. If they do not want to eat, who is to be blamed?" Children's mealtimes were a matter of convenience. They asked for food when they were hungry, receiving a crust of bread if the adult was not too busy.

The mother-in-law usually took care of the children, especially while they were babies, because she was considered more capable and experienced than the young mother. There were cases in the village where a comparatively young mother-in-law took such complete care of her son's children that the mother of the children did not know what it meant to have children and to care for them.

When people went to work in the fields and there was no woman to remain with them in the home, the children were left by themselves on the streets.

"Doesn't the Village Council do anything to aid these children?" I asked.

"Oh, the *Obshtina* takes care of some children, but what can it do when it is not from the same blood? It is only to shut the eyes and the mouths of the peasants for the very high taxes they pay to the *Obshtina.*"

The children were not well dressed. Their clothes were often dirty and ragged. One tired mother of several complained: "Can a child keep anything on his back clean and not torn? Now you put on his back something clean and new, and when he returns from playing in the street it is all wet, dirty, and often torn. So children do not deserve to have good and new clothes." Often their clothes were made out of garments discarded by adults, though they did receive new garments at Christmas.

● 858 593 But even though the peasants did not "tremble over" their children, they valued them highly. When they first came they were tokens of a successful marriage. The husband and wife had both borne fruit and so had conformed to the expected life cycle. As the children grew older, however, they became important as economic

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assets. They could do hard work; they could run countless errands. 858
Later, they were the heirs to the father's fields and the chief support of the parents in their declining years.

One of the first women I interviewed about family life told me: "I had a little boy but he died when forty days old. Now I cannot help crying every St. George's Day [May 6] and every St. Dimiter's Day [November 8] when my husband goes out to hire a boy to care for our sheep. If my son had lived, he could have taken care of the sheep for us."

Later on in the course of a conversation with a garrulous *baba* I asked her if she did not think her seven children too many for one woman to have. She snorted, pointed out of the window to her sons unloading wood they had gathered in the forest, and said: "If I hadn't had lots of children, who would go to get our wood?"

Sons were greater economic assets than girls but even so would 858
have normally received more attention in this man-centered society. 562
As parents often had to go to some expense to get their daughters 593
married off, they were always jubilant at the arrival of a son. The good-natured priest was occasionally the butt of a number of sly jests because he had three daughters and no son. One man in particular, Stefan, who had been in the same predicament, had recently acquired a son, who was now the apple of his eye. He was fond of his daughters, but made no secret of his particular pride in his boy. I thoroughly enjoyed a conversation between Stefan and the priest in which Stefan fully explained how to be sure the next one was a boy. I have known of fathers who refused to look at the newly arrived infant upon learning that it was a girl. Of course, they eventually acquiesced and simply hoped for better luck next time. Where parents had no sons, village curiosity reached a peak when a new child was expected, and an occasional wager was laid on the possibility of its being a boy. But favoritism was the exception rather than the rule. When you asked a Dragalevtsy parent which child he liked best he responded: "I like them all equally; they are just like the fingers on one's hand." He often added the proverb, "The fingers on one's hand feel pain equally, do they not?"

Whenever a child suffered from a physical or mental handicap 732
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591 562 If a daughter failed to marry, she spent the rest of her life in her father's home and received sympathy only as long as her mother was alive. Her father and married brothers thought of her as a servant in the home and treated her accordingly. Fortunately there was rarely more than one old maid at a time in Dragalevtsy.

593 855 562 The treatment of younger children, of course, varied greatly with the home. Children in Dragalevtsy were accustomed to being yelled at from their first toddling days by displeased older people. As we have already seen, there was no question about boys being preferred to girls in most homes, especially if there was only one boy among several girls. In such homes it was the boy who received the presents when the father returned from town, and who was picked up first; it was the boy whom the parents held when they asked to be photographed.

[861] Whipping, which was usually done by the father, was such an effective check on misbehavior that parents often needed only to threaten it. Another method of punishment was to withhold bread from the child for two or three hours, but, as one father said, "This doesn't always work, especially if the child begins to cry."

[357] Some parents, when they were unable to make ends meet, sent a girl off to Sofia to work as a domestic. One family revealed that five years previously a twelve-year-old daughter had been sent to be a servant in Sofia; she would never return to the village to live, nor did she ever come to visit. In this case the parents could not support an extra person, so chose the simplest way out. The fact that many Bulgarian families in cities sought female servants from twelve to eighteen years of age made such a practice possible. Indeed, on St. Dimiter's Day (November 8) and St. George's Day (May 6) there used to be a "servant bazaar" in Sofia. Village girls went to a certain place and stood in a row where housewives could look them over like heifers and choose a maid. Changes in servants, including shepherds, were ordinarily made only at these two times during the year.

593 857 Should parents find a job for a teen-aged boy, the father might require the boy to accept the job. Most boys wanted work; only a few resented working at all. If a father had more sons than he needed on the farm, he sometimes chose a trade for or with the boy. Such

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CURRICULUM OF BULGARIAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL (1937)

871

Hours per week

Subject	Primary (Grades)				Pro-gymnasium (Classes)		
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III
1. Religion	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. Bulgarian Language, Reading	9	9	7	7	7	6	5
3. Storytelling	3	3	—	—	—	—	—
4. French, German, or English	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
5. Arithmetic	4	4	4	4	3	3	3
6. Practical Geometry	—	—	1	1	—	—	—
Geometric Drawing	—	—	—	—	1	2	2
7. Civics,	—	—	4	4	—	—	—
General, Bulgarian History	—	—	—	—	2	2	3
8. General, Bulgarian Geography and Civics	—	—	—	—	3	4	3
9. Natural Science, National Economy and Peasant Hygiene	—	—	3	3	—	—	—
Natural History, Physics, Chem., and Hygiene	—	—	—	—	3	4	3
10. Drawing and Handwork	2	2	3	3	4	4	4
11. Penmanship	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
12. Singing	1	1	1	1	2	2	1
13. Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Total hours per week per class:	22	22	26	26	29	30	28

subject, the date to be fixed by the teacher. Sometimes this was the only written test the class had during the course of that semester. At the end of the year there was a formal examination to help the teachers in judging the progress of the pupil. 872

It was the duty of the director to visit classes for purposes of supervision. She gave suggestions and occasionally taught a class to illustrate teaching techniques to less experienced teachers.

Judging only from the deportment marks, which were perfect for all students, there was little or no trouble with discipline. The truth of the matter was, however, that in Bulgaria a student's deport- 861 871

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861 871 ment mark was written on his diploma, thus following him throughout life. Therefore teachers found it more of a trial to lower a student's conduct mark than to fail him scholastically. All discipline cases were sent to the director, who reprimanded the student or sent the child home to his parents. The law did not permit corporal punishment, although many parents would have been glad to give the director the right. The final step, to which the director seldom resorted, was to require the student to attend school in a neighboring village.

658 871 There was little friction between the parents and the local school authorities, probably because the schools were a branch of the government and one seldom protested loudly against the government. If some trouble arose, parents complained to the school director, who passed the complaint on to the mayor.

There was nothing in Dragalevtsy, or in any other Bulgarian village, comparable to our Parent-Teacher Association. The very old peasants still regarded the government school as an outside and, therefore, slightly suspicious innovation—valuable for "the people of the world" perhaps, but yet to be proved indispensable for the village. Most of them agreed that the school widened the already existing difference in attitude between young and old. I once heard a good-humored disagreement between a mother and her twenty-five-year-old son. The woman had been explaining to me that she went to church to pray to God to help with the fields, to send rain and sunshine.

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"But mother," interrupted the son impatiently, "the rain doesn't come from God."

"From where does it come then?"

The son sighed as though he were exhausted by endless repetition of a lesson to a stubborn child.

"From vapors up above, as the books tell us."

The old woman grinned undaunted.

"Well, God gives the vapors."

In spite of the suspicion toward anything new, the peasants were, on the whole, favorable toward education. While they slyly pointed out instances of unemployment among the intelligentsia, they were shrewd enough to see the economic advantages of formal schooling. Many villagers told me of a Dragalevtsy man who got a gymnasium

659 794 a year, the priest asked the board members to assemble at the church, minutes were kept, and no outsiders attended. The government's influence was further felt during the period 1934-1937, when all political elections were suspended, and with these all church board elections too. No one was eligible to vote.

659 869 771 As the national school and church authorities had not been satisfied with the type of religious training that the children had been getting in the average peasant home, they had set up in each village an organization called "The Association for the Orthodox Christianization of Bulgarian Youth." In general, the work of the group consisted in teaching the school children the significance of the iconostas, church ceremonies, and other related matters. School hours were used, and attendance was compulsory. The school director, who had been asked by the Archbishop in Sofia to conduct the work of the association in co-operation with the priest, said that they had had about twenty-five meetings during the year. Parents and others who were interested attended these meetings. This was one activity which the peasants had accepted quite willingly because, as one woman said, "the children are kept off the streets when there is a group gathering, and thus do not learn so many bad things." This was the woman's way of berating parents for failing to take better care of their children. But fundamentally the acceptance was based upon the traditional recognition of the church's importance. In the past, whatever had bolstered up the established church had bolstered up the familistic system.

178 181 596 Such a barrage from the batteries of commerce, government, and education[1] had left the familistic way of life in Dragalevtsy battered but not crumbling. The peasants were still amused at the intense activity of the intelligentsia; the few who were asked to confer with the authorities enjoyed reporting back to their families and friends just what they said and did. The people co-operated in the campaigns for this-and-that only when they knew that the mayor would send the policeman along if they did not co-operate. They attended lectures when ordered to do so, but they joined few of the organizations planned outside. Perhaps the best indication that this beehive of governmental activity was still on the surface was the failure of the peasants to seek advice from the intelligentsia who were supposedly there to help

1 [For a detailed account, see category 114, pp. 161-176 - Analyst]

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875 were turned over to Greece and Yugoslavia, respectively, after the first World War; while Dimiter was from the section of Thrace which Bulgaria was forced to surrender. Since the teachers had such backgrounds it was no wonder that adorning one of the classrooms was a sign, "NEMA MIR DOKATO NEUILLY" or "There will be no peace as long as the Treaty of Neuilly is in force."

The director of the school was a vigorous woman with splendid preparation for her task. She told me on several occasions how disappointed she was that her teachers took so little interest in helping the peasants improve their way of life. They were supposed to spend Sunday afternoons visiting the homes of their pupils in an effort to advise parents in matters of child care and standards of hygiene. Actually, the teachers, being all too human, preferred to spend the week end in Sofia rather than reform the unenthusiastic adults.

[565] 527 659 The intelligentsia were usually seen in their glory at some great occasion such as the celebration of an important holiday. The event which caused most excitement during my six years of residence in Bulgaria was the birth of Prince Simeon, heir apparent to the throne of his father, King Boris. The exercises which were held in Dragalevtsy four days after the royal birth in 1937 showed how the intellectuals worked hand in hand, since the school, the church, and the state were so closely allied.

[796] The crowd had to wait at least forty-five minutes for the priests from the monastery who were to help Father Sava with the liturgy of the *vodosvet,* or consecration of the holy water, whose sprinkling gave official religious recognition to the closing of the school year. Then the mayor began to speak the high-sounding phrases which the villagers loved to hear. He told them how significant for Bulgaria was the birth of Prince Simeon.

> June Sixteenth [he said] will be written in golden letters in the history of Bulgaria. June Sixteenth marks the day when an heir was born to the throne of Bulgaria. Our school house has no name, so I recommend that we petition for the right to call our school "Prince Simeon II." The first Simeon who reigned a thousand years ago was called Simeon the Great. I feel sure that Simeon the Second will likewise go down in history as Simeon the Great.
>
> [871] In honor of this great occasion, the Government has decreed that the marks of every student will be raised, so that no one will fail in any subject. [Hurrah!

Hurrah!] That's right; nobody will fail. No pupil will repeat the class next year! [Hurrah! Hurrah!] All deportment marks likewise will be raised and anyone who has been expelled from school will be accepted back on probation. The government is cancelling over a billion leva in unpaid taxes and is freeing thousands of prisoners . . . . [871]

Before he finished he led the children, and such adults as would join, in further cheers for Prince Simeon, for King Boris, and for Queen Iovanna. After the school choir had sung the national anthem and the "Hymn to the King," all filed inside for the official graduation exercises. There were more patriotic songs and at least twenty declamations with such titles as "Three Days at the Battle of Shipka," "To our Teachers," "A Prayer to God," "I Like the Priest," "I am a Temperance Girl," and "Nature." Displays of the children's handwork, as well as these recitations, brought some recognition to the teachers who had worked behind the scenes. 527 659 871

The director in her remarks thanked the mayor and the priest profusely and the parents casually for the help they had rendered during the past year. When she was about to present the diplomas, such bedlam broke loose that few could hear the compliments she paid the brightest pupils, who had received as special awards from the mayor books on war and religion. The exercises concluded with the presentation of a large bouquet from the pupils to the school director, who politely accepted the flowers on behalf of all the teachers.

The intelligentsia just described had more importance than their village duties seemed to indicate. They were the channels through which the national state, the national church, and the national school system expressed themselves. No member of this select group was Dragalevtsy-born. Their high status rested not only upon the influence they wielded as representatives of powerful institutions, but also upon the fact that they were educated. Education, along with the patient accumulation of land and money, was one sound way of raising one's social position, and those who had persevered in its pursuit received due honor. As one father said to his son upon sending him to school: "If you don't study you will plow, sow, and work in the fields, and where will you get then?" 565 554 [555]

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godchild's wedding. This strange custom illustrated that where there is a *must*, such as *having* to have a godparent, there was a traditional method for correcting any irregularity.

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Another *must* for the children, at least from the government point of view, was school attendance. The child began his formal education at seven years of age. In the "good old days" much ceremony attended this event. The peasants called the teacher *"Kandilo,"* a candle, the one to light the path for the child entrusted to him. As education became more common, the old ceremonies died out. All that remained of that old ceremonial respect was the handful of flowers the children sometimes gathered in the fields for a favorite teacher.

In Turkish times, only boys attended school. Educational activity in Dragalevtsy, however, took a new lease on life with the completion of the excellent building in 1931, made financially possible by the help of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior. The school consisted of four primary grades and three classes which were termed the "pro-gymnasium." Boys and girls were supposed to complete the pro-gymnasium, though they could drop out as soon as they reached their fifteenth year. The director was in charge of all of the school's activity, under the supervision of the school inspectors.

The diagram on the following page illustrates the educational hierarchy of the country.

Few decisions were left to the local school authorities, whose duties had become largely administrative, in the sense of observing the regulations handed down from above. As the school director said, "Everything is controlled from the *Inspection*, though the teachers have much freedom in the classroom." Even this freedom was supervised. At the conclusion of each class the teacher had to go to the office and list the work taken up that hour, the questions asked, and assignments made. The inspector made surprise inspections of the health situation, the records of the director, and, if he chose, of the lesson notebooks of the school children. The purpose of this inspection was to check up and control, not to supervise constructively.

The school was supported financially by the Dragalevtsy *Obshtina*, though the salaries of the eight teachers were paid by the national

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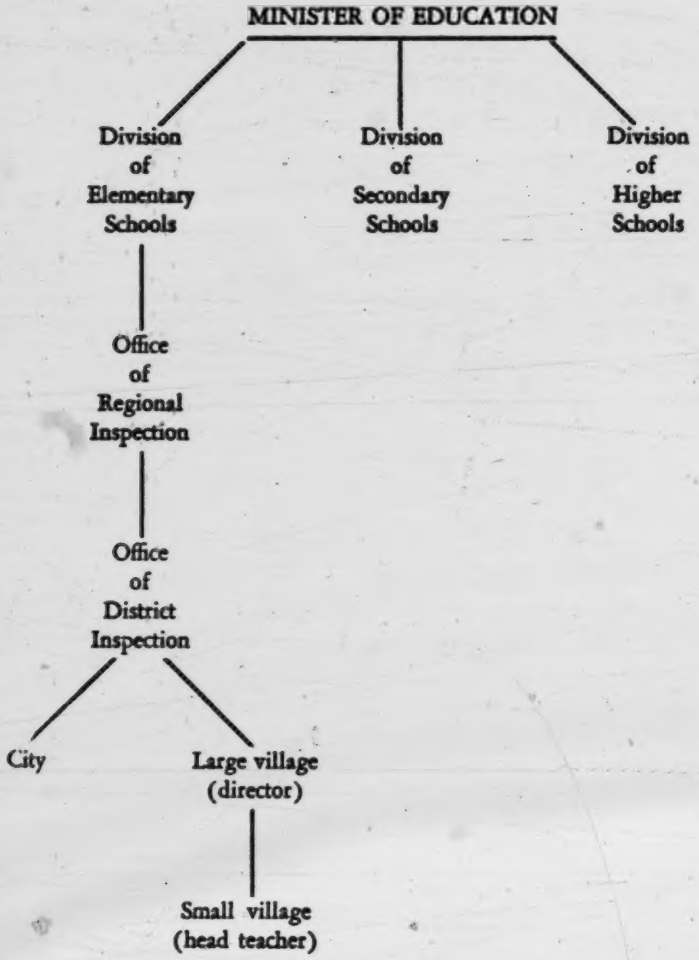

The Educational Hierarchy of Bulgaria as It Affected a Village Schoolteacher, 1937

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7. Civics,	—	—	4	4	—	—	—
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8. General, Bulgarian Geography and Civics	—	—	—	—	3	4	3
9. Natural Science, National Economy and Peasant Hygiene	—	—	3	3	—	—	—
Natural History, Physics, Chem., and Hygiene	—	—	—	—	3	4	3
10. Drawing and Handwork	2	2	3	3	4	4	4
11. Penmanship	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
12. Singing	1	1	1	1	2	2	1
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There was little friction between the parents and the local school authorities, probably because the schools were a branch of the government and one seldom protested loudly against the government. If some trouble arose, parents complained to the school director, who passed the complaint on to the mayor.

There was nothing in Dragalevtsy, or in any other Bulgarian village, comparable to our Parent-Teacher Association. The very old peasants still regarded the government school as an outside and, therefore, slightly suspicious innovation—valuable for "the people of the world" perhaps, but yet to be proved indispensable for the village. Most of them agreed that the school widened the already existing difference in attitude between young and old. I once heard a good-humored disagreement between a mother and her twenty-five-year-old son. The woman had been explaining to me that she went to church to pray to God to help with the fields, to send rain and sunshine.

[593]

"But mother," interrupted the son impatiently, "the rain doesn't come from God."

"From where does it come then?"

The son sighed as though he were exhausted by endless repetition of a lesson to a stubborn child.

"From vapors up above, as the books tell us."

The old woman grinned undaunted.

"Well, God gives the vapors."

In spite of the suspicion toward anything new, the peasants were, on the whole, favorable toward education. While they slyly pointed out instances of unemployment among the intelligentsia, they were shrewd enough to see the economic advantages of formal schooling. Many villagers told me of a Dragalevtsy man who got a gymnasium

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

(secondary school) education, found no work in Sofia, and came back to farm his land. The fact that he could survey his fields, keep his accounts, and do various other things more quickly and efficiently than his unschooled neighbors, had made him a living example of the benefits of education, as far as the Dragalevtsy farmers were concerned.

I had often heard both Bulgarians and foreigners say that children in Bulgarian villages did not know how to play. Though such a statement accurately describes the past, it was certainly becoming less true because of the growing influence of the school. Nevertheless, with the exception of certain games played in the pastures, children's group games were new to the village.

The older people said that fifty years ago there were almost no games; even these few were played only by men and boys while the women and girls always carried their knitting needles or distaffs with them. "The women sang while they worked and that was their game. The lonely shepherd boy had his *kaval* [flute]." Most of the old people had absolutely no recollection of games they played when young, which probably accounted for their unfriendly attitude toward children's games. One laconic old *baba* snapped: "The children throw stones at one another for a game."

There was much difference of opinion among the adults as to just what the children did in their playtime and with whom they played. A young man told me that children played together even if the families were unfriendly, but an older woman insisted that parents completely controlled their children's choice of playmates. The simplest way of getting at the truth was to talk to the children themselves. The children were used to seeing me and were uniformly friendly, often running to meet me as I came up the lane from the meadows. I had photographed many of them and knew their parents, so it was easy to get them to talk.

One solemn little group of five girls told me they were playing, which I took to mean that they were at leisure for the moment, for they were simply sitting on the ground by the stream trickling down the village street.

"What do you play?"

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

759 school) training and worked for two years in a lying-in hospital. The midwife, who had difficulty in winning the co-operation of the old *babi,* could not set a charge for her services but had to take only what the women gave. The State paid the midwife the equivalent of $16 each month. There was a health committee, composed of the doctor as chairman, the priest, the director of the local school and the mayor. The midwife attended unofficially. This committee met once a month to consider the problems of village hygiene and sanitation and tried to enlist public support for the doctor. The county doctor came twice a year without advance warning to visit the village doctor for the purpose of seeing if her reports were made out properly, if she exercised suitable control of the merchandise, and if she gave the school children proper supervision.

544 Another impact, of an educational sort, upon the traditional way of life was the *Naroden Universitet,* or People's University. This consisted of a series of lectures in the schoolhouse on such topics as these:

1. "Our National Awakeners: A Patriotic Talk"—by a local schoolteacher.

2. "Problems and Purposes of the Zadruga"—by the local president of this agricultural group.

3. "The Insurance of Cattle"—by a veterinarian from Sofia.

4. "Alcohol and Effects"—by a medical man from Sofia.

5. "What Village Homes and Food Should Be Like"—by a different medical man from Sofia.

6. "Concerning Faith"—by a priest from Sofia.

7. "Concerning Tuberculosis"—by the local doctor.

8. "The Cleaning of Seed"—by the district *agronom.*

9. "The Significance and Service of the Producers' Cooperatives"—by a former attorney and by the Superintendent of Cooperatives of the Bulgarian Agricultural Bank.

The mayor encouraged the peasants to attend in the hope that they would be inspired to improve their living conditions or become more loyal to the government.

● 871 656 Another educational group affected by the intrusion of the State was the school board. Formerly the peasants themselves controlled the board's membership, but it had become an ex officio body composed

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

almost entirely of the intelligentsia. The peasants no longer had much to say about the employment of teachers, or what or how they taught. They and their children accepted what the national government, through its local representatives, provided for them. They took it or left it, but mostly took it.

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The national government, along with its other activities, maintained a close connection with the national church. Before the liberation of Bulgaria, the practice arose of having three or five members act as a church board in each village. Even if there happened to be no church building, this group was elected to see about the construction of one. Such a board followed the familistic practice of expecting elders to manage local affairs. After the growth of the national state the board was continued, but subjected to outside control. In Dragalevtsy it consisted of five people: the priest (who was the president), a treasurer, and three other village men who acted as a control committee to audit the work of the old board which they succeeded at the end of its two-year term. In the past the biennial election was held on a Sunday morning immediately after church. But the government took care to see that only those men who had the right to vote *politically* were eligible to elect the church board from a list of candidates prepared by the priest. As the priest prepared his slate with the help of the older people in the village, his choices usually met with the approval of the majority of men.

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A candidate had to be an Orthodox Christian by baptism, should never have been in a lawsuit, should not be a drunkard, thief, and the like, nor an atheist opposed to the church. The elections had to be approved by the Sofia Metropolitan, or the high church court, thus removing the authority still further from the village. An office of an elective nature such as this carried a great deal of honor with it. The duties of the office were not burdensome because the church possessed no lands to be administered. Traditionally the church board was supposed to aid in enforcement of Sabbath observance, but members were not particularly zealous in carrying out this obligation. The priest had been having trouble of late with one board member who had become such a tippler that the board's prestige was suffering. If some question needed to be decided, as was the case about five or six times

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565 105 of the population in 1926 have been returning to Turkey at a greatly accelerated pace.

There are striking anthropological contrasts between the Bulgarian peasant and the Southern white. The most marked of these is the peasant's close identification with a folk culture which is characterized by a consciousness of kind, established patterns of habit and thought, artifacts identified with that culture alone, and a strong exercise of social control. There is also uniformity of dress, agricultural method, and social values.

Among the Southern whites the Appalachian-Ozark area alone possesses the characteristics of a folk, for its people are closely knit together, have mountain handicrafts of which they are proud,[33] and, although differing in economic status, tend to conform to cultural patterns handed from the past. On the contrary, the tenant farmer may have his share of superstitions, folk remedies, and traditional attitudes, but he lacks "consciousness of kind" which would identify him with a folk culture.[34]

The four social institutions which I wish to mention briefly but which I shall not compare in detail are the family, education, religion, and government.[35]

596 105 The Bulgarian family is patriarchal, children are valued as economic assets; there is a strong kinship feeling even unto the third and fourth generation. Marriage is still an arrangement between two families under the sole control of the church. Family disorganization in the form of desertion or divorce is practically unknown; illegitimacy rare.

871 105 There is compulsory education to the fourteenth year in Bulgaria. However, the law is seldom invoked because the parents have recognized the economic value of education. That is why Bulgaria is the most literate country in the Balkans, a testimony to the high value the peasants place upon education and the rigid social control at work in the compact villages. If some

[33] W. T. Couch, *op. cit.*, chapter 15—The Handicrafts by Allen H. Eaten; chapter 19—Appalachian America by J. Worley Hatcher; chapter 26—Folk and Folklore by B. A. Botkin.

[34] The folk culture is quite different from a regional or Southern culture such as Odum describes at length in his Chapter IX in *Southern Regions* on Institutions and Folkways. The Bulgarian peasant is primarily identified with the village culture and secondarily with newer national culture in process of development. The Southern white is identified with a regional culture but not with a folk culture.

[35] Because of space limitations I omitted a section dealing with Psychological Comparisons. This would have compared the race prejudice and regional "inferiority complex" of the Southerner with the nationalism and sensitiveness to criticism of the Bulgarian. Bulgaria, defeated in the World War, has its Lost Cause as does the South. Bulgarians, like Southerners, have gained the reputation for conservatism and hospitality. On the other hand, industry is more a Bulgarian than a Southern trait.

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poorer peasant wanted to keep his children home from school he would have to face the withering scorn of his neighbors. I cannot help contrasting this situation with that found in the South where truancy is a major educational problem arising from the mobility of the population, the distance between home and school, and the low place afforded education in the scale of social values. 871 105

Most young Bulgarian men after their eighteenth year are called upon to serve their country as *trudovatsi* (members of the Labor Corps) or as soldiers. The time they spend in the barracks not only widens their social contacts and broadens their outlook but also educates them in the formal sense to the extent that they take advantage of courses offered. In America the Civilians' Conservation Corps is roughly analogous, differing in that it is on a voluntary basis, pays the youth for work done, and is restricted to those young men from families of a low economic level.

The Bulgarian peasant has a dualistic view of the universe. First, there are the forces of good which must be propitiated. The priest is God's intermediary and can intervene with him in the event of a drought, serious illness in the family, or sterility in the wife. The priest christens the baby and sanctifies the marriage tie. In the event of death he performs the liturgy to insure the soul's passage into a heaven thought of in very realistic but not enthusiastic terms. 771 105

There are also the forces of evil whom it pays well to placate. A few old women in every village are the "priestesses of superstition" whose incantations work wonders and drive off the Evil Eye. Peasants do not discuss this white magic when the priest is around, so complete is the dichotomy between the Good and the Bad. Religion as represented by the church consists of form and ceremony rather than a challenge to daily living. Furthermore, the Bulgarian peasant derives little emotional release from an "other worldly" rapture indulged in on Sundays. He is too secure, too stolid, too practical for that. On the contrary, the insecurity of the Southern white is attested to by the increasing numbers adhering to the excitable Pentecostal type of religious expression.[*]

We hear much in the South today about suffrage reforms, abolition of the poll tax, government paternalism, and the failure of democratic processes. Since the same problems are being faced in Bulgaria a comparison may prove helpful.

Fifty years ago the villages were governed by elders, the influential heads of the larger families. After Bulgaria's Liberation from Turkey in 1878 the 622 105

[*] John B. Holt, Religious Secession and Class in the Southeast. A paper read before the Section on Sociology of Religion, annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, 1939.

B: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

barism. „We warned you in our recent letters, by order of our respected bishop, that you were to employ only the Greek language in the holy church of your village, as this is the language sanctified by the apostles and our holy fathers, and the language in which the holy and grand name of our Saviour should be glorified. Our letters and our recommendations, however, seem to have been disregarded by some of your people, who dare use the Bulgarian language in the church services. We are duty bound to give you strict instructions and to require that you should not allow any more like profanation of the holy service and liturgy. The Bulgarian language is not recognized by the church, on the contrary, it is forbidden and rejected by the Holy Synod and by the Great Christian Church..." (November 10, 1903). 563

A country Greek woman teacher wrote to the bishop: „Yesterday I sent the country guard of Pleven[1]) to fetch the three boys who refused to come by order of their parents. The same negative answer was received from Egri-Déré. I am left with only two girls and am at sea as to what to do. I don't doubt that you at least would send me two comforting words." (September 19, 1911.[2])

We found it appropriate to draw attention to the above letters and information, which, though coming from only one of the Bulgarian districts (that of Drama), would be sufficiently instructive of the methods which all Greek church authorities applied throughout the Bulgarian lands.

35. A Comparison Between Bulgarian and Greek Schools, 1904.

The noted French writer, Victor Berard,[3]) who is a friend of the Greeks, reports the following: „It would be sufficient to compare the Bulgarian schools in Macedonia to the other schools there, in order to notice the difference immediately. The Greeks, who 563 871

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[1]) A purely Bulgarian village in the county of Drama.

[2]) Georgieff & Shishkoff, La Macédoine Orientale du Sud. II. Recherches et documents, 1918; Philippople.

[3]) Victor Berard, Pro Macedonia, Paris, 1904, p. 40; cf. D. Misheff Die Wahrheit über Makedonien, Bern, 1918, pp. 37-38.

 [Western Thrace]

563 have applied our old methods in training the students of their
871 secondary schools in that literature and non-partizan culture, which gave France the „honest" men of the 18th century, have filled to-day the Greek museum with babblers and politicians, physicians, deputies, ministers and lawyers. The curriculum of the Bulgarian gymnasias (high schools) in Macedonia is entirely different. The Bulgarian high schools give the Macedonians useful knowledge in the letters and sciences. They train them to know the present day world and to take account of actualities. They make them citizens of the 20th century, who are able to take care of themselves and to do justice and service to their own country.

„One single visit to a Bulgarian and to a Greek school will bring out the difference. In the first school the student handles a test tube, in the other he breaks his head over Demosthenes and the fallen warriors of the Marathon battlefield.

563 „The Greeks despise the Macedonian Bulgarian students in the same manner, like our gentlemen „classics" in our liceums used to despise the modern workers at one time. The Greek considers the Macedonian still as a slave and this awful contempt will continue to embarass the future of the Hellens for a long time.

„The Greeks assume an eternal monopoly on the culture and ideas of the East. They consider themselves the sole fighters for civilization and success and imagine themselves to be the only support of Europe against Asia. They see Bulgaria as she was 25 years ago: the competitor of the Cossack and the carrier of ignorance and barbarism. Obsessed by this imaginary right of monopoly, they entertain most delightful hopes... and when friends of theirs (among whom I have the right to consider myself) advise them to take note of Bulgarian culture and of the idea of Macedonia, they should not shrug their shoulders or raise offensive objections. If you talk to an Athenian about Bulgarians (and this I know from personal experience) without applying the contemptuous adjectives of „rough" and „wild", he would think that you were either a „Bulgarophile" or that you were bribed."

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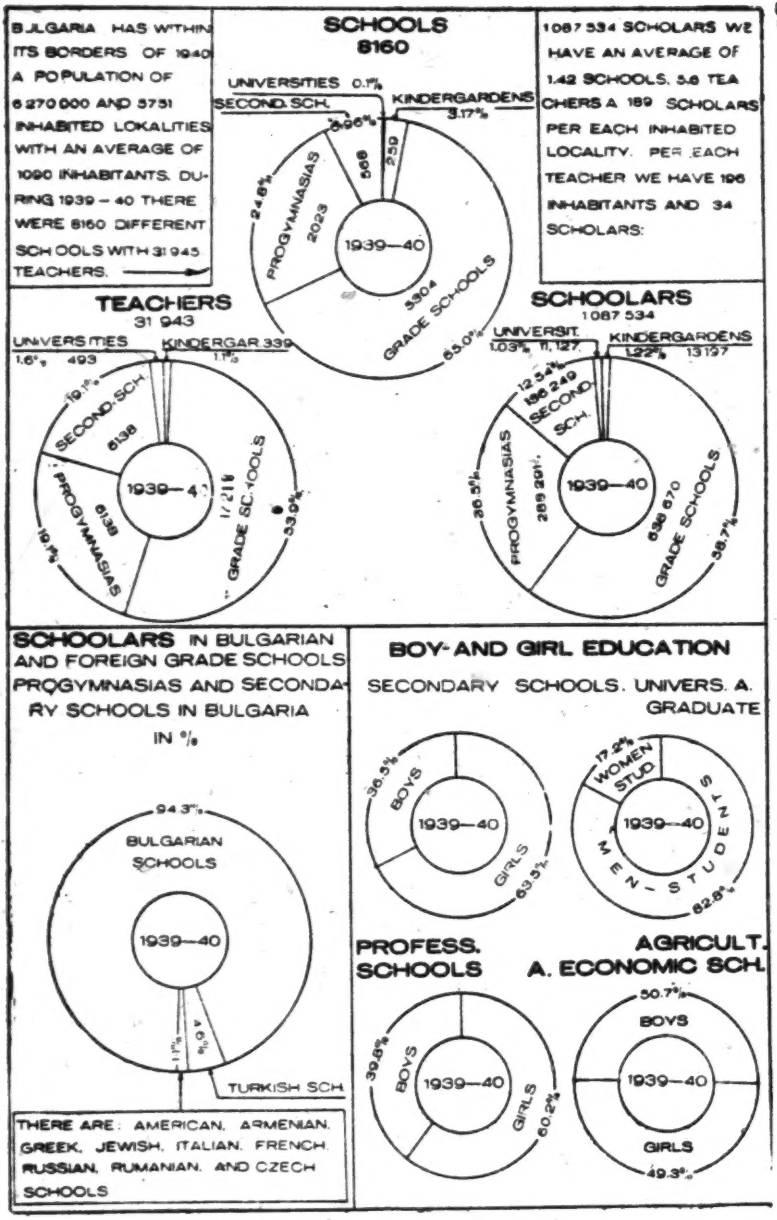

Fig. 21.

466 We will take as an example the year 1939. During this year the followind work was accomplished:

ground work for new roads	435.5 km.
stone laying for new roads	249.7 „
extensions and repairs	213.5 „
rectifications or modifications of river beds	13.4 „
retain walls	8.1 „
repair of retain walls	1.4 „

total number of men-days 1.230.808.

Compulsory labour was responsible for building most of the difficult railroad lines during recent years and especially

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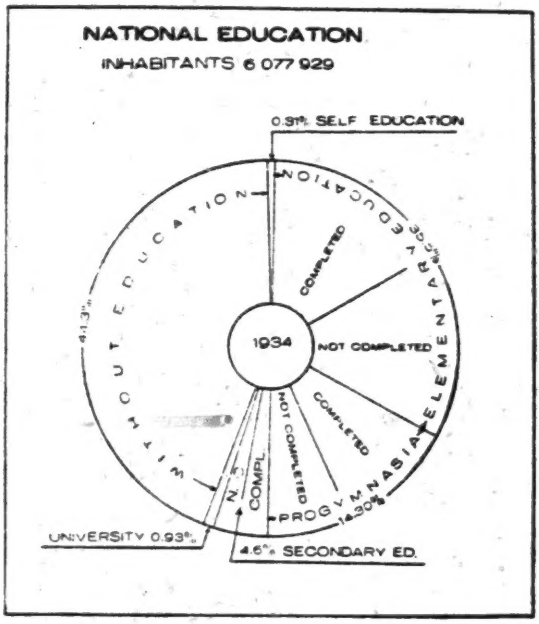

Fig. 22.

466 during the war period. The largest part, for example, of the construction of the railroad running along the Strouma valley in the direction of Western Thrace or Salonica, as well as the railroad line which goes to Macedonia, through difficult ground work and numerous tunnels with artificial equipment, have been accomplished by the labour of draftees.

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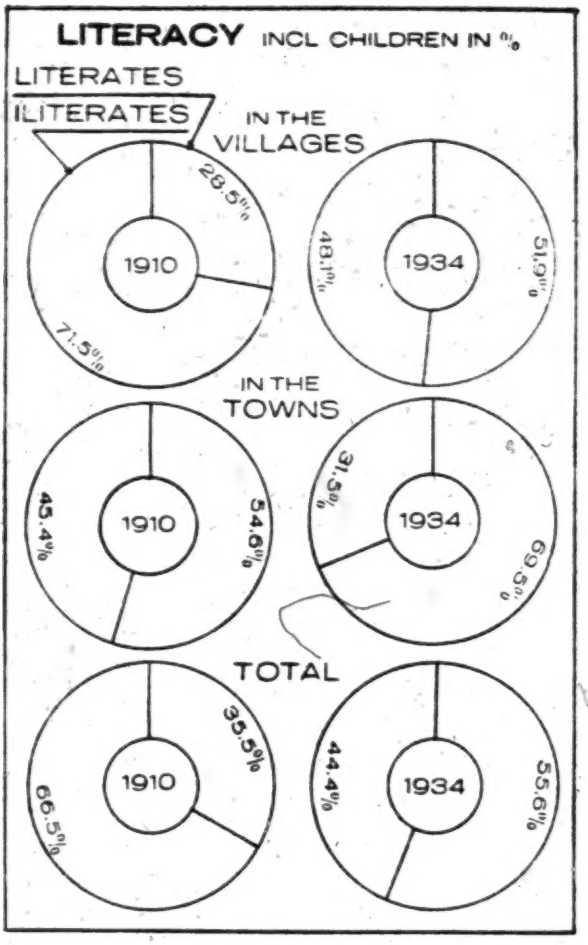

Fig. 23.

50. Literacy and Education. If we exclude children under 7 the average percentage would be 68.4 for those who could read and write in Bulgaria. 81% were city residents and 64.8% peasants. If we include all children, then the average for those who could read and write would be as follows:

	1910	*1934*
	%	%
For the rural population	28.5	51.9
For the city population	54.6	69.5
General	33.5	55.6

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Particular features of public instruction in schools are given in the drawings (fig. 21-23). Bulgaria could properly boast of a vast system of instruction dating from the time of Turkish political and Greek spiritual dominion and oppression. This national system of public instruction penetrated down to the lowest strata of the population and helped the Bulgarian people to preserve their existence for centuries past. 871

51. Bulgarian Reading Rooms. The Bulgarian reading rooms (libraries) are a national institution for education, which were started during the Turkish domination (1393-1878), when the people guarded and developed their enlightenment with their own means. The national reading rooms to-day are organized in a National Union of Reading Rooms, supported by the State. Supplementing the information given in the drawings (Fig. 24) we will give the following data: 217

The books in the reading rooms are distributed, according to their topics and subject matter, in the following manner for 1938:

	Village reading rooms		*City reading rooms*	
	Number of books	%	*Number of books*	%
Art and literature	679.885	47.7	269.898	45.3
General works	210,330	14.8	88.987	14.9
Medecine, agriculture, household economy	124,606	8.8	32,704	5.5
History, geography, biography	114,333	8.0	51,501	8.6
Social science	100.415	7.0	60,154	10.1
Mathematics, natural history	32,677	2.3	20,053	3.3
Religion	32,644	2.3	13,401	2.2
Philosophy	30,613	2.2	19,128	3.2
Others	98,705	6.9	40,998	6.9
Total	1,424,208	100.0	596,824	100.0

We have not included in the above statement the books in the municipal libraries, in the large national libraries, supported by the state, as well as in the libraries of the universities and other learned institutions.

52. Cooperative Activity in Bulgaria We may safely say that Bulgaria is a country of cooperative organizations. This tendency in the economic life of the country is inherited too from the long submission to Turkish authority (1393-1878), which was devoid of any 474

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

EDUCATION

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In Bulgaria, as in other Balkan countries, complaints have been heard that the spread of education has resulted in the creation of a plethora of office-seekers. The reason for this is that while an excellent instruction is available, the training of character and of personality are neglected. Colleges, technical schools, and higher educational establishments have all been dominated by the idea that all education should be subordinated to place-hunting and not to the preparation of a more efficient citizenship in the life of the community. As a result restrictive measures are being taken to curtail the number of colleges and impede the admission of students to the higher schools and the universities. At present, students coming from rural districts are caught up in the whirlpool of urbanising influences and spurn the idea of returning to their native environment. They take on a false scale of values and, unable to secure public posts, fall by the way and become the easy victims of political propaganda. This could be remedied by making rural life more attractive, and by permeating all the educational institutions with the conception that an educated farmer is by far a more valuable asset to the community than either the public official or the urban worker. It is imperative for Bulgaria to evolve a system of education which will nurture a peasant-citizenry really in love with village life and the countryside, the same as has been achieved in Denmark. This is all the more necessary, as the transformation in Agriculture which is contemplated and which is equally an essential need, can best be achieved by better educated farmers, and by intensifying and modernising agriculture, increased employment would be provided for the educated. It would appear that "more education" ought to be the slogan in vogue, rather than the policy actually adopted. If

there were more educated persons in the countryside there would be less inducement for the educated to congregate in towns. 871 369

It is an erroneous view to believe that Bulgaria is suffering from overeducation. What Bulgarians have a right to complain of is rather of a maldistribution of educated forces. It was the political system which rendered politics the best and easiest career to earn a livelihood, and thereby attracted the intellectuals to this mode of life. Politicians in their turn fostered this tendency since they utilised this intellectual proletariat from which to recruit their partisans. 871

M. Iordan Tabakov in his book "The political situation of Bulgaria after June 9", affirms that on questioning fifteen deputies elected while Stambuliiski was Prime Minister, it was found that eight had not read the Constitution and seven had read it partly, and yet all had taken the oath to govern after its spirit and to defend it! None knew what the capitals of Czechoslovakia and Switzerland were. When asked whether they considered themselves fit to be deputies, some admitted that they were not, for they had not received the requisite education, while some considered themselves worthy of the posts they held since "the people had chosen them". Dr. D. Gabrovski in his Illiterate Bulgaria," affirms that: the percentage of illiterate voters in 1920 was 52 %, and that the statistics of 1928 show that the percentage of illiterates in the country was 40 %. Many who have been to school, and had later lived in an uncultured environment could no longer read. Of the total population, only 2000 to 3000 read books, and about 30,000 nothing else save newspapers. School attendance was not very satisfactory. In the year 1929-30 there were 727,670 children of school going age, but of these only 670,872 attended school, while another 37,139 dropped off during the course of the year. Those who 871 646 212 871

11: Logic S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

871 should have attended the secondary school (progymnasia) aged 12 to 14 were 185,394 but of these 74,885 did not attend and some 12,433 attended only partly. Only 98,076 completed the course, and of the latter 62,855 were successful at their examinations. During the same year 5,016 college graduates applied for entry to the University, of these 4,392 were admitted and 624 failed to pass the tests, and this, according to Dr. Gabrovski, was a conclusive proof that there was too little education in Bulgaria, since out of some 700,000 attending the elementary schools less than 4,500 complete their secondary education.

The Minister of Education explained on June 11, 1932, the causes of non-attendance at school. Of the 56,788 children who had absented themselves from the elementary schools in the year 1929—30, 22,777 were living at places difficult of access and there were 1999 abnormal children. Turkish children provided the greatest percentage of non-attendance (26%), that relative to the Bulgarian being 5·5%. Deputy G. P. Ghenov speaking at the same date, affirmed that the annual contingent of graduates from colleges and higher training schools numbered about 10,000 of those only some 1500 are admitted to the University and the rest are unable to find situations. College graduates consider themselves as intellectuals and refuse to become farmers or craftsmen. In another speech delivered in March 1934, he laid stress on the fact that youths graduating at the University were not sure about securing Government employ; thus for sixty to eighty qualifying for judges, only four or five posts are available and the number of candidates to the public services thus increases yearly. Politicians take advantage of the situation, and secure recruits for their parties by promising posts to those who have not been appointed public functionaries.

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If the number of aspirants to Government employ is

now so greatly in excess of the available posts, it is not owing to the system of education, but rather owing to the fact that all the intellectuals from the Dobrudja, Macedonia, and Thrace have been driven to seek refuge in Bulgaria, and through the League of Nations abstaining from interfering on behalf of the Bulgarian minorities in the adjoining Balkan countries in order to secure the repatriation of these people. 871 647

Education is free and obligatory for all children between the ages of seven and fourteen. Approximately, 1/6 of the population is attending schools and about 8% of the children liable to compulsory obligation evade it for some reason or other. The urban population provides proportionally a greater percentage of school children, 25% as against 75% for the rural. The number of girls attending school is as large as that of boys. The following table shows the number of various educational establishments functioning during the year 1932 - 3, the number of professors and students: 871

		Pupils	Teachers
Kindergarten Schools	155	7,649	174
Elementary "	5518	705,443	18,478
Secondary " (progymnasia)	1933	207,795	7,189
Colleges "	105	42,217	2,901
Special "	25	2,854	408
Professional "	321	25,261	1,821
Higher training	4	667	55
" " Colleges	7	10,419	500
Scools for abnormal children	5	252	42
	8,073	1,002,555	30,758

Of the 8073 educational establishment, 7093 were State schools and 980 private institutions, practically all belonging to various ethnic minorities and foreign missions, the number of pupils attending them, was 82,342 and that of the teaching staff 2,705. These last two figures are ncluded in the total shown in the above table. The

[875] 871 The number of women teachers is larger than that of men teachers. There is one school to every 738 inhabitants and this number is altogether inadequate To remedy this shortage of buildings, half of the pupils attend school in the morning from 8 to 12 a. m. and the other half in the afternoon, from 2 to 6 p. m. It was reported in the Sobranye on April 1, 1924, that only 39% of the school-buildings were fit to serve as such, and that some 220,000 children had to study in stuffy classrooms in which there was not sufficient air. Such adverse conditions naturally accounted for the abnormal spread of tuberculosis among school children. Deputy M. Stanev speaking in the Sobranye on June 11, 1932 stated that according to the inquiry [1647] conducted by Dr. Rumenov, 60% of the children attending the first elementary class, were healthy and 40% tuberculous, but in the third elementary class, the percentage of the latter had increased to 62%, and in that of the first preparatory class to 73%. In the Stara-Zagora region, it was reported by the school authorities that 48% of all the children were tuberculous.

875 One of the probable reasons for the spread of tuberculosis were the teachers, who were wretchedly underpaid and were not able to keep fit on their paltry stipends. Half of the public teachers received a salary of about 1700 leva monthly, but this was not all, for a large percentage of them were obliged to pay commissions to various political intercessors in order to obtain their posts, and had to refund to their protectors part of their slender emoluments. The minimum cost of living for a family of four members, each requiring 3000 calories a day was according to a scientific analysis made in Dr. Djidrov's *Stopanski Arhive*, 2563 leva per month for food only, light and heat necessitated an expenditure of 587, shoes and clothing 1320, rent 1500, and other needs 1130, or a total per month of 7100 leva. The emoluments offered

EDUCATION

faculty of the Sofia University. Besides these there are some 120 practical schools of Agriculture which all children of farmers after completing their studies at the secondary schools, are compelled to attend during two years, if they do not take up another profession. The period of attendance is from October to April and the curriculum is most appropriate to local coditions, but unfortunately it is not taken advantage of by the population. Special courses are also conducted during the winter months by trained agronomist, who travel from village to village and organise courses of lectures for a few weeks at a time and at which attendance is obligatory for all youths up to 18, and girls up to the age of 16. There are excellent technical and professional schools which provide practical training in all arts and crafts, but the technical and agricultural schools, have been dominated too by the idea of a Government job, and very often youths who have completed their studies in them are absorbed in the public services. Owing to the extreme tolerance shown by the Bulgarian Government, foreign schools of all denominations and nationalities are allowed to function. The French religious missions have established such institutions in most of the larger towns, there are also German and Italian schools. The Americans keep up their traditional educational policy in the Near East by maintaining what may be deemed as model educational establishments, one for boys at Simeonovo, at the outskirts of Sofia, and another for girls at Lovetch. Another school due to American initiative is the Pordim Folk School, founded by the late Dr. Edward Haskell and his wife. Its object was to supply advice to the peasantry, teaching them hygiene, giving them practical demonstrations in poultry raising, dairy farming, cattle breeding etc. Its attempt fo uplift the peasantry in the Pordim district has met with an immense success which does honour to its philanthropic founders.

A PSIHOLOGICAL ESSAY

Owing to the lack of funds, the activities of these reading rooms, of which 1,208 are in rural districts, were rather circumscribed, their stock of books was reported to be 847,426, and the books purchased during the year numbered only 127,757. 217 658

The new educational reforms comtemplate the suppression of about two thirds of the existing colleges so as to impede access to the higher training establishments and the University. The colleges will be replaced by practical schools, after the German „real schule", a system which according to Prof. Yorga has concurred in dehumanising the youth of Germany. Only those students who posses exceptional endowments will be allowed to complete their college training and qualify for a University education. 871

A PSYCHOLOGICAL ESSAY

All who have come in close touch with the Bulgarian people have been impressed by such characteristic traits as their diligence, assiduousness, their fondness of labour and their persevering and indefatigable devotion to the land which they till. Frugal and abstemious in the extreme, the Bulgarian peasant provides for his modest needs from the produce of his farm. This form of life which tends to make him self-sufficing and independent of his neighhours has rendered him self-reliant and self-centred to an extreme degree and has militated strongly against the development of social virtues in him. He is capable of submitting to extreme privations, he scoffs at physical suffering, and is almost insensible to pain. He detests affectation and bragging, and takes pride only in collective achievements, national or military. In this he displays a striking similarity to the Japanese whom he 181

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to the cause of Bulgarian independence, and to the resurrection of the Bulgarian language as a medium of literary expression, gave the Church universally recognized prestige. After 1878, when national freedom was gained, the Orthodox Church was a State institution, and the members of its Hierarchy were public officials. A portion of the national budget was set aside to support the Church, which in addition owned considerable property largely derived from bequests. The case was comparable with that of a large state university in the United States. Salaries of professors in such a university are paid out of the state treasury; but it may own not inconsiderable wealth in its own right, is permitted to collect fees from students and to charge for other services rendered. When one considers the rural character of Bulgaria and the poverty of most of its 6,000,000-odd people, the financial strength of Orthodoxy reflected in such magnificent structures as the Archiepiscopal Palace in Sofia is genuinely impressive. Clergymen of all ranks officiated on public occasions; and, though the spirituality of the Bulgarian people may well have been far from deep, they prized the Church as the primary agency of the national culture.

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Bulgarian education enjoyed a well merited repute, and the theological schools established after 1878 ranked high among the country's institutions of higher learning. The training given consisted in the main of what we should call "general education," theology being taught as a field of specialization. The result was that many leading citizens were graduates of these schools. Religious instruction, normally by laymen, was likewise included in the curricula of elementary and secondary schools. About 4,000 churches served the people, under the direction of the Holy Synod. This body also fostered breadth of view, and held membership in the World Council of Churches prior to the war. On the whole, the religious situation

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871 794 was idyllic, in spite of a rather constant exchange of uncomplimentary remarks with the Greeks.

C59 The first approach to the Church by the Communists was made rather gingerly and was not unfriendly. They seemed, indeed, to regard this venerable institution as a political instrument worth keeping in repair. True enough, religious instruction was banned from the public schools, and the control of marriage legislation was reserved to the State. Previously the Church not only had married aspirants to wedlock, but had maintained an elaborate system of marriage counseling and of divorce courts—courts with rules far more lenient than those recognized by either Catholic or conservative Protestant Churches in Western Europe. But the State budget continued to provide for the support of the clergy, and the prosecution of priests and prelates for alleged subversive activities was minimal.

[illegible] A drastic change took place when the Communist Party assumed complete control during December, 1947, following the return of Georgi Dimitrov from Russia. The Constitution signed on the fourth day of that month dealt with religion in the customary Soviet manner: guaranteeing freedom of conscience and religion, and specifically endorsing freedom of worship; on the other hand, decreeing separation of Church and State, and prohibiting political organizations based on re-
659 ligious belief and political activities by the Churches. During
671 February, 1949, statutes were decreed which outlined in detail the relationship of the Churches to the government. Control over ecclesiastical matters was lodged in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which could hold the recognized authorities of each Church responsible. All such authorities had to be Bulgarian citizens, and to register with the Ministry, which might insist upon the removal from office of any clergyman it deemed undesirable. These laws, which subjected the Church to the

S.P. B. 795 101

They have settled by preference in the Rhodope (Grk., Rodope), where they constitute a rather large group between Plovdiv and Salonica. They are met with here and there to the north of the Balkans in the region of Lovech, Pleven (Plevna), especially between the Vid and Panega Rivers, to the south of Pleven. In the Kingdom of Bulgaria their number has greatly diminished; for, as a result of their Turkish sympathies, they have since 1878 been in perpetual conflict with the other Bulgars. The latest statistics numbered 20,644 of them in Bulgaria, of whom 17,055 were in the district of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) and 2,837 in that of Pleven.

S.P. B. [871] 212

From the viewpoint of education, the Bulgars are not very much advanced, which is explained by the difficult conditions in which they have lived, deprived of all the advantages of civilization. They are now making an effort to make up for lost time. According to the latest statistics the number of literate persons in the principality was an average of 28.4%. The districts may be placed in the following order:

Rusc 38.5%; Shumla 35.9%; Varna 34%; Trnovo /205/ 34%; Plovdiv (Philippopolis) 29.6%; Burgas 29.4%; Sofia 28.8%; Stara Zagora 28.3%; Pleven 23.1%; Kustendil 20.1%; Vidin 19.8%; Vratsa 19%. The highest degree of education is found naturally in the regions of the great cities: 60% at Sofia, Ruse, and Varna; 49% at Plovdiv; 47% at Kotel and at Shumla; 37% at Kazanluk. The least literate areas are those of Radomir (20%), Tsaribrod (now Dimitrovgrad) (19%), Kyzilagatch (19%), Berkovitsa (16%), Kula (14%), Belogradchik (13%), Ferdinandovo (13%).

S.P. B. 197 101

S 38. Internal Differentation.--The Bulgars are divided into three groups from the point of view of language.

1). That of the western dialect: it is bounded on the east by a line which starts from the confluence of the Vid and the Danube and runs towards Salonica across the regions of Nikopol, Pleven, Lovech, Teteven, Pirdop, Novo Selo, Panagyurishte, Ikhtiman, Chepino, Rezlog, Nevrokop, Melnik, Petrich, Demir Hissar (now Siderokastron), Seres, and Salonica.

2). The eastern group is divided into two branches:

A. That of the northeast where the people bear the general name of Zagortsi (Mountaineers), or Khertsoi*, or Poliantsi*.

B. That of the southeast, or branch of the Rhodope, whose

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658 871 government through the Ministry of Education. Parents had no fee to pay, unless the child continued his education in a gymnasium in Sofia.

[593] [861] There was, the director said, a noticeable relationship between the type of home and success in school work. Uneducated parents did not provide good conditions for study, since the pupils had no tables on which to write, no quiet, and lived in unhygienic surroundings. The more intelligent parents did their best to remedy such defective conditions. Most of the children had a great desire to study, but unfortunately many parents killed this enthusiasm. They either sent their children to tend the cattle, or, if the student gave lessons as an excuse for not doing some task, the parent said, "You don't need all that stuff from books."

876 At times the teachers gave some of the poor but bright students garments, shoes, and caps. The students receiving the mark six (excellent) were taken free of charge on a trip to a theater in Sofia, were given a free bath at the public bathhouse, and a large bowl of soup in a Sofia restaurant. As the director said, "Prizes help a great deal to stimulate study, and those who do not attain them are very disappointed." Five or six times a year the teachers took the older pupils to Sofia to visit the zoological gardens, the museums, a monastery, and sometimes a movie theater.

871 A glance at the list of courses on page 135 shows how the subjects were distributed through the first seven years of school. The tendency had been to follow the conventional courses of Western Europe, without any real adaptation to the needs of the villagers.

• 872 The textbooks, uniform for the whole Sofia district, were chosen by the Ministry of Education. While most students bought their own paperback textbooks, the school had approximately $245 in its budget for a textbook loan library to aid the poor students. The teachers assigned written work at intervals; for instance, the teacher in history and geography would give homework every five or six lessons, the teacher in arithmetic every day. All students recited daily because of the small number in the class, but written tests and examinations were not employed to the extent they are in American schools. Near the end of the semester one written lesson was required in each

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CURRICULUM OF BULGARIAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL (1937)

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Hours per week

Subject	Primary (Grades)				Pro-gymnasium (Classes)		
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III
1. Religion	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. Bulgarian Language, Reading	9	9	7	7	7	6	5
3. Storytelling	3	3	—	—	—	—	—
4. French, German, or English	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
5. Arithmetic	4	4	4	4	3	3	3
6. Practical Geometry	—	—	1	1	—	—	—
Geometric Drawing	—	—	—	—	1	2	2
7. Civics,	—	—	4	4	—	—	—
General, Bulgarian History	—	—	—	—	2	2	3
8. General, Bulgarian Geography and Civics	—	—	—	—	3	4	3
9. Natural Science, National Economy and Peasant Hygiene	—	—	3	3	—	—	—
Natural History, Physics, Chem., and Hygiene	—	—	—	—	3	4	3
10. Drawing and Handwork	2	2	3	3	4	4	4
11. Penmanship	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
12. Singing	1	1	1	1	2	2	1
13. Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Total hours per week per class:	22	22	26	26	29	30	28

subject, the date to be fixed by the teacher. Sometimes this was the only written test the class had during the course of that semester. At the end of the year there was a formal examination to help the teachers in judging the progress of the pupil. 872

It was the duty of the director to visit classes for purposes of supervision. She gave suggestions and occasionally taught a class to illustrate teaching techniques to less experienced teachers.

Judging only from the deportment marks, which were perfect for all students, there was little or no trouble with discipline. The truth of the matter was, however, that in Bulgaria a student's deport- 861 871

evidence was not sufficient, the court could order a temporary separation of the parties with the recommendation that they themselves explore all possibilities of reconciliation. Only after all such possibilities had been exhausted did the court grant the divorce. 698

C. Religious Instruction and Training of Priests

Religious instruction in public schools and theological training of priests were conducted in a manner different from that used in many other countries. The Bulgarian Church did not operate any denominational schools open to all. For a period of time it had no special schools for training of the priests, and, finally, religion was not always taught at public schools by clerics. Special schools for the training of future priests became definitely established only after the Exarchate came into being and in some respect were under the supervision of the State. 793 874

After the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate and especially after the Bulgarian State was restored, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church took measures to raise the cultural standard of its hierarchy. Until then its higher dignitaries had been instructed first at the Greek Theological Academy on the island of Halki (one of the Princely Isles off Constantinople in the Marmara Sea) and later (after 1878), in Moscow, the corresponding centers in Switzerland, Germany, and Austria-Hungary (mainly at Czernowitz in Bukovina). To carry out its

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training program the Church founded two theological schools. one in Samokov (1883) which later (1903) was moved to Sofia for the Princedom of Bulgaria and one in Constantinople for the Bulgarian inhabitants of Thrace and Macedonia which, after the Balkan Wars, was moved to Plovdiv. Later, in 1917, a Theological Academy was opened at Sofia and soon (1921) transformed into a Theological College at the University of Sofia, making it possible for the graduates of the theological schools to receive higher theological education and qualify for episcopal posts.

It must be emphasized, however, that both the theological schools and the theological college, which were subsidized by the State, were administered by the Holy Synod only in purely religious matters; their curricula were under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Education. The theological schools gave their students not only a theological education but also, a general one as well, which made them equivalent to secondary schoolds, Hence, those graduates of the theological schools who did not wish to pursue an ecclesiastical career could select another field of study at the University. Thus, ex-theological students were to be found in all professions. Some became politicians and Statesmen, as, for instance, was the case of the distinguished leader of the Peasant Union, Dimitr Guitchoff presently imprisoned by the communist regime. This was possible only because the ecclesiastical education was as broad as public education in public schools.

by the State to the teachers were therefore utterly inadequate, even for those not having family charges, especially in view of the fact that the teaching profession necessitated the most strenuous exertions. There is little doubt that if these deserving public servants were remunerated decently, and if they felt secure in their posts and not threatened with losing them every time there was a change of Government, as had been the case under the party system until recently in force, no only they would have been better adapted to carry on their difficult task, but they would have less reasons to become advocates of communism. 875 511

At the summit of the educational system are eleven higher training establishments, The State University, the Free University of Political and Economic Sciences, the Institute of Higher Commercial Studies of Varna, the Fine Arts school, the Musical Academy, the Military School, the Co-operative School, the Agricultural Schools of Pleven and Tatar-Pazardjik, and the State Teachers schools at Shumen and Plovdiv. 874

The students attending the University during the year 1931-4 and the number of the teaching staff were distributed as follows according to the studies followed:

	Teachers	Students	Number of students who graduated during 1932-3
Medicine	95	674	43
Letters	50	2219	134
Sciences	60	658	88
Law	30	2081	192
Agriculture	45	473	89
Theology	14	234	16
Veterinary Science	21	333	27

The number of women students was 1908 and is included in the figures given above, while the number of women graduates in the year 1932-3 was 160 out of a total of 599. The budget of the University amounted to

874 59,189,160 leva, 43% of which was absorbed by the faculty of medicine. The number of students completing their studies at foreign universities is apparently equal, if not superior to those graduating at the Sofia University. In 1931, 1932, and 1933, 635, 644, and 703 graduates respectively of foreign universities applied for registration of their diplomas. In 1926-7 there were 2,524 students who went abroad to complete their studies, of these 721 went to Germany, 649 to France, 523 to Austria, 233 to Czechoslovakia, 180 to Italy, 87 to Belgium, 36 to Rumania, 25 to Poland, 19 to Switzerland, 11 to Yugoslavia and 40 to other countries. In 1933, 105 Bulgarians graduated in German Universities, 250 in French, 24 in Italian, 95 in Czechoslovakian, 55 in Austrian, and 174, in those of various countries.

It was affirmed that the upkeep of the number of students studying at the higher educational establishments necessitated an outlay of 350 million leva a year to the community, and that this was a charge beyond its means, and that moreover it was not possible to find employment for them, the places available being considerably less than the number of candidates.

The Free University was established at the initiative of Prof. St. Bobtchev and aims at providing educational facilities to public functionaries and those in employment. It contains three sections, politico-social, administrative and commercial, and young people already in employment by following its course, which are held after 6 p. m. may improve their chances of advancement in their careers. The teaching staff is composed of about 46 teachers mainly recruited from that of the State University, and the number of students inscribed averages 1250 annually.

The study of agriculture seems well organised, there are 15 Superior professional schools of Agriculture, and there is a link forward by examination to the Agricultural

EDUCATION

faculty of the Sofia University. Besides these there are some 120 practical schools of Agriculture which all children of farmers after completing their studies at the secondary schools, are compelled to attend during two years, if they do not take up another profession. The period of attendance is from October to April and the curriculum is most appropriate to local coditions, but unfortunately it is not taken advantage of by the population. Special courses are also conducted during the winter months by trained agronomist, who travel from village to village and organise courses of lectures for a few weeks at a time and at which attendance is obligatory for all youths up to 18, and girls up to the age of 16. There are excellent technical and professional schools which provide practical training in all arts and crafts, but the technical and agricultural schools, have been dominated too by the idea of a Government job, and very often youths who have completed their studies in them are absorbed in the public services. Owing to the extreme tolerance shown by the Bulgarian Government, foreign schools of all denominations and nationalities are allowed to function. The French religious missions have established such institutions in most of the larger towns, there are also German and Italian schools. The Americans keep up their traditional educational policy in the Near East by maintaining what may be deemed as model educational establishments, one for boys at Simeonovo, at the outskirts of Sofia, and another for girls at Lovetch. Another school due to American initiative is the Pordim Folk School, founded by the late Dr. Edward Haskell and his wife. Its object was to supply advice to the peasantry, teaching them hygiene, giving them practical demonstrations in poultry raising, dairy farming, cattle breeding etc. Its attempt fo uplift the peasantry in the Pordim district has met with an immense success which does honour to its philanthropic founders.

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who flatly decreed that his daughter could marry no one but a priest. 159
(Not only are priests well provided for financially, but they can marry 793
only once. This means that they supposedly take exceptionally good 581
care of their mates.) Sava had already completed the commercial gymnasium, had studied for two years in a school for leaders of co-operatives, and planned to attend the university. In order to comply with the demands of his sweetheart's father, however, he interrupted his educational plans long enough to prepare himself for the ecclesiastical examinations, which he passed with credit. He was then assigned to the Dragalevtsy parish. Meanwhile he had married the young lady of his choice. Soon thereafter he obtained leave of absence from his church responsibility in order to complete his work in Finance at the Svoboden (Private) University in Sofia. He was highly respected by the people whom he shepherded and was vitally interested in their welfare.

There were often two or three kibitzers while the intelligentsia 557
played cards. These were lesser officials interested in advancement, or well-to-do peasants who wanted to hobnob with the controlling group. None of these hangers-on had been westernized to the point [291]
of wearing a tie, and some of them still wore the heelless, pointed pigskin sandals.

Oddly enough for a Bulgarian village, the veterinarian and 759
physician were both women, who constantly found the patriarchal 562
traditions stumbling blocks to the winning of village support. The medical doctor was a Russian who had spent part of her childhood in San Francisco, but returned to the University of Petrograd for her medical training. After the Revolution she left Russia with her family.

The only other "educated" people in the village were the 875
teachers, eight in number, selected for their posts by outside school authorities rather than by the villagers themselves. Four of the eight had been born outside the pre-Hitler boundaries of Bulgaria, in territories which irredentist Bulgarians sought to recover permanently. Maria, for example, was from Dobruja, which was then a part of Rumania; Anna and Georgi were born in parts of Macedonia which

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875 were turned over to Greece and Yugoslavia, respectively, after the first World War; while Dimiter was from the section of Thrace which Bulgaria was forced to surrender. Since the teachers had such backgrounds it was no wonder that adorning one of the classrooms was a sign, "NEMA MIR DOKATO NEUILLY" or "There will be no peace as long as the Treaty of Neuilly is in force."

The director of the school was a vigorous woman with splendid preparation for her task. She told me on several occasions how disappointed she was that her teachers took so little interest in helping the peasants improve their way of life. They were supposed to spend Sunday afternoons visiting the homes of their pupils in an effort to advise parents in matters of child care and standards of hygiene. Actually, the teachers, being all too human, preferred to spend the week end in Sofia rather than reform the unenthusiastic adults.

[565] 527 659 The intelligentsia were usually seen in their glory at some great occasion such as the celebration of an important holiday. The event which caused most excitement during my six years of residence in Bulgaria was the birth of Prince Simeon, heir apparent to the throne of his father, King Boris. The exercises which were held in Dragalevtsy four days after the royal birth in 1937 showed how the intellectuals worked hand in hand, since the school, the church, and the state were so closely allied.

[796] The crowd had to wait at least forty-five minutes for the priests from the monastery who were to help Father Sava with the liturgy of the *vodosvet,* or consecration of the holy water, whose sprinkling gave official religious recognition to the closing of the school year. Then the mayor began to speak the high-sounding phrases which the villagers loved to hear. He told them how significant for Bulgaria was the birth of Prince Simeon.

> June Sixteenth [he said] will be written in golden letters in the history of Bulgaria. June Sixteenth marks the day when an heir was born to the throne of Bulgaria. Our school house has no name, so I recommend that we petition for the right to call our school "Prince Simeon II." The first Simeon who reigned a thousand years ago was called Simeon the Great. I feel sure that Simeon the Second will likewise go down in history as Simeon the Great.
>
> [871] In honor of this great occasion, the Government has decreed that the marks of every student will be raised, so that no one will fail in any subject. [Hurrah!

The
[8-5] number of women teachers is larger than that of men teachers. There is one school to every 738 inhabitants
871 and this number is altogether inadequate To remedy this shortage of buildings, half of the pupils attend school in the morning from 8 to 12 a. m. and the other half in the afternoon, from 2 to 6 p. m. It was reported in the Sobranye on April 1, 1924, that only 39% of the school-buildings were fit to serve as such, and that some 220,000 children had to study in stuffy classrooms in which there was not sufficient air. Such adverse conditions naturally accounted for the abnormal spread of tuberculosis among school children. Deputy M. Stanev speaking in the Sobranye on June 11, 1932 stated that according to the inquiry
[164] conducted by Dr. Rumenov, 60% of the children attending the first elementary class, were healthy and 40% tuberculous, but in the third elementary class, the percentage of the latter had increased to 62%, and in that of the first preparatory class to 73%. In the Stara-Zagora region, it was reported by the school authorities that 48% of all the children were tuberculous.

875 One of the probable reasons for the spread of tu-
511 berculosis were the teachers who were wretchedly underpaid and were not able to keep fit on their paltry stipends. Half of the public teachers received a salary of about 1700 leva monthly, but this was not all, for a large percentage of them were obliged to pay commissions to various political intercessors in order to obtain their posts, and had to refund to their protectors part of their slender emoluments. The minimum cost of living for a family of four members, each requiring 3000 calories a day was according to a scientific analysis made in Dr. Djidrov's *Stopanski Arhive*, 2563 leva per month for food only, light and heat necessitated an expenditure of 587, shoes and clothing 1320, rent 1500, and other needs 1130. or a total per month of 7100 leva. The emoluments offered

by the State to the teachers were therefore utterly inadequate, even for those not having family charges, especially in view of the fact that the teaching profession necessitated the most strenuous exertions. There is little doubt that if these deserving public servants were remunerated decently, and if they felt secure in their posts and not threatened with losing them every time there was a change of Government, as had been the case under the party system until recently in force, no only they would have been better adapted to carry on their difficult task, but they would have less reasons to become advocates of communism. 875 511

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In the Field

Caring for animals in the pasture: the children.
Plowing: the father or oldest son.
Sowing: the father or oldest son.
Hoeing the corn: unmarried daughter or housewife.
Harvesting the grain: the whole family.
Threshing the grain: the whole family.
Saving the seed for next year: no one in particular.

At the Market

Selling butter, eggs, poultry, vegetables: the housewife.
Selling sheep, pigs, and other animals: the men.
Buying the necessities from Sofia: the men.
Buying necessities in the village: the women and children.
Keeping the cash box: the father; in rare cases, the mother.

857 883 It can be seen that children as well as the adults shared in this specialization of labor. The chief occupation of those below sixteen was the care of the animals. During the pasturing season these children spent more time in the fields than in the village. Because their pastures joined they were able to get together for group games and still keep a watchful eye upon their animals. The work they were called upon to do was not dangerous, but it was time consuming. Many famous men who grew up in the villages looked back upon this pastoral experience as a childhood heaven-on-earth. Some of the old men, recalling the days when the large joint families *(zadrugi)* still existed, told of being sent with the animals up the mountains a long way from the village. For a month they were absent, seeing no one but a few strangers who happened to pass by. But those distant pastures were no longer available to the peasants, so they kept their animals (and children) close to the village.

464 Whether this seems exploitation or not is a matter of definition, but custom did decree that there should be no idle hands in the village economy, even to the extent of keeping small children occupied. To be sure, the attitude toward labor was changing, but the love of the land persisted, and owning land meant working that land, at least in

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582 208 married in Dragalevtsy. Because she had a physical deformity her parents had given up all hope of marrying her off since they knew she would be unable to attend properly to her housework and field work. During the first World War there were two old maids in the village who had not been chosen for marriage because each of them had a goiter. A doctor with the German forces cured the goiters [554] and these two unmarried women became desirable prospects, one of them marrying a priest's son in Sofia, one of the highest prizes a village girl could capture in her matrimonial venture.

[508] [562] 581 Since public opinion made life miserable for unmarried women, even a girl of independent temperament looked upon marriage as an inevitable event, especially if she stayed in the village. With men it was different. They could choose to remain unmarried and not lose prestige in the community. People only said: "Well, Asen simply doesn't want to marry. He's a bit shy of skirts, you know."

The young men to whom I talked were outspoken in regard to those qualities which they looked for in choosing a mate: good health, industry, efficiency in the house and field, and proper care of the person. The girls, on the other hand, had little to say regarding the qualities they wanted in a husband. They seemed willing to accept whatever luck brought them. But marry they must.

584 574 883 There were many ways in which the husbands and wives had become acquainted with each other. If both had been born in Dragalevtsy, as was the case with a little more than half the couples, they were already aware of the other's characteristics either through personal acquaintance or hearsay. Many of the married couples had played together as children while tending the cattle in the sun-drenched pastures, only to become distant until most of the adolescent period passed. Then began frequent meetings at the fountain at sunset, shy flirtation at the *horo* and *sedenki,* or rambling conversation on the way to and from the Friday market. At the *sedenki,* held by the young people in various girls' homes on winter evenings, games involving forfeits were played. At one *sedenka* I attended, the girl giving out the penalties sent a couple obviously in love to the dark outdoors "to see what the weather was like." A few minutes later she sent a second couple out to see where the first had gone. All four of the

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young people came back giggling with excitement. Only in some rare instances had shyness kept the young couple apart in the village until matchmaking elders brought them together on the wedding day.

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Old and young alike agreed as to the importance of the *sedenka* as a boy-meet-girl occasion. Even some of the intelligentsia with a nostalgia for the simplicity of their early years in the village talked fondly of these groups in which young people whiled away many hours in common work and merriment. The *sedenka* was the Bulgarian counterpart of our pioneer cornhusking and quilting bee. There, romance as it existed in the hearts of the peasant boys and girls came to the surface and was expressed in such simple acts as the giving of a flower, the kissing of a hand or cheek. These groups, which met in fall and winter, consisted early in the evening only of girls who had been especially invited by the hostess one or two days ahead of time. Two or three hours before the *sedenka* was to begin the girl doing the entertaining had to put on her heavy *kozhuh* and again tour the neighborhood to extend a formal invitation to each guest. When the girls had gathered they immediately began to spin, since work was the pretext for coming together. Sometimes the guests brought their own work, and sometimes they assisted the hostess in carding or spinning her wool. If spinning was the order of the evening, each girl was supposed to average about a pound of rather coarse thread.

As the door was usually locked after the girls were inside, the boys, whose arrival was announced by the barking dogs, had to knock for admittance. The hostess then asked who was knocking, and one of the boys told his name.

"The girls and even the hostess know with which boys he associates and if there is any one of them who is undesirable to some or all the girls, then none of the boys is allowed to enter. Usually, however, if they open to the boys, they will open to all; but if they are not in a good mood [very rarely] then they do not open to any."

A gust of cold, fresh air accompanied the boys' entrance, and activities inside ceased until they had made the rounds, shaking hands with those present. After much squeezing and adjusting each boy found a place to sit, usually next to the girl known to be his favorite.

The coming of the boys might or might not stop the work. Quite

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The coming of the boys might not stop the work.[1] Quite
584 often the girls were able to accomplish a great deal in spite of the
574 boys, but usually the entertainment which began soon after the boys
883 arrived distracted the girls from their task. There was much singing.
533 Someone struck up an old ballad and others joined in. Then, after a few more ballads, someone ventured a popular song. I once asked a young woman whether she ever sang any modern songs (knowing well enough that she did). She replied:

"Yes, the Dragalevtsy girls know almost all the popular songs. They hear the boys singing them on the street or at *sedenki* and then ask some boy who is a relative to write down the words. If they see that the song is not appropriate, they will not sing it. They always learn the words of songs and never whistle or 'murmur' [hum]."

I wondered to what extent the patriotic songs in the school were replacing the folk songs. Here is what informants at one *sedenka* said:

"As soon as a girl leaves the school, she does not sing any of the songs learned in school, but starts singing again the old songs that she has learned from the old people. The boys, however, continue to sing the songs, chiefly military, learned in school."

No instrumental music was taught in the school, but the radio was beginning to have some effect on the peasants' choice of music. One man listened to the radio fifteen days, stopping almost all other activity, in order to get the words of a jazz song then popular. These he sang with great gusto to his admiring friends. Many of the young people were becoming ashamed of the old songs and told me that they were out of date. The new popular songs that they learned were contained in *Pesnopoiki* (songbooks) bought for a few cents on market days.

[535] The singing of some particularly lively tune at the evening gath-
584 erings[2] might lead to folk dancing in which both the boys and the
883 girls took part. The very foundations of the house seemed to shake as the feet shuffled in time to the music. Parlor games of various sorts, quite similar to those played at a rural church social in America, were frequently played at these *sedenki*. This meant that the girls laid aside their spinning entirely and what started out as a work-bee became entirely a social gathering.

1 [-1 The "sedenka", or "spinning party", The Bulgarian part of an American pioneer cornhusking and quilting bee -- Analyst]
2 [-1 "The sedenki" -- Analyst]

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Usually after midnight, the singing at the *sedenka* began to decrease in volume, conversation became dull, and the boys sensed that it was time to go. After their departure the hostess often served refreshments such as a soggy cheese pie *(banitsa)*, and the girls might or might not spend the night. The courting aspect of the gathering was emphasized by the fact that none of the married people of the household, except the mother of the girl acting as hostess, could be present. Even she was absent much of the time in some of the homes. 584 574 883

It was at these *sedenki* that I collected a number of village proverbs, which were a real conversational aid to young people somewhat tongue-tied in mixed company. 538

"A kind word opens an iron gate."

"God gives but does not drive into the stall."

"A wet person is not afraid of rain."

"Listen much, speak little."

"Short are the legs of a lie."

"Stretch out your feet according to your quilt."

"I am telling your daughter so that daughter-in-law may hear [speaking indirectly]."

"After the rain, a raincape."

"Every pear has a stem."

"Give advice freely but not money."

"The thirsty carry water."

"A dog that barks much puts a wolf in the stall."

Within recent years the *vecherinki* provided young people other means of getting acquainted. The purpose of a *vecherinka*, or evening entertainment in the schoolhouse, was not to get any work done, but to raise money for some worthy cause. The villagers bought tickets to a program of music or drama, provided by both imported and local talent. Auctions and lotteries were features of most *vecherinki*. After the program was over the people joined in dancing: first, for an hour or so, they danced the native *hora*, to be followed, when the old folks 584 517 883 [525] [535]

[A "sedenka" is a spinning party — The Bulgarian part of an American pioneer corn-husking and quilting bee — Analyst]

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went home, by village versions of western dances. It was a strange sensation on these occasions to see fifty young people trying to do the fox trot, when it was obvious that not more than five couples were experienced at it. But those who knew were patient with the novices. The excited faces were flushed not with the interest in learning a new step but rather with the daring of the dance's embrace. I asked quite a few of my acquaintances how they felt about these dances. Most of the older people who had seen the modern dances and many of the younger people considered them very immoral. In the words of one of these conservatives, "The boys especially are eager to learn a modern dance so that they can do very immoral things, which are very sweet for the young."

Although these evening entertainments had less importance in the social life of the people than the *sedenki* or the promenade, the villagers were proud of them as a formal medium of recreation in imitation of what one would find in a city. It was a new experience for many men to buy a ticket and be shown a seat; and such new experiences were dear to a peasant heart if they did not take him too far away from the ordinary world in which he moved. The first *vecherinka* was given in 1925. The teachers after that tried to give one or two more, but no one attended, so the practice was discontinued. In 1930, however, the *Chitalishte* (Reading Room Association) started them again, with the result that in the following years four or five were held during a winter.

Another innovation which played an important part in Dragalevtsy courtship was the Sunday afternoon promenade, which had displaced the traditional Sunday *horo*. The promenade course extended from Renaissance Square up a rocky street which bends to the left for a quarter of a mile. Here the young people in their Sunday best turned about and retraced their steps to the Square. One reason for the popularity of the promenade was its modernity; another was the absence of a church ban against it during Lent in contrast to the traditional interruption of *hora* during that seven-week period.

Even in the promenade there was no pairing off except in the case of some engaged couple. Indeed, walking in a twosome was tantamount to announcing an engagement. So village boys in twos,

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threes, and fours passed village girls locked arm in arm; appropriate (and inappropriate) comments were made as they passed. Up and down they went, greeting each other again and again, joking, blushing, laughing heartily, each wondering at the impression made upon some favorite member of the opposite sex. 584 517 883

These modern ways contrasted sharply with the laconic statements of those villagers who had married many years ago.

"When we grew older we began to know each other more intimately and went together for two or three years."

"We were neighbors before marriage. We met every holiday at the *boro* and in the evenings at the fountain. Our wedding festivities lasted three days."

"My wife and I knew one another as children. Outsiders urged both of us to marry, so I stole her. She would not agree to marry me until after I had stolen her."

Often the relatives of the couple involved kept saying that it would be a good thing to have the two persons married, and thus brought about a match they considered advantageous. [581]

In Dragalevtsy human nature asserted itself in universal forms; for example, a village Lothario boasted:

"I had had thirty-five girls, and had gone 'hand-in-hand' with one for two years. But I fell in love with my wife because she was modest and had not talked to boys."

I might add here that the parents of the girl objected to the match, but only because she was taller than her suitor.

Two-fifths of the Dragalevtsy-born men, in their search for a wife, preferred the novelty that other villages afforded. More often than not a Bulgarian youth would all of a sudden get a fixed idea in his mind, "I've got to get a wife." The search was then under way. In such a state of mind the young man was not apt to wander far. The villages in their order of popularity were Boyana, Simeonovo, and Bistritsa. Only two other villages had more than four representatives among the married women. These likewise were not far away. It was significant that no man born in Dragalevtsy and currently living there had a wife born in Sofia. This meant that if a Sofia- 581

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such as a tourist's knickers or the cheap gay contents of the toy-sellers' pushcarts. 432 443 366

Each woman had something to sell: a few eggs, some blueberries picked up on the mountain, two or three chickens, a bag of peppers, strong-smelling buffalo butter, a bunch of carnations, white beans for which Dragalevtsy was especially known throughout this region, or a few walnuts. The woman's merchandise, piled on the sidewalk before her, was her excuse for coming to town.

It was around the next destination, the *Bezisten Pazar,* that fondest memories clung, because this was the spot near the Sofia flower bazaar where young people from surrounding villages went upon completing their morning duties in town. It was here that young men from one village met girls from other villages. During the afternoon, brightly dressed, giggling young couples promenaded in the sunshine while the older people, especially the men, gathered in the *"Dulgata Mehana,"* the tavern to which Dragalevtsy peasants were especially loyal. They lunched and drank, rested, and swapped their stories here. Nor was it without pride that they told how the late Fiodor Chaliapin, the celebrated opera singer, in 1934 spent a very merry evening in this same *"Dulgata Mehana."* [883]

This weekly trip to town on Friday did surprisingly little to introduce changes to the village. Even while in the capital city, the peasants still lived in a peasant world. In the animal bazaar, for instance, there was little social conversation and little opportunity for a villager to widen his knowledge of urban life. Too often in this place he learned to distrust the city-dwellers through frequent dealings with the keen-witted, professional cattle merchant. In the mill he was still in a peasant world even though noisy machines foreign to his village ran at lightning speed. It was true that in the general market all types of Sofia citizenry passed in review, but the peasants' chief contact here was with the servant girls accompanying the housewives on the Friday shopping expedition. Even after finishing their little business in the general market, the village men and women found most enjoyment in being with other peasants. Few people of Dragalevtsy ventured on the city's main streets; even if they should have happened into a movie house, it would have been one on some 369 443

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to return or remain, the girl decided to go back to her parents. In 1937 this would have made her ineligible, in a sense, for further consideration as a wife. Now she simply explained that when the boy had asked her in advance if she would marry him she had thought that he was joking and told him "Yes," in what she considered to be a jesting manner. She was greatly surprised two weeks later to find that the boy had been serious. The whole affair turned out happily in the end because within another two weeks the young man had found a willing girl, had become engaged to her, and married her. [583] 178 593

Another evidence that the family system was having to change to meet the stress of new times was the lack of social disapproval shown to widows and widowers who married persons previously unmarried. Heretofore, only widows and widowers could marry each other, and this was chiefly because of economic necessity. Although not yet common, it was a growing practice for a widower to take a fancy to a girl whom he later married. The age of marriage was becoming lower, dropping to 18 and 19 years for many of the couples. The engagement period still lasted only one or two weeks, a time sufficient to allow the girl to make her wedding preparations. [587]

Accompanying these changes was a greater freedom among the young people both in relation to each other and in relation to their parents. The *sedenki* for young people followed practically the same patterns which I had previously observed but had not yet popularized the kissing games which featured *sedenki* in northern Bulgaria. Clandestine love-making was increasing as was the tendency on the part of the young people to pair off. [883]

The changed relationship of sons to their fathers was shown by the failure of many of the sons to turn over their earnings to their parents as part of the common family treasury. Formerly more than half of the young men had followed this practice, but estimates in 1945 placed the number at approximately one out of ten.

Of especial interest was the pattern which younger couples were establishing after marriage. Whereas, ten years ago even the young wife would have given implicit obedience to her husband's orders, today many of the families were becoming equalitarian. The older women, however, still clung to the patriarchal pattern, though they [562]

[i.e in 1945 -- Analyst]

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622 668 to qualify for governmental retirement benefits and his former supporters were now a part of the opposition. Sofia, too, had a new mayor. It seemed to the village dignitary that all of his trouble was becoming a labor of love for which he would receive little financial return. Upon last report he was seeking a way out of office and was subject to a great deal of jesting in the taverns. The men all laughed one day in December, 1945, when a visitor from Sofia addressed him as "Mr. Mayor," because nobody knew at that time whether he was the mayor or not.

An office more important, however, than that of the mayor was that of the Commune Secretary. In Dragalevtsy this man was a Communist and, although he did not take the public limelight as much as a regular mayor would, he was the key person in the local government. Communist party matters frequently cleared through him, and he was in position to inform higher authorities about all phases of village government. Whereas the mayor's allegiance was primarily to the people of Dragalevtsy and secondarily to the Agrarian party, a luncheon conversation with the Secretary showed me that his loyalty was first of all to his party. Through serving it he felt he was best serving the people.

668 575 883 178 Part of the secret of Communist control in the local community lay in the success which the Communists had in enlisting the aid of many of the young people. In a traditionalistic society, such as one finds in Dragalevtsy, young people have no place of importance. Prestige is reserved for the old; and wisdom is the prerogative of the aged. Therefore a young person is constantly being urged to conform; and whatever idealism may flare up within him in his late teens becomes dissipated in the face of his placid parents and the other apostles of the past. The Communists showed real insight, therefore, in their glorification of the young people, in giving them a place in the sun, as it were. One of the first things they did was to get control of the *Chitalishte,* or Reading-Room Association, and use that as the core for their young people's program. In the house just back of the *Obshtina* they set up clubrooms where members of the *RMS* (Workers Youth Union) could hold meetings, study up on party doctrines, or loaf. The members of this particular organization, although not

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representing the majority of the young people, had an increasing voice in village affairs and were aggressive in their approach to practical problems. Part of this aggressiveness was directed against the young people at that time still active in the *ZMS* (Agrarian Youth Society), which was a part of the opposition.

Another means by which the Communists gained support was in the favoritism shown to party members in the distribution of rationed articles. Just as the ward boss of an American city or the prewar mayor of Dragalevtsy learned that gratitude prompts support or that favors done call for favors in return, so the Fatherland Front made good use of its opportunities. Some of its generosity served purely political ends. The mayor of Sofia, so the Dragalevtsy peasants said, gave one million leva at Christmas time to the *Septemvriche,* or National Children's Communist Organization. Opposition groups, of course, received no such largesse.

But many of the criticisms of pork-barrel politics were due to misunderstanding. The peasants of Dragalevtsy could usually procure no clothing coupons if they had wool at home, and most of them did have a small supply which they were allowed to keep. This amount was based on family size and any surplus was requisitioned by the government. Artisans and laborers, however, who had no sheep, who worked in factories or at their trade, received the clothing coupons, for that was the only way they had of obtaining wearing apparel. Wool and cotton, thread, and goods were still so scarce in both villages and cities that no one group was content with what it had, and peasants were inclined to ascribe whatever others received as due to favoritism rather than the merits of the case. The proof that wool was scarce was the relative inactivity of the carding and spinning *sedenki,* the working bees so popular among the women.

"Why don't you have *sedenki* now," I asked.

"We have no wool to work," was the plausible answer.

Communist party members who used their political standing for self-aggrandizement and enrichment were supposed to be severely dealt with by the party authorities. One story making the rounds in Dragalevtsy had done much to discredit the Communists with those in the opposition. Since living in a Balkan village is a great deal like

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Flower bazaar and tavern: It is around the fourth destination on Fridays that fondest memories cling, because this is the spot near the Sofia flower bazaar where young people from surrounding villages go upon completing their morning duties in town. It is here that romance blossoms and young men from one village are introduced to girls from another. While the younger people are amusing themselves here the older people, especially the men, gather at the tavern called *Dulgata Mehana,* the particular establishment to which Dragalevtsy peasants are loyal.[1] They lunch and drink here, they rest here, and here they swap their stories. Nor is it without pride that they tell how Fiodor Chaliapin, the celebrated opera singer, in 1934 spent a very merry evening in this *Dulgata Mehana,* enjoying its drink and atmosphere. Seldom, however, does the peasant get to converse with the Sofia citizenry in this tavern. Here again he is in a peasant world; if he were not, he would feel decidedly uncomfortable. Should he decide to see a movie, in the afternoon he would go to a cheap theater on a side street and guffaw with his fellow peasants.[2]

2. To Serve His Country. The *trudova* system, or that of compulsory labor for the young men of Bulgaria, has received much attention in the West. It served a magnificent purpose, taking as it did young men from villages throughout the land, mixing them up in labor camps, and providing them with picks and shovels for the construction of highways, bridges, and other public works. But now the young Bulgarian citizen is given military training instead. This is not in keeping with the Treaty of Neuilly, which limited Bulgaria's armed forces to 33,000, but what nation in Europe, the Bulgarians ask, has been abiding by the treaties? The trend from *trudova* to military service is shown by the fact that in 1935 not a single youth was called from Dragalevtsy to do *trudova* service, but sixteen went to be trained as soldiers.

The effect of life in a labor camp or a military barracks upon the young men is apparent upon their return to the village. They have gone out from a family system where each member works unquestioningly as a part of the whole; they return, in spite of military discipline, often very conscious of their own individuality, and have to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought again close in about them. However, before the returning young men are reabsorbed by the community, reverberations of struggle are felt throughout parts of the social structure. There are some who never again fall completely into line and who naturally

[1] Every village over a period of years has tended to select one tavern where peasants from that village spend their leisure time while in Sofia.

[2] Fifty-five per cent of the villagers (babies, children, and adults) have never seen a cinema. Out of 265 families reporting, *all* members of 73 families had seen a cinema; *no* members of 78 families had done so.

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CHAPTER IV

THE GOOD OLD DAYS

168 THE DRAGALEVTSY of 1937 had much in common with the Drag-
888 alevtsy of the past centuries. The dances, the homes, and the
537 farm practices proved that. The differences were also marked. For instance, a crude but efficient means of population control in the good old days was the killing off of the old people when they had passed the period of active usefulness. That at least was the theme of an old folk tale still current in the village. "It so happened that one spring the people discovered that they had saved no grain for sowing. The king sent men everywhere in search of grain, only to see them return empty-handed. One son, who at considerable risk to himself had kept his aged father alive, secretly hidden in his home, told him of the people's distress. The old man said: 'Tell the people to go to the ant hills for grain.' Some of the men followed this suggestion and found the grain they were hunting. When the king learned that an old man had told them where to look he ordered that the aged should not be killed for their disability but should be kept alive and respected for their wisdom."

195 Just at what time this story became a part of the folklore was difficult to determine, because of the numerous racial mixtures which the people represent. The Pechenegi, according to all accounts, might have been the ones who practiced this parricide. They got themselves into the history books by driving the Magyars (the modern Hungarians) westward from what is now Russia in the latter part of the ninth century. For about two hundred years more they, allied first with one prince and then with another, raided tribe after tribe and lurked near important trade routes. In 1091 the Pechenegi who had survived previous setbacks were finally destroyed by the Crusaders under Peter the Hermit, and little was heard of them after that.

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One account[1] in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* describes their nomadic existence and the camps they formed out of rings of wagons. "They wore long beards and mustachios, and were dressed in long kaftans. The food of the wealthy was blood and mares' milk; of the poor, millet and mead. They were originally 'magicians', i.e., fire-worshippers; but a form of Islam early became current among them, and the nation was temporarily converted to Christianity in 1007-1008. They were the most dreaded and detested of all the nomads." They were disagreeable in other ways too. But when the writer goes on to describe the *Shopi* of today, the descendants of these Pechenegi, as "despised by the other inhabitants of Bulgaria for their bestiality and stupidity but dreaded for their savagery," I wondered how much he was letting historical antecedents influence his description of the present. He goes on to say: "They are a singularly repellent race, short-legged, yellow-skinned, with slanting eyes and projecting cheekbones. Their villages are generally filthy, but the women's costumes show a barbaric profusion of gold lace." The *Shopi* then have quite a reputation to live up to—bestial, stupid, savage, ugly, filthy, and barbaric in their tastes. Some of these definitely do apply. My version of the *Shopi* necessarily includes some positive as well as negative traits, for I have lived among them and have learned to see their good as well as their bad points.

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But I must admit that if one looks to the Bulgarian ancestors of the *Shopi* for the origin of the parricide story, he will also find forebears capable of such a deed. According to Henry N. Brailsford's *Macedonia* the Volga-men, or Bulgarians, "were polygamists, owned slaves, and were accustomed to military discipline. Like the Turks they shaved their heads and wore pigtails. They burned their widows and indulged in human sacrifices." This is not a pretty picture, but one which bears marked resemblances to the accounts of the tribes in western Europe before the spread of civilization to that area.

The killing of feeble parents has been a common practice among nomadic peoples because of the difficulty of caring for the aged and infirm when on the move. The mention of grain in the story quoted above would indicate that the tribe had settled down, and that parri-

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1 [i.e. the Pechenegi, Bulgarian ancestors--ANALYST]

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● 888 cide was by that time an out-of-date practice no longer linked with the precarious economic existence of a wandering people.

539 But it was a far cry from the cessation of the killing of aged
888 parents to the "Honor thy father and mother" of the Decalogue, which
593 later became a part of the Bulgarian family system. The peasants had another story to explain this dramatic change:

"In the olden days, when fathers died the sons would drag the bodies with a hook to a stream or gully and push the bodies in. One day a middle-aged man returned home from disposing of his father's body in this way, but failed to bring back the hook. Whereupon his own son in greeting him said:

" 'But, father, where is the hook? What will I use when I drag you away?'

"This made the father thoughtful, then remorseful. It was then that he retrieved his father's body and gave it a proper burial. Since then sons have been more respectful."

593 At any rate, whatever may be the explanation, the patriarchal
562 system with its respect for and obedience to the father won out. Con-
175 tact with Byzantine culture until the coming of the Turks must have
186 reinforced the Bulgarian father's right to dominate his family. He became more fully acquainted with the *patria potestas* which had been too strongly entrenched in the Roman family system to be forgotten by the Byzantines. Likewise, the patriarchal emphasis of the Old Testament and the Pauline epistles of the New aided in the continuance
175 of male supremacy. It is fascinating indeed to observe the response that the Slavicized Bulgarians made to the Byzantine culture in general. First they opposed cultural assimilation by force of arms; more than once the armies of the Bulgarian kings thundered at the gates of Constantinople in Bulgaria's proud golden age (about 900). Military expeditions, however, proved inadequate, with the result that the Bulgarian leaders sought to build a Slavic culture to rival that of the Greeks. It was this new culture which kept the feeling of national uniqueness alive among the Bulgarians, while other tribes upon entering that region became so thoroughly absorbed into the Byzantine Empire that they ended as curious names of the past with no modern representatives.

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[369] 857 With Sofia, a city of over a quarter million people, only five miles away, the ability of the villagers to resist, however passively, the influence of the "people of the world" was astonishing. It was a remoteness, not to be measured in miles, but in generations.

Such pleasant customs as keeping pets were almost nonexistent. The tiny puppies with which the children sometimes rolled were bred for strictly utilitarian purposes, to guard the sheep, and were taught to be unfriendly to man.

[888] The very young and the very old in the village spent much time together. When I was taken to pay my respects to the oldest man in the village, a venerable figure of over a century, we found him sitting in a sunny corner of the yard under a gnarled pine tree. Tumbling around him were half a dozen tiny children, somewhat hampered in their movements by their clumsy, heavy clothing but very proud to show off their ancient relative.

The older children derived a quiet amusement from their position as spectators at the village ceremonies. There were always little boys making merry along the path of a wedding procession or tramping along wide-eyed beside a funeral. At *Subori* and *hora* mischievous little boys were ubiquitous. The little girls stayed solemnly by their mothers, but their eyes wandered, alternately solemn and amused. The village child had no routine planned for him, either for his physical or his psychological needs. There was no emphasis upon self-expression for the child, only upon conformity to the routine of the family.

858 593 Yet there was warmth and affection for the children. When a child died, the tempo of the household perceptibly slackened. "It is God's will. It is Kismet [Fate]," the family said, but the father grew more taciturn and the mother wept silently as she spun in the evenings. And when a funeral procession reached the cemetery, the new mourners often found there other mothers who had lost their children. These wailed again for the long-departed and begged the spirit of the newly dead to carry messages to their babies.

And when a family grew rich according to village standards, it was on the children that gifts were lavished, perhaps a wish-fulfillment by the elders inherited from their own drab childhood.

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668 do. Owing to the Communistic agitation in Dragalevtsy, lines were
578 more sharply drawn between the peasants on the one hand and the
554 artisans on the other. Most of the artisans had learned their trade in
178 Sofia, had been subjected to city influences, and many of them had become acquainted with Communist ideas there before the war. Even Bai Milosh, the village patriarch so frequently mentioned in this account, had a son who had become an ardent Communist. This son was not the one who took over the management of field crops, nor the one responsible for the livestock. Instead he had become a cobbler. He thought of himself as a worker, whereas his brothers thought of themselves as farmers.

668 Quarreling between the young and old also characterized the
578 factionalism. Although the Agrarian young people opposed the
178 Communists, they were certainly influenced by the actions of their more progressive or radical contemporaries. The older peasants who
[888] were opposed to the present regime emphasized time and time again the danger of having young people run the affairs of the land. This displacement of the aged rather than the indifference of Communists to God seemed to be causing the gravest concern to those who had been steeped in the traditional way of life.

But factionalism was not the only pronounced change which I
668 noted. I found everywhere an insecurity which was foreign to the
178 Dragalevtsy I had once known. The opposition supporters could be
626 expected to feel insecure, for they had to face the possibility that Communism would carry the day. But even the Communists who were definitely in the good graces of the party were having many troubled moments. The wife of one Communist was active in the opposition, and when I asked him why he tolerated such political division in his family he simply laughed. I continued to question him: "Aren't you the boss in this family? Why do you let your wife have such independence?"

He then became deadly serious and sought to lead me out of my cloud of ignorance. "You see, it's this way. Suppose the Communists are overthrown. Where would I be then? But if my wife is active in the Agrarian group, she can then speak for me and get me out of trouble."